

Walking My Path

An Autoethnographic Study of Identity

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Abstract

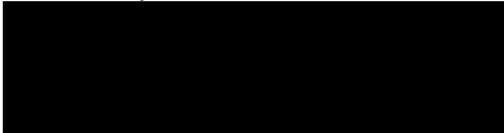
‘Walking My Path: An Autoethnographic Study of Identity’ is a doctoral thesis written in first person narrative about my search for my ancestral country in Far North Queensland. Incorporating both physical walking on country and metaphorical walking of trauma trails (Atkinson 2002) the story of my matrilineal Grandfather’s childhood builds on Shirleen Robinson’s (2008) ‘Something like Slavery?’. Enabling me to explore First-Nations philosophical concepts, I explain how I practise this philosophy inside my First-Nations family and community in the 21st century. Embedding my research in Indigenous Standpoint Theory and gathering the data, using a methodological net that includes *yarning* and *dadirri*, I am honouring First-Nations peoples. Finding that much of the data was distressing I have developed Creative Healing Inquiry (CHI), a process that supports the rebalancing of an individual’s psyche. CHI also makes the thesis both intertextual and serves as a mechanism that acknowledges multiliteracies. The Cusp Generation, children born between the end of WWII (1945) and Australia’s withdrawal from Vietnam (1972), are the people I propose would benefit most from public pedagogy that tells of Australia’s history. With the release of the *Australian Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody* report in 1991 and the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission’s *Bringing Them Home* report in 1997; my work makes shared history more relevant through its direct connection with actual people rather than abstract statistics. Demonstrated by the Commonwealth Government’s continuation of ‘The Intervention’ and rejection of the ‘Uluru Statement from the Heart’, Australia is not a post-colonial nation-state and Australians, in general, need to undertake cognitive decolonisation; and truth telling, as steps that may lead to what Marcia Langton has called a ‘genuine intercultural dialogue’ (cited in Healy 1997, p. 46).

Declaration

Doctor of Philosophy

Student Declaration

I, Davina B Woods, declare that the PhD thesis entitled *Walking My Path*
:an autoethnographic study of identity is no more than 100 000 words in length including
quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes.
This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for
the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this
thesis is my own work.



Signature

Date

08 May 2018

Warning

For this thesis to enable the tracking of racism in Australian society, it reproduces certain terms that are derogatory, offensive, and in some cases includes graphic language. I, Davina B Woods, completely reject such terms. Further, I acknowledge that there are many different practices and protocols across the First-Nations of Australia but wish to advise First-Nations-peoples that in reading this document you will be reading the names of, and seeing the images of, some who are deceased. To all readers, suggestions put forward by me in my thesis may be considered by some to be challenging; I simply hope that at some stage Australian society will be able to function better, for all, than it currently does.

Acknowledgment of Country

I acknowledge the peoples of the Kulin Nation on whose land I have lived since 1990.

Humbly, I pay my respects to the courageous and resilient First-Nations ancestors who have paved the way. Respectfully, I acknowledge all Elders. Positively I join with other First-Nations peoples in taking responsibility to shape our shared futures. Eagerly, I anticipate the futures that the newly and yet-to-be-born generations will create, and the pride you will generate. To other Australians, my brothers and sisters through the family that is humanity, I ask for your understanding and acceptance whilst Australia, the most multi-cultural society on the planet, walks the shared journey, of finding our way on this land, this planet, our home.

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Dedication

For those who call me Mum, Nanna, Sis, Auntie, Cuz or Jarmbee/Friend.

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Chapter 1 – Preparing for the Walk

Introduction

Since my adolescence, I have been searching for the country of my Aboriginal ancestry. Although raised knowing and claiming that I am Aboriginal, a member of the First-Nations peoples of Australia, I have never known exactly to which First-Nations group I belong. The major clues about my family's First-Nations ancestral group all relate to Far North Queensland which initially experienced invasion, the first step of colonisation in 1861 (Loos 1982, xvii).

My matrilineal Grandfather, from whom I inherit my Aboriginality, is known to have been born in Far North Queensland. I estimate (for reasons given in Chapter 7) that he was born sometime during the period from 1876 to late 1882. He grew up in the household of colonising Irish Catholics—a fact that precipitated disconnection from country, for him and his descendants. For First-Nations peoples, country is our larder, our place of worship, our educational environment, and our hearth. Disconnection from country means disconnection from important cultural markers such as language, and spirituality—the foundation of a person's principles and by which we live.

The choices made for, and made by, Grandfather have influenced my identity, intertwining our stories—an actuality that buttresses my proposition that Australia is not truly a postcolonial nation state. Australia, as attested to by the actions of its various governments,

functions under the influence of a national psyche that is, even in the 21st century, influenced by beliefs and thoughts that may be traced back to the Enlightenment (1685–1815) and pseudo-sciences of the Victorian era (1837–1901). Examples of the colonised national psyche are the legislation known by First-Nations peoples in Queensland simply as The Act, 1897–1984¹ (Frankland 1994) and the Commonwealth Government’s ongoing legislation, known as The Intervention, 2007 – ongoing (Faculty of Law Monash 2016). Although, The Act is thought of as having concluded in its various guises in 1984, its consequences within Queensland and thus Australian society continue in the 21st century.

Examples of the continuance of a colonial way of thinking include those written about by Stephen Hagan (2005) and Fiona Nicoll (2004). Embroiled in a legal fight to have the racially biased term ‘nigger’ removed from a sporting oval stand, Stephen Hagan published a book in 2005 about his experiences of the late 20th and early 21st century which include receiving death threats (Hagan 2005). Hagan is a First-Nations man raised in Queensland. I share the same year of birth, suggesting that we had similar experiences growing up in Queensland.

Our shared year of birth places us amongst the generation of Australian’s that I refer to throughout my thesis as the ‘Cusp Generation’; I define this generation later in this chapter. Nicoll, commenting on a Not-First-Nations person she describes as a ‘middle-class-white woman’ involved in the processes which brought about the Stolen Generations, notes that this Not-First-Nations woman categorised ‘Aboriginality as an unfortunate “accident” visited on an individual’ (Nicoll 2004, pp. 26-27). The woman’s comment demonstrates her thinking as that of a person who suffers from cognitive colonisation. The fact that Hagan had to launch a legal challenge to have a racist term removed from a public space demonstrates that individuals in the community involved also suffer from cognitive colonialism. Both the Not-

First-Nations woman and the community that Hagan had to deal with, were also of the Cusp Generation.

Hagan's need to fight for removal of such a racist term from a public space links to 'public pedagogy'—the nexus between the education of society through popular culture and public events (Kenway & Fahey 2011). The Cusp Generation educated through both formal schooling and public pedagogy was taught to think of my First-Nations ancestors as 'prehistoric', 'stone-age', 'unintelligent' beings, who acquiesced to the British without resistance. Basing my work on Indigenous Standpoint Theory (Moreton-Robinson 2013; Nakata 2008; Foley 2002, 2003, 2005, 2008), I am writing from my standpoint as a First-Nations person of Australia. Thus, what I present is a counternarrative that offers personal perspectives for studies undertaken by Judy Atkinson (2002) and Shirlee Robinson (2008). My autoethnography adds stories to Atkinson's research on intergenerational trauma in the lives of First-Nations peoples. Robinson's findings on the role of First-Nations children in developing the Queensland colonial and later state economy is personalised through the telling of my matrilineal Grandfather's biography. By presenting my counter narrative to the academy, I wish to enable more people in Australia to know more of our shared history.

People

Naming is not just black and white

While contemplating the use of terms to describe various groups within Australian society, as an educator I considered Freire (1968) who wrote of the 'oppressed' and the 'oppressors' but chose to reject his terms as suggest 'victor' and 'victim' comparison. Turning to the writings of First-Nations academics I found the term 'alterity'. Used in the writings of Aileen Moreton-

Robinson (2000), a Goenpul woman of the Quandamooka people, Moreton Bay; 'alterity', initially covered by the philosopher Emmanuel Levinas (1999), interests me. Definable as a philosophical, anthropological, or sociological term meaning 'otherness', 'alterity' distinguishes between those who have greater political power (the majority) and those who do not (the minority).

My discourse on identity although inclusive of my self-identity focusses on my socio-cultural group identity, the First-Nations peoples of Australia, who are a demographic and political minority within Australian society. Further, and more importantly to my work, 'alterity' as used by Moreton-Robinson, recognises and highlights the drastically unknown aspects of a social group's culture as compared with another identifiable socio-cultural group. At the time of first contact, cultures, ways of being, and epistemologies of First-Nations peoples were completely unknown and thus misunderstood by the invading British; this utter ignorance of cultural difference is what 'alterity' references. Acknowledged is the fact that the ways of the invaders were also drastically unknown to First-Nations peoples; however, writing from the standpoint I hold as a First-Nations person, I place prominence on First-Nations understandings. Weighted in favour of the invaders and their descendants for too long, I am not necessarily striving for balance. However, in Chapter 9, I do propose strategies to try and cognitively decolonise Australian society.

Where the usage of an individuals' name is not possible, appellations including invaders, colonisers, invading colonisers, British, Europeans, Chinese, South Sea Islanders and others; the broader society, as well as alterity or Not-First-Nations peoples describe those who were and, in some cases, still are utterly ignorant of Australia's First-Nations cultures. Having no

understanding of First-Nations Australia, alterity would not understand that there is an alternate viewpoint or recognise that an Indigenous Standpoint exists.

Due to the invasion and subsequent colonisation of Australia by the British, First-Nations peoples have had to learn the ontology, axiology, and epistemology of the British and those descended from them. First-Nations peoples therefore practice Yirritja Theory (Marika 1998) which I summarise here and discuss further in Chapter 3. Yirritja Theory in a way is the practice of postmodernism because it allows acceptance of another perspective; but it is more than that, as Yirritja Theory is the habit of thinking in two ways. I refer to the practice of Yirritja Theory as ‘walking in two worlds’.

The rationale for using the term ‘First-Nations’ rather than the term ‘Aborigines’ is multifaceted. Initially, ‘Aborigines’ was a polite term forced upon my ancestors by the invading colonisers. Secondly, First-Nations peoples have demonstrated our resistance to colonisation by using ‘Aboriginal’ rather than ‘Aborigines’ as a self-descriptor. The constituent use within First-Nations communities of ‘Aboriginal’ to name ourselves justifies its use as a noun. If not requiring an appellation that encompasses the continent I would use Aboriginal English terms, Koorie or Murri, but such terms are regional. Thus, to be more inclusive when describing myself and people like me, ‘Aboriginal’ is acceptable, with the designations ‘Indigenous’ or ‘First-Nations’ being even more appealing.

In 1974, an international conference of First-Nations peoples attended by representatives from Canada, the United States of America, Australia, Aotearoa/ New Zealand, Colombia and Guyana, as well as Norway, Finland, Sweden and Denmark defined ‘Indigenous’ using the following set of words: ‘The term indigenous people refers to people living in countries

which have a population composed of differing ethnic or racial groups, who are descendants of the earliest populations living in the area and who do not control the national government of the countries within which they live' (Sissions 2005, p. 22). I find the statement 'who do not control the national government of the countries within which they live' (Sissions 2005, p. 22), to be a very strong point. Control or power is necessary to influence the way that people think. The point supports my proposition that Australia has a colonised national psyche. Writing on this point in my thesis, more concentrated examination of government legislation as a continuance of colonisation is to be found in Chapters 2 and 7. The phrase also has relevance to considerations of the differences between 'political decolonisation' and 'cognitive decolonisation', points covered further in Chapters 3, 4 and 9. However, in defining an Indigenous person the phrase, 'who are descendants of the earliest populations living in the area' (Sissions 2005, p. 22), is particularly important and is echoed in the definition proposed by the International Labour Organisation.

The term 'Indigenous', as defined by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) references, ancestry from the population pre-colonisation (ILO 2003). The ILO definition also supports self-identification which is empowering. However, the ILO definition also references 'Tribal peoples' as if 'Tribal' and 'Indigenous' are the same, but in an interview held on 4 December 2007, Stephen Corry of Survival International made a distinction between the two by saying, 'Indigenous peoples are obviously the descendants of those peoples who were in a country or part of a country before it was colonized by other peoples...I think tribal peoples are obviously a sector of indigenous peoples, though not all tribal peoples are necessarily indigenous to the area [in which they live]²...to retain the notions of tribal peoples it is necessary to them to live...self-sufficiently' (Venkateswar & Hughes, 2013, pp. 193-194).

Unfortunately, the naming of First-Nations peoples is very complex with the meaning of the term 'Indigenous' becoming 'more confused and contested' (Sissions 2005, p. 23). People born in Australia of European heritage only, have started to identify themselves as 'indigenous'. For example, 'Anyone born here is indigenous to this land' (Bolt 2016).

Usually such people belong to the political right, exemplified by the conservative working and middle-classes who have no qualms about exploiting others (Jakubowicz 1994). Their misuse of the term 'Indigenous' is a major reason for rejecting the use of the word to describe myself. Thus, I reject 'Aborigines' as a term imposed upon First-Nations peoples and I reject 'Indigenous' for its misuse.

Together Torres Strait Islanders and Aboriginal peoples of Australia are the First-Nations of Australia. Nevertheless, for this study the term 'First-Nations' focusses on the Aboriginal peoples of Australia. Where necessary, Torres Strait Islanders will be the term used to reference the First Peoples of the Torres Strait Islands, who in contemporary times may also live upon the mainland of Australia.

Originally, I heard the terms 'First Peoples' and 'First-Nations' to describe peoples such as myself at the World Indigenous Peoples Conferences on Education in 1990. Habitation from time immemorial of every habitable landmass of Earth justifies use of 'First Peoples' to describe the peoples gathered for the conference. Creation stories, told by the descendants of the First Peoples, recall formation of the landscape, the laws, plants, people, other animals, and elements of the cosmos. Conquest stories (told by the descendants of the colonisers) use misleading words such as 'discovery'. Contemporary nation states built on the land that already had a long relationship with its First Peoples.

Utilising 'First-Nations' rather than 'First Peoples' responds to how nation states are generally viewed internationally as more important than specific groups of people within a nation. Nations have sovereign governance and legal systems. A nation manages the economics, education, health, intra and inter-country relationships of its people. The people of a nation have a lingua franca, common cultural practices, and history. United by allegiance to one region of Earth, known as their country, First-Nations peoples were and are engaged in all the activities that occupy contemporary nation states.

Like the continent of Europe, Australia has always been a multicultural space, with comparable but distinct cultures. First-Nations peoples knew and know people, who relate to them through their shared language. Although less than half of the approximate 250 First-Nations languages of Australia (Walsh & Yallop 2007) are still viable, the transcultural language of Aboriginal English (Eades 2013) is developing strongly. It has dialects making it distinct to regions that approximate to state and territory boundaries. On the east coast of the continent, for example, it may be generally defined as Koorie or Koori English or Murri English, but there are other smaller pockets of dialect that are named differently, but all are Aboriginal English. Encoding using the Greek alphabet is comparatively recent and a reason for there being two ways to spell 'Koorie' or 'Koori'. Also, for this specific example, some may say that Koorie represents First-Nations peoples of Victoria and Koori is indicative of First-Nations peoples of New South Wales, but not all would agree with this distinction.

Aboriginal English is a language which has grown out of contemporary resistance by First-Nations peoples to colonisation. It is transcultural because First-Nations peoples have woven some of our original languages with English to create the new language. In Aboriginal English we reflect our oral traditions by using different intonation when speaking some originally standard English terms, giving the words a different meaning. As First-Nations peoples work

towards encoding our previously oral languages using the Greek alphabet, Standard English words are Aboriginalised. An example is 'Blak', a term that I have seen young First-Nations peoples of Victoria use on social media. 'Blak' is not a misspelling of the English word 'black', as 'Blak' in Aboriginal English describes First-Nations peoples and those actions and activities that we consider to be ours. The word 'dawt' meaning daughter and pronounced 'daught' is a name I use in addressing my own dawt. She calls her dawt 'Mum' and I call the baby 'my Grannie', which is in line with contemporary First-Nations cultural practices of the communities in which we live. Babies are 'booria', children are 'jarjums' and a friend is a 'jarmbee'.

The Cusp Generation and public pedagogy

The Not-First-Nations peoples I attended school and teachers' college with, are generally good people, but like so many other Australian's of the Cusp Generation have very little knowledge of First-Nations Australia. The majority of what Not-First-Nations peoples of the Cusp Generation know of First-Nations Australia comes from public pedagogy. The nexus between my role as an educator and my research is public pedagogy. Beyond formal schooling, public pedagogy includes education that occurs due to events or displays within public spaces and through mass media. Sometimes such proceedings and presentations are a part of a political struggle; for example, the posters and flag raisings held during NAIDOC (National Aboriginal and Islander Day of Commemoration) Week.

When I was a young woman in Brisbane, I attended some meetings at the One People of Australia League (OPAL). Although on reflection, I acknowledge that the organisation was conservative, it was through interaction with an Elder I met at OPAL that I learnt that 'to be Aboriginal is to be political', a sentiment reinforced when I met Aunty Beryl Wharton,

another significant Elder of the Brisbane community who has unfortunately passed on. With this strong message coming from my Elders, some of my work may come across as polemic. Nevertheless, I attempt to balance polemic with positive strategies for the development of a better Australia through suggested processes to work towards cognitive decolonisation, and better comprehension of the shared history of Australia. It is the impact of this shared history on contemporary Australia that needs to be promoted through public pedagogy, before we can engage in what Marcia Langton has called a ‘genuine intercultural dialogue’ (Healy 1997, p. 46), a strategy I will further discuss in my thesis.

Those people born between the end of World War II (1945) and the withdrawal of Australian military from the Vietnam War (1972) is the generation represented by leaders of Australia’s main political parties. It is, to me, the ‘Cusp Generation’ because it is on the edge of change to more positive attitudes towards First-Nations peoples by Not-First-Nations peoples. In the life of the Cusp Generation the 1967 referendum demonstrated a willingness from the voting populace of Australia to hear, if not always listen, to First-Nations peoples. Unfortunately, the typical journey for many Not-First-Nations peoples from complete ignorance of First-Nations peoples to some understanding is one step forward, followed by at least two steps backward. For example, in 1988, the year that marked the bicentennial of the commencement of the formal invasion by the British of First-Nations peoples’ countries in Australia, witnessed attitudes insulting to First-Nations peoples. Then there was the decade (1990– 2000) of reconciliation—a controversial term I will use, but not debate the meaning of—in my thesis.

The 1990s also witnessed the release of the *Bringing Them Home* report that chronicled the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commissions (HREOC) inquiry about the removal of First-Nations and Torres Strait Islander children from their homes. The report produced

deniers of the Stolen Generations and the history wars ensued where academics and public commentators argued through the media and academic publications about the validity of terms such as ‘stolen generations’, ‘genocide’ and ‘invasion’.

The first two decades of the 21st century witnessed many more changes to the political landscape specifically relating to First-Nations peoples. In 2007 came ‘The Intervention’ and the demise of ‘ATSIC (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) (which) had two democratic dimensions to its operation. It had an elected arm and it had a legislative mandate that gave it an alternative voice on policy to government, one that better reflected the perspectives and interests of Aboriginal people’ (Behrendt 2005, p.1). In April 2010 the appointment of the Board of the National Congress met for the first time, incorporating as a company, followed by the rejection from the Commonwealth Parliament of the *Uluru Statement from the Heart* written by the 2017 National Constitutional Convention. I expand upon the nexus between the issues arising from these government decisions and Australia’s colonised national psyche throughout my thesis.

All the preceding issues were reported in the media with many television stations interviewing people to discuss government decisions. The Cusp Generation is the generation that had first access to television that began broadcasting to the general populace of Australia in the 1950s. Television joined the mass media alongside magazines and newspapers as tools of public pedagogy, unfortunately portraying First-Nations peoples unfavourably or not at all. Instead, like other forms of mass media, it portrayed how Not-First-Nations peoples ‘should live’ and how to be ‘normal’. Mass media made having ‘white’ skin and living in a house with a male and female parent and one or two siblings ‘normal’, giving privilege to this standard labelled ‘Whiteness’ (Elder, Ellis & Pratt 2005; Frankenberg 1993; Hartman 2004; Moreton-Robinson

2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2006, 2016; Moreton-Robinson, Casey & Nicoll 2008; Nicoll 2008; Ravenscroft 2004; Shore 2004; Willis 2012). Whiteness portrayed in this way on television not only normalised Whiteness, it also normalised racialised prejudice. First-Nations peoples of the Cusp Generation, like me, experienced overt, covert, personal and institutional racism. My evidence for this claim includes firstly my own life experiences (see Chapter 6), and many opportunities to gather with and hear the stories of other First-Nations peoples.

Television, as a tool of public pedagogy, taught the Cusp Generation lessons that broadened the gaps between those it positively displayed and those portrayed negatively or simply omitted from any portrayal. A Not-First-Nations anthropologist, W E H Stanner, who I consider to be an ally to First-Nations peoples, in his 1968 Boyer Lectures highlights the fact that the school textbooks of Australia were silent about First-Nations peoples (Stanner 1968, 1979, 1990, 2009). Public pedagogy was either silent on First-Nations peoples through omission on television or depicted us inappropriately. First-Nations peoples suffering from negative emotional and social well-being, or mental health issues that arise from trauma precipitated by colonialism were featured in news reports. Although touched on throughout my thesis, I expand on the issue of the impact upon the mental health of First-Nations peoples of colonialism, perpetuated as racism (see Chapter 5).

Being the subject of racist abuse due to colonialism is traumatic. When emotional and social well-being is negative a person is more likely to break the law, to not conform to polite behaviour and to overindulge in substances that alter perception. Such behaviour is dysfunctional, which means not 'normal'. Removed, many First-Nations children of the Cusp Generation had families judged dysfunctional against the 'Whiteness' standard of the times. It

was also the height of the assimilationist period where First-Nations peoples were meant to behave 'normal', which meant behaving like a 'White' person. However, there were policies and laws that enforced separate education, town curfews, alcohol bans, no social security, and lower wages than Not-First-Nations peoples.

During this period of 'assimilation' First-Nations peoples were taught through public pedagogy that Not-First-Nations peoples had every right to mock us and our cultures; First-Nations peoples of the Cusp Generation witnessed what to us were obscene events. For example, an obese man with an English accent, white curls, a black body stocking and blackface paint singing a song about a boomerang that would not come back. The boomerang is an item most often connected to First-Nations peoples and his parody of First-Nations peoples and our cultures was not humorous but derisive. Another lesson taught through public pedagogy was that First-Nations peoples were not good enough. Portrayed by a Not-First-Nations person with tanned makeup and a fictitious character called 'Bony', written as a First-Nations outback detective, was screened in the early 1970s. This sent the message that we were not good enough to portray ourselves on television.

Although not favourable, the initial establishment of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy in 1972 was the first time the international media had noted the social and political struggle of Australia's First-Nations peoples. Police, ordered by the politicians to demolish the Embassy, caused violence by physically trying to evict First-Nations peoples; unfortunately, journalists labelled First-Nations peoples as 'violent', not the police. When journalists added the term 'radical' to their descriptions of First-Nations peoples present at the Embassy, rumours spread that those at the Embassy belonged to the outlawed Communist Party. Further reports by Not-First-Nations journalists claimed that the Embassy people—our First-Nations spokespeople—did not reflect the view of most First-Nations peoples. In 1972 public pedagogy discredited First-Nations

political activists, urging both Not-First-Nations peoples and politically conservative First-Nations peoples to be afraid of the activists and their ideas of social reform. In this way, at that time, public pedagogy advanced attempts to silence First-Nations peoples from speaking out about our concerns.

Until 1972 public pedagogy, available to the Cusp Generation, was one that taught all of us that First-Nations peoples were not normal, not worthy and not capable. From 1972 First-Nations peoples were dangerous dissidents and enemies of the nation state, dismissing the collective political platform of First-Nations peoples never considering the transgenerational trauma which resulted from invasion and colonisation. Depicting us as either ‘tame’ or ‘wild’—as a fearful animal or an animal to domesticate—public pedagogy stirred the fears of old that implemented the frontier keep-them-out practice.

Two decades later, during the 1990s, television, radio, internet, study circles, posters, badges and public lectures, all tools of public pedagogy, came into play at the behest of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation. One of the aims of the Council was to give access to knowledge about the shared history of First-Nations peoples and Not-First-Nations peoples of Australia. The Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (RCIADC) preceded the work of the Council and flagged the need to establish a process for bringing together those who stood as alterity to the other (Johnston 1991). When RCIADC presented its findings, the Commissioners proposed that a lack of education about Australia’s shared history was an underlying issue in deaths by suicide, natural causes, medical conditions, and injuries caused by police that had occurred while First-Nations peoples were in custody.

Being alterity—drastically and completely ignorant of First-Nations peoples, our cultures and the ways by which racism impacted upon us; many working in the justice system, at least before the instigation of some of the 339 recommendations of the RCIADC, work from colonial mindsets. Such mindsets draw on the pseudo-science of the Great Chain of Being and social-Darwinism, where both hypotheses rate First-Nations peoples as barely human and doomed to dye out. Those with such mindsets do not perceive First-Nations peoples as worthy of duty of care; people stuck within the colonial paradigm do not comprehend that racism began with the invasion and colonisation of Australia and continues colonial processes within Australian society today.

Noting that many deaths in custody were First-Nations peoples separated from their families as children, prompted RCIADC Commissioners to support First-Nations peoples calls for an inquiry into the removal of children from First-Nations and Torres Strait Islander families. Tasked with the inquiry, the Australian Human Rights Equal Opportunity Commission's (HREOC) terms of reference encapsulated the period from 1910 to 1970. The resulting report, *Bringing Them Home*, launched in 1997, introduced the phrase 'Stolen Generations' to the national lexicon. However, by leaving the era of my Grandfather's childhood out of the terms of reference, Grandfather and those other First-Nations children taken before 1910 are technically left out of the category 'Stolen Generations'.

Bringing Them Home (HREOC 1997) precipitated public national debate that continued beyond the 20th century. This debate evolved into what became known as the 'history wars' and witnessed some First-Nations peoples taking the government of Australia to court over issues such as wrongful imprisonment and neglect—after all, we were classified as wards of the state. During one such case Australian Prime Minister, Stanley Bruce is cited as having written to the Premier of South Australia in August 1927 stating: 'There are also at the Home

at Alice Springs a number of quadroons and octoroons under five years of age who could hardly be distinguished from ordinary white children. My colleague [the Minister for Home and Territories] is assured that, if these babies were removed, at their present early age, from their present environment to homes in South Australia, they would not know in later life that they had aboriginal blood and would probably be absorbed into the white population and become useful citizens.” (*Cubillo v Commonwealth* [2000] FCA 1084).

The preceding statement gives ‘An interesting insight into the attitude of “superiority” towards the Aboriginal race’ (*Cubillo v Commonwealth* [2000] FCA 1084). For me, these words not only speak of an attitude of superiority, but of genocide. Genocide, which is discussed further in Chapter 7, is the deliberate and systematic destruction of a racial, political, or cultural group; one of the elements specific to the crime of genocide is the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group (Triffterer 2001). Bruce’s proposal of 1927 had genocide as its purpose.

The views of the South Australian Premier were also of interest. In rejecting the Prime Minister’s suggestion that South Australia should take responsibility for some of these children, he wrote: ‘To give effect to the suggestion of the Minister that quadroons and octoroons under 5 years of age should be transferred from Central Australia to this State would be greatly to the disadvantage of South Australia, as it would be increasing an undesirable element in the population’ (*Cubillo v Commonwealth* [2000] FCA 1084). These political leaders reflect the racism acknowledged by the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, part of the White Australia policy. The attitudes demonstrated over the decades by politicians such as Joh Bjelke-Petersen and Pauline Hanson, the latter a current member of the Australian Commonwealth Senate attest to the endurance of racism in the institutions of Australia.

Trauma trails

When the Australian Prime Minister apologised in February 2008 on behalf of the Australian Government to the Stolen Generations and their descendants; I, like other members of my family and community, cried. Our responses were in line with what Atkinson (2002) describes as trauma trails that ‘run across country and generations from original locations of violence’ (Atkinson 2002, p. 88). The Australian government’s acknowledgment and apology for the loss of language, culture and identity of First-Nations children, removed from their families, was simply one of many steps that needs to be taken towards healing (Woods 2008).

Slave or servant

However, a deep-seated secret of the shared history not mentioned in the Apology, or the *Bringing Them Home* report, was the situation of First-Nations children such as my Grandfather. During his travels in the colony of Queensland in the 1870s, the author Anthony Trollope, used the terminology ‘slave’ to illustrate the powerless situation of First-Nations children taken from their families and used as domestics. A third of First-Nations peoples engaged as domestic workers in Queensland were children (Robinson 2008). Robert Logan Jack, the Queensland colonial government’s geologist, reports that in late 1879 journeying through Cape York Peninsula, his party encountered a First-Nations child. When first discovered, the child pretended to be dead. When it was clear that he was not going to be harmed, he started to speak but no one in the party understood his language. Jack’s party included a man named Reilly whose first impulse was to shoot all First-Nations peoples they

came across. Reilly said that the party should at least ‘capture and sell the young boy as he would be worth a couple of notes to any man along the way’ (Jack 2008 p. 33). The practice of stealing and selling First-Nations children was common in the late 19th century (Jack 2008, Richards 2008)—so common that many thought it policy. The taking of First-Nations children as unindentured, unpaid workers, was at least a practice that was not often, if ever, deterred by the colonial authorities. Native Police were known to ‘collect’ First-Nations children for the colonisers (Richards 2008).

Native Police Sub-Inspector Douglas in 1876 named the Barron River after a colleague, Thomas Barron who in his Annual Report of 1871 noted that threats to colonisers in the Mackay region of Queensland were acts of revenge because First-Nations women and small boys were being abducted to be made ‘servants’ (Richards 2008). Writing about the Native Police a journalist states ‘possibly the gentleman in charge will secure a terrified baby boy as a present for one of his friends – “niggers” caught young, as is well known in the north, make good “boys”’ (*Queenslander*, 8 December 1877, p.16). The men in charge of the Native Police were always Not-First-Nations men thus the child would not be going to a First- Nations person but to the police officer’s Not-First-Nations friend.

Dr. Walter Roth, who in 1898 was appointed as the first Northern Protector of Aborigines, argued that First-Nations children taken as infants lived with ‘Whites’ who falsely suggested that they were ““one of the family”, which was always one of the reasons given for not paying Aboriginal servants’ (Reynolds 2000, p. 186; Robinson 2008). Denied access to their families and cultural traditions, many child slaves were further traumatised through overwork, physical, sexual and emotional abuse (Robinson 2008). Such trauma, Atkinson’s

(2002) research proposes, is transferred across generations. Due to their traumatic experiences, many of these workers suffered long-term psychological damage (Robinson 2008). (The issue of long-term psychological damage is revisited in Chapters 5 and 9.)

For First-Nations peoples the painful impact of removing First-Nations children has never dulled. For members of my extended family and I, we continue to negotiate the devastating consequences each day of our lives, as we search for country and come to terms with the truth of our dispossession. Those in the family to whom I have shared my revelation that Grandfather was a slave are now also dealing with this devastating knowledge. Our lives are a testament to the ground-breaking work of Atkinson (2002) who proposed that trauma is intergenerational, transgenerational and transpersonally psychically transferred. Trauma is debilitating, both physically and psychologically. The critical issue however is that we, the First-Nations peoples of Australia, are resilient: WE HAVE SURVIVED. Responding to the cataclysmic consequences of invasion we have adapted our ontologies and added to our epistemologies. Our axiology has remained steady, as we have maintained the essence of our values of relationality, reciprocity and intersubjectivity, ensuring cultural revival, maintenance and survival.

Naming people: Naming places

In Australia, the name of a First-Nations group of people who occupy or occupied an area has in modern times become the name of that country. For example, living in the northern suburbs of Melbourne I am living on Kulin Nations country, specifically the land of the Wurundjeri. If I went to the Hunter family, who are the acknowledged Tradition Owners of the area and asked, they would be able to give me a more specific name for the area. Such a name would identify the clan whose estates I now live upon.

It is sometimes difficult when referring to written text to know exactly which classification of people the author is referring. The earliest writings are by Europeans who may have been writing about a clan estate or the country of a whole nation. The confusion relates to language and alterity between the two groups. First-Nation-peoples and Not-First-Nations peoples have drastically different worldviews, cultures and at the time of initial colonisation, no common language, causing ambiguity. Most of the Europeans who were interested in cultures of First-Nations peoples could not speak our languages fluently. Development of a sufficient critical mass of First-Nations peoples, who could speak English, took time. Understanding questions in English however may have neglected the subtleties of the difference between a language group's country, a band or a clan's estate, and a clan name may have been confused with a language group name and so on.

Place

Fire

First-Nations peoples used fire to maintain and manage land, and thus fire was and is a method of husbandry and agriculture. For example, when the weather was dry the people set fires along a stretch of wallaby country. The circle of fires would have only one outlet and the racing wallabies would be caught in nets or speared or clubbed as they escaped the fire (Bliege-Bird et al 2008, Petty 2012, Jones 2012). Fire was also used in the making of different tools: 'Held over a fire and pressed with the fingers (the boomerang's) ends were bent upwards ever so slightly. Over and over again the weapon was tested and altered by its maker until a perfect returning was obtained' (Toohey 2001, p.98). Fire became so important to the country that in Australia some native plants need fire to release seeds and allow germination.

Lighting fires across the country also holds ceremonial significance. In some Far North Queensland groups a woman, accompanied by her mother, took a burning piece of wood to light a fire in front of a shelter built for her and her new husband. Her action was symbolic of her moving on from sharing her life with her parents to sharing her life with her husband (Toohey 2001). Importantly, fire and smoke notify the Ancestral Being whose site you approach that you are coming. Maintaining the country through fire demonstrates respect for the country which is your kin.

Songlines

People travel the Songlines also known as Storylines or Dreaming Tracks, to care for country and perform ceremony necessary for maintenance of the Dreaming. The Dreaming serves the cosmos of which people are only one element. Travelling the Songlines and performing ceremony at dedicated sites ensures the continuation of a specific plant, animal, or other necessary resource such as water. These places of power are sacred sites. Such sites of significance I sometimes call 'increase' sites. I do this to avoid emotive words such as 'sacred' and to explain the exact purpose of the site. An Elder of the Victorian community, Uncle John 'Sandy' Atkinson told me that road signs depicting animals to be aware of while driving, indicate the animals that belong to the Dreaming Track that the driver is passing over. The Elder explained that the animals since creation have been following a certain path along which they intuitively know they will find food, water and a mate with whom to procreate. This has proven to be correct by scientists who speak of migration and creatures returning to places for specific events such as nesting. Australian examples are turtles who return to the beach where they lay their eggs year after year, or eagles who return to the same eyrie for breeding or the fact that road deaths of wombats seem to occur around the middle of September.

A Songline matches an animate being to country, stating environmental affiliations by linking place to a person's totem or a subgroup's moiety. Sometimes alterity may consider the animate being to be mythical. For example, a Sacred Serpent is usually responsible for a waterhole and the condition of the water contained therein. Thus, it is the Sacred Serpent for whom the ceremonial fire is light, and the song is sung; although the purpose of communion with the Sacred Serpent is to ensure the supply and purity of the water, not the actual increase of Sacred Serpent.

Singing appropriate ceremonial songs tells the stories of the Dreaming events relevant to location. The ceremonial activities maintain and disseminate cultural knowledge, teaching direction, geography and topography (McBryde 1997, 2000). In this way, the Songlines did and still do allow for communication over long distances, connecting groups through shared Dreaming traditions and Ancestor Beings.

Needing to walk the Songlines to complete theological responsibilities has led to First-Nations peoples being judged as 'nomadic' wanderers. Movement across country had and has purpose, bound to certainty of the Dreaming, a spiritual relationship that relates people to their country and contains them within that country. People, as kin to their country, are custodians. Language used when walking or simply referencing country is respectful and expresses a close relationship that requires country to be looked after correctly. Told through the lore, First-Nations peoples' law are statements about the rights of the country. Law comes directly from the Ancestral Beings and is thus divine. Law and other sacred knowledge grant ancestral authority to country (Coleman 2005). It is the law, the sacred knowledge that a Gurindji Elder is reflecting on in his statement: 'Cudeba not understand. Him stupid. Him build stockyard on sacred ground, Dreaming place Wattie Creek. Gurindji

have own Jesus place there. Cudeba have Jesus place called church, and if black fella build humpy inside his church him go mad. But he take black fella church and build stockyard in it' (Hardy 1976, pp. 189-190). The Elder is explaining that some sections of First-Nations country are sacred, even without the signpost of an edifice.

The term 'own' in reference to land has only come into being in First-Nations peoples discourse since Native Title legislation. When we speak of Traditional Owners, First-Nations peoples are not using 'own' in the same sense as Not-First-Nations peoples. Through the Dreaming, people and place have a symbiotic relationship that is advantageous to both. It is a relationship based on reciprocity. The person knows that if they care for country as they care for other kin, country will provide for them.

Journeying refugee or tolerated guest

Paramount to my research has been the process of travelling to the countries of First-Nations peoples of Far North Queensland to yarn and perform dadirri (Ungunmerr-Baumann 2002). Dadirri is an inner, deep listening and quiet, still awareness that supports communication through reflection. 'Yarning' is a synonym for the terms 'oral history', 'storytelling', 'dialogue', 'conversation' and 'discourse'. The term 'yarn' is synonymous with 'story', 'narrative', 'tale', 'account' and 'chronicle'. Chapter 4 expands upon the concepts of dadirri, yarns and yarning.

The research trips north reflect Atkinson's (2002) trauma trails. Journeying north however is also in line with the protocols of First-Nations peoples, where a researcher should always ask for permission to conduct research about a group and their country. I have also followed First-Nations peoples' protocols by asking permission to conduct my research from both my Mother and my eldest cousin, who consequently is also the eldest male within my known

family.

Initial clues to finding where Grandfather was from and where his descendants belong, include him writing on government records that he was born in Port Douglas. Secondly, the people who raised him, the Davies, gave him the middle name Hodgkinson, so he would be able to find 'home'. Home may be the place where a household lives, or it may be a person's birthplace or state within a nation state. In giving Grandfather the middle name Hodgkinson, were the couple whose household he grew up in stating that he was of the people who are the Traditional Owners of the Hodgkinson Goldfield? Through Native Title, the Traditional Owners of the Hodgkinson Goldfield are the Djungan peoples, originally referred to as the Kuku-Djungan peoples. Otherwise, were the Davies giving him the middle name Hodgkinson because their dwelling in the township of Thornborough on the Hodgkinson Goldfield was where he first came into their household? What am I to make of Grandfather's use of Port Douglas on government forms as the place of his birth? Port Douglas was the port for the town of Thornborough established in the 1870s and this is Kuku-Yalanji peoples' country. Established over trading paths of First-Nations peoples by Christie Palmerston in late 1877, the Port Douglas to Thornborough road became known as 'The Bump Track', the remains of which I walked as part of my research. When I commenced my search for country in the 1970s, locating Port Douglas on a map was not difficult. However, finding the names Hodgkinson or Thornborough was more challenging. Furthermore, I did not know of The Bump Track until 2011 during my first solo journey to Far North Queensland.

Born in Brisbane, Queensland, I lived and grew up on Turrbal country, the estate that stretches north to the North Pine River, south to the Logan River, and inland to Moggill Creek. Later I lived on country of the Gurang-Gurang speaking people of Gladstone on

Queensland's Port Curtis coast. Since 1990 I have been living in Melbourne, Victoria on Wurundjeri country that runs from Mount Baw Baw in the east to Mount Macedon in the west. I think of myself as a refugee, having always lived on another's country. In Gladstone and Melbourne however, I have been able to interact with First-Nations community leaders and am thankfully, at least to be a tolerated guest.

In the latter half of the 1990s I was able to access more maps via the internet. It was then that I found the Hodgkinson River, the Hodgkinson Goldfield, and the town of Thornborough. The real work of organising for me as a refugee, to go back to country, could begin.

Philosophy

An individual's identity develops within an environment that encapsulates relational, social, and linguistic elements (Mitchell 2000). It is from knowledge and practices shared within our communities, through our understanding of our country, that First-Nations peoples have formed our cultures, and thus our cultural and social group identity. Following is an outline of the guiding principles, the philosophy of my life, which I also think of as my spirituality, my Dreaming.

Relationality

Relationality is about relationships and interactions. It is about how the elements of the cosmos connect, which may be considered along with psychiatrist Carl Jung's concept of the collective unconscious (Jung 2014). A discourse on the connectivity of the elements of the cosmos may appear to be based purely upon a person's spiritual beliefs. However, being an arts and humanities scholar and practitioner of Yirritja Theory, I have searched for scientific discourse on relationality within the cosmos, coming up with work undertaken by Penrose and Hameroff. British physicist Sir Roger Penrose and Professor Emeritus Stuart Hameroff have a

theory called ‘orchestrated objective reduction’ or ‘Orch OR’. Hameroff propose consciousness arises from quantum vibrations in microtubules (Hameroff 1998, 2014) inside the brain’s neurons. The vibrations resonate, controlling neuronal firings, generating consciousness (Hameroff & Penrose 2014) and connecting to ripples in spacetime geometry, suggesting a connection between the brain’s biomolecular processes and the basic structure of the cosmos (Hameroff & Penrose 1996; Penrose & Hameroff 2011). It is explained that ‘in the context of pan-protopsychist/pan-experiential philosophy, each Orch OR event is “conscious” because a particular configuration of proto-conscious qualia embedded in fundamental spacetime geometry is selected’ (Hameroff 2003, p. 81). Hameroff has also worked with Deepak Chopra, an alternative medicine advocate, coming up with a scientific hypothesis on the existence of a soul (Hameroff & Chopra 2011). Combining Hameroff and Penrose’s work on consciousness, neuroscientists’ findings on genetic memory (Andrews 2017; Gallagher 2013; Ham et al. 2008; Treffert 2015), Jung’s thinking about the collective unconscious with the discernment of Chopra together, and the connectivity or relationality of the universe merges science and spirit. Thus, people and all other entities, both animate and inanimate, of the cosmos, are in a relationship with each other.

For many, particularly First-Nations people, relationality includes the nexus between people and place. Maintaining good relationships requires consciousness and actions. Consciousness requires knowledge that enables all involved to be aware of treating the other parties as they wish to be treated. A method for maintaining a relationship is through acknowledgement of responsibilities and, most importantly, through acting to meet the obligations of the relationship. Unfortunately, being unsure as to which exact country I belong, I have never been able to achieve my responsibilities to my country, and without my country I feel orphaned.

Through reflexivity I have realised that although I hold the development and nurturing of right relations as important, there has been a possibility of forming asymmetrical relations between myself as the researcher-subject and those people who participated in the workshops (Barrett, 2016) while developing my thinking about Creative Healing Inquiry (CHI). (I expand upon CHI more fully in Chapter 5.) While running workshops to develop CHI and yarning with people, as my inquiry grew, my awareness of relationality became more informed. It was specifically reinforced through interactions with Elders—the keepers of knowledge. Through their lived experiences these Elders have developed knowledge beyond my own. They deserve respect and thus I called them Auntie or Uncle, a salutation I use when I write about them in my thesis.

Following First-Nations protocol, during the workshops on CHI, I exchanged my First-Nations family name (which for me is Davies), what I do, where I have lived and to which First-Nations communities I have a connection. At the Secretariat National for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Child Care (SNAICC) Conference 2013, I could relate to people who also had connections to the First-Nations communities of Cherbourg, Central Queensland, Brisbane and Melbourne. At the Healing Our Spirit Worldwide Gathering 2010, I found relationality with workshop participants as fellow tolerators of colonialism.

Reciprocity

It is through kinship, either biological or classificatory, and the process of reciprocity that we come to better understand our place within society. In contemporary times, reciprocity usually ensures a mutual benefit which may be a deposit within a metaphorical ‘karmic bank’ or simply an exchange of birthday gifts. It is the practice of exchanging items or tasks, usually for something in kind rather than financially. Belief in reciprocity as an attitude that informs

action is one of the basic laws of social psychology (Becker 2014). Contributing at least to what you have received, establishes healthy relationships. A practice referred to as ‘pay-back’ or sometimes ‘pay-forward’, if giving, comes before receiving; reciprocity is compared incorrectly to social capital (Putman 1995). Reciprocity in the form of negative ‘pay-back’ is not social capital, which must always be of mutual benefit.

Reciprocity is about responding to a gesture by making a corresponding gesture. Usually the gesture is positive: either way it expresses meaning. Reciprocity during the frontier wars meant violence required a violent response. Implementing the principle of reciprocity, as social capital, would have enabled the colonising invaders to have avoided the frontier wars. I place the onus on the Not-First-Nations peoples as they were uninvited, strangers to countries already peopled for many generations. They were the ones who needed to respect the home into which they walked. Not-First-Nations peoples needed to acknowledge that their invasion and subsequent colonisation depleted or destroyed the resources necessary for a First-Nations person’s life. The impact of mining, farming and timber getting were cataclysmic. The land was dug up, trees chopped down, waterways diverted causing Songlines to be cut, and gathering places used for trade and ceremony to be demolished.

Ignoring the cultures that already existed saw Not-First-Nations peoples in conflict with First-Nations peoples and the environment. Not-First-Nations peoples died of thirst where there was water. Insects tormented them where there were natural repellents. They suffered the ravages of cyclones because they did not know the signs in nature that would warn them a cyclone was coming. Not-First-Nations peoples should have realised that the killing of their livestock was both resistance to their unwanted presence and necessary for survival. They had polluted the waterways, run off game and uprooted plants of medicinal or nutritional value. Further, they

should have negotiated access and use of resources and sites and acknowledged existing cultures of the countries upon which they encroached. If they had done so, they would have learnt that reciprocity requires receiving the equivalent of what you have given.

Intersubjectivity

Intersubjectivity exists between sentient minds. The emotional relationship affects communication requiring the ability to feel as well as to think. Intersubjectivity as ‘common sense’ calls for a common culture and influences a person’s reality and agency to communicate that reality. Intersubjectivity is the opposite of alterity.

Intersubjectivity enables First-Nations peoples from various parts of Australia to know the correct way to relate when first meeting. As a philosophical principle, intersubjectivity covers First-Nations peoples shared understandings of the cosmos. Through genetic memory, intersubjectivity enables First-Nations peoples to have knowledge that produces a shared understanding of what has gone before. Consequentially, First-Nations peoples know that colonisation decimated our populations, fragmented our cultures and challenged our identities, forcing us to adapt to ensure survival.

Psychology

Understanding certain aspects of psychology is important to a full understanding of my discourse on identity. Thus, in contextualising my thesis I outline issues that have impacted on my identity and psychological health—my emotional and social well-being.

Racism and assimilation

Frantz Fanon's (1956) work is, in academic terms, old; however, it resonates with my understandings of the issues dealt with, more than any other authority on the subject. His writings also reflect the thoughts of people who are working for political and cognitive decolonisation. It is also important to me as a person who views creativity as important that Fanon's work here addresses writers and artists. He is also speaking to Negro peoples, Black peoples: a group with whom First-Nations peoples have in the past felt an affinity. Fanon also addresses the issue of slavery which I have discovered is a part of my history. The following extracts are from a speech titled *Racism and Culture* that Fanon presented in 1956 to the *First Congress of Negro Writers and Artists*, along with excerpts from his 1970s publication *Toward the African Revolution*.

According to Fanon, 'Racism is...the most day-to-day and... the crudest element of a given structure' (1970, p.41). Here Fanon describes both daily racism and racism as embedded in the institutions of a colonised society. Fanon goes on to discuss 'the systematized oppression of people...the destruction of cultural values, of ways of life. Language, dress, techniques, are devalored...nations that undertake a colonial war (have) enslavement...of the native population as the prime necessity. For this its systems of reference have to be broken...The social panorama is destructed; values are flaunted, crushed, emptied' (Fanon 1970, p. 43).

Noted previously is my contention that racism is the continuation of colonialism.

Institutionalised racism is institutionalised colonialism. It is organised subjugation. It has been put into place by the cognitively colonised governments of Australia via the establishment of the Native Police, The Act and The Intervention.

Fanon acknowledges that the primary object of colonialism was disenfranchisement of First- Nations peoples. He recognises that the war against First-Nations peoples is not just to murder people but to also destroy our cultures. The Native Police murdered people (Richards 2008). The Act undermined our cultures and our psychological-selves (Carter 2007; Smedley & Smedley 2005; Tatz 2004, 2005). The Intervention continues the murders through inducing suicides by incorrectly portraying our cultures, continuing the undermining of our psychological-selves (Grieves 2009; Karlsen & Nazroo 2002; Tatz 2012).

Attacking original cultures precedes a new system of imposed values: ‘The oppressor, through the inclusive and frightening character of his authority, manages to impose on the native new ways of seeing, and in particular a pejorative judgement with respect to his original forms of existing...This event...is found in the official texts under the name of alienation (assimilation)’ (Fanon 1970, p. 48). The Act implemented assimilation not just upon First-Nations peoples imprisoned on government reserves and Christian missions, but all other First-Nations peoples in Queensland. First-Nations peoples living with exemption certifications away from these institutions knew they had to at least appear to assimilate or have their exemptions to The Act cancelled.

Fanon goes on to state that ‘this alienation (assimilation)³ is never wholly successful...the oppressed is shocked to find that he continues to be the object of racism and contempt...a colonial country is a racist country...the racist in a culture with racism is therefore normal. He has achieved a perfect harmony of economic relations and ideology’ (Fanon 1970, pp. 48-50). Assimilation is never successful because the identity of the First-Nations person is continually constructed as ‘other’ or ‘inferior’ to, the colonisers. Because of the racism of the coloniser,

First-Nations peoples understand that we are not to be considered equal and therefore we cannot be assimilated. The ‘racist atmosphere impregnates all the elements of the social life...Forgetting racism as a consequence, one concentrates on racism as cause’ (Fanon 1970, p. 50)—a cause of continuing inequity through institutional racism that disassembles assimilation as it reconstructs the colonised as First-Nations peoples again. As First-Nations peoples have gone through regaining ‘this culture, abandoned, sloughed off, rejected, despised, becomes for the interiorized individual an object of passionate attachment.

There is a very marked kind of overvaluation that is psychologically closely linked to the craving for forgiveness...The customs, traditions, beliefs, formerly denied and passed over in silence are violently valorized and affirmed’ (Fanon 1970, pp. 50-51). When referring to the ‘interiorized individual’ I think Fanon is speaking of First-Nations peoples who have internalised colonialism and bought into the essentialist image of a First-Nations person. However, there is the possibility that he is writing of a First-Nations person who has undertaken heuristic practices of deep reflection. Fanon does not say this, but I think that after going through the psychological processes that Fanon describes as ‘craving for forgiveness’, healthy individuals are able to put into place Yirritja Theory and therefore think in both ways. I acknowledge my ‘passionate attachment’ to ‘customs, traditions, beliefs, formerly denied’. (In Chapter 9 I reveal my current understanding of myself after deep contemplation of Fanon’s major points as they are noted above.)

Cultural and social practices

‘To study the relations of racism and culture is to raise the question of their reciprocal action. If culture is the combination of motor and mental behaviour patterns arising from the encounter of man with nature and with his fellowman, it can be said that racism is indeed a cultural element. There are thus

cultures with racism and cultures without racism... Racism...has had to renew itself, to adapt itself, to change its appearance. It has had to undergo the fate of the cultural whole that informed it...becomes transformed into cultural racism. The object of racism is no longer the individual man but a certain form of existing' (Fanon 1970, pp. 41-42). Fanon may be read here as considering the evolution of racism within the nation states of the first half of the 20th century that had been initially established as colonies in the preceding centuries. In asserting that the object of racism has moved from the person to the ontology (i.e. the way of being), Fanon is highlighting the hatred the racist has for the culture of those whom the racist despises.

Fanon further states that 'Race prejudice in fact obeys a flawless logic. A country that lives, draws its substance from the exploitation of other peoples, makes those peoples inferior. Race prejudice applied to those people is normal. Racism is therefore not a constant of the human spirit. It is...a disposition fitting into a well-defined system...A society has race prejudice, or it has not. There are no degrees of prejudice' (Fanon 1970, p. 50). Australia does have race prejudice; thus, Australia is a colonial nation state with a colonial psyche, which has and, in some ways, still does deny free will to those people who have been the major focus of its racism—Australia's First-Nations peoples.

Agency, that is, the ability of an individual to enact free will, is only active when the person's self-efficacy, or belief in their own competencies and control of their circumstances, is high (Bandura 1986, 1997). If self-efficacy is high and a person's locus of control is solidly internal, then a person may enact agency, meaning the person has self-determination. The ability for First-Nations peoples to enact agency has been, and still is, shaped by social practices (Batty 2005) and political policies. (Excerpts from my life story are catalogued in Chapter 6 where examples of social practice shaping agency may be found.)

Language and sociolinguistics

Having racist language flung at me has dominated my experiences of racism. Semantics are important. Language, as exemplified by the saying that ‘sticks and stones will break my bones, but names will never hurt me’, is considered benign, but it is not. Although Liz Conor (2016) in her publication *Skin Deep Settler Impressions of Aboriginal Women* refers in her author’s note to terms I find derogatory and offensive, as ‘historic’, unfortunately I still have them reverberating within the fibres of my being, as if spat at me only a moment ago. What is history for some is a part of the contemporary for others. I sit typing this and the veins in my neck bulge. I feel the emotions of hatred and loathing rise in me as I prepare to fight the perpetrators; the body and mind respond to the memory as they did when the injury was first inflicted.

Most of the racism I have been the recipient of, has been articulated using the spoken word. Language is a major cultural marker that characterises relationships. Language impacts on an individual’s psychological state. If an accepted familial nickname is used, people generally respond positively. Inappropriate words or idioms however are offensive and harmful. Some such terms will be used in my thesis, when needed to exemplify the colonial discourse which is also a racist discourse. Nevertheless, I have not used the convention ‘sic’ to indicate the incorrectness of such terms as they appear far too often, and ‘sic’ would become distracting. Instead I ask the reader to consider my standpoint on certain expressions as you continue through the document.

Enabling you, the reader, to better consider my standpoint on language use, I describe myself in terms that affect my sociolinguistics, which recognises language in relation to social factors. My use of language is a consequence of my standpoint as a First-Nations woman,

born in the 1950s and raised in Queensland, Australia, by working-class parents. Add to that, I was in my early 20s before I first interacted with fluent speakers of Aboriginal English, and you have a clear picture of where I am sociolinguistically.

Many First-Nations peoples speak of our ‘mob’ and although I use the term when speaking, I prefer to avoid the term ‘mob’ when writing. The term ‘mob’ is often used in Australia to describe a group of animals and is generally used to describe people who are gathered together and being unruly, even criminal, ‘the Mob’ being equivalent to criminal gangs also known as the Mafia. The use by Not-First-Nations peoples of ‘mob’ to describe the social structure of First-Nations peoples, therefore portrays Not-First-Nations peoples as viewing First-Nations peoples as the criminals of society or fauna—either way it makes us appear less than other members of humanity.

Avoiding, the term ‘tribe’ is important, as it does not correctly describe most of the complex governance arrangements of Australia’s First-Nations. Not-First-Nations peoples used ‘tribe’ when observing the social structures of the North American First-Nations peoples, later imposing that construct upon First-Nations peoples of Australia, consequently demonstrating that they had never bothered to investigate or comprehend social, kinship or governance structures of the original inhabitants of countries they invaded and colonised.

Another term I prefer to circumvent, but am not always able to sidestep, is ‘race’. It is a term that engages with the pseudo-sciences and negative thinking that divides humanity rather than unites people; race is a social construct (Fforde et al. 2013, Glenn 1999) that should not be related to physical or psychological traits of individuals. As a social construct race enables people to project their own worldview onto others. The term race is often confused with what

is a cultural trait. Culture has nothing to do with biology but a lot to do with environment.

Race as a social construct also has no linkages to human biology or genetics. The human race taxonomy has no scientific basis. Ideologies such as the ‘Great-Chain-of-Being’ and ‘social-Darwinism’ are racialised concepts with no empirical foundation. Through application of such deprecating biases, First-Nations peoples are dehumanised, equated to base-animals and seen as inferior to Not-First-Nations peoples. Orang-outangs and other primates were compared to First-Nations peoples (Reynolds 1987) with the terms ‘monkey’ and ‘ape’ being used in the 21st century to racially vilify First-Nations men who play at the top level of the Australian Football League (AFL) (Crawford 2013; Windley 2013; Quatermaine 2017).

The terms ‘abos’, ‘darkies’, ‘savages’ and ‘niggers’ are pejorative and extremely offensive. Such prejudicial and disparaging terms have the power to oppress people psychologically by impacting negatively on an individual’s sense of self, denigrating a person’s agency. Racist terms and the practice of racism cause social marginalisation and social–emotional ill-health for those who are the recipients. Discrimination can produce negative emotions such as anxiety, distress and depression which have potentially harmful impacts on social and emotional well-being and on the immune, endocrine and cardiovascular systems (Ah Chee 2015; Bielefeld 2010; Brown et al. 2000; Gee 2008; Harrell 2000; Karlsen & Nazroo 2002; Williams 2015).

Recalled from English grammar lessons during my compulsory years of schooling is the fact that the neuter pronoun ‘it’ is used by default when referencing an animal. The use of the word ‘it’ instead of a gendered pronoun, such as ‘her’ or ‘him’ in reference to people of Australia’s First-Nations, confirms that the author views us as less than human. An early example reads as follows; ‘the great imitative powers of its race were afterwards exemplified

thus,' (Correspondent 1877).

The term 'gin' may have a direct link back to the language of the Darug or Iyora, pronounced Eora, nations of the Sydney area. Darug used the word 'dyin' to mean woman or wife. It became borrowed into English as 'gin' meaning First-Nations woman (Troy 1992), and as an element of a colonial discourse it took on more obnoxious connotations. Using the terms 'prostitute' and 'bitch' scornfully rather than matter-of-factly, 'gin' equates First-Nations women with aggressive, perverse, nasty, immoral and vulgar women. Entangled by the intersection of racism, sexism and classism, First-Nations women suffer domination and denigration (Bin-Sallik 2000; Conor 2016; Evans 1999; Fredricks 2004; Friedman 1995; Maylor & William 2011; Moreton-Robinson 2000; Sykes 1984, 1991; Woods 2000).

Aimed at shaming Not-First-Nations men who engaged in prolonged personal and sexual relationships with First-Nations women; a related derogatory term is 'gin-jockey', which as a child, I heard thrown at my father, a Not-First-Nations man. The fact that I heard 'gin-jockey' used in attempts to embarrass and humiliate Father attests to the fact that such thinking stretched into the second half of the 20th century.

'Piccaninnies', used by Not-First-Nations peoples in colonies around the globe, appears to be a word fashioned by Europeans to describe the babies and children of people with dark-coloured skin whom they colonised. The initial invaders were usually Not-First-Nations men, with the colonisers who followed close behind, usually only including a small number of Not-First-Nations women. First-Nations peoples felt the need to protect the women and children of our communities from these people and the following excerpt demonstrates this fact; 'The blacks have lately come into Cairn in small numbers, but they always leave their

gins and piccaninnies behind, being evidently very suspicious,' (Special Reported 1882).

Phrases such as 'being let in', 'coming in', or 'brought in' may appear as ordinary and non-offensive until one understands the meaning of these phrases in racist-colonial discourse.

'Being let in' is obviously the opposite of being 'kept out' but it was the means and rationale for being 'kept out' that requires initial consideration. The reason for being 'kept out' has a direct correlation to the fear induced in Not-First-Nations peoples by sightings of First-Nations peoples (Loos 1982; Reynolds 1981, 1987, 2000, 2006, 2013). Predatory puppets, the Native Police assisted in 'keeping out' other First-Nations peoples through 'dispersals' (Loos 1982; Richardson 2008) which were equivalent to massacres. Under the heading 'Pacification of the Blacks', *The Queenslander* used the phrase 'a war of extermination' (8 October 1881, p. 465) and went on to state that it was being fought, and as with many wars it was over territory and the resources contained within that region. In my family's story, gold was the resource for which Not-First-Nations peoples fought. From my ancestors' standpoint the fight was over the human needs listed on Maslow's Hierarchy and summarised as basic, psychological and self-fulfilment (Conway 2008; Lowry 1973; Michel 2014). First-Nations peoples resisted the genocidal actions of the invaders by raiding vegetable patches and stockyards of Not-First-Nations peoples to provide for basic needs. Eventually, to prevent more losses for themselves (Kidd 2011; Loos 1982; Roberts 1981) Not-First-Nations peoples 'let in' or 'brought in' First-Nations peoples to the towns and properties they had established.

Newspaper articles of the late 19th century use the terms 'civilising', 'taming' and 'domesticating' in reference to First-Nations peoples being 'brought' or 'let-in'. Used from an ethnocentric perspective that promotes Not-First -Nations peoples 'civilised' way of life, the

discourse is erroneous. Articles on the matter are demonstrative of ignorance about First-Nations peoples. At the time of invasion, First-Nations peoples lived in society with others, utilising cultural markers of language, spiritual practice, the arts, sciences, governance and more. These cultured societies lived within designated estates within the country of extended family and language groups. Governed by strict laws and protocols, First-Nations peoples were and are involved in a domestic life, living a civil life within a civilisation.

One of the markers of civilisation is architecture. There is ample evidence of First-Nations architecture, in the form of historical primary sources and archaeology. Pascoe (2014) quotes from a primary source of Major Thomas Mitchell (1792–1855), who reports ‘some huts...being large, circular; and made of straight rods meeting at an upright pole in the centre; the outside had first been covered with bark and grass, and the entirety coated over with clay. The fire appeared to have been made nearly in the centre; and a hole at the top had been left as a chimney...of very large dimensions, one capable of containing at least 40 persons and of very superior construction’ (Mitchell cited in Pascoe 2014, p. 21). Pre-invasion peoples also built rainforest villages and stone-house townships.

Other markers of civilisation are inventions, economics, and a life of the spirit. Stone hunting hides, stone fish and eel traps prove initiative and innovation concerning supply and demand economics. The intricate carving of trees marked sacred places of ceremony and burial, with the burial of a woman at Lake Mungo being the oldest evidence of care for the dead on the planet (Flood 1983). Ceremonial sites had earthworks and rock arrangements that were expansive and complex (David, et al. 2007; David, Barker & McNiven 2006; Flood 1983; Mulvaney & Kamminga 1999). Many sites predate the end of the last ice age, with First-Nations peoples of Australia having lived here for at least 50,000 years (David et al. 2007).

During that time First-Nations peoples took on diverse and daunting environmental challenges, working out successful sustainable resolutions (Diamond 2007). Instead of being the last peoples on the planet to be 'civilised' I argue that my ancestors and other First-Nations peoples of Australia practiced the original civilisation of the planet.

The terms and concepts I have discussed in this section are examples of racism. Sometimes the outcome of racism is suicide. In 2015, 152 First-Nations peoples of Australia died because of suicide. Thus 5.2% suicide accounted for a greater proportion of all First-Nations deaths compared with a suicide rate of 1.8% accounting for the deaths of Not-First- Nations peoples (ABS 2015). Although a person may not take direct action through self-harm, racism is a significant barrier to health improvement. Racism is a life stressor that directly and negatively affects the cardiovascular system. It seriously affects mental health and contributes to low birth weight of newborns, as well as premature birth. Three out of four First-Nations peoples of Australia experience racism in their everyday lives (Ah Chee 2015).

Although racist and thus offensive, leaving language and content as it was originally spoken or written, the yarns retold in my writing present an authentic picture of Australian society across the interwoven stories of my Grandfather and me. The meanings attached to these words wound me; causing my body to react with physical pain, as if the words were bullets from the guns that massacred my First-Nations ancestors. In this way, Grandfather's and my stories exemplify the traumas distinct to First-Nations peoples.

Government policies

The two pieces of legislation I point to in my work have both been amended and renamed over time, depending on the political parties in government and thus administrating either of

them. One began as *The Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act, 1897*, better known by First-Nations peoples of Queensland simply as ‘The Act’. (More is written in Chapter 2 about The Act and it is mentioned in Chapters 3, 5, 7 and 8.) The other law which I refer to is the Northern Territory Emergency Response legislation ‘The Intervention’ (see Chapter 3).

I have chosen to place this discourse on government policies under the subheading ‘psychology’ because government policies have had and still do affect self-efficacy and locus of control of First-Nations peoples. Self-efficacy and locus of control are similar but have subtle differences. Self-efficacy is whether a person can cope, and for how long that individual may cope, under challenging circumstances. People with high self-efficacy will be able to put in the effort to succeed. Locus of control is concerned with how much an individual believes that they have control over the events in their life. If a person has a strong belief in their ability to control life’s circumstances, then they are said to have an internal locus of control. If they believe that luck or other individuals have more control over their life than they do, they have an external locus of control. Under both ‘The Act’ and ‘The Intervention’ First-Nations peoples have their responsibilities stripped, seeing us treated as if we were children. (The full discussion concerning the impact of these legislations on First- Nations peoples occur later in the thesis.)

Psychology and philosophy of place

People, place, and philosophy of life are elements of a person’s identity (Benson 2001; Grieves 2009; Griffiths 2018; Harris, Nakata & Carlson 2013). Divided from time immemorial, the continent of Australia contains many countries. Each country has over the millennia been cared for by its specific First-Nations peoples, who under Native Title are

known as the Traditional Owners. Importantly, country means more to First-Nations peoples than a geographical or political construct. Bound to country by the Dreaming, there is a familiarity and kinship that is spiritual, making knowledge of country an aspect of identity, and necessary for full emotional and social well-being or psychological health. Complete dispossession from country is the beginning of psychological trauma.

When writing about country I am thinking and seeing through a combination of imagination, what neuroscientists call genetic memory (Andrews 2017; Dias & Ressler 2014; Gallagher 2013; Ham et al. 2008) and what I think of as phenomenological memory. Genetic memory describes a memory present at birth that exists in the absence of sensory experience but incorporated into the genome over long spans of time. Although genetic memory in humans is still to be uncontestably proven, I think at first, it was only through genetic memory that I could connect to the country of my ancestors. Since visiting Far North Queensland, I now have memories based on events that I participated in and observed, creating phenomenological memory. Imagination helps to rekindle phenomenological and genetic memory. It recalls for me as a visual thinker, the python, sunning itself on the edge of the walking path; moving from phenomenological to genetic memory the python evokes the archetype of the Ancestral Being generically referred to as the Rainbow Serpent.

It is by means of reflection, reflexivity and meditation on the yarns (Freda & Esposito 2017; Galloway & Moylan 2005; McKenna & Woods 2012a, 2012b; Saunders 2014) gathered from family and text that I first knew country. For even though Grandfather and I have never met as corporeal beings; his legacy informs my identity through genetic memory and what Atkinson calls 'transpersonal psychic trauma'. It is my conviction that it is through genetic memory and transpersonal psychic trauma that I was given dreams which inspired the poem '*Honour Her*'.

which is printed on the following page.

Writing the poem required me to use creativity. I find creativity helpful in overcoming trauma. Thus, when I began to use the methodology of autoethnography which caused me to reveal, recall and relive trauma, I began to draw and paint to restore my social and emotional well-being balance. Consequently, a creative counter-measure to trauma has grown organically from my research. Naming the trauma counter-measure ‘Creative Healing Inquiry’ (CHI), I have developed the practice through self-study, and observing and yarning with workshop participants. (The workshop outcomes and development of CHI are detailed in Chapter 5.)

Honour Her

Close your eyes
She will come
Not quite a dream
Not quite a vision
More a distant memory

Her skin the colour of polished wood
Her midnight eyes sparkle in a thoughtful face

Sitting on a rock
Warming herself in the sun
She rests her weary feet in a deep, still, pool

Her baby stretches in her full womb
An ant crawls across her hand
A light breeze shakes the long grass

Choosing carefully, she picks up a flat stone
Skipping it across the water
She watches the concentric ripples link one into another
She disturbs the stillness and sighs

Caressing her baby

A silent sob wracks her body
Slowly tears run down her face
For yesterday the faces of clay* came

Fearful for her baby
She ran
She hid
She escaped the faces of clay
All others died

Now there are
No women to help with her baby's birth
Now there is
No man to smile with pride at his child
For yesterday the faces of clay came

But for her baby- her people, she must survive
Open your eyes
She will not go
She is more than a distant memory
She is here
She is the
Indigenous women of the Americas, Aotearoa and Australia

Honour her
Care for the Land
Honour her
Care for the Elders
Honour her
Care for the children
Honour her
Care for the men
Honour her
Keep your identity strong
Survive!

[* 'Faces of clay' refers to the British (White) invading- colonisers]

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Scope

My thesis begins by stating the purpose and aims of my study. Additionally, important terms and significant concepts have been defined, or the location of other materials about concepts has been signposted. Chapter 2 is a literature review concentrating on the term ‘identity’, particularly as it relates to First-Nations peoples. It examines standpoint and literature that demonstrates the view others have of First-Nations peoples. Chapter 3 expands on the theories that underpin my inquiry. In Chapter 4 the methodological net I have deployed to capture my research data is expanded upon. Chapter 5 details the outcomes of the workshops facilitated to develop Creative Healing Inquiry (CHI). The social construction of my identity is presented in Chapter 6, along with the outcomes of my research journeys to Far North Queensland. Chapter 7 is the beginning of my Grandfather’s biography which is concluded in Chapter 8, with both chapters enabling a discussion of The Act. Relationships between various aspects of the work are brought together in Chapter 9. In this concluding chapter I also present suggestions for the use and dissemination of knowledge gained from the research, as well as recommendations for follow-up research.

Conclusion

‘Walking My Path: An Autoethnographic Study of Identity’ is a research inquiry that aims at locating the country from which my matrilineal Grandfather was taken in the later stages of the 19th century. A narrative thesis written in the first person, my work incorporates yarns about both the physical walking on country in Far North Queensland and the metaphorical walking of the trauma trails written about by Judy Atkinson (2002). My work builds on Shirleen Robinson’s (2008) *‘Something like Slavery?’* connecting my Grandfather with little-known history of recent Australia—a continent with at least 50 000 years (David et al. 2007) of people living in society with one another. It is only through knowing these hidden stories—

these narratives that run counter to how Australian society wishes to view itself— that the full story of Australia will be known. Through my positioning of myself and my Grandfather within the Australian story; Australian society will better comprehend how practices and policies of colonisation are still reverberating within 21st century Australia. Such understanding is necessary for Australia to move to a shared decolonised mindset that will better enable Australian society to become a postcolonial nation state.

Chapter 2 – ‘Aw true?’

Introduction

In a more empirical and conservatively presented thesis this chapter would be headed ‘Literature Review’. In choosing to use the question, ‘Aw true?’ I emphasise my own Aboriginality as this phrase is commonly used in Aboriginal English. ‘Aw true?’ persistently came up in my internal dialogue as I read the literature for my study. ‘Aw true?’ suggests critical thinking on the reality being discussed. Critical thinking expressed through the question ‘Aw true?’ describes the process of reviewing literature for an inquiry.

Writing from the standpoint of a First-Nations person, I acknowledge, the nexus between the literature and the political aspirations of First-Nations peoples. Thus, I have referenced academics who are also First-Nations peoples as often as possible. Most of the literature is scholarly texts authored by acknowledged academics. Reports, policies and conference proceedings are also referenced in keeping with academic practice. Such literature includes pertinent texts from government and non-government statutory bodies as well as from public intellectuals, both First-Nations and Not-First-Nations peoples. Although it is usual to limit the literature reviewed to publications no older than five years, due to the historical perspective of my inquiry there are no chronological limitations. Thus, my literature review is not presented chronologically but under pertinent themes.

Before the Invasion

Generic terms used to refer to First-Nations peoples, did not exist at the time of first-contact- first-conflict. There was no ‘Indigeneity’ or ‘Aboriginality’ (Langton 2003), in the sense that there is in the 21st century. There was no Australia. The idea of ‘Aboriginal’ or ‘Indigenous’ identity is a ‘distinctly

colonial construct invented to both name and contain the “natives” of terra Australis’ (Maddison 2009, p. 103).

Enlightenment attitudes

In the introduction to his book *Race and the Enlightenment*, Eze writes: ‘Almost all the works selected were written in the eighteenth century...far too many – are full of observations and theoretical interpretations that are riddled with racial prejudices against the people or cultures they are about – prejudices that are, quite often, only barely disguised in the language of science or philosophy...The philosophical reception of the Enlightenment in our times has largely ignored the writings on race by the major Enlightenment thinkers’ (1997, pp. 1-2).

Eze goes on to point out how from ‘a historical perspective, if we compare the European Enlightenment to Greek Antiquity’ (1997, p. 4), Aristotle spoke of ‘cultured’ and ‘barbaric’ peoples—a dichotomy of ‘us’ and ‘them’: the ancient Greeks and Europeans of the Enlightenment being the ‘us’ and ‘cultured’ while ‘them’ is everyone else and ‘barbaric’ (Eze 1997). ‘European Enlightenment thinkers retained the Greek ideal of reason, as well as this reason’s categorical function of discriminating between cultures (now called the “civilized”) and the “barbarian” (the “savage” or the “primitive”)’ (Eze 1997, p. 4). Here Eze (1997) supports my assertion that thinking from hundreds of years earlier still has the power to influence current thinking and, in this way, Eze’s (1997) work supports my proposition that Australia as a nation functions as a colonial nation state and Australian society, especially the politicians, need to undertake cognitive decolonisation.

Social Darwinism

The colonial mindset of Australia was influenced by Herbert Spencer, a philosophising sociologist, who is credited with coining the phrase ‘survival of the fittest’, as early as 1852 (Rogers 1972).

Spencer superimposed evolution on societies and labelled his theory Social Darwinism. The theory divides people according to race—a term which has been defined in Chapter One. Social Darwinism suggests that groups of people are subject to the laws of natural selection. The social Darwinist discourse, with its proposition that the domination of one group of people over another within society was evidence of the superiority of the dominant group, was used to excuse slavery and frontier violence (Bennett 1989; Bielefeld 2010; Reynolds 1981, 1987, 2013).

Doomed and dying race

Social Darwinism also promoted the concept of First-Nations people of Australia as a doomed and dying ‘race’ (Bennett 1989; Bolton 1972; Reynolds 1987; Poignant 2004). Believing ‘that the difference between people could be “read” in the size, colour and shape of the body’ (Poignant 2004, p. 99), Social Darwinism supported racism (Maynard 2007) and eugenics (Carey 2012; Garton 2010). Social Darwinism and eugenics stressed the importance of preventing white blood from becoming tainted with inferior strains (McGregor 2002). Arguably eugenics was explicitly encouraged through the ‘White Australia Policy’ (Evans 1999; Garton 2010).

Skin colour and other stereotypes

The White Australia Policy judged people according to their physical features. The concept of blood quantum carries with it the assumption of a linkage to physical features (Beresford & Omaji 1998) that often lead to incorrect assumptions.

Following is a summary of quotes on the concept of Aboriginality from well-known First- Nations peoples whose views on Aboriginality are recorded in *Black Politics: Inside the Complexity of Aboriginal Political Culture* (Maddison 2009). Adjunct Associate Professor Tom Calma AO, a First-Nations Elder from the Kungarakan peoples whose country is south west of Darwin, noted that lighter-

skinned people receive more challenges about their identity as First-Nations peoples. Another First-Nations person of the Northern Territory (known colloquially in Australia as the ‘Top End’), Josie Crawshaw, a political activist for many decades, recalls the light-skinned, blue-eyed Michael Mansell who was marginalised by some Top End leaders in the 1980s. These First-Nations leaders challenged Mansell’s Aboriginality until they heard him speak and were impressed by his political analysis. Another First-Nations activist, academic and author Professor Jackie Huggins is a Bidjara and Birri-Gubba Juru woman of Queensland. Huggins thinks that lighter-skinned people experience non-acceptance of their Aboriginality from both First-Nations peoples and Not- First-Nations peoples. Yet Huggins thinks that darker-skinned people experience racism that is more overt. Huggins considers skin colour to be irrelevant. Aboriginality, according to Huggins, is knowing culture, people, history and language. Professor Colleen Hayward is a senior Noongar woman with extensive family links throughout the south-west of Western Australia. Hayward defines Aboriginality as something inside that goes beyond a person’s external physical appearance.

Subjects for anthropologists or not

The Commonwealth Government and Australian universities prior to the Treaty of Versailles, signed at the end of WWI, were not interested in establishing a Chair of Anthropology at any Australian university. However, through the Treaty the Australian Commonwealth Government gained governance of New Guinea—the country that its First-Nations peoples call Papua New Guinea (PNG). On becoming a colonial power outside the boundaries of its own nation states, the Commonwealth Government felt justification in supporting anthropology within Australian universities with the first chair being established in 1925. It is argued that the main reason for anthropology not being encouraged in Australia prior to the annexation of PNG is because First-Nations peoples of Australia were viewed through the social-Darwinist lens, that framed First-Nations peoples as defeated, without culture and simply relics of the past (Griffiths 1996; Moses 2004).

In the late 19th century however, anthropologists from European countries visited Australian colonies and wrote extensively about the First-Nations peoples of Australia, often after very little interaction with them. Influenced by the pseudo-sciences of the Victorian era, such anthropologists perpetuated the negative stereotypes of the First-Nations peoples of Australia. Unfortunately, Hooper quotes one such anthropologist without criticism, stating ‘An Australian native can betray anybody...There is not one among them who will not lie if it is to his advantage...it is in their nature to be lazy’ (2006, p. 5). The author goes on to say that ‘The pioneers cannot be condemned for taking the law into their own hands and defending themselves in the only ways open to them, for the Aborigines own no law themselves but the law of might’ (Hooper 2006, p. 5). Hooper’s book was first published in 1993 and the 2006 sixth edition demonstrates that such negative and ignorant thoughts as expressed by the quoted anthropologist in 1882 have been sustained in some regions of Australia, adding weight to my argument that Australia is not a postcolonial nation.

Kakadu or Redfern Man

Divide and conquer is a well-known strategy used in situations of conflict, and colonisation is a process filled with conflict. Dividing First-Nations peoples according to geography and depth of colonial impact has reinforced a dichotomy referred to as ‘traditional’ or ‘urban’, ‘authentic’ or ‘not real’. Tatz (1990) discusses the issue using the terms ‘Kakadu Man’ and ‘Redfern Man’. Traditional Kakadu Man could be equated with the concept of the ‘Noble Savage’. Rousseau, of the European Enlightenment era, defined the ‘Noble Savage’ as breathing ‘only peace and liberty; he desires only to live and be free from labour; even the ataraxia of the Stoic falls far short of his profound indifference to every other object’ (1923, p. 37). ‘Urban Redfern Man’ in the minds of the chauvinists was equated as a poor pretender, not able to live out the serene calmness of the ‘Kakadu Nobleman’. Urban Redfern Man was required to live out the life of the ‘Civilised man...always moving, sweating, toiling and racking his brains to find still more laborious occupations: he goes on in drudgery to his last moment, and even seeks death to put himself in a position to live, or renounces life to acquire immortality. He pays his

court to men in power, whom he hates, and to the wealthy, whom he despises; he stops at nothing to have the honour of serving them; he is not ashamed to value himself on his own meanness and their protection; and, proud of his slavery, he speaks with disdain of those, who have not the honour of sharing it' (Rousseau 1923, p. 37).

Here Rousseau could be said to be describing working- and middle-class people of the 21st century when using the term 'Civilised Man' and those who are unemployed and not concerned that they are unemployed as the 'Noble Savage'. However, now, like then, his descriptions are extreme, without middle ground that acknowledges the humanity of the groups he is defining. I therefore dismiss Rousseau's concept of the 'Noble Savage' versus the 'Civilised Man'. For no matter what time or place or socio-cultural group with whom a person identifies, people are always concerned with meeting at least the basics of Maslow's hierarchy of needs—homeostasis and the basic bodily urges. Thus, being able to discount Rousseau's conception of the 'Noble Savage' and 'Civilised Man' we can in turn discount 'Kakadu Man' and 'Redfern Man' by using a similar rationale.

Employment

Cheap labour or simply slavery

Moreton-Robinson argues that 'From the seventeenth century onward, race and gender were markers that divided humans into three categories: being property, owning property, and being made property less. These three proprietary categories are tied to a particular racialized logic of possession that emerged during the Enlightenment but developed exponentially with the advent of capitalism and modernity' (2016, p. 114). Thus, it is from the Enlightenment thinkers that Moreton-Robinson asserts the concept of people as property arose. Another way of wording 'people as property' is to use the term 'slave'.

Blake (2001) when discussing the issue of First-Nations peoples on missions and reserves as cheap labour writes: ‘Orlando Patterson (1985), in his comparative study of slavery, identified certain features of slavery that distinguish it from other social formations: Slavery is distinctive first and foremost in that it is an ‘individual condition of powerlessness’. This condition is brought about by continuous use of, or the threat of violence. The slave was a ‘socially dead person’: alienated from kin and denied rights or claims of birth. The slave did not belong to any legitimate social order. The slave was a dishonoured person and ‘he was without power except through another’ (2001, pp. 155-156). This other would usually be the boss.

Recognition of the First-Nations Australians as workers who have supported the development of the capitalist economy is accompanied by acknowledgement of my ancestors as a cheap labour force (Holt 2000; Kidd 2011; Loos 1982; McGrath & Saunders 1995; Reynolds 2000; Robinson 2008). First-Nations women and children were initially taken to work for the colonisers (Loos 1982; McGrath & Saunders 1995; Robinson 2008).

Seen as ordinary in the 19th century, owning a First-Nations child worker (Jack 2008) prompted Anthony Trollope to label the practice slavery (Robinson 2008). First-Nations child workers were usually kidnapped (Reynolds 1987; Robinson 2008) and sold on as chattels (Jack 2008) or given as presents (Richards 2008). Robinson (2008) also notes that government legislation did not halt either the use of First-Nations children as labour, or the processes for acquiring child workers. Kidnapping, ‘letting-in’ and procurement from government agents such as the police were the most common methods of obtaining First- Nations children. (Please re-read the section in Chapter 1 under the subheading Slave or Servant for more literature on this topic.)

A problem paid in rations

‘In the 1920s and 1930s, with improved communications, there was better contact with the outback and more interest in it. This brought home to white city-dwellers the existence of an “Aboriginal problem”’ (Prentis 2009, p. 142). Prentis’s proposition that First-Nations peoples only live in outback Australia and that we are a ‘problem’ is countered with ‘in all the discussion, I have not heard one word about the contribution of Aboriginal people to this country; for example, the pastoral industry being built on the backs of Aboriginal stockmen...for which they were paid in rations of bully beef, flour, tea and sugar’ (Holt 2000, p. 149).

In the decades following the invasion, the British response to the First-Nations ‘problem’ was to dispossess and contain First-Nations peoples (Maddison 2009). In writing about events in Far North Queensland, Loos (1982) reports on how the ‘Aboriginal problem’ was to be dealt with by Native Police. The troopers were First-Nations men recruited from groups who were enemies of First-Nations peoples they ‘dispersed’. The troopers were brutalised by the actions of their British officers (Richards 2008). When the Native Police committed massacres, they were praised for ‘dispersing’ the ‘problem’ (Evans 2007; Haebich 2000; Kidd 2011; Reynolds 2006; Richards 2008; Robinson 2008; Rowley 1981; Tickner 2001).

In the late 19th century and early 20th century, ‘the politicians, public servants and anthropologists involved in solving the ‘Aboriginal problem’ were cryptic when they referred to the future of Aboriginal peoples. A full explanation was never given about whether they envisioned assimilation being hastened by the births of mixed-descent children who did not physically appear to be Indigenous, or whether they simply wanted to teach Indigenous people to live in the manner of white people’ (Ellinghaus 2003, p. 183). Here Ellinghaus touches on the subjects of ‘biological absorption’ and ‘cultural assimilation’ when she refers to the ‘Aboriginal problem’. Both methods for ‘solving’ the ‘Aboriginal problem’ have, from the perspective of First-Nations peoples, failed.

Powerless

Watson (2007) argues that people in Australian society need to go beyond the conversation of the ‘Aboriginal problem’. ‘Prevalent beliefs and ideas in a community reflect lines of power, largely because those with power have the most influence on which ideas and beliefs become prevalent’ (Peoples & Bailey 2012, p.90). The worst aspect of colonialism is that of the ‘colonised devouring each other, for that is what happens when the power to determine one’s existence is denied, a problem which is compounded by the intergenerational impact of colonialism...impoverished, traumatised, unemployed and dispossessed’ (Watson 2007, pp. 29-32). Watson’s reference to ‘when the power to determine one’s existence is denied’ recalls the psychological studies conducted on locus of control (Judge & Bono 2001; Rotter 1990; Smith, Trompenaars & Dugan 1995). People who are subjugated develop an ‘external locus of control’. They think that ‘others’, be they a deity or authority figure, such as a police officer or teacher are the ones who control their lives. When people with an external locus of control are freed from oppression they do not necessarily know how to take responsibility for their lives. Watson points to the ‘intergenerational impact of colonialism’, which includes ‘trauma’ and is relevant to key points in my thesis. Her set of words ‘colonised devouring each other’ is another way of describing lateral violence. Lateral violence is ‘also known as horizontal violence and more recently has been called "bullying or aggression"’ (Griffin 2004, p. 257).

Legislation

Industrial and Reformatory Schools Act – 1865

In 1865 Queensland passed the Industrial and Reformatory Schools Act, which established and regulated schools for children under 15 years of age who were neglected or convicted of an offence. A neglected child was defined to include any child born of an Aboriginal or half- caste mother. Aboriginal missions were registered as industrial and reformatory schools (Lincoln & Robinson 2010).

The Queensland Elects Act – 1885 to 1915

Section 6 of the 1885 Elections Act specifically excluded “Aboriginal natives” from voting. Carried over into the Elections Act Amendment Act 1905 and the 1915 Elections Act, the disqualification from the citizenship right to vote however had an ambiguity. First-Nations peoples who could be defined as “half-caste” as opposed to “Aboriginal native” could not legally be excluded from voting (Taylor 2016).

In 1930 an amendment to the Elections Act extended the disqualification from voting to include Torres Strait Islanders; “half-castes” as defined in the Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897; people living on government reserves; and anyone who was under the control and supervision of the Protector of Aborigines (Queensland Government n.d.).

The 1897 Act underwent several amendments in 1934, including the extension of the voting disqualifications via section 4, which introduced a new artificial racial category called “cross breed”. The term described some Pacific Islanders, as well as those who lived or associated with Aborigines; the legislation in truth enabled the Chief Protector of Aborigines to deem many more people than before in need of control or “protection” which enabled the Chief Protector to eliminate them from voting. Also, ‘in 1934 Woorabinda Aboriginal Community sent a petition to the King regarding the restrictions on “Indigenous voting rights”’ (Queensland Government 2015, p.2). The Aboriginals Preservation and Protection Act 1939 repealed previous legislation. The 1939 Act redefined racial classifications which allowed some First-Nations peoples previously excluded from voting under the 1934 legislation to enrol to vote.

In 1949 Prime Minister Chifley extended the Commonwealth franchise under the Elections Act 1918 ‘giving Aboriginal people a vote at federal elections’ (Queensland Government 2015, p. 2) if they were entitled to a state vote (which was not the case in Queensland); and/or had completed military service.

This was followed two decades later by The Commonwealth Electoral Act 1962 which ‘granted all Indigenous people the right to enrol and vote at Commonwealth elections. Enrolment was voluntary but once enrolled, voting was compulsory. Despite this amendment it was illegal under Commonwealth legislation to encourage Aboriginal people to enrol to vote’ (Queensland Government 2015, p. 2). Passed on 17 December 1965 the Elections Act Amendment Bill 1965 ‘extended voting rights to all Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders in Queensland (Queensland Government 2015, p. 3). Queensland was the last state to enact such legislation. In 1984, ‘Commonwealth legislation was enacted making it compulsory for Indigenous people to enrol and vote at federal elections’ (Queensland Government 2015, p. 4).

The Act – 1897 to 1984

From 1897 to 1984 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Queensland were subject to legislation that resulted in government controls being exercised over their lives, living conditions, employment and financial affairs (Queensland Government 2016, p.5). The Act in its various iterations was administered under public servant officers and departments that carried the following titles: Northern and Southern Protectors of Aboriginals –1898 to 1904; Office of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals – 1904 to 1939; Office of the Director of Native Affairs – 1939 to 1966; Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs – 1966 to 1975; and Department of Aboriginal and Islander Advancement – 1975 to 1984 (Frankland 1994).

In the 1970s when I investigated the state of my community in Queensland I recall reading, ‘No marriage of a female aboriginal with any person other than an aboriginal shall be celebrated without the permission, in writing, of a Protector authorised by the Minister to give such permission’ (Frankland 1994, p. 7). When I reported my finding to my parents proudly stating, “Well I’m a bastard” Mother was shocked, and Father laughed, but nervously. It was impressed on me by both parents that I should

not speak about it any further and not with anyone else. Such was the impact of The Act on my teenage self, and further: ‘The 1897 Act and the subsequent amending Acts of 1901, 1927, 1928 and 1934 gave the Chief Protector of Aboriginals enormous control over the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Under the 1897 Act Aboriginal people were described as (a) An aboriginal inhabitant of Queensland; or (b) A half-caste who, at the commencement of this Act is living with an aboriginal as wife, husband, or child; or (c) A half-caste who, otherwise than as wife, husband, or child, habitually lives or associates with aboriginals’ (Frankland 1994, p. 4)

Archibald Meston, a Special Commissioner on First-Nations welfare in Queensland and the Queensland colonies Commissioner of Police, W E Parry-Okenden submitted drafts of an Act to the Home Secretary. Having the stronger influence of the two, Meston is generally recognised as the architect of The Act. The final draft titled *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act of 1897*, known by the First-Nations peoples simply as ‘The Act’ (see Chapter 1) was the first time any of the colonies had moved from indirect control of First-Nations peoples to direct intervention by the government. The Act defined who was a First-Nations person in Queensland. Amendments to The Act and the definition of a First-Nations person in Queensland occurred in 1934, 1939 and 1965 (Bourke, Bourke & Edwards 1998; Blake 2001; Atkinson 2002; Kidd 2011).

Suggestions regarding the rationale for The Act include that it was the colonial government of Queensland bowing to pressure from southern humanitarians. Another is that The Act enabled greater segregation and control of First-Nations peoples of the colony (Blake 2001; Robinson 2008; Kidd 2011). Considering The Act was administered from its inception through to 1935, either through the office of the Home Secretary or the Secretary of Public Lands, it appears that possession of land for the Crown was another major motivation for the establishment of The Act.

Another rationale suggested by newspapers of the era was that The Act was implemented to ensure that the government received remuneration for First-Nations peoples, both children and adults, employed or enslaved by the colonisers. Articles included: ‘Protection of Aboriginals’, *The Queenslander*, 19 February 1898, p. 378; ‘The Protection of Aboriginals’, *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 15 February 1898, p. 2; ‘Protection of Aboriginals’, *Morning Post*, 10 March 1898, p. 4; ‘The Aboriginals Protection Act’, *Morning Bulletin*, 23 February 1898, p. 6; and ‘Protection of Aboriginals’, *Warwick Argus*, 19 February 1898, p. 3, which in 1898 warned Queenslanders who employed First-Nations peoples of clauses 14 through to and including 17 of The Act. These four clauses outlined government’s measures concerning the employment of ‘an aboriginal or a female half-caste’. Any person who wanted to employ a First-Nations person had to obtain permission from the Protector and had to have an agreement signed by a justice of the peace or a member of the police force. The agreement was to outline the nature of the service provided by the First-Nations person, the method of payment and accommodation. The clauses made it clear that the Protector was the supervisor of such agreements and that the Protector or their appointee could inspect the employment situation at any time. Clause 17 required that any employer of a First-Nations person who wished to remove them from one district to another must obtain permission from the Protector before doing so. As the four clauses about employment of First-Nations peoples were the only ones published in the press of the time, it suggests that a major objective of The Act was the regulation by the government about employment of First-Nations peoples. The need for Europeans to obtain permission from the Protector and the fact that ‘female half-castes’ are singled out also suggests an understanding that as a dying race First-Nations peoples should not ‘breed’ with Not-First-Nations people. This is supported by the fact that within a few years the federated colonies as the Commonwealth of Australia enacted the ‘White Australia Policy’ (Bourke, Bourke & Edwards 1998; Atkinson 2002; Robinson 2008; Kidd 2011).

Consequently, after the establishment of The Act, procurement of First-Nations child labour through a government agency, such as a reserve manager, became the more popular process of procurement. Legislation gave the government access to the wages of First-Nations peoples, a fact that further encouraged the employment of First-Nations children by the colonisers, as these children did not have the same legislative protections as those offered to state Not-First-Nations children. For example, age restrictions on the employment of First- Nations child workers were not put in place until 1919. The Act allowed for government intervention into the lives of First-Nations peoples in Queensland and increased formalisation of labour relations between Not-First-Nations and First-Nations peoples. Under The Act the government had the power to issue or revoke annual permits for the employment of First-Nations peoples (Blake, 2001; Kidd 2011; Robinson 2008).

Queensland did not give control of First-Nations issues to the Commonwealth Government after the 1967 referendum. The Act in Queensland was varied by amendments but continued into the 1980s. Throughout its history The Act stripped First-Nations peoples of our land and any right to residence. It controlled movement, communication, employment, education and marriage: every aspect of the lives of First-Nations peoples (Atkinson 2002; Kidd 2011; Robinson 2008).

The imposition of The Act was an effective way of crushing the spirit of First-Nations peoples of Queensland. This crushing of the spirit becomes 'normal', which is attested to through the mindset demonstrated by Olympian and First-Nations woman Cathy Freeman, who stated 'They had low self-esteem. Because they were like that, I was like that, too. I thought it was normal...we felt bad about being black...We never wanted to stand out. It was a sort of black world white world, and we were too ashamed to go mixing with people in the white world. That was our mentality' (cited in McGregor 1998, pp. 40-41).

Wards of the state and dog tags

Kidd (2011) describes wards of the state as First-Nations peoples under the age of sixteen and/or living with other First-Nations peoples. So, you could be living with your parents but still be a 'ward of the state'. For most of The Act only First-Nations peoples who had a Not- First-Nations parent could apply for an exemption certificate (Bourke, Bourke & Edwards 1998).

In 1934 The Act was amended to require people asking for exemptions to undergo medical examinations to ensure they had no communicable disease and all existing exemptions were cancelled until people could produce a clean medical report (Kidd 2011). The Chief Protector retained and controlled any money and property of an exempted First-Nations person. In 1939 The Act was amended to allow the Director of Native Affairs to continue to control any money or property for any amount of time as determined by the Director (Frankland 1994).

Miscegenation

Meston is quoted as stating 'I hold in utter abhorrence...unions between whites and aboriginal women...It means the breeding of half-castes...and their attendant quadroons and octoroons' (Evans, Saunders & Cronin 1988, p.108). Miscegenation is people considered to be of different racial types having children together. The preceding statement demonstrates that the major architect of The Act absolutely disapproved of miscegenation.

In her interpretation of The Act, Professor Eleanor Bourke (Bourke, Bourke & Edwards 1998) noted that no child of a European woman could be a First-Nations person. However, children of First-Nations women, no matter who the father may have been, instantly became wards of the state because of their Aboriginality inherited from their mother. This is in spite of Frankland's statement that 'under the 1897 Act Aboriginal people were described as... (b) A half-caste who, at the commencement of this Act is

living with an aboriginal as wife, husband, or child' (Frankland 1994, p. 4). This may be logically read as making any child living with their First-Nations father also First-Nations.

Kidd (2011), who notes The Act was biased against women and girls, making it both sexist and racist, proposed that the establishment of The Act was more than anything else, to monitor inter-racial relations. When discussing the possibility of a First-Nations person having a Not-First-Nations parent, Kidd (2011) does not differentiate between the Not-First- Nations parent being the mother or father. I put this difference between Frankland (1994), Bourke, Bourke and Edwards (1998) and Kidd (2011) down to the fact that as numerous amendments were made to The Act, the definition of who was a First-Nations person altered, leaving Aboriginality determined by the whims of politicians and public servants.

Pocock argues that 'Young women were particularly vulnerable despite the appointment of a Protectoress to supervise young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women in Brisbane in 1899. When Archbishop Donaldson visited Cherbourg in 1915, he found that more than ninety per cent of the girls who were sent into service returned pregnant to non-Aboriginal men' (Pocock 2008, p. 27).

John Bleakley, Deputy Chief Protector of Aborigines (1911–1914), Chief Protector (1914– 1939), and Director of Native Affairs in Queensland (1939–1942) amended The Act in 1934, expanding his power to have jurisdiction over First-Nations children born out of wedlock, if both of their parents or their mother had any Not-First-Nations heritage. Kidd's proposition that The Act was more about controlling relationships between First-Nations peoples and others in Queensland society, more than anything else is supported by the amendment that also gave the government control of children born of both a First-Nations and Pacific Islander parent. The age of wards of the state was raised in 1934 to 21 rather than 16. All marriages of First-Nations peoples required the Chief Protector's permission. Unfortunately, for Bleakley, expanding his fiefdom put a strain on the Queensland government's

financial load. In 1939 The Act was again amended. The category of people it applied to became a person having a preponderance of First-Nations ancestors (Kidd 2011). Who would pass judgment on whether the person had a ‘preponderance’ of First-Nations ancestors or not was in the hands of Not-First-Nations peoples?

However, the discussion of black and white intimacy was not limited to The Act. In 1928, author Katharine Prichard was awarded joint first prize in literature for her novel *Coonardoo*, which portrayed a romantic relationship between a Not-First-Nations man and the First- Nations woman for whom the novel was named. Yet, one of the Not-First-Nations males who judged the award dissented, expressing his belief that it was not acceptable to have a Not-First-Nations male in love with a First-Nations woman in Australia. The dissenting judge declared that a Not-First-Nations man could not have any higher feeling ‘than nauseated pity or comical contempt’ (Shoemaker 1989, p. 39) for a First-Nations woman. Dissent amongst the competition judges was reflective of the broader reading public in Australia at that time. During the last quarter of 1928 the *Bulletin* serialised *Coonardoo*, and readers were outraged by the author’s sanction of a love affair between a Not-First-Nations man and a First-Nations woman (Shoemaker 1989). The *Bulletin* in May 1929 refused to publish Vance Palmer’s *Men Are Human*, stating ‘our experience with *Coonardoo* shows us that the Australia public will not stand stories based on a white man’s relations with Australian Aborigines’ (Healy 1989, p. 140). So, relationships such as my parents were not to be tolerated by the general populace, not even when fictionalised.

Emphasising that many Not-First-Nations people have difficulties with the concept of romantic relationships between First-Nations women and Not-First-Nations men, Lorraine McGee-Sippel in her story of survival as a member of the Stolen Generations wrote: ‘When Joe broke the news to his workmates that he planned to get married they tried to talk him out of it. “Don’t be a bloody fool,” they

warned, “don’t marry a black bitch” (McGee-Sippel 2009, p. 183). I reflected upon my parent’s marriage and wondered how my father’s companions reacted to his marriage to my mother.

Blood quantum

Blood quantum is a method of deciding inclusion in the legislations that targeted First- Nations peoples. Robert Manne wrote: ‘After the dispossession injustices did not end. Racial condescension was almost universal – captured, for example, in the insulting or comical names settlers unself-consciously gave the Aborigines and in the zoological terminology favoured by the administrations – “full-bloods”, “half-castes”, “crossbreds”, “quadroons”, “octroons” and so on’ (2001, p. 103). Blood quantum uses these terms (Kidd 2011).

Stolen Generations

Because Not-First-Nations peoples still cannot accept First-Nations peoples who do not physically fit the stereotype of a First-Nations person often Not-First-Nations peoples who are professionals working with a First-Nations person are mainly concerned about who is a First-Nations person, and this has been my experience in education settings. It is a burden often experienced by people who are from the Stolen Generations. Generally, the term ‘Stolen Generations’ is understood to refer to any adult First-Nations person separated at a young age from community, family, language, land or culture (Victorian Koorie Records Taskforce 2006). For the purposes of my work, Stolen Generations incorporates people such as myself, who due to previous generations of the family being separated at a young age from community, culture and country are still searching for their exact country and community.

The Victorian Koorie Records Taskforce of 2006 understood that for people of the Stolen Generations separation could have occurred through forcible removal, relinquishment at birth, removal by deception, or being fostered or adopted. Although laudably inclusive the definition still does not

consider those First-Nations peoples who were taken as infants or children at the time of first-contact-first-conflict. In my work, *Stolen Generations* includes such a scenario.

Assimilation as genocide

Fighting against the restrictive policies of the 1930s and '40s arguments from our own activists, such as Ferguson and Patten, calling for full citizenship may be cast as arguments for assimilation (Maynard 2007); but I do not read the stories of these First-Nations activists in such a way. Like Maynard (2007) I acknowledge that Ferguson, Patten, Gibbs, Cooper and others 'were under attack from restrictive government assimilation policies' (Maynard 2007, p. 4).

From 1937 to 1976 all political parties in Australia adhered to a policy of 'assimilation' (Bennett 1989; Bourke, Bourke & Edwards 1998; Maynard 2007; Tickner 2001). The Queensland Aborigines' and Torres Strait Islanders' Affairs Act 1965 repealed the 1939 legislation, notifying the 'abandonment of protection as a policy was achieved and a new phase of assimilation began' (Queensland Parliamentary Fact Sheet 10.5, p.1). This was something of a quandary as high unemployment rates in First-Nations families and pronounced wage differences, certainly would not allow for First-Nations peoples to live like Not-First-Nations peoples, not even the poorest of them. The situation was most pronounced in Queensland, as up until the year 1980 First-Nations peoples in Queensland were still unable to access equal wages for doing the same work (Roberts 1981).

Sutton proposes that assimilation between the 1920s and 1960s was viewed by the left as progressive as it offered equal rights. Anti-assimilationists in this era were considered 'dyed- in-the-wool racists who thought Indigenous people genetically incapable of modernisation' (Sutton 2009, p.16).

Assimilation was viewed as the emancipation of the individual First- Nations person. At best assimilation was to be a staged withdrawal of protectionist policies. Policies which had controlled, and

restricted First-Nations people and their movement, association, employment, finances and citizenship were to be abolished (Rowse 2002).

Gilbey writes 'In the 1960s...the nation was booming, the economy was flourishing, and the rigid dogmas of community attitudes were being challenged. It was a time of Vietnam moratoriums, women's liberation and the women's movement. During this era, Charles Perkins organised for a bus full of Sydney University students to travel to small town Australia to see what race politics were like outside the cities. It was a time of collective consciousness-raising, a time of assimilation, a time of stolen children. But amidst all this it was a time of growing general goodwill towards Aboriginal people from Joe Average. There were the beginnings of positive images of Aboriginal people being projected as desirable meant that people were "white looking", and "responsible", - i.e. assimilated – although we had articulated and intelligent leaders of Black Liberation' (1998, p.111).

I do not remember the 1960s as positively as Gilbey does; I think she is writing about Victoria and forgetting that the political and social attitudes in Queensland have, and still are, much more conservative. For a recent example of how different the political and social attitudes between different states in Australia are, I point to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Australian Marriage Law Postal Survey of 2017. Queensland voted more conservatively on the question than Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, the Australian Capital Territory and Tasmania. Basically, tying with the Northern Territory where 60.6% of the population voted Yes and 39.4 % of the population voted No, in Queensland 60.7% voted Yes and 39.3% voted No. Meaning there was only one other state in Australia that voted more conservatively than Queensland on the question of marriage equality and it was not Victoria. However, even with such a view of assimilation, like all other such policies it was a set of standards and concepts being imposed on First-Nations peoples without consultation, negotiation or consent. Assimilation required First-Nations peoples and any others not seen as belonging to the dominant group to give up their culture. First-Nations ways of being, values, knowledge and

understandings were, under assimilation, to be put aside; meaning the death of our cultures and distinct identity as First-Nations peoples of Australia.

Birch's (2007) assessment of Western Australia's Chief Protector of Native Affairs, A O Neville's support for assimilation as an 'attempt to destroy Indigenous identity [as an] act of genocide' (p. 110). I agree with both Birch's and Watson's (2007) assessment of the early 21st century Commonwealth Government policy of 'mutual obligation' and 'practical reconciliation' (Watson 2007, p.19) as returning to assimilation practices of the past.

Citizen

The referendum which occurred on 27 May 1967 resulted in constitutional change. Formally known as the Constitution Alteration (Aboriginals) 1967 (Act No 55 of 1967). The 1967 referendum did not however give the First-Nations peoples of Australia the right to vote. This right had been legislated for Commonwealth elections in 1962, with the last State to provide Indigenous enfranchisement being Queensland in 1965 (Havemann, 2005). The referendum gave the Commonwealth Government the right to legislate on behalf of First-Nations peoples and Torres Strait Islanders. This was something that the Queensland government under the leadership of Joh Bjelke-Petersen managed to legislate around until the mid-1980s (Attwood et al. 1997; Kidd 2011).

Working definition

Defining who is or is not a First-Nations' person has been a concern of Australian governments at all levels for decades. In 2003 the Department of the Parliamentary Library commissioned John Gardiner-Garden to write a brief titled 'Defining Aboriginality in Australia'. Although this publication is over a decade old it is still the one used by Australian governments when referring to the identification of First-Nations peoples and Torres Strait Islanders. Gardiner-Garden found that countries such as Canada

and the United States register First-Nations peoples using the offensive ‘blood quantum’. Norway, Sweden and Australia include self-identification (Gardiner-Garden 2003). Like all other Commonwealth Government agencies, the Australian Bureau of Statistics uses the Commonwealth Government’s working definition, which states: ‘An Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander is

- a person of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent,
- who identifies as being of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin, and
- who is accepted as such by the community with which the person associates’.

The Commonwealth Government in 1969 adopted self-definition, giving hope that the mock divisions placed upon First-Nations peoples would disappear. Nevertheless, it must be reiterated that Queensland rejected intrusion by the Commonwealth Government upon its interaction with First-Nations peoples and the Torres Strait Islander population under Queensland jurisdiction until the mid-1980s. Those in positions of authority who had previously been able to control who was or was not a First-Nations person, mourned the disappearance of the blood quantum (Williams-Mozley 2015).

However, the disappearance of the blood quantum did not stop those with cognitively colonised mindsets still using the outmoded concept when making judgements on Aboriginality. The cognitively colonised adhere to the dichotomy described earlier as Kakadu versus Redfern. Health research on First-Nations peoples focusses on First-Nations peoples living in rural and remote areas even though the majority live in urban settings (Williams 2015). The inference in the literature is that Not-First-Nations researchers and those agencies that fund them still abide by the colonial discourse that suggests the ‘full-blood’ and therefore ‘authentic’ First-Nations person lives far from the city. This denies the identity rights of First- Nations peoples who are urban dwellers. It leads to rejection of our authenticity as a First- Nations person being judged by physical characteristics such as the colour of our skin rather than the markers of our Aboriginality, which fill our lives and are expressed through our deeds as much as through our words.

Aboriginality and The Intervention

In the early 21st century The Intervention is a return to land grabs and genocide cloaked as protection for First-Nations children. It is a travesty. The most recent attempt to dispossess First-Nations peoples of our land, to break our psyche, to control the practical details of our everyday lives, is The Intervention. On 21 June 2007, the Howard Federal Government introduced the Northern Territory Emergency Response legislation, commonly known as The Intervention. It has continued since that date, no matter which political party is in power. When the political party changed the legislative title changed, but it is still The Intervention. It has been one of the most dramatic policy shifts in Australia's history (Lamberti 2009).

The Intervention is anti-self-determination and imposes the psychological situation of an external rather than internal locus of control (Reber & Reber 2001). Although changes have been made by successive Commonwealth Governments, each change has made The Intervention more punitive than it was originally. The Intervention continues until at least 2022 (Faculty of Law, Monash 2016), situating Australian society generally as colonial and the Commonwealth Government as colonising. The Intervention legislated into Australian law challenges the self-efficacy and internal locus of control (Bandura 1997; Rotter 1990) of those First-Nations peoples it has been implemented against.

Add to The Intervention the rejection of the call from the 2017 National Constitutional Convention for a Commission, a voice within the constitution and a Truth and Justice Commission, and we are returned to colonial social practices. One of the aims of the Commission would be to administer a process of agreement-making between Australian governments and First-Nations. Another aim would be to enable First-Nations peoples to tell the truth of our shared history.

Demonstrated by the Commonwealth Government, through their implementation of The Intervention and their rejection of the 2017 National Constitutional Conventions recommendation, is a fear of First-

Nations peoples that stems from colonial mindsets. Initially such a fear led to the ‘keeping them out’ policy: today it denies us a voice. We have no formal mechanism within the Constitution to recognise First-Nations peoples. The Truth and Justice Commission would support Auntie Joy Wandin Murphy’s call for a gathering to allow First-Nations peoples to grieve and what Professor Marcia Langton has called a ‘genuine intercultural dialogue’ (Healy 1997, p. 46) (discussed further in Chapter 9).

Australia, thus, is a colonial country that has not embraced the concepts of decolonisation (Battiste 2013; Smith 1999,) or postcolonialism (Battiste 2011).

Dispossession, displacement, and disconnection of First-Nations peoples from clan, culture and country continues today through the broad ramifications of The Intervention. The Commonwealth Government of Australia has completely ignored First-Nations peoples of the Northern Territory, who have asked for empowerment of their communities for self- determination rather than being re-oppressed by government’s top-down policies and practices. The wrongs of discrimination, abuse, persecution and neglect must be acknowledged and written into the legal documents including the constitution with the most solemn and serious words and intentions that the heinous acts of the Northern Territory Intervention and the past will never be allowed to occur again.

In 2009 Ronin Films distributed a film by Tangentyere Research and Vincent Lamberti, funded and supported by Caritas and Oxfam, titled *Intervention: Stories from the Other Side*. The film won the Documentary Australia Foundation Award for the best Australian documentary raising awareness around several important social issues. The film pointed out that those executing The Intervention clung to a range of negative notions about what it means to be a First-Nations person. Previously dispelled hostile concepts about the cultures of First-Nations peoples have been used by the Commonwealth Government to justify its changes to legislation and policies such as the 1975 Racial Discrimination Act. These adverse changes were made to ensure that the Commonwealth Government could implement The Intervention. The government’s actions were communicated, from the

government's standpoint, on an almost daily basis to the general population via the mechanisms of public pedagogy. The 2009 film reached a much smaller audience; thus, the government's portrayal within the media of all First-Nations men as paedophiles and domestic violence as an unquestioned cultural aspect of First-Nations peoples, has reset mindsets, so that yet again First-Nations peoples are viewed as the lowest kind of humans, if human at all.

'Intervention: Stories from the Other Side' needs to be shown to more numerous audiences than has been, so that what is known by the broader population is not just the government's perspective. Through *The Intervention*, First-Nations peoples, although a part of 21st century Australian society, bear the label 'primitive savages' in need of control and development under the direction of the government and their agents. Such constructions of Aboriginality provide moral justification for *The Intervention*. Targeting First-Nations peoples of the Northern Territory, the Commonwealth Government constructs a discourse on Aboriginality, with prescribed communities framed as the location of both 'authentic' Aboriginality and threatening disorder (Macoun, 2011).

Contemporary identity issues

Passing

The rejection by First-Nations peoples of encouragement to pass as 'white' may also be thought of as a political act. Illustrated by Professor Marcia Langton is the supposition by Not-First-Nations peoples that 'White is right!'; Langton relates the life experiences and thinking that have led her to the conclusion that amongst Not-First-Nations people there is a strong assumption that First-Nations peoples must really want to be like them. When Langton was a university student there was a Not-First-Nations woman in her class who thought she was complimenting Langton by telling her she was beautiful and asked why Langton did not pass herself off as a Not-First-Nations person. I had a similar experience in the 1980s when I was much younger, living in Gladstone Queensland, where I taught at a

local state school. Like Langton I was appalled at the suggestion that I would ‘pass’. The circumstances that Langton and I found ourselves in demonstrated ignorance on behalf of the women who asked the appalling question. They suggested, by their discourse, that neither Langton nor I could love our mothers, given that their dark complexions and stereotypical physical appearance as First-Nations women could not have been beautiful. Both women insulted us, our mothers, and whole families (Langton 1998).

Black power — White privilege

Interactions between people referred to as Black or White are commonly referred to as race relations (McConnochie 1973). Evident from the literature is that the very concept of ‘race’ is controversial with social scientists arguing that it is a social construction. There is no doubt however that during colonial expansion by imperialist nation states, racism became socially significant to an extent not previously seen. The racism that informed cultural contact during the era of imperialism was informed by a doctrine of ‘discovery’ which offensively suggests that First-Nations peoples had to be ‘discovered’ by Europeans before either our existence or our humanity could be validated (Wood 2016). There is also little doubt that institutional racism emerged as a major factor in social stratification and exploitation during this period (McConnochie 1973).

Cowlshaw (2004) writes about the 1970s when race was ‘a pariah concept, and social scientists either eschewed its use completely or used the ritual of inverted commas...the social scientists were also distancing themselves from the potent everyday meanings of race... (which) remained painfully obvious and salient for the subaltern category...Attempts to rid ourselves of race have failed spectacularly, because racial identities are powerful...It is the systematic and entrenched inequality⁴...which is destructive and painful...The fear of biology ...in the anti-racist movement, was subverted by a cheeky counter-discourse...in the black power movement, where black is more

beautiful than pink. Neither these subversions nor the careful reasoning of scholars led to the sensual qualities of the body becoming less crucial in social differentiation. The pretence that raced...bodies do not matter is increasingly giving way to analysis of the specific ways in which ...whiteness confers privileges' (2004, pp. 59-61).

One of the major reasons for social stratification within institutions is because of the privilege of 'whiteness'. According to Moreton-Robinson, 'whiteness erupts in the psycho-social and ontological realms of subjectivity to reproduce colonising relations in [a] different context' (2004a, p. 1). Here Moreton-Robinson is supporting my assertion that Australia still functions from within a colonial framework.

'Whiteness' may be viewed as a series of linked symbolic processes within society that operates through a process of inclusions and exclusions to establish a pattern for organising human difference. This is notwithstanding that fact that 'whiteness' is based on superficial physical characteristics of an individual (Clarke & Garner 2009), which may or may not be interpreted by the viewer as 'white' or 'not white'. The viewer usually instantaneously decides whether the person being looked at and assessed deserves the privileges afforded to 'whiteness' or not.

'Whiteness', due to it being equated with normal, is invisible to those who possess it but very visible to those who are not viewed as 'white'. It is the 'point from which judgements are made about normality and abnormality, beauty and ugliness, civilisation and barbarity' (Garner 2007, p. 34). It is interesting that Garner (2007) has chosen the words 'civilisation' and 'barbarity' (Eze 2002) as these are the words Eze (1997) attributed to the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle when he wrote about the influence the ancient Greeks had on the European Enlightenment.

Those who study their ‘Whiteness’ by contemplating their ‘white’ privilege will hopefully have an epiphany that precipitates ‘greater reflection on racism and the social location of the white interlocutor’ (Garner 2007, p. 41). ‘Whiteness is not one thing but ‘simultaneously a problematic – a set of conceptual frameworks – and a collection of rival perspectives about the effects of power...the capacity of whiteness to shut down other avenues of difference that count a lot in people’s lives is similar to the power of nationalism’ (Garner 2007, p. 12).

When a nation is invoked as property ‘(in terms of space, money, culture and the ability to say what is normal and what is not) of particular people vis-à-vis others: ownership...is a primary source of power’ (Garner 2007, p.12). Hence the longstanding and continuing struggle over the ownership of the land itself.

Despite the defeat of Nazism, racism in the late 1940s remained a powerful ideology. Julian Huxley, Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was prompted to organise a committee to write. One of the committee members Ashley-Montagu argued against the use of the term ‘race’ in science because the term ‘race’ was used to denigrate the intelligence of particular groups of people. The Race Question issued on 18 July 1950, was the first of four UNESCO statements about issues of ‘race’, with different versions published in 1951, 1967 and 1978. The latest version is titled the Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice. The document reflects Ashley- Montagu's vision of humanity as a single family, diversified in virtually unlimited ways through educational and cultural experiences. Although Ashley-Montagu, according to his biographers, was not well thought of by the academy, I find his sentiment as described in the previous sentence to be aligned with my own. Further, I see the diversities within humanity, due to our educational and cultural experiences and sometimes due to genetics because of the genetic memory theory, immensely interesting. Similarly, to biodiversity, the diversities within humanity are necessary for continued life on planet Earth—an attitude I acknowledge is perceived by many as naive.

Ashley-Montagu's concept of humanity as a single family is supported by more recent publications. 'All of us, citizens of every nation, are now in the same family, are now in the same boat, walking the same tightrope, like it or not. The worst problems of the human...Our tightrope is a line from humanity's past to our future' (Ehrlich & Ornstein 2010, p. 3).

Even after Ashley-Montagu and others' insights in the 1950s demonstrate a better understanding of 'race'; between 1964 and 1971, the educational gap between Not-First- Nations and First-Nations peoples in Australia widened. Eventually educators began to realise that First-Nations children and youth were not benefitting from education as it was 'all planned for pupils with a "normal" (i.e. white Australian) background' (Prentis 2009, p. 77). Fortunately, I think that this is changing; however, there is still much to be done. The lack of educators to be able to cater well for First-Nations students has added to social stratification, which is an example of continuing institutionalised racism.

Institutionalised racism is embedded in the structure of society as inequalities in access to housing, employment and education. Social stratification has implications for the health of First-Nations peoples as exposed in John Pilger's *Secret Country* (1992). Writing about his childhood in the 1950s Pilger discussed how, through his belief in Social Darwinism, he knew that First-Nations peoples did not exist, as we were meant to have 'died off'. Pilger comments on his experiences of going to La Perouse, a Sydney suburb, to see First-Nations peoples, which he was not supposed to do because they were a 'menace'. This was exemplified by the fact that Not-First-Nations people dumped their rubbish at La Perouse, expressing disrespect directed at First-Nations peoples. Pilger explains how health issues caused by the practice seemed to confirm the stereotype that First-Nations peoples were 'dirty'. In his adult life he became aware of the fact that one of the health issues he witnessed as a child amongst First-Nations children of La Perouse was trachoma. It is only found in impoverished, overcrowded conditions of the 'developing world', with one exception: Australia (Pilger 1992).

Social stratification and the exploitation that goes with it saw First-Nations Australians align with international groups who had also experienced colonisation, and the racism used to justify it and continue the process. The Black Power Movement, I remember from my childhood, petrified Not-First-Nations peoples and conservative First-Nations peoples who thought it would lead to a civil war. However, the Australian version of Black Power ‘was essentially about the necessity for Black people to define the world in their own terms and to seek self-determination without white interference’ (Foley 2001, p. 2).

Foley (2001) and Lothian (2005) write of Roosevelt Brown, a Member of Parliament in Bermuda and Chairman of the Caribbean and Latin American Black Power Movement, who visited Melbourne. Brown had been invited by Bob Maza, President of the Aborigines Advancement League and its Director, Bruce McGuinness. For a younger generation represented by Gary Foley, Roberta Sykes, Paul Coe and Denis Walker, Roosevelt Brown’s discourse on Black Power was liberating. It proposed intellectual disruption, but the popular mind equated it with violence. Personally, although I would not be able to conduct violent protest as has been ascribed to the Black Power Movement of the mid-20th century I am in complete agreement with the Black Panther Party Platform and Program published in 1972 that states: ‘We want education for our people... We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society. We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else’ (Black Panther Party 1972, p.1). Such statements resonated with similar sentiments expressed by the First-Nations Australians whom I interacted with in the 1980s as an Education Officer of the Queensland Education Department. To be educated well in the system of the nation state is the object of First-Nations parents and caregivers for First-Nations children. Education is understood as necessary for functioning in contemporary society. Nonetheless, First-Nations adults wanted that education system to desist from denigrating the knowledge and skills that First-Nations adults had taught the children as a part of their

cultural experiences. Further, they wanted the history of Australia taught in schools to be comprehensive of First-Nations standpoints.

Accordingly, a critical issue for Not-First-Nations educators to consider when considering their role within ‘race’ relations in Australia is how they portray Australian history. For example, the recently acknowledged privilege that accompanies ‘Whiteness’ has seen memories of the frontier wars ignored in classrooms and lecture theatres. Labelled as radicals, a term that detracts from their academic qualifications and pedagogical credibility, First-Nations lecturers elevate memories of the frontier wars to a position of discourse. For First-Nations peoples, how we and the rest of Australian society remember our shared history is ‘inextricably linked, in both a psychological and material sense’ (Birch 2007, pp. 107-108). The frontier and its culture of violence are still alive for many First-Nations peoples. Those intent on obliterating the memory of First-Nations peoples privilege unproblematic, colonial representations of the past. Such representations deny the realities of persistent attempts to dispossess First-Nations peoples (Birch 2007). The trauma connected to their memories of frontier violence ‘deconstructs the self, and, in reciprocal action, reconstructs the self’ (Atkinson 2002, p. 232). Atkinson’s (2002) study and Birch’s (2007) assertions confirm my life experience, that our memories of frontier violence through the practice of oral history and the possibility of genetic memory often reconstructs a First-Nations person as powerless with violence becoming a way in which we deal with trauma.

Language of ‘racial’ group

In *The First R-How Children Learn Race and Racism* the authors state, ‘throughout a life- span the ideas, dealings and language of racial group and ethnicity hold central importance in a person’s self-definition and self-concept’ (Van Ausdale & Feagin 2001, p. 51). Stan Grant’s writing supports the assertion of Van Ausdale and Feagin. Grant concludes: ‘I cherish my identity, Black I am; black I will

ever be, as long as there are Grants – the living blood of old Wongamar – we will be Aborigines, Wiradjuri’ (Grant 2002, pp. 258-259). Grant’s writing emphasises not just the importance of his self-concept, but what Van Ausdale and Feagin call ‘language of racial group’ (2001, p. 51). The need to identify using not just the term ‘Aborigine’ imposed by Not-First-Nations people, but the terms from Grant’s First-Nations peoples language ‘Wiradjuri’ and the political, self-determining use of the word ‘Black’ as a term of identification; these all illustrate ‘language of racial group’ (Van Ausdale & Feagin 2001, p.51).

Neville Bonner was appointed by the Queensland Parliament to replace Senator Dame Annabel Rankin, who had retired from Federal Parliament. This appointment made him the initial First-Nations person to sit in the Australian Federal Parliament, and the first to sit in any Australian Parliament. At the 1972 election he was returned as a Liberal Senator for Queensland, serving until 1983. At the 1983 election he stood as an Independent candidate but was not re-elected (Jacobs 2013; Rowes 2009). In 1977, the First-Nations man, Senator Neville Bonner visited the United States and worked with people of the Apache Nation.

Understanding the ‘language of racial group’ when speaking at the opening of the ‘Aboriginal and Islander Catholic Annual Conference 1983’ he used the term ‘Nation’ to describe First-Nations peoples of Australia (Bonner 1983). Senator Bonner was labelled a ‘racist’ by the then Queensland Premier, Bjelke-Petersen for use of the word ‘nation’. Senator Bonner in his 1983 presentation went on to comment on work undertaken by Al Grassby’s Community Relations Commission report, on Western and Southern Australia, which observed that First-Nations peoples remained the worst discriminated against group in Australian society. Further, Grassby’s report noted that most Not-First-Nations Australians have never met a First-Nations person. However, Not-First-Nations people expressed ‘contempt’ for First-Nations peoples. Grassby’s report quotes studies of school textbooks, which state that First-Nations peoples were lazy, lying cheats and thieves who were devoid of morals. Bonner

proposed that Grassby's findings proved that the widespread thinking of Not- First-Nations peoples was based on ignorance. Hence the faults within the education systems of the nation state promoted discrimination practised against First-Nations peoples (Bonner 1983).

Bonner (1983) speaking of 'nations' and Grant (2002) using the terms 'Wiradjuri' and 'Black' to describe himself, along with Victorian First-Nations community use of 'Blak', all emphasise the importance of language. The use of language to describe First-Nations peoples importantly should align with the way we view ourselves. Such language needs therefore to be language of the 'racial' group. First-Nations peoples use such language for self- determination and therefore power. Being self-determining may be seen by some as being political.

Pan-First-Nations' consciousness

First-Nations peoples are a significant portion of Australian society that also constitute a demographical and political minority subject to special legislation and government control. Pre-invasion we belonged to distinct groups, which unless the other group was kin, did not interact amicably. Missions and reserves saw First-Nations peoples from various groups forced to share land, with often the other people being traditional enemies. It took time for First-Nations peoples to be able to let go of old animosities.

Although resistance began with the invasion, the 1938 Day of Mourning (Attwood & Markus 2004; Horner 1994) considered our first collective political act, but this was limited to First- Nations peoples in New South Wales and Victoria. The bark petitions of the Yolngu people of Yirrkala, presented to the Commonwealth parliament in 1963 and 1968 (Bennett 1989, Clark 2008) were actions undertaken by Yolngu alone. The Gurindji strike that began in 1966 (Maynard 2007) was also action isolated to the Gurindji peoples. The ten-year struggle to have the 1967 Referendum (Attwood et al. 1997) saw First-

Nations peoples from more regions of the nation state participate. Initially undertaken by four young First-Nations men from the east of the continent, the political action of 1972 witnessed the establishment of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy (Clark 2008) and recognition of the Aboriginal Flag.

Due to continuing concern by First-Nations peoples about the perceived apathy of those with political power in 1992; on the 20th anniversary of the original protests, the Embassy was permanently re-established on its original site on the lawns outside Old Parliament House. In 1995, the Embassy itself was listed on the Register of the National Estate. The Aboriginal Tent Embassy is the only site on the Register noted as important due to its political significance to First-Nations Australians. Protests have been held at the Embassy for a range of reasons, including against Aboriginal deaths in custody, the Howard government's Northern Territory Intervention in 2007, and cuts to essential services for First-Nations peoples. However, protests at the Embassy have not always been by or in support of First-Nations peoples. Arson attacks have damaged buildings within the Embassy (Foley, Schaap & Howell 2013), which is a symbol of First-Nations peoples protests against successive governments and their approach to issues, with specific reference to First-Nations peoples. The Aboriginal Tent Embassy which flies the Aboriginal Flag will forever be a symbol of the struggles for equity and recognition of the Human, Citizenship and Indigenous rights of Australia's First-Nations peoples.

However, the rallying of First-Nations peoples in Sydney in 1988 (Pose 2009) to protest the celebration of 200 years post the invasion by the British witnessed people from all regions of the nation state. It demonstrated a Pan-First-Nations' consciousness that continues in the 21st century. This consciousness was something I recall hearing Eric Willmot, author of several texts including *Pemulwuy: The Rainbow Warrior* (1987), speak of in the 1990s. For me Pan- First-Nations' consciousness is an understanding of unity between the diverse groups of First- Nations peoples in Australia and our Torres Strait Islander cousins about what we aspire to achieve. It also informs intersubjectivity—an aspect of the trilogy that I envisage as the foundational concepts of First-Nations philosophy.

The 1988 gathering saw a firming up of the political platform of First-Nations peoples. It saw interactions between First-Nations groups who had not met before. It was within this Pan- First-Nations' consciousness that I functioned as the Federal Aboriginal Education Officer of the Australian Education Union. It is this consciousness that was on display at Uluru in 2017 by those who had gathered for the National Constitutional Convention.

Nationally issues concerning First-Nations peoples coalesced most successfully from the Day of Mourning in 1938, reaching a high point at the time of the protest on government money being spent on the bicentenary of the British invasion since 1988, that totally ignored First- Nations peoples' thoughts on the issue of the 'bicentenary'. The joint consciousness amongst the many diverse groups of First-Nations peoples within Australia that has grown since that time supported the drive behind the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (commenced 1987 – concluded 1991); the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy (1989); the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families (commenced 1995 – concluded 1997); and the Uluru Statement from the Heart which was developed through negotiations with First-Nations peoples across Australia on behalf of The Referendum Council's Indigenous Steering Committee released in May 2017. Lobbying for these various issues to be acknowledged and dealt with, at least to the stage of a report, are based on a shared understanding of the impact of colonisation and its companion 'racism' upon our peoples in the 21st century. Although some of us within our communities from time to time may feel as though there is no hope, collectively we look for a better future for those generations recently born and yet to be born.

Human rights

In 2017 the Commonwealth Government of Australia secured what I consider to be an undeserved position on the United Nations Human Rights Council. The Human Rights Watch World Report 2018

notes under the heading ‘Indigenous Rights’ that ‘In May, over 250 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders from 13 regions met and issued the “Uluru Statement from the Heart,” which urged constitutional reforms, including the establishment of a First-Nations voice in the constitution and a truth and justice commission. In October, Australia’s government formally rejected the key recommendation of the Referendum Council to establish an Indigenous advisory body to parliament. Indigenous Australians are significantly overrepresented in the criminal justice system, often for minor offences like unpaid fines.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders are 13 times more likely to be imprisoned than the rest of the Australian population. Aboriginal women are the fastest growing prisoner demographic in Australia. ‘In December 2016, the Western Australian state coroner found that the 2014 death in custody of a 22-year-old Aboriginal woman, Ms. Dhu, was preventable, and made a number of recommendations, including that Western Australia end imprisonment for unpaid fines. At time of writing, Western Australia had yet to implement the recommendation’ (Human Rights Watch 2017, p. 50).

On 16 October 2017, Danuta Kozaki for ABC News in Sydney, reported under the heading ‘Australia's human rights record under scrutiny ahead of expected election to UN committee’: ‘With the backward trend in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health, education and employment, means Australia's once highly regarded reputation is being tarnished’. Kozaki quoted: ‘The co-chair of the National Congress of Australia's First Peoples, Jackie Huggins, said state and federal budget cuts have led to most targets under the Australian Government's Closing the Gap policy not being met’. Dr. Huggins said the high rate of incarceration of Aboriginal and Torres Strait islander people, especially women, was a major concern. "We have the highest incarceration rates in the world amongst Indigenous peoples. Aboriginal women are the fastest growing prison population," she said’ (Kozaki, 2017).

The implementation of The Intervention has been thus far limited to the Northern Territory. However, First-Nations peoples in other areas in Australia are concerned. We do not need Martin Niemöller's often quoted poem that he wrote about experiences in Nazi Germany during WWII that begins with the phrase: 'First they came for the socialists', to be reminded of what occurs when people ignore the injustices meted out to their neighbours. First- Nations peoples have the oral history, the genetic transgenerational memories of the massacres, missions, mining, timber-getting and farming practices imposed by representatives of Not-First-Nations peoples.

Since most people living in Australia have forgotten about The Intervention or even consider it to be over; those First-Nations peoples not living in the Northern Territory wonder what we can do to support our brothers and sisters in the struggle against this contemptuous policy. The continuing violations of First-Nations peoples human rights cause consternation at the United Nations acceptance of the Commonwealth Government of Australia to be a representative on the Human Rights Council. Held at Uluru, the 2017 National Constitutional Convention demonstrates solidarity with the First-Nations peoples of the Northern Territory.

In 2009, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Indigenous Rights found that Australia had "entrenched" racism. He concluded that Australia is failing to meet its obligations to First-Nations peoples. The government must do more, both to reduce severe disadvantage and to promote self-determination. From the Northern Territory Intervention to the threatened closure of remote communities, Australia has not made good on its commitment to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (Maguire 2016). 'Indeed, despite the hopes raised through the state's signing of UNDRIP, the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs removed any significance from this action by suggesting, 'It's more an aspirational statement that outlines the principles and aspirations of indigenous peoples, and governments who express their support are committing to work alongside of

their indigenous peoples to achieve the broad ambitions of the declaration’ (Kidd & Kenrick 2011, p.101).

Since the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody one of the major ‘aspirations’, to use the Minister’s word, of Australia’s First-Nations peoples has been to reduce the number incarcerated. However, First-Nations women are the fastest growing prison population in Australia—a fact that makes me reflect on Kidd’s (2011) considerations that The Act was both racist and sexist. This of course does not mean that only First-Nations women are affected by situations that arise from legislation, social and government practices that target us. We are daughters, sisters, mothers and lovers, which means that any negative impact on us also impacts on our partners, children, siblings and parents, with a probability that at least 50% of these people are men and boys.

Disabled and decolonised

A First-Nations man, Neville Bonner speaking in 1983 may appear to be a very long time ago and not all that relevant to Australia in the 21st century. However, Koppers (2013,2016) writing in support of disabled First-Nations peoples, acknowledges the points made by Bonner, and exemplified through Grassby’s report, as unfortunately too often still held by Not-First-Nations peoples. Koppers calls for the decolonisation of the mind-sets of many Not-First-Nations Australians who still view First-Nations peoples as ‘stone age remnants’ (Koppers 2016, p. 70). Acknowledging herself ‘as a woman from a colonizer-nation background’ Koppers proposes that her agenda ‘needs to be deeply unsettled, queried, its purposes and methods weighted’ (2016, p. 71), carrying the unstated proposition that this work should be undertaken by First-Nations peoples.

Koppers (2016) builds on her 2013 work that states, ‘One thing is evident to me: disability as a health and social welfare issue maps onto the interface between Aboriginal societies and the dominant culture

and needs to be seen through the lens of the ongoing effects of postcolonial violence. But the contours of lived experience and the structures of feeling that surround disability within Aboriginal societies are grounded in very different paradigms. This is not a reference to mystical nature children. The context for these “different paradigms” is an understanding of Aboriginal societies not as stone-age remnants but as loosely comparable to the specific Western eighteenth-century political forms called nation states (i.e. as autonomous and sovereign guardians of country, besieged and disrupted by violence¹). Western disability researchers need to take better heed of the concept of sovereignty and culturally specific knowledge and allow these understandings to complicate universal human rights frames and ways of conceiving of aid’ (2013, p. 178). Here Koppers is highlighting the fact that First-Nations peoples of Australia have human rights, citizenship rights and Indigenous rights and all of these frameworks need to be taken into consideration.

First Nations peoples as political beings

First-Nations informants to the publication *Community Conversations*, authored by Stone- Resneck (2010) on behalf of the Indigenous Leadership Network of Victoria, agree with Hayward (cited in Maddison 2009) in acknowledging that Aboriginality should not and cannot be judged solely on appearance. ‘Light-skinned Aboriginal people may not be receiving as much overt racism due to their skin colour as dark-skinned Aboriginal people. Even so, they still commonly experience racism by association. Participants often had family or friends surrounding them that did experience overt racism due to their skin colour and so while they may not directly have life experiences such as not being able to find accommodation to rent, being followed around a shopping complex or not being able to successfully hail a cab, they did witness this behaviour being enacted to other Aboriginal people. Racism is often an experience that occurs as part of identifying as an Aboriginal person and can affect Aboriginal people both directly and indirectly. Racism may take a different shape with light-skinned

¹ The author’s own brackets

Aboriginal people in the form of disbelief of identity' (Bennett 2014, p. 188). Bennett's assertions support Hayward (cited in Maddison 2009) and Stone-Resneck (2010) as do some of my life experiences expressed in Chapter 6. The concept that Aboriginality is both individual and communal (Stone-Resneck 2010) is also supported by the excerpt from Bennett (2014) and what I express in Chapter 6.

Both the Victorian First-Nations community and Atkinson link experiences of trauma with Aboriginality (Atkinson 2002; Stone-Resneck 2010). Some of that trauma comes from stereotyping and comments made about the appearance of First-Nations peoples. The Indigenous Leadership Network of Victoria participants (Stone-Resneck 2010) and the individuals quoted by Maddison (2009) are politically aware, with First-Nations peoples who are politically active within their communities working nationally and internationally, claiming Aboriginality comes with the understanding that it carries a political identity (Dodson 1994). In line with postmodern analyses that view identity politics as political activism (Bennett 2012) Aboriginality rather than being judged by skin-colour may be for some people judged by attitude. There is a duality about Aboriginality as a positive expression of pride in being a First-Nations person and being involved in a struggle for equity (Berndt & Berndt 1999).

First-Nations' academic and author, Anita Heiss, has several books published in various genres. Her 2012 offering *Am I Black Enough for You?* brilliantly captures the nub of the thorny issue of the colour of one's skin, not enabling judgments about one's identity. Heiss uses written words as her weapons in acts of resistance. For First-Nations peoples, performances of resistance 'are profoundly political acts' (Moreton-Robinson 2003, p.127). Research that supports First-Nations peoples problematics may be viewed as resistance research. 'Institutional pressures to focus one's inquiry on institutional and disciplinary requirements can run counter to emancipatory knowledges and principles. Accordingly, resistance in research processes means revaluing audience, voice, subjectivities, authority

and disrupting and disrespecting any attempts at (re)colonizing knowledges...one's research...needs to resist assimilationist and co-optive strategies exercised by the dominant' (herising 2005, p. 143).

Chapter 4 – Capturing the Yarns

Introduction

Research theory and methodology inform each other. Theory is made practical by methodology. Recognising that in education, particularly in the humanities and arts, knowledge grows out of direct human experience, the research methodologies that I favour are those that are classified as qualitative rather than quantitative. Bringing together methodologies that contemplate interiority and spirit, with those that situate lived experience within the broader framework of a socio-cultural group; my research methodology is an interconnected web of methodologies. I visualise the mesh of interrelated methodologies as a net incorporating heuristic methodology (Moustakas 1990, 2001), autoethnography (Pratt 1991, 1999), yarning (Bessarab & Ng'andu 2010), dadirri (Atkinson 2002; Ungunmerr-Baumann 2002), phenomenology (van Manen 1979, 1986, 1990, 2003, 2006), historical geography, and consideration of primary and secondary historical sources. A net may be used to capture animals, birds or fish for nourishment as well as a woven dilly bag that carries important objects from place to place. Similarly, my methodological net will enable me to both allegorically capture the data I need, and to carry it so that it may undergo deconstruction for analysis, before being synthesised into new understandings.

With autoethnography as the foundational thread of my methodological net, my inquiry brings together the personalised psychosocial identity of an individual, myself, into the space that is the intersection of the historical and cultural context of the communities to which I relate. I am pursuing through my use of autoethnography, a deeper understanding of the influence of the shared history of Australia upon the construction of my identity as a First- Nations person. Enriching autoethnography and enabling discourse on spiritual intelligence and spirituality are heuristic methodology, dadirri and

phenomenology. Used together, yarning (Bessarab & Ng'andu 2010) and dadirri (Ungunmerr-Baumann 2002) along with historical geography and the use of primary and secondary historical sources, support the gathering of knowledge about my Grandfather. Also occurring as elements of my heuristic autoethnographical practice, yarning and dadirri enable investigation of phenomenon and epiphany. Further, my work in utilising historical methodologies requires an understanding of temporality from an Indigenous Standpoint which in turn requires examining my spirituality which sees my life intertwined with my Grandfather's.

Implementing some of the methodologies incorporated into my methodologic net has been effective, and both personally challenging and enriching. It is through the development of research theories and research methodologies by First-Nations academics that First-Nations peoples strive to implement self-determination within the academy. One of the main motivators for the need for self-determination within the academy has been the long-term misrepresentation of who a First-Nations person is and what our abilities, achievements and aspirations are in the 21st century.

As stated in the previous chapter the main research theory that informs my inquiry is Indigenous Standpoint Theory (Nakata 2008; Foley 2008). This theory informs all of my writing but will be particularly obvious in Chapter 6 where I present the yarns offered as vignettes that have been produced through the methodology of autoethnography. Although autoethnography was not initially introduced to the academy by First-Nations peoples; First-Nations woman of Australia, Mary Terszak successfully used autoethnography when writing her thesis during the first decade of the 21st century. After reading Terszak's (2008) work I was convinced that for First-Nations peoples wishing to present to the academy connections between cultural, political and social spheres of life, within the context of our lived experiences, autoethnography is the methodology with which to engage. Initially, I also thought that autoethnography would relieve my community from being research subjects. However, as I explain further on in this chapter that is not exactly true.

Woven into my methodological net with autoethnography is yarning (Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010) and dadirri (Ungunmerr-Baumann 2002). These two important threads of my methodological net are also expanded further on in this chapter, both originate from the work of First-Nations women of Australia. Together yarning and dadirri form the core of respectful communication, which is necessary for the establishment of right relations. The establishment of right relations is important for cognitive decolonisation, which is also supported by people developing the ability to think both ways, which is the outcome of implementing Yirritja Theory (Marika 1998).

The weft and warp threads of my methodological net uncover, capture, hold and process data that produces both tacit and explicit knowledge. My methodological net includes capturing yarns through listening and dadirri—reading and walking country. Inclusive of phenomenology, the net requires me to hone my abilities to be receptive through my senses to non-verbal cues while experiencing the exterior world. During social interaction; yarning and active listening are the methodologies that support me in gathering data. Dadirri is listening to my internal dialogue as it connects to my subconscious, retrieving phenomenological memories—memories of my lived experience. Dadirri also connects me to the collective unconscious (Jung 2014) which enables me to access genetic memory (Dias & Ressler 2014; Ham et al. 2008; Treffert 2015). Both genetic and phenomenological memories inform autoethnography. Through the process of reflection and reflexivity autoethnography as a methodology is heuristic, promoting deep interior research.

Heuristic methodology

‘Essentially, in the heuristic process, I am creating a story that portrays the qualities, meanings and essences of universally unique experiences. Through an unwavering and steady inward gaze’ (Moustakas 1990, p. 13). Exploring my interiority utilises heuristic methodology. Working towards discovering the nature and meaning of phenomenon through internal self-exploration, and discovery,

encourages me to journey along a path that uncovers its direction and meaning through internal realisations. Initially proposed by Clark Moustakas, a psychologist with an education background, heuristic methodology enables me to locate tacit knowledge important to my research journey. Implicit, unspoken, tacit knowledge is important for the presentation of autoethnographic work as truly poignant or uplifting.

Heuristic methodology grew from Moustakas's exploration of his own emotions and thinking, while writing an autobiography about an issue concerning his offspring. According to Kahakalau (2004), Moustakas began his development of heuristic methodology in the 1960s. Ku Kahakalau outlines in her paper *Indigenous Heuristic Action Research: Bridging Western and Indigenous Research Methodologies* (2004) a research methodology based on Moustakas's heuristic methodology—the methodology of action research and First-Nations peoples' understandings. Action research is conducted during an activity, such as teaching, with the objective, in the specific case of education, being pedagogical improvement. Thus, my methodological net could not accommodate Kahakalau's Indigenous Heuristic Action research as there is no action research component within my research plan. However, I agree with Kahakalau (2004) that heuristics as a research methodology aligns itself best with First- Nations peoples' ways of learning and knowing.

Acknowledging that the resolution to the research question is more than the mere quantification of data, a heuristic methodology supports a researcher to explore, collect and interpret data holistically. Meaning that information clarification through heuristic methodology necessitates understanding of all the strands, facets and viewpoints of what is being researched, because these elements are closely interrelated and cannot stand autonomously. For example, I am inquiring into my own identity, both my individual identity and my socio-cultural group identity. Since personally, I identify to the world as a First- Nations person of Australia, which is also the label given to my group identity, my group identity takes precedence over my individual identity. My right to identify as a First-Nations person of

Australia is inherited from my matrilineal Grandfather. A fact that means that detailed knowledge about him is an integral component connecting me to my identity, which cannot stand independently of his identity. Therefore, to holistically research my identity I must explore, collect and interpret data that is pertinent to Grandfather's life as well as to my own lived experiences.

Heuristic methodology requires understanding the process of discovering knowledge before writing up an explanation. It encourages the use of intuition, expression of internal dialogue, and consideration of tacit knowledge as aspects of the process for discovering knowledge. Michael Polanyi, who after reading his work and about his career I consider to be a polymath, defined tacit knowledge as preconceptions understood (but unstated) about tradition, family practices and implicit social values. Further, Polanyi suggested people experience the world by incorporating our 'subsidiary' and 'focal' consciousness. Further, subception—a response to stimulus that is incomprehensible with its effects indirectly observable—combined with subsidiary and focal awareness equates to tacit knowledge. Polanyi (1966, 2009) suggests that not all knowledge is transferable from one person to another. Not all knowledge is to be known is something that I have heard many times over my life, from when I was a small child asking 'why', right through to more recent years when asking doctors for the reasons behind my late husband's ill health. The statement 'not all knowledge is to be known' resonates with the concept of knowledge within First-Nations cultures.

From my own life experiences, I understand that people believe more than we can prove through pure logic. Although I am a seeker of the answer to the rationale for all things, I also know myself well enough to admit that I do accept that some knowledge cannot be proven through logic. For me the knowledge I accept that does not have a logical explanation is accepted more through experiences with such knowledge rather than faith. These experiences are phenomenological and often incomprehensible to others. They often stimulate tacit knowledge, bringing genetic memory to the forefront of my consciousness, understanding that an aspect of tacit knowledge is subception, which may also be

termed subliminal perception. Tacit knowledge is a response to stimulus that is incomprehensible, with its effects indirectly observable, meaning that phenomenology is also a feature of heuristic methodology. Put simply phenomenology is reflection on lived experience at a primal level of ordinary existence. However, phenomenology may also enable access to tacit knowledge. Such access may be through preontology meaning; as well as being reflective, it is pre-reflective, preconscious, and thus inaccessible or elusive to objectivistic observation. The concepts preontology, pre-reflective and pre-conscious are expanded upon further under the headings Spirit, Psychology & Science and Phenomenon& Epiphany. Phenomenology, being subjective, fits well with autoethnography as a subjective qualitative research methodology.

Max van Manen is an educator and phenomenologist who explains phenomenology as reflection on lived experiences to ascertain the essence, meaning and significance of an event (van Manen 1986). He writes, 'One's own experiences are the possible experiences of others and . . . the experiences of others are the possible experiences of oneself' (van Manen 1990, p. 58). For educators this is about becoming increasingly thoughtful about people and lived experiences, enabling the educator to become more tactful in their interactions with others. For my research, acceptance of van Manen's concept of the possibility of experiences of another also being the possible experiences of the observer reflects the idea of 'walking in someone else's shoes', of 'walking in both worlds', of 'thinking in both ways', all of which may be said to echo the essence of Yirritja Theory. It is a strong element of the cognitive decolonisation process, which also supports my proposition of connectivity between various peoples and intersubjectivity within pairings or groups of peoples.

Requiring the identification of a question or problematic, the idea that holds emotional importance for the researcher, heuristic methodology suits my research well. The emotional need for the problematic is the initial link to the interior world of the researcher. Aligning my problematic of locating my ancestral country, as a method for locating my exact First-Nations identity with heuristic methodology has a

direct nexus between knowledge of my ancestral country and my Aboriginality—my identity. The desire to know my ancestral country is personal and it impacts upon my emotional and social well-being. A heuristic methodology sees meaning made from an exploration of interiority as a way of organising the personality which is often equated with identity. Further it considers the role of personal and cultural traditions in constructing worldviews (Douglass & Moustakas 1985; Djuraskovic & Arthur 2010; Etherington 2004; Kahakalau 2004; Moustakas 2001).

Autoethnography

There are various definitions that cover the term ‘autoethnography’. Introduced in 1975 by an anthropologist named Heider, who initially spelt the term with a hyphen, it appears in his work as ‘auto-ethnography’. Heider used it to reference the subjects of his research as informants about themselves (Chang 2007), but this is not the definition of autoethnography I use. Further, autoethnography may refer to the ethnography of one’s own group or to the use of personal narrative in ethnographic writing. By using personal narrative my use of the methodology of autoethnography incorporates writing about other First-Nations peoples of Australia.

My favourite reading on autoethnography is Mary Louise Pratt (1991). She was using a keynote address to the Modern Language Association of America, titled *Arts of the Contact Zone* to introduce the theoretical concept of the ‘contact zone’. She stated, ‘I use this term to refer to social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today’ (Pratt 1991, p.34). Pratt was describing the interface of linguistics and cultures as a space where power is negotiated, thus producing a struggle. However, her concept of the ‘the contact zone’ has been adopted by other areas in the humanities. In her keynote she also presented her understanding of autoethnography as that of a postmodern, qualitative research methodology that produces evocative

writing (Pratt 1991). The requirement for evocative personal writing also requires the writing to increase understanding of a specific culture (Holt 2000) by engaging with and challenging representations put forward by others about self.

The example Pratt (1991, 1999) used was a letter written several hundred years ago by an Andean First-Nations person addressing the then King of Spain whose forces had invaded the Andeans. The letter used drawings made by the author as well as written Spanish to convey meaning. By informing her audience that the Andean letter had 400 pages of captioned line drawings, Pratt is opening up autoethnographic work to include the multiliteracies which I also use as a means of communicating. She is also opening up autoethnography to creativity as a meaning-making process. Pratt refers to autoethnography as trans- or cross-cultural, meaning that it reaches across two or more cultures. Employing Yirritja Theory sees First- Nations peoples of contemporary Australia reach across cultures. These peoples call for our children to know the cultures of their ancestors as well as being able to function within the broader society. It is a sentiment I have heard reflected by other First-Nations peoples when I have attended international conferences such as the World Indigenous Peoples Conference: Education (WICPCE) and the Healing Our Spirit Worldwide (HOSW) Conference, meaning that First-Nations children and youth must know the culture of the colonisers to use as a mechanism of survival, not submission nor supplication. First-Nations peoples do not ask to be like Not-First-Nations peoples. Beyond actions needed to ensure survival, First-Nations peoples of Australia have never yielded our sovereignty, either through treaty or conquest.

Continuing my readings on autoethnography, I found that Carolyn Ellis had also explored autoethnography, though she did not name it as such, but rather the concept of multiliteracies. Ellis (2004) incorporates the concept of autoethnographic inquiries presented as creative work. She combines advice to imagined students on how to conduct autoethnography within an imagined tertiary course. Ellis imaginatively introduces the possibilities of autoethnography as an interdisciplinary form

of inquiry. Interdisciplinary refers to the involvement of two or more academic, scientific, or artistic disciplines. My work is interdisciplinary in that it includes education through references to public pedagogy, the humanities through historical investigation, and literacy through the use of multiliteracies which incorporate the arts. By presenting her work as a novel, Ellis (2004) is emphasising creativity that may express autoethnographic studies.

Ellis also highlights the possibility of autoethnography, inspiring scholars to pursue a social justice agenda, particularly as autoethnography may divulge stories of trauma. In my case Ellis is correct, as she is using autoethnography to examine one's own life and she does inspire the pursuit of a social justice agenda. A commitment to social justice has arisen from trauma, both personal and transgenerational. A social justice agenda adheres to a belief in the creation of equity between peoples. It pursues human freedom and advances the concept of a common good, where people share equitably that which is beneficial to all. Promotion of human freedom also comes through Pratt's (1991, 1999) work on autoethnography. In this way I see the research methodology of autoethnography as supportive of First-Nations philosophy, which from my understandings is founded on reciprocity, relationality and intersubjectivity. For me First-Nations philosophy, or what I think of as The Dreaming, requires people to work collectively to benefit not just the majority, but all.

Ellis (2004) includes advice within her creative text as to how to work with stories of trauma. From my foundational methodology, autoethnography has grown my own approach for dealing with trauma, raised through reflexivity, reflection and recall demanded by autoethnography. The understandings occurring in my work on trauma and how to deal with it are mainly sourced from the work of Atkinson (2002). Further, details of my personal understandings of trauma are encapsulated within my autoethnographic yarns in Chapter 6. (My personal experiences of trauma recovery through Creative Healing Inquiry (CHI) are described in Chapter 5.)

Reminding her readers that autoethnography is both a product and a methodological process Ellis (2004) describes the process of autoethnography as requiring recall, and reflection. Recall involves provoking memory—the retrospective reliving of events. Reflection in autoethnography is subjective and evocative. Presented to garner an emotional response from the reader or viewer, autoethnography includes references to personal feelings, preferences and opinions. Autoethnography thus often deals with counternarratives, the hidden story, the taboo subject.

Autoethnography utilises ethnographic research methods (Chang 2007) that extend the remembered moment by requiring the autoethnographer to place the moment within the socio-cultural-historical-political context of the group with which the researcher is an inside observer. Through this process the autoethnographer notes cultural happenings, and what part they—the autoethnographer—and others play in such cultural events. Autoethnographers need to investigate our past selves, to recall the epiphanies and phenomenological events of our lives. Contextualising the phenomena and epiphanies within an autoethnographer's research topic, whilst also contextualising the autoethnographic topic within the exterior world of the group, needs to occur. Simultaneously autoethnography is both a research methodology and a product of research that is narrative based. The narrative may be presented in a variety of forms and thus has a nexus to multiliteracies, expanding the product of autoethnography beyond the written word. This fact may or may not be considered good, for 'language, in both its written and spoken forms, is always inherently unstable' (Denzin 2014, p. 2). However, even with the most precise communication, variability of meaning-making is due to factors such as culture, gender, life experience, subject matter, and social or subject context. Thus, having an autoethnographic piece read differently from the autoethnographer's intentions is, according to Norman Denzin (2014), common.

Autoethnographers analyse interviews to ascertain linguistic patterns and relationship protocols (Ellis, Adams & Bochner 2011). As I am wishing to practice a decolonised research methodology that places

my First-Nations standpoint first, I have not conducted formal interviews but have yarned with people. Autoethnographers also investigate the use of space, place and artefacts (Ellis, Adams & Bochner 2011). I am investigating the use of space through both my historical geography, walking the country, and the metaphoric following of the trauma trails as described by Atkinson (2002). Thus, autoethnography practices explicit and reflexive self-observation which autobiography does not.

Autoethnography is the nexus between cultural curiosities and personal lived experience (Orbe & Boylorn 2014). An example of this nexus is Boylorn's work where she writes from her raced, classed, gendered, homosexual, positioned self (Orbe & Boylorn 2014), enabled through the theory of Intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991). Viewing my lived experiences through the filter of my First-Nations identity, my working-class childhood in the 1960s and early '70s, my survival of childhood and adolescent sexual assault, as well as emotional neglect and psycho-social trauma, my heterosexuality and female gendered self, I have a standpoint unique and different from others; this makes the use of Indigenous Standpoint Theory very pertinent.

Presenting autoethnography using Indigenous Standpoint Theory as my lens positions me as the researcher to record my observations of those life events that are phenomena. It is particularly important that I note the phenomena that have constructed my identity; specifically, my identity as a First-Nations woman, particularly a First-Nations woman searching for her ancestral country and community. Phenomenological events though originally singular may become through memory integrated with other similar experiences, over time becoming one yarn with multiple phenomena centred on the same central theme.

Phenomenon is the singular experience that occurs and becomes memories. An epiphany arises when the experience manifests previously unknown existential knowledge. Storage for such knowledge is within genetic memory. For researchers using ethnography, epiphanies come from looking at the

experiences of others. Through autoethnography epiphanies come from looking at oneself, an act of intellectual contortion facilitated by reflections empowered by reflexivity. Thinking deeply and deliberately through thoughtful consideration of the circuitous relationships between cause and effect and self-referencing are strategies of autoethnographic research methodology.

Autoethnography, due to its researcher as subject focus, supports my desire to conduct research into problematics of First-Nations peoples without overly imposing my research on to other First-Nations peoples. It does however necessitate including some other stories of First-Nations peoples. Doing this brings questions of truthfulness, authenticity and perspective, including what Denzin (2014) referred to as ‘intent’. I think of myself as a truthful person. Through autoethnography the production of insights has helped me present an analysis of my identity based on my truth—my reality. However, it is important to me that I acknowledge that there are multiple realities and that truth is arbitrary. I do not claim that my use of autoethnography informed by Indigenous Standpoint Theory has produced the only reality concerning the events I have chosen to analyse. I reiterate that the product of autoethnographic research is open to interpretation (Denzin 2014).

Every phenomenon involving more than one person is both singular and separate, simultaneously having multiple standpoints and linked to other phenomenon and people. Think of the plot of a dramatized multiple car crash at the intersection of a high-speed zone. There are many people interacting in the phenomenon, even if only as witnesses. Each person comes to the event having a unique perspective and goes away from the situation with the occurrence having varying implications for the rest of their lives. In this way, the narrative of the event is singular and separate. The people identified as involved come not only from diverse directions but have diverse considerations as to how and why the crash occurred; bringing multiple standpoints to the reporting of the incident. One person involved may come away from the phenomenon with a slightly dented car body, but another may have life-threatening injuries. The first person will be able to drive their car away from the scene but the

other will need to have multiple surgeries and be in a wheelchair for the rest of their life—same phenomenon but completely different impacts on future life experiences.

I think of the repercussions of invasion and colonisation of Australia as the repercussions of a phenomenon, such as a multiple car crash at a major intersection within a high-speed zone.

Taking all perspectives and outcomes into consideration ensures phenomena are fully comprehensible.

Utilising autoethnography I am giving a view of the standpoint and consequences of the ramifications of the invasion and colonisation of Australia for me. Thus, I am giving voice to the construction of an identity not well understood. People with essentialist attitudes about First-Nations Australians often deny or at least diminish First- Nations identities of people such as myself.

Memories, either phenomenological or genetic, enable access to both tacit and explicit knowledge and required personal evocative writing. As a visual person, recalling memories through interaction with artefacts, such as photographs, bring strong images to mind, encouraging the use of creativity in meaning-making. Although not specifically stated, Pratt (1991, 1999) gave credence to the use of multiliteracies and intertextuality in an autoethnographic text. In turn my development of Creative Healing Inquiry (CHI), an art- based, mental para-professional healing process made explicit for myself and others the consequences of colonialism, which shaped our identities and caused trauma in both our minds and spirits.

Spirit, psychology and science

Autoethnography enables the researcher as subject to make a space within academia to express passion and spirit (Spry 2001). Passion references strong and barely controllable emotion. When passion triggers an intense emotional response, producing energy, the spirit is present—the soul has come forth. Explained in physical scientific terms, it causes adrenalin or endorphin rushes that produce

flushed skin, sweating, altered breathing and heart rate, or a sense of not being present within one's own body. Passion such as the desire to save or produce life, or to defend a strongly held conviction are well-known examples, and in some people's lives, often experienced. Passion thus energises the spirit, enabling it to move a person to do things previously thought to be beyond their capabilities.

The words 'passion' and 'spirit' may be read as synonymous. Nevertheless, I read Spry's (2001) reference to 'spirit' as metaphysical. In metaphysics 'spirit' refers to the non-physical part of a person, the seat of emotions and personality. Synonymous with the 'soul', in my thinking the spirit and the soul are immortal. Spirituality is based on an individual's insights whereas religion is collective and organised, usually around ancient writings such as the Christian Bible, the Islamic Koran or the Jewish Talmud and Torah. Thought of as 'new age', spirituality is as old as the first cognisant being on the planet, who contemplated life, their identity and origins. My personal contemplations see a link between spirit and the Jungian concept of the collective unconscious or universal consciousness.

A psychiatrist, and initially a student of Sigmund Freud, Carl Jung, postulated a universal consciousness, known as the collective unconscious. Although, Freud and Jung agreed that the unconscious is the rationale for people thinking and acting as they do. Jung disagreed with Freud's concept that the unconscious is personal. For Jung a person's unconscious is the top layer of the deeper universal layers of consciousness—the collective unconscious. It embraces the human psyche and is not developed from personal experience but taken on as inheritance, a concept in line with recent work on genetic memory. Explorations by Penrose and Hameroff (2014) of consciousness in the universe are supportive of the existence of a universal consciousness which is also our collective unconscious. Further Penrose and Hameroff as well as Jung view it as connecting all of humanity.

Jung's collective unconscious contains instincts and archetypes, omnipresent thought forms—assumptions and mental images. Instincts are innate patterns of behaviour that present in response to

specific stimuli. Conveying the collective unconscious, influencing an individual's emotions and behaviours, archetypes contextualise thinking on a subject. Archetypes may also be symbols and images. According to Jung the collective unconscious originates in the inherited structure of the brain. Recently, Ham, Dias, Ressler, neuroscientists and scientists working in other areas, have been researching genetic memory, which is where I propose Jung's collective unconscious originates. Humanity's collective unconscious incorporates tacit knowledge which in turn contains beliefs, ideas and morals that operate as a unifying force within society.

Another psychologist, Abraham Maslow, although not using the same terminology as Jung, also showed interest in the concept of spirit. Maslow's unpublished papers demonstrate his contemplations that the apex of his pyramid of human needs should reach beyond self-actualisation to transcendence (Koltko-Rivera, 2006). Transcendence may translate as 'excellence' but here it is existence that reaches beyond the material world into that concerned with the spirit—the collective unconscious. Alongside the interpretation of Maslow's writings on 'transcendence', as relating to the collective unconsciousness, is the growth of interest attested to through research and publication on the topic of 'spiritual intelligence', which Howard Gardener (2000), the originator of multiple intelligences considered as existential intelligence or an ability to find and realise adequate life meaning. Other writers on the subject see existential and spiritual intelligence as separate but related and overlapping constructs (Halama & Strizenec 2004).

The late Stephen Covey authored several texts focussing on how to be a good business leader. I have read most of his publications and found his work useful in his advice on how to prioritize and interact well with others. He wrote 'Spiritual Intelligence ... is the central and most fundamental of all the intelligences because it ... represents our drive for meaning and connection with the infinite. Spiritual intelligence also helps us discern true principles that are part of our conscience' (Covey 2004, p. 53). Such intelligence is based on findings concerning thoughts, emotions, and behaviours of an individual

and includes various methods that coordinate tacit knowledge, innate life and the spirit with external life. In this way spiritual intelligence acknowledges Moustaka's considerations of interior life as an aspect of his heuristic methodology. Spiritual intelligence may lead to improvement in a person's ability to adapt, which usually leads to an increase in well-being, happiness, and improvement of life quality (Vaughan 2002). Due to the recognition of the effect of spiritual intelligence on an individual's emotional and social well-being, articles reporting on inquiries into spiritual intelligence often match the work on inquiries into 'emotional intelligence' (Chin, Anantharaman & Tong, 2011).

Spiritual intelligence addresses and solves problems concerning axiology (Fariborsa, Fatemehb & Hamidrezac 2010; Kaur, Sambasivan & Kumar 2013; Zohar & Marshall 2000) which may be tacit or explicit knowledge of the criteria of values for making value judgements. This intelligence enables people to choose one life-path as being more meaningful than another. Characteristics of spiritual intelligence include high integrity, being courageous, loving, selfless and calm; having vision and making a difference, as well as being inspiring and inspired. Another attribute of spiritual intelligence is an individual's ability to identify methodologies that enable them to consciously pursue emotional and social well-being for themselves and for the sake of the broader community (Emmons & Crumpler 2000; Emmons & McCullough 2003).

A methodology that enables spiritual intelligence to support the emotional and social well-being of a community is through the demonstration of gratitude. Gratitude is effective in increasing emotional and social well-being as it builds psychological, social and spiritual resources. Gratitude inspires prosocial reciprocity, and, in this way, gratitude supports the core principles of First-Nations philosophy being relationality, reciprocity and intersubjectivity. Therefore, spiritual intelligence as I use it in this work is the ability to understand, feel, evaluate, create and act beyond self-centred motives (Ronel, 2008), enabling better alignment with the collective unconscious—the universal consciousness, the spirit, the omnipotent presence some refer to as God.

Connecting Moustakas's (2001) heuristic methodology, Spry's (2001) work on passion and spirit within autoethnography and Koltko-Rivera's (2006) work on Maslow's consideration of transcendence, with the vast amount of work undertaken in the last three decades on spiritual intelligence; I think spiritual intelligence supports the heuristic aspects of autoethnography and the development of spiritual intelligence which in turn supports transcendence. The revelation that Maslow explored the possibility of placing transcendence at the pinnacle of his pyramid of human needs—above self-actualisation—suggests that he considered spiritual intelligence as important. Autoethnography is concerned with the cultural connection between the self and others and with representing the culture of the self. The prominence or lack of prominence of an individual's and their cultural group's consideration of the spirit is thus an aspect of autoethnography. Because autoethnography situates the individual's experience within the group's historical, social, political and cultural experience including spirituality; autoethnography as a research methodology needs the researcher to hone their spiritual intelligence and incorporate the strategies of heuristic methodology that requires looking within and connecting with one's own spirit.

Yarning

In many societies storytelling is referred to as 'yarning'. It is the term often used by First- Nations peoples in Australia, particularly when expressing ourselves using one of the dialects of Aboriginal English. Thus, by using 'yarning' I am especially honouring Australia's First- Nations ontology. A yarn is always about phenomena that concern the human condition (Gottschall 2012). According to Kahakalau (2014) 'story format—(is) a distinctly indigenous form of sharing insight and knowledge' (p. 30). Yarning demonstrates the self-renewing power of tradition, its vitality, and its interpretability and reinterpretability. Yarning is a collaborative performance of sharing knowledge generated through experiences—the phenomenon. Yarning is a way of transferring knowledge and is thus an epistemological performance.

Bessarab and Ng'andu (2010) were the first to publish on yarning as a research methodology. It is different from interviewing a research informant as the data is obtained through gentle conversation rather than the harsher process of direct questioning. Yarns are also used to support members of the Stolen Generations and their descendants to find their correct First- Nations groups and country. It has been through further investigating the yarns as family oral history that inspired both my metaphysical and physical journeys on the path to finding the exact First-Nations peoples to whom my Grandfather and I belong. The methodological process of yarning, as I practise it, is a method underlined by the adherence to First-Nations principles of relationality, intersubjectivity and reciprocity.

Counternarratives and metanarratives

As 'narrative' is a synonym for 'yarn', it is pertinent to explore 'counter' and 'meta' narratives. The term 'metanarrative' (Smith 2001, 2006) comes from Jean-François Lyotard who also holds the honour of being the first to publish on postmodernism (Lyotard 1979) in relation to philosophy.

Postmodernism encourages people to be critical thinkers, engaged in didactic dialectics that compare contradictory ideas seeking to resolve conflict. Lyotard in critiquing the concept 'metanarrative', sometimes referenced to as 'grand narrative', proposed there is no place for metanarrative in a postmodernist world. Metanarrative contains all encompassing concepts and beliefs of the modernist world, explaining grandiose ideas such as theories, methodologies, systems, and philosophical movements. In this way, metanarratives prop up hegemonic institutions by maintaining the status quo concerning political, economic and social power.

The progress of history is an example of metanarrative. Beginning as reports of lived events, stories become accumulated and connected, eventually becoming the histories of nation states. As a narrative that legitimises hegemony, Australia's history is metanarrative. 'The conquerers write the history'—a saying that challenges humanities scholars such as myself who are not of the conquerers. In contrast

the view that postmodernism allows for diverse standpoints was the main reason for Lyotard rejecting metanarratives and it is a motivator for me to present the counternarrative, that is, my Grandfather's and my combined story.

Fortunately, the thinking of the postmodernist era of academia encourages the telling of counternarratives, which give those who are silenced a space in which to use their voice.

Counternarratives are oppositional responses to metanarratives. Empowering the disenfranchised, counternarratives enable the telling of our story from our perspective. The counternarrative that I am presenting resists the one-sided history of Australia, particularly that of Queensland, to tell that history from the standpoint of a First-Nations person. In producing counternarratives—by revealing the understandings of those who are located as opposite or other to the authors of the metanarratives—yarning is a subversive methodology.

Phenomenon and epiphany

Phenomenology as a qualitative research methodology has been touched on under the headings, Heuristic methodology and Spirit, psychology and science. In this section I expand upon and link the previously stated understandings to a better understanding of epiphany and the role of yarning in my methodological net.

Utilising phenomenology in my research links it to Yirritja Theory as an aspect of my research methodologies through its strong links to both heuristic methodology and autoethnography. My use of phenomenology thus flows through the blurring of reading, writing, researching and reflecting which occurs simultaneously.

Incorporating phenomenology within the methodology of yarning seems natural as yarning is often about phenomenon and epiphany. Phenomena are salient life events such as ‘first-time’ life experiences. Conducted in the hope that it will transform social paradigms, phenomenology empowers radical inquiry as it studies the structures of experience and consciousness. Empowered through phenomenology I better understand the results of, and relationships between, complex and unforgettable life experiences in defining my identity.

Epiphanies are a sudden, intuitive insight that significantly influences the course of an individual’s life. Often an epiphany occurs that enables a person to solve a problem, allowing the completion of a project, the mutually satisfying conclusion of a conflict or simply for the person’s knowledge to expand. Epiphanies are those moments when suddenly the answer to a quandary that the person has been pondering upon for an inordinate amount of time, becomes clear. Thus, epiphanies are also phenomena, as epiphanies are also lived experiences. It is sudden intuitive insight that sets an epiphany apart from the salient life event that is a phenomenon.

Phenomenology, as a thread within my methodological net, enables me to explore phenomena and epiphanies in order to recover data for my discourse on the construction of my identity as a First-Nations woman. My discourse on identity construction is not presented as a traditional academic treatise but as yarns written as vignettes, which are presented in Chapter 6.

Intersubjectivity, Indigenous Standpoint and singularity

Whilst phenomena are salient life events and epiphany a sudden intuitive insight, there is a situation that occurs within the social world that I have not been able to locate a term for; thus, I use the term ‘First-Nations Singularity’. This singularity is when I am the only First- Nations person present and I respond to a statement or experience in a markedly differently manner to the Not-First-Nations peoples

present. This is because of my Indigenous Standpoint. When two or more First-Nations peoples are present, intersubjectivity—the psychological relationship between people with shared emotions and a shared knowledge of a phenomenon or epiphany—creates a distinctive response. First-Nations singularities exist because intersubjectivity informs Indigenous Standpoint and First-Nations peoples may find themselves to be by themselves, particularly in work environments outside of our own organisations. Some of the yarns in Chapter 6 exemplify my concept of First-Nations singularities, recalling the incident at my teachers' college graduation. The experience described in the related vignette (see Chapter 6) clearly describes how my response to news about a previous teacher was viewed completely differently to my Not-First-Nations friends and colleagues. The fact that I am a First-Nations person has made my assessment of a situation oppositional to that of Not-First-Nations peoples, which has strongly influenced my identity as a First-Nations woman, unfortunately mainly by confirming alterity.

My methodological net, which may also be envisaged as a web of interconnectedness, is comprised of strands of qualitative research methodologies that enable subjective analysis and expression of my research findings, encapsulated in my understanding of my theoretical framework, which is inclusive of Indigenous Standpoint Theory. It enables me to experience my reality, recollect those experiences and respond, creating, relating and recreating my reality. Indigenous Standpoint is the filter through which I interpret my truth, my reality, my world. It informs the knowledge I produce.

Trust

While conducting that aspect of my methodological net that required me to travel to Far North Queensland to speak to various First-Nations peoples, mainly Kuku-Yalanji and Kuku- Djungan peoples; I had to consciously practice First-Nations protocols and prove that I would be a safe person

with whom to yarn. Providing safety requires trust and the acceptance of me as the researcher required acceptance of me as a safe person. A safe space can be anywhere if trust exists.

Often the knowledge that is shared by First-Nations peoples is knowledge that will only be shared with that person and a few select others. I recall the experience in 1990 when I was interacting with Elders from Woorabinda, recoding their Dreaming stories while they used water-colour paints to illustrate their stories. When we discussed my family story and they had located me and my Grandfather as Kuku-Yalanji they began to share knowledge, but when I motioned for them to put the tape-recorder on, they said ‘No, this is just for you’. In relation to stories that have been gifted to me by various Elders over the years I have had to learn to ask for their permission, before leaving their company, whether I can share these stories with anyone else. It is through practicing these protocols that trust is built.

Dadirri

In concert with yarning I have incorporated ‘dadirri’ into my methodological net. This was initially promoted as a method for all people to use by Miriam-Rose Ungunmerr-Baumann, a recipient of the Order of Australia in recognition of meritorious service to education. Ungunmerr-Baumann is an Elder from Nauiyu, known in Standard Australian English as the Daly River in the Northern Territory. Dadirri as described by Ungunmerr-Baumann is deep listening and quiet, still awareness of one’s own internal dialogue.

Atkinson (2002) utilised dadirri in her research on trauma in the lives of First-Nations peoples. Atkinson noted the principles and functions of dadirri, as used by Atkinson, to be knowledge and consideration of community, and the diversity and unique nature that everyone brings to community in ways of relating and acting within community. Atkinson went further to construct dadirri as a ‘non-

intrusive observation, or quietly aware watching, a deep listening and hearing with more than the ears' (2002, p. 16). Here I see that Atkinson also attributes to dadirri the strategies of active listening which includes 'listening' through watching for non-verbal clues demonstrated through non-verbal language. The next point that Atkinson states as an aspect of dadirri is 'a reflective non-judgmental consideration of what is being seen and heard' (Atkinson 2002, p.16), which is one of the steps in creating a safe environment. Atkinson concludes her discourse on dadirri with the statement 'having learnt from the listening, a purposeful plan to act, with actions informed by learning, wisdom, and the informed responsibility that comes with knowledge' (2002, p.16). Here I read Atkinson as emphasising one of the epiphanies I have learnt from my inquiry, that is, there is a great responsibility that comes with receiving knowledge.

Dadirri, trauma and spirituality

In weaving dadirri into my methodological net I have incorporated both Ungunmerr- Baumann and Atkinson's considerations on how to implement deep listening. Ungunmerr- Baumann's concept of dadirri enables exploration of existential and spiritual issues and transition for people who have experienced trauma (Simon 2009). It is proposed by Emmons and Crumpler (2000) that spiritual intelligence is the ability to enter into heightened spiritual states of consciousness enabling transcendence. Further these authors propose that spiritual intelligence requires investing everyday activities, events, and relationships with a sense of the sacred. People with satisfactory spiritual intelligence have the ability to utilise spiritual resources to solve problems in living and the capacity to engage in virtuous behavior (Emmons & Crumpler 2000). Virtuous behaviours are demonstrated by the ability to show forgiveness, to express gratitude, to be humble, and to display compassion. I also feel and think that through my methodological net I better understand what is required to achieve spiritual intelligence and that CHI has enabled me to move closer to achieving self- actualisation or transcendence. In this way my methodological net has been personally enriching.

Developing my autoethnographic writing by utilising Ungunmerr-Baumann's concept of dadirri in conjunction with heuristic methodology is personally enriching and effective. It has enabled me to develop my spiritual intelligence and move closer to connect with what Spry (2001) described as 'spirit' and what Jung (2014) called the 'collective unconscious'. All of this can be achieved through deep, quiet, contemplation of the moment or previous phenomenon. Sometimes such contemplations bring about an epiphany which always enables connection to one's self.

In our younger years most, people are unable to consider whether a phenomenon is extraordinary, with the possibility for astonishing consequences, or whether it is an ordinary everyday phenomenon. However, as we age, sometimes in the quiet of night, we reflect deeply and remember. We remember an event that has seeped deep into our being. We remember what has rested sometimes with only our subconscious taking any heed of its existence. Using dadirri the memory emerges as internal dialogue, demanding that we listen. Yarns, recalled through deep reflection, reflexivity and communication with our internal dialogue, focus on our lives, and are therefore autobiographical. When contextualised within specific cultural, social, political and historical frameworks and expressed evocatively, such yarns become autoethnographical.

Both dadirri and heuristic methodology require reflection, which in my work is a thoughtful contemplation that can develop to become a form of self-reflexivity. Within sociology, reflexivity is an examination of how something is affecting me as the researcher. I must adopt an attitude of attending systematically to the context of knowledge construction, at every step of the research process. Reflexivity enables me to acknowledge influences that through subjective social interaction have determined my place within society.

Before proceeding further, I caution my reader to not confuse 'internal dialogue' with 'dialogical self', a psychological concept which describes the mind's ability to imagine the distinct positions of

participants in an internal dialogue, in close connection with external dialogue. The focus here is internal dialogue only. Dialogue requires a listener. Dadirri as a method for engaging with our internal dialogue requires careful, non-judgemental observation of our own thoughts and feelings. Further, dadirri necessitates concentrating on those thoughts and emotions present at that precise moment, rather than dwelling on the past or anticipating the future. In this way dadirri supports mindfulness. Equally dadirri does not require forgetting the past, nor does it require not aspiring towards the future. It does however require internal reflective mindfulness.

Through concentrating 'reflective mindfulness' in my internal dialogue I become aware of feelings, thoughts and physical sensations. Some people, for example Ungunmerr-Baumann (2002), also report becoming aware of a positive omnipotent presence that she names 'God'. For myself I think of positive omnipotent presence as being the collective unconsciousness of the universe which I sometimes refer to as the 'Ancestors'. It is through the reflective mindfulness of dadirri that new realities form and change occurs. Dadirri is quiet and unhurried; everything happens in its own time, at its own pace, rushing nothing. The way of dadirri takes time and patience.

It is the acceptance of change that comes through dadirri that psychologists who support people experiencing grief aim to have their clients achieve. Acceptance of change however will not occur before grieving. An Elder of my Victorian community, Aunty Joy Wandin Murphy, in 2006 while yarning at rehearsals for the opening ceremony of the Commonwealth Games, said 'we need a gathering to grieve our losses'. She was talking about the losses that have occurred due to invasion and colonisation. A gathering centred on grieving may enable First-Nations peoples to better acknowledge that although we have lost aspects of our cultures, and had our ancestors murdered or enslaved with the majority dispossessed of country and placed in prison camps, WE HAVE SURVIVED! Our survival has not been through assimilation but through adaptation, thus we have chosen the changes we have made to our cultures. Through choosing for ourselves we have resisted assimilation and as all cultures

change over time, our cultures have survived. Although the gathering may begin as a time to grieve, which would benefit from a clear understanding of Atkinson's (2002) work on trauma; it could end in celebration of our survival.

During the gathering suggested by Aunty Joy Wandin Murphy there would be social interactions that would be supported by dadirri—deep listening—which is more than hearing. An allegory to explain the difference between hearing and listening is the occurrence of a person hearing a noise outside of their house. When they say to their companion “did you hear that?” both people stop to listen. Putting a noise in context through listening promotes comprehension. Consequently, listening is more than hearing. Listening enables the comprehension of something heard.

Dadirri requires full concentration, which involves being intellectually and emotionally present in the moment. For the researcher to best comprehend the yarner's meaning, they involve all their senses. Dadirri incorporates looking for clues from body language and intonation, acknowledging that pausing or silence also communicate meaning. Researchers using dadirri use their own body language to acknowledge that they are listening. Invigorating yarning with the deep listening of dadirri uncovers knowledge; thus, dadirri has a role in rethreading lost connections and lost epistemologies of stolen generations First- Nations peoples to our communities.

Memory markers

Yarning, where the focus is on telling stories of identity, is helpful to people who are from the Stolen Generations and their descendants to recall and engage with stories that may contain challenging knowledge. For such important yarns, often there are memory markers. In the 21st century memory markers may include photographs, in the past a memory marker may have been an engraved stone. Memory markers support accompanying yarning and dadirri to ensure maintenance of knowledge.

Dadirri, as deep listening to another, may occur sitting next to each other looking out over country. Sometimes the landscape works as a memory marker. Almost all of the yarns shared in the workshops I have conducted have included yarning about country. Compelled to share stories of country, whether the person has been able to walk the country of their ancestors or not, is a characteristic of First-Nations ontology. Even though experienced only metaphysically as prompted by genetic memory, connection to country is still strong. Culture, country and shared First-Nations peoples experience of invasion and colonisation are the focus of yarns that have dominated workshops I have facilitated on CHI.

Words are important

Dadirri and yarning support me to move beyond re-traumatisation. Although not yet recognised within all acknowledged dictionaries I deliberately use the terms re-claiming and ‘re-claimation’ rather than the terms ‘reclamation’ or ‘reappropriation’ about my identity. The word ‘reclamation’ is too closely associated with processes involved in turning locations, such as rubbish dumps, into land for redevelopment. Therefore, I do not feel comfortable using ‘reclamation’ to discuss the re-claiming of identity. ‘Reappropriation’ would be appropriate if I were to use derogatory terms about myself in a way that demonstrated my ownership and respectful use of such words. An example of reappropriation of derogatory labels is the use of the appellation ‘wog’ in the 2000 comic film written by and starring Nick Giannopoulos titled *The Wog Boy*. Thus, my use of re-claimation specifically concerns the identity rights of a person from an acknowledged socially stigmatised group. In describing such a person some sociologists may identify them as ‘queer’. In the past those of us who belong to such groups have described ourselves as the ‘comma-ised’ groups because when writing policies, the authors would write a list of socio-cultural groups with a comma between each group, for example, ‘women, migrants, homosexuals, disabled, aborigines’.

When using dadirri it is important to listen to the words that yarners use, as words may expose a person's attitude. Although it is best to not think about anything else than what the yarner is saying; it is acceptable to come back to them after the reflection step of the methodology to ask them to clarify their meaning.

Reading History – Part A

It cannot be denied that historical information is critical in the search that assists members and descendants of the Stolen Generations to reunite with family and to explore their Aboriginality (Jenkinson 2005 p.7). It is through my matrilineal Grandfather that I have received my legacy of First-Nations identity. Because Grandfather died before I was born, I acknowledge that the methods often used by historians are also a part of my methodological net. However, before launching into a full description of this aspect I need to explore temporality.

Temporality and spirituality

For those who follow European traditions, the concept of time is related to chronometers, such as watches, and clocks displayed on the dashboard of a car, on the face of a mobile telephone or displayed on a computer screen. Linear time is visualised and explained as a straight line. Sometimes my writing will follow the concept and sometimes it will not.

First-Nations peoples view time as something that is 'every-time' and 'every-where' merging into a cycle of people, places and events—a temporal order sustained by the cosmology of the Dreaming (Donaldson 1996). First-Nations languages convey concepts of time and space that are very unlike those expressed in English (Troy 1992). Studying Guugu Yimithirr cardinal directions researchers found 'the expression thagaal-bi has the temporal meanings 'first' and 'a long time ago' (Haviland 1998, p. 25), thus emphasising the cyclic nature of temporality.

The data collated by archaeologists and physical anthropologists all support First-Nations oral traditions of how we have lived in Australia since before the counting of time (Flood 1983), since the Dreaming. And within the Dreaming are concepts of spirituality, principles, law, geographical mapping, social mapping and ontology (Tamisari & Wallace 2006).

Through the Dreaming, phenomenon, place and people are one, as the Dreaming connects all entities within the cosmos. The Dreaming is an inextricable part of a First-Nations person's existence and explains our relationships. Without relationships people have no place, no purpose and thus become no one. Accordingly, time is central to whose company a person is in, where they are together and in what activity they are engaged. First-Nations peoples continuously recreate the cycle of time through ceremonies that follow the rhythm of growth, depletion and renewal. Reconstructing the events of creation and rejuvenation of life are ritually relived. A person's life is cycling, passing from spirit birth to birth, to ceremonies, phenomena and epiphanies of life, and to death to rebirth in spirit form, with some First- Nations cultures incorporating reincarnation (Donaldson 1996).

First-Nations concepts of time interlace past and present and mutually constituted in daily life. Thus, knowledge of events is linked to space and place rather than linear time. Cyclic time sees people moving around, through and with, recurring and impending, experiences. Each act of daily sustainability, each journey across the land, is a unique event in the life of a person. In the time before The Invasion every one of these events followed the tracks laid down by the Ancestral Beings; in the time after the invasion, for many First-Nations peoples the events are linked to trauma trails (Atkinson 2002). In this way, the events of 'contact history take their place within the mytho-cosmological recreation of the landscape' (Godwin & Wiener 2008, pp.126-127).

An example from my interactions with First-Nations peoples in Far North Queensland of this incorporation of contact history with past and present events was given to me by an Auntie from the

Kuku-Djungan people; sadly, the Aunt died on Christmas Eve 2013. The yarns we had included her sharing Dreaming stories with me. Variations of either the whole or sections of one of the Dreaming stories she shared I have read in various publications including Trezise (1969), Isaacs (1980), Bottom (1999) and Toohey (2001). Through Auntie's sharing she gifted the following story to me:

'There are two stories I know about the creation of our mountain and I will tell you both but first that one about the Rainbow Serpent and the three lorikeet brothers. They were travelling together to find the people who spoke their language, they had been travelling for a long, long, time from the south to the west, from the west to the north, for a long time they been travelling. Finally, the Rainbow Serpent said to them brothers "I am older than you, I have to rest". "Okay" said the lorikeet brothers, "you rest, and we will keep going to find our people, the ones that speak our language and when we find them we will come back for you." Well the Rainbow Serpent rested, until finally He realised that those lorikeet brothers were not coming back for Him. So, he listened'.

Now it was at this stage of Aunt's yarning that I noticed something important. She used the concept of 'every-time', merging the past, present and future as one, within a cycle of people, places and events. Auntie was very comfortable, and when I think about using my knowledge of First-Nations epistemology of time, she was also very correct to move around the temporality of the yarn, merging the time of first contact between the Djungan and Not-First- Nations peoples and the time of the Ancestral Beings. She went on to say:

'So, the Rainbow Serpent listened to the languages he could hear. Being close to them goldfields he heard the Chinese and knew that they were not his people because they did not speak his language. He heard the slaves brought in from the South Sea Islands to work on the tobacco farms and knew that the Kanaks were not his people because they did not speak his language. He listened to all those different European languages being spoken by the Migloos [Murri English word for White people] and knew that none of them were his people because they did not speak his language. He heard us Kuku-Djungan speaking and although a little bit like his language it was not his language and we were not his

people, so he moved on north but before he left he showed his appreciation for us letting him rest on our country by making our mountain with its beautiful waterlily lake on top' (E Waia 2011, storytelling, 4 August).

I will always remember this Aunty with the greatest affection for her generosity of spirit, particularly for sharing with me her understanding of the Dreaming. However, whether Aunt's incorporation of those who inhabited the Hodgkinson Goldfield is correct or not, denying First-Nations peoples that had much destroyed and taken from us because of contact- conflict, as some historians and politicians have done, is erroneous. A simple deconstruction of the shared story illustrates that fact. Some people even lost themselves; by this I am not simply referring to the loss of physical lives but to country, language, dance and much more. Removing my Grandfather meant that I and his other descendants have also had our specific culture and country pilfered from us.

Reading History – Part B

It cannot be denied that historical information is critical in the search that assists members and descendants of the Stolen Generations to reunite with family and to explore their Aboriginality (Jenkinson 2005, p.7).

Historical geography

There are a variety of methodologies used to interrogate historical events, times and cultures present during those periods, with challenges for the researchers in using any of the history methods, being 'fragmentary records, uncertain provenance, illegible handwriting' (Keighren 2013, p. 570). Historical methodologies, as with most social science and humanities inquiries, aim to connect the work not only to an era, but also to a place within the context of social, political and economic issues of the time.

Weaving historical methodologies into my net depend upon the questions raised by the research. One methodology is paleography which requires the deciphering and dating of historical manuscripts such as the documents in Grandfather's state file. Another methodology I have employed is historical geography that relies heavily on the use of primary sources such as maps, aerial photographs and field work (Baker & Billinge 1982). The field work aspect of the methodology requires walking country or what is usually referenced as landscape analysis; thus, historical geography complements First-Nations standpoints.

Methodology also requires the researcher to observe the traces of what was, enabling the imagination to take oneself to the time of any artefacts located. Historical geography also allows for oral history as a source of data. Through the methodology of historical geography, I was able to walk Kuku-Djungan and Kuku-Yalanji countries. On Kuku-Djungan country I initially walked where the colonial town of Thornborough was and through the artefacts that were present to see the sort of material goods used by the people who lived in the town.

Walking what remains of The Bump Track, I walked Kuku-Yalanji country. The Bump Track was the colonial road that traversed the country from Port Douglas to Thornborough. The rainforest is reclaiming the country, with some patches as much as they were in the late 19th century; thus, interacting with the natural environment was a highlight of implementing historical geography.

Primary and secondary sources

Accompanying historical geography is the more traditional form of historical methodology (Kelley 1991, 1998, 2008) where I procure data located within either primary or secondary sources. Verbal yarns are primary sources of data. Written genres that also come under the category of primary data sources are personal communications, such as letters, diaries or notations, and governmental generated

forms filled in by people important to my research. Secondary data sources include lyrics, newspapers and government or company reports, which are all sources of data for undertaking a study using my methodological net. I also view maps as a secondary data source as a map may give an impression of what country is like, but it is only by being on country that a person can have a firsthand or primary experience with the place. Numerical data such as that available from the Australian Bureau of Statistics also comes under the heading of secondary sources.

When conducting a historical study, the competencies required to locate, interpret, analyse, clarify and develop a conclusion are utilised, revisited and revised. Contextualising the analysed data and presenting it in a meaningful form is very important. I have chosen a narrative form to present most of my data and its accompanying analysis.

Conclusion

A ‘distinct contemporary indigenous research feature’ (Kahakalau 2004, p. 30) is how First- Nations Hawaiian academic, Kahakalau describes ‘including both indigenous and Western methods of research’ (2004, p. 30). She goes on further to state that this combining of methodologies is ‘because at the present time indigenous scholars like myself have to justify ourselves in two worlds’ (Kahakalau 2004, p. 30). Although I agree with Kahakalau that First-Nations peoples in academia do have to justify ourselves in two worlds; I do think and hope that this need is becoming less and less. Especially, as my motivation for my methodological net, which incorporates methodologies noted as having come from First- Nations thinkers and those coming from Not-First-Nations thinkers, is because I judged the methodologies chosen as fit for purpose.

I found these aspects of my methodological net that required me to walk on country, and to yarn with Elders inspirational. Participating in dadirri as I undertook metaphorical walking of my path, all

strengthen my Aboriginality. Unfortunately, my methodological net did as it must, reinvigorate negative feelings about the racist moments that have constructed my identity (those yarns are included in Chapter 6). Having begun to intuitively turn to creativity as a way of dealing with my wounded emotional well-being in the following chapter I detail the development of CHI in depth, and how it can help to counterbalance the impact on the health of First-Nations peoples of colonialism, as continued through racism.

Chapter 5 – Creative Healing Inquiry (CHI)

Introduction

The wide-ranging study of my psychological and spiritual self, that is necessary for the implementation of my methodological net as noted in the earlier chapter, led me to being re-traumatized. During my childhood when traumatized through racial abuse, my mother unsupportively usually stated, 'Well you must have done something wrong to make them upset with you'. As a teenager, discoveries about the horrid treatment of my First-Nations ancestors drew the response, 'That is in the past'. Developing a bright imagined world into which I would retreat when under duress was my only defence, but it drew the response 'weird child' from my father. Through my parents' inability to meet my emotional needs I also learnt to conceal my imagined world.

As stated in Chapter 4, the research methodology of autoethnography requires reflection, reflexivity and the recalling of instances in my life that I believe contributed to the construction of my identity as a First-Nations woman. It was while involved in autoethnography that I realized I was reliving emotional pain. Subsequently, I began to delve into a variety of creative practices with the purpose being to distract myself. In fact, I found myself not so much distracted as using the creative process to express my grief and to develop my own resilience.

Social and emotional well-being – First-Nations health

Wholistic health and healing

The health of First-Nations peoples is viewed wholistically, incorporating psychological, social, family, cultural, spiritual, emotional, and physical aspects for a person and community (Kelly et al. 2015). Psychological or mental health which is not viewed as separate to physical health is often referred to as ‘social and emotional well-being’ (Grieves 2009). Creative Healing Inquiry (CHI) evolved due to the negative impact some of my research caused to my social and emotional well-being. For me the ultimate goal of healing is transformation. Further, I hope that emotional and social well-being may be followed by transcendence, enabling me to connect with the universal consciousness.

Peer groups and identity

During my inquiry into identity from a general perspective—not just from the point of view of my Aboriginality—I learnt that the psychologist Erik Erikson proposed that to develop a personal identity and self-esteem an individual must discover that their ‘experiences are also those of their peers’ (Skaife & Huet 2014, p. 51). During my childhood, youth and young adult life I was very often without peers, for although I have discussed myself as a member of the Cusp Generation this was not sufficiently specific to be considered a true peer group. I recall at primary school being friends with the migrant girl, who was adopted, Italian and rich. She was a year younger than everyone else and who, like me, swam well. In secondary school my closest friend was again the migrant girl, this time from England where she had received ‘O levels’ attesting to her intelligence. Recalling these schoolmates, I see that who I was attracted to and who I attracted as friends were people outside the ‘average’ or ‘norm’ of the Cusp Generation.

I went to state co-educational schools in Queensland. I have no recollection of boys in primary school with whom I could say I had a friendship. Like most girls at my secondary school I had a teenage boyfriend. I also recall two boys who were friends in secondary school, who would also be considered to be outside the 'average'. One was terribly thin and had a scar on his lips that may have been from an operation to correct a hair-lip and he may have also come from a migrant family. The other was larger both in height and girth than the other teenage boys and came from an affluent family that had a road named after them, because their ancestors were amongst the first colonisers of the area. I don't recall either boy being a part of a school sports team such as cricket or rugby league. Most other boys at the school were athletically inclined.

For the majority of my schooling there was only one other First-Nations person who I knew of and when we first met he said he had an Auntie from Borneo. I could never work out whether that was an added truth to his Aboriginality, or whether he was trying to pass his dark skin, flat nose and frizzy hair off as having been inherited from Borneo rather than from Australia.

Although I had cousins, those also living in Brisbane lived at Inala which was too far away for regular contact. There were cousins living close by down 'The Bend' from time to time but for most of my childhood and teenage years my cousins were spread from northern New South Wales to Cairns. Those who came and went from Deep Water Bend were as damaged as I am by lateral violence that occurred within our family, and although that may be seen as a linkage between us they never stayed more than a year or two.

Although I liked sport and outdoor activities as all my cousins seemed to, I also liked to read and contemplate, especially after my brother died in 1968. I would go and sit on our jetty and look at the pink and purple clouds of sunset and wonder what he did if he was in heaven. I wondered if God made time to control the coloured clouds. This thought arose after I had read that Poseidon, the ancient Greek

deity of the sea, controlled the waves, turning them into horses for merpeople to ride. After looking for long enough I could see the clouds turning into horses that my brother and other angels rode. I did not speak to people about these thoughts, but I did ask an Auntie who was painting an angel to give it black hair like my brother's, rather than blonde hair like the picture she was copying.

It was hard for me to find my peer group, for as Father said I was a “weird child”. The closest I believe that I have come to meeting my peer group did not happen until I was married and had my first child. It was 1984 and the Queensland Education Department had established its first Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Branch that actually was populated by First-Nations peoples.

Creative Healing Inquiry (CHI)

Rationale for CHI

Trauma, both physical and/or psychological, is a motivator for people to seek help for social and emotional well-being issues. Trauma, as studied by Atkinson (2002), for most First- Nations peoples, originated with colonialism, which has continued through racism and lateral violence, discussed earlier in chapters 1 and 2. Thus, in looking at the rationale for CHI it is necessary here to briefly examine the linkages between social and emotional well-being, colonisation, lateral violence and racism.

Colonisation resulted in the procurement of vast numbers of First-Nations peoples' countries.

Restricted to reserves, constituting a small fraction of land that was not necessarily on country, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries First-Nations peoples' languages and other major cultural markers, including values, were meant to be replaced by those of the colonisers. This was ultimately unsuccessful, but thousands of First-Nations peoples were affected with the result being transgenerational trauma that continues in the 21st century (Silburn, Reich & Anderson 2016).

Specifically, for First-Nations peoples of Far North Queensland colonisation, which impacted most heavily on the area from 1860 on (Loos 1982), has precipitated social determinants that underlie the causes of illness and injury. Social determinants affect both physical and psychological health. The acknowledged social determinants for First-Nations communities of Cape York Peninsula were listed by Tilton, Martini, Brown and Strout (2015) as numbering 18 items. However, unless incorporated under the point 'violence', lateral violence and racism are not listed in their 2015 study. Racism is however acknowledged by others as being 'The link between poorer physical and mental health' (Ferdinand, Paradies & Kelaher 2012, p. 3). A comparative study conducted in 2004 reported that 'The lowest life expectancy for indigenous peoples for both males (56 years) and females (63 years) was in Australia' (Bramley, Herbert, Jackson & Chassin 2004, p. 3). A Report on OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries in 2009 highlighted Australia as uniquely unable with a 17-year difference in life expectancy (McDermott 2009) to close the gap on health targets. Another study published in 2012 demonstrates that First- Nations peoples experience lower levels of health in comparison to the wider Australian population, including a reduced life expectancy of 11.5 years for males and 9.7 years for females (Ferdinand, Paradies & Kelaher 2013). Rounding out the preceding statistics a 2010 to 2012 study published in 2016 demonstrates the life expectancy at birth of First-Nations peoples and Torres Strait Islanders as 10 years less than other people living in Australia (Silburn, Reich & Anderson 2016). It is pleasing to note that the statistics in various studies published in the first decade and a half of the 21st century see at least a slight improvement in the life expectancy of First-Nations peoples.

Comparatively poor health statistics, such as life expectancy at birth, have led to multiple studies of racism as a determinant of ill-health for First-Nations peoples. Collectively, the studies support the correlation between experiencing racism, and poorer mental and physical health outcomes. Factors that may facilitate the relationship between experiencing racism and ill-health include stress and social disconnectedness. Many of the studies aimed to develop an understanding of the experiences of racism,

including specifying details around incident settings, perpetrators, and individual responses to assist in developing appropriate and effective approaches to support the health of First-Nations peoples in Australia (Ferdinand, Paradies & Kelaher 2013).

My own responses and those of other First-Nations peoples who I have yarned with about their experiences of racism have informed the following four coping styles listed here as employed in the face of racism:

1. Acceptance of the racist comments and behaviours as simply a part of a First-Nations person's lot,
2. Withdrawal and avoidance of future contact with the racist and those like the racist,
3. Cognitive reinterpretation of the event or events,
4. Attempting to prove the 'worthiness' of First-Nations peoples.

I have implemented coping styles 2 and 4; neither is satisfactory as they require social isolation and the anxiety of justifying oneself and those with whom one identifies. Both coping styles are stress and anxiety ridden practices. It is my opinion that members of my extended family have most often employed acceptance and/or cognitive reinterpretation as strategies in response to their experiences of racism. I build on this point in the final chapter of this thesis.

The following is a previously published list of responses to racism:

- '1. Tried to do something about it (Krieger et al. 2005; Experiences of Discrimination Scale),
2. Made a complaint or took legal action,
3. Accepted it as a fact of life (Krieger et al. 2005; Experiences of Discrimination Scale),
4. Worked harder to prove them wrong (Krieger et al. 2005; Experiences of Discrimination Scale),
5. Felt that you brought it on yourself (Krieger et al. 2005; Experiences of Discrimination Scale),
6. Wanted to confront the perpetrator but didn't (Landrine & Klonoff 1996; Schedule of Racist Events),

7. Talked to someone about what you were feeling (Krieger et al. 2005; Experiences of Discrimination Scale),
8. Expressed anger or got mad (Krieger et al. 2005; Experiences of Discrimination Scale),
9. Got into a physical confrontation (Landrine & Klonoff 1996; Schedule of Racist Events),
10. Prayed about the situation (Krieger et al. 2005; Experiences of Discrimination Scale),
11. Tried to avoid it in the future (Paradies & Cunningham 2008),
12. Tried to change the way you are or things that you do so it won't happen again (Paradies & Cunningham 2008),
13. Wrote, drew, sang or painted about it (Paradies & Cunningham 2008),
14. Other (please specify)' (Ferdinand, Paradies & Kelaher 2013, p. 35).

Points 3 (Accepted it as a fact of life) and 4 (Worked harder to prove them wrong), from this list echo points 1 (Acceptance of racist comments and behaviours as simply a part of a First-Nations person's lot and 4 (Attempting to prove the 'worthiness' of First-Nations peoples) in my own list. Point 5 (Felt that you brought it on yourself), reminds me of my mother's comments to me as a child when she would state that I must have done something wrong to have upset my tormentors. Point 9 (Got into a physical confrontation), takes me back to the dirty wooden floor outside the principal's office that I was inflicted with after trying to defend myself in primary school against a racist's attack. Oh, yes and as a Sunday school attending child I used point 10 (Prayed about the situation). Point 11 (Tried to avoid it in the future) may be equated to my own point 2 (Withdrawal and avoidance of future contact with the racist and those like the racist). There are linkages between point 12 (Tried to change the way you are or things that you do so it won't happen again), point 5 (Felt that you brought it on yourself), and point 4 (Worked harder to prove them wrong), with my own point 4 (Attempting to prove the 'worthiness' of First-Nations peoples), and the way my mother reacted when I reported to her instances of racism I had experienced. Fortunately, researchers have found that in the 21st century most First-Nations peoples are attempting to make First-Nations children more resilient (Hill, Kim & Williams 2010) rather than

advising them to accept racism or lateral violence; both behaviours are intended to hurt—both outcomes of, and perpetuation of, colonialism.

Developing CHI

In picking up on the list of responses to racism by Ferdinand, Paradies and Kelaher (2013) I was delighted to read their point 13 (Wrote, drew, sang or painted about it). Point 13, originally sourced from Paradies and Cunningham (2008), replicates my responses to the recalling of trauma from my earlier life, which has usually been precipitated either by racist attacks or lateral violence. CHI supports First-Nations peoples to develop stronger, healthier social and emotional well-being through deepening self-knowledge.

Speaking to one of my supervisory team, Professor Tarquam McKenna, I became involved in developing what I now call Creative Healing Inquiry (CHI). I have settled upon the title CHI for several reasons. The ‘C’ of CHI stands for ‘Creative’, which incorporates all of the multiliteracies that acknowledge linguistic diversity, something which is demonstrated in the presentation of my thesis. These multiliteracies are multimodal forms of linguistic expression and representation that relate to written and oral language. They include visual, audio, tactile, gestural and spatial representations (The New London Group 1996). In this way these multiliteracies incorporate the arts. A First-Nations friend who has her doctorate and works as an adjunct profession for The University of Melbourne; Dr Sue Lopez-Atkinson and I consider multiliteracies to be ‘Indigenous literacies’ as they utilise all of the forms of communication that various First-Nations peoples have used for millennia, plus those offered by the digital age which have been quickly taken up by our community here in Melbourne.

The ‘H’ in CHI stands for ‘Healing’. I acknowledge that people who perform CHI are not qualified healers but like all people have a capacity to perform first-aid as required upon themselves. Thus,

people performing first-aid are untrained and auxiliary or ‘para’ to the qualified healer. In a situation where CHI may be used as first-aid, the professional, qualified healer would be a therapist.

The ‘I’ in CHI stands for ‘Inquiry’ which is an act of seeking information or augmenting knowledge. It is self-knowledge that CHI is aimed at in the hope of adding healing relating to emotional and social well-being.

When I brought the concepts of Creative Healing Inquiry together and saw that they form the acronym CHI, I was delighted. CHI emphasises a move away from the western or European paradigm of mental health towards the eastern or Chinese concept of life-giving force or spirit. It is the concept of spirit, as being as important as the body that I like about the idea of Creative Healing Inquiry, as the process has supported me to regain sufficient emotional balance during times of distress when unable to see a qualified healer.

However, in the beginning CHI was known as ‘artful autoethnography’—the label given by Professor McKenna. Unknown to me until the day I first spoke to him about my trauma and the ways in which I was dealing with it, was the fact that Professor McKenna is a qualified Arts Psychotherapist and registered as a counsellor. Further, Professor McKenna had worked with another First-Nations woman at another university in the supervision of her work in Arts Psychotherapy. Due to Professor McKenna’s previous experiences and my growing interest in developing a process of decolonised self-healing-para-therapy we decided to submit two abstracts for conference presentations. Both were accepted, enabling us to co-present in a workshop at the Healing our Spirits Worldwide (HOSW), Sixth Gathering, Honolulu in 2010 and to give a second paper at the 2nd Asia Pacific Rim International Counselling Conference, Hong Kong in 2011. At another conference hosted by the Secretariat of National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care (SNAICC) National Conference, Cairns in 2013 I presented a workshop to over 60 participants.

The 2010 and 2013 workshops on CHI and the 2011 paper presentation about CHI supported the development of the process. Similar to the process of preparing for the workshops, the paper required research which supported the coalescence of my thinking about CHI. However, it was the workshops that I found most helpful. Through the workshops I was able to establish relationships of co-construction and collaborative meaning-making with workshop participants. By being able to present three times with a good period between presentations I was able to take what I had learnt from presenting the first workshop and reinterpret CHI for the paper presentation. Following the paper presentation, I was then able to reinterpret CHI for the final workshop with the outcomes from that workshop in turn informing what I have written here about CHI. Thus, the paper presentation and the workshops could almost be said to have introduced an element of action research into my study. It can definitely be said that workshop participants through their cooperation in the workshops collaborated in my development of CHI. Something for which I am forever grateful. I also acknowledge that the development of CHI may not yet be finished. Although I am happy to claim the process as it stands, I also offer CHI for improvement by other First- Nations peoples. As it stands CHI enables the user to engage in a narrative of critical incidents. Through supporting reflection, recollection and recall of notable events and insights that arise during the journey of healing; CHI aids healing and is thus a decolonising, arts-based, para-therapeutic process to be used as mental health first-aid.

What do CHI and Arts Therapy have in common?

The concept of the arts as healing and the arts as meaning-making, and thus forms of literacy are core to the concepts of CHI and Arts Therapy, both sensitive and gentle approaches that make individuals feel safe and cared for within a healing environment. Both processes allow people to use creativity to unblock and unlock emotions. Simultaneous to the opening of emotions, both CHI and Arts Therapy empower individuals through better access to their interiority to revisit the major events of their lives, some which may be traumatic. Thus, both CHI and Arts Therapy open people up to processes that

address negative issues that have arisen from an individual's life story. In turn CHI and Arts Therapy enable participants to move to a place where emotional and social well-being is restored.

Why CHI is not Arts Therapy

CHI is a decolonised, arts-based para-therapeutic practice, but it is not Arts Therapy. Before going on I will deconstruct the term 'para-therapeutic' to ensure that you the reader know what I mean. The prefix 'para' is here to denote that the role of the person involved is auxiliary to the fully qualified therapist. A therapist is a person formally qualified and professionally supervised to assist people who have psychological health issues. The person using the process of CHI is administering healing that may be qualified as first-aid, meaning that CHI could also be defined as a decolonising, arts-based first-aid for mental health practice.

Whilst preparing for the workshops and paper presentations I investigated arts psychotherapy and arts as therapy, to ensure I was not asking workshop participants to comment on something that was already in existence. My suppositions on the differences between CHI and Arts Therapy follow. First, writing, drawing, singing, dancing or painting do not necessarily need to be about racism or lateral violence that has caused trauma. Even though it is in response to trauma causing events, the performance of CHI may be through any of the multiliteracies or arts and not focus on a specific event.

Second, CHI does not require a qualification nor does another person need to be present. There is no need for a person performing CHI to be either a qualified or accepted artist. However, Arts Therapy requires an Arts Therapist who is a specialist who understands the interface of arts and therapy to be qualified as an artist and counsellor or therapist.

Third, because CHI does not require another person to be present when it is performed, it is a decolonised form of first-aid or para-therapy. Without reliance on another person CHI ensures that the person requiring the healing is thus independent from meddling or harmful influences that may emanate from others.

Fourth, CHI may also be a tool of the cognitive decolonising process. Optimum cognitive decolonisation can only be achieved in Australia if both First-Nations peoples and Not-First-Nations peoples undertake the processes that achieve cognitive decolonisation. For the two groups the necessary processes will be different. Such paradigm changes usually meet with resistance, but just as often change is also achieved at least by some of those involved.

First-Nations peoples wishing to use CHI to achieve cognitive decolonisation may find that CHI supports the grieving for what they personally and for what First-Nations peoples collectively have lost, due to colonisation. Grieving is necessary for First-Nations peoples to be able to accept the changes that have been wrought by colonisation. CHI as a tool of cognitive decolonisation may also support putting Yirritja Theory, thinking both ways, into practice so that the First-Nations person undertaking CHI is better able to come to grips with their personal collective First-Nations position in Australia and global societies of the 21st century.

If implemented by Not-First-Nations peoples CHI will support them to overcome the trauma of discovering counternarrative—the hidden history of Australia. CHI therefore supports Not-First-Nations peoples who actively participate in cognitive decolonisation by undertaking Whiteness Studies and examining their own privilege. Whiteness Studies should encourage Not-First-Nations peoples to enact the proposal to strengthen their knowledge of the shared history of Australia. In turn CHI will support the implementation of Yirritja Theory, thinking both ways, which is also analogous to the metaphoric ‘walking in someone else’s shoes’.

Fifth, CHI is—if the materials necessary for the creative healing practice are available— immediate, para-therapeutic, self-help. In this way CHI is first-aid for the spirit. Until the individual books an appointment with their qualified and trusted therapist, CHI may be useful in countering the trauma that has injured their social and emotional well-being. Satisfactorily conducting CHI as self-healing is not easy, but it has supported me, and I offer it as a decolonised arts-based para-therapeutic process for use by those who think it may help them, generally and in times of crisis.

How to use CHI

As previously mentioned, CHI is a decolonised arts-based para-therapeutic process. It is a creative response to a traumatic event or episodes that have led to retraumatisation. It may be utilised, by the individual experiencing the trauma, immediately; in this way CHI is first-aid for the spirit. CHI requires working at a cognitive level to empower social and emotional well-being. CHI is active engagement with the arts as a means of story-telling and reflection. The reflection occurs when the person uses dadirri to support them to listen to their internal dialogue and think deeply. CHI supports the person to deconstruct events and reinterpret them by allowing them to, for example, examine contradictions that may have become evident. It also allows the person to disrupt any significance that events may have held. In this way CHI is a process of clarification; enabling the person to better understand the rationale that motivated others involved in the events. Clarification and comprehension in turn enable the person to, if they wish, share their experiences, as a yarn with others. Viewing CHI as mental health first-aid means that the sharing of the yarns doesn't necessarily have to be with a qualified mental health practitioner. However, as CHI is first-aid it is probably best that follow-up occurs with a qualified mental health practitioner who the person trusts.

The Workshops

An overview of the workshops

The following sections outline what occurred during the workshops and the paper presentation. First-Nations peoples contributed most to my thinking about CHI, as the workshop participants were majority First-Nations peoples.

At each workshop I introduced myself, explained the purpose of the workshop, and gave an overview of the workshop's plan which was always to draw with crayons, felt pens or ordinary colouring-in-pencils onto calico. After my introduction I asked if any participants wished to share by telling their name and why they had nominated to attend the workshop.

After the introduction I spoke about how my inquiry had unexpectedly caused me to be traumatised or re-traumatised and that branching out from my original research journey was abrupt and an interrupting new path, so that I needed their support to better understand and develop. Eventually the branch of that path has become CHI.

Healing Our Spirit Worldwide (HOSW) – Honolulu 2010

Fully aware of the impact of invasion and colonisation on the world's First-Nations peoples, the global vision of the International First-Nations Council is to ensure the voices of First-Nations peoples worldwide may convene every four years to share stories of wellness and endurance. This is how the Healing Our Spirit Worldwide (HOSW) gatherings came about. These gatherings promote knowledge and wisdom of the world's First-Nations peoples.

At the HOSW Sixth Gathering in Honolulu in 2010, Hawaii; Professor McKenna and I facilitated a workshop. Our workshop titled 'Reclaimative' Arts Practice – Renewal of the Self came under the

strand of cultural demonstrations titled Historical Trauma and Cultural Oppression. In summary our presentation focussed on ‘reclaimative’, restorative, reparative arts that Professor McKenna and I initially called ‘artful autoethnography’, but I am currently calling CHI. In our introduction to the workshop we explored ideas about forms of storytelling with me introducing the term ‘yarning’ to the workshop participants as synonymous with the term ‘storytelling’. I then spoke of the arts as multiliteracies and thus not text dependent. This then enabled a discourse on autoethnography. Further, I explained that the creative pieces they were going to make should be a response to representations of themselves as First-Nations peoples.

The HOSW 2010 Gathering was my first time working with a group on CHI; the main belief driving the work was that story and re-claimation can move beyond retraumatisation. Presenting CHI as reasserting our rights to restore psychical and psychological health I was presenting a process of claiming back an identity ridiculed and/or refused to those who know it is theirs.

While expressing themselves using CHI Canadian Aboriginal youth, siblings, a brother and sister, participating in the HOSW group, shared a yarn about their identity as Aboriginal or First-Nation Canadians—an identity which had been refused them by the Canadian Government. Their experiences of colonialism and trauma were both personal and transgenerational. Their grandmother is a survivor of the residential school system. Funded by the Canadian Government but administered by Christian churches the Indian residential school system was a network of boarding schools where First-Nations children of Canada were placed to be assimilated (MacDonald & Hudson 2012). The youths’ Grandmother has had to do a lot of work travelling in her search for her real country, group and people. The grandchildren joined her in the physical aspects of her journey. Internally the young ones were on their own journeys of healing. The intergenerational trauma caused by government policies which placed their Grandmother in an institution, separating her from family, community and culture were echoed in their stories they told of not being allowed to live with their extended family. The Canadian

Aboriginal youth also spoke of mental resistance of their people to government compounds which is the experience of many First-Nations peoples worldwide. The young ones demonstrated resistance by not using the word 'reserve' when describing the place, they know as 'The Island'. The fact that the Canadian Government denies them their identity as First-Nations peoples of Canada was part of their trauma, as this barred them from living on 'The Island' with their relatives. The creative piece that arose from their work is not included on the blanket, as they wished to take it home to their Grandmother. It consisted of uniform sized circles. They told the HOSW workshop participants that the circles represented the beads that their people use in traditional arts. The pattern they were creating was of flowers and tendrils. I thought it was very beautiful and was delighted that they were able to reference their people's traditional arts using the non- traditional materials I had supplied.

One woman, a First-Nations American, spoke movingly about acknowledging that she had an addictive personality. She divided her panel into two. On the left she drew a prison. She depicted herself behind bars. She thought that her addictive personality disorder had gotten out of control because of the racism and lateral violence that had been afflicted upon her, specifically due to her Indigeneity. Recognising that the negative aspect of her personality had developed from her experiences of colonialism she spoke to her old people who were helping her to become addicted to her culture. On the right side of her piece she drew herself in the sunlight with an eagle, telling me that her Elders had given her the name Eagle Woman. Unfortunately, due to her lack of confidence in the aesthetic appeal of her work, it is also not included on the blanket.

Eagles are motifs of importance to many cultures around the world. In Victoria, Australia the Kulin peoples refer to the eagle as Bunjil. He is the Great Creator of the Kulin people and their country.

Amazing to me is the fact that Bunjil the eagle is now a star within the constellation that the ancient Greeks named Aquila, meaning eagle. Although best seen during the northern summer because it is on the celestial equator, it may also be seen during the southern hemisphere's winter. Thus, it may be seen

in both hemispheres from July to October. Altair is the brightest star in the constellation Aquila. Altair is Bunjil with the word ‘Altair’ being eagle in Arabic. At the end of his labours, Bunjil arranged for himself and his community to be blown into the air. Aquila is where he and his people now reside.

During the same HOSW workshop, young women of First-Nations peoples of the Philippines spoke of the Spanish invaders throwing the healing women, leaders of the various First- Nations peoples of the Philippines, to crocodiles. Unknown to the Spanish and ironic to the First-Nations peoples of the Philippines, the Spanish were throwing the women healers to their grandparents. One of the two First-Nations women of the Philippines gifted her work to me, which is the panel on the top right of the blanket. The panel depicts a volcano, a crocodile, the sun and Philippine motifs drawn in purple (Figures 5.1, 5.2, 5.3). There are many volcanoes in the Philippines but the one depicted here is Mount Pinatubo. The First- Nations peoples of Mount Pinatubo are the Aeta which is sometimes spelt Agta.

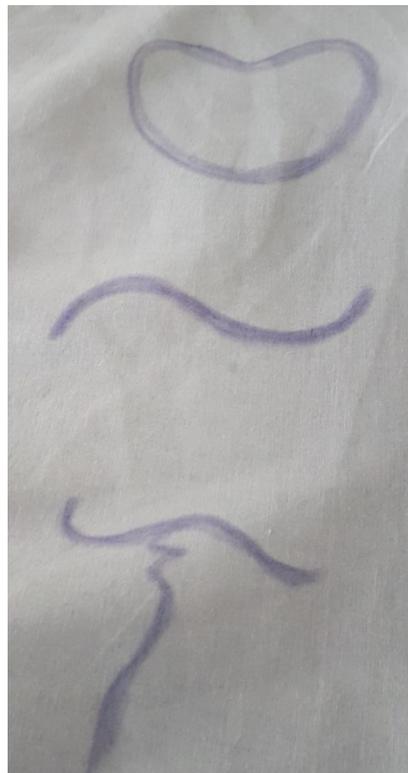


Figure 5.1: Purple symbols from the Philippines

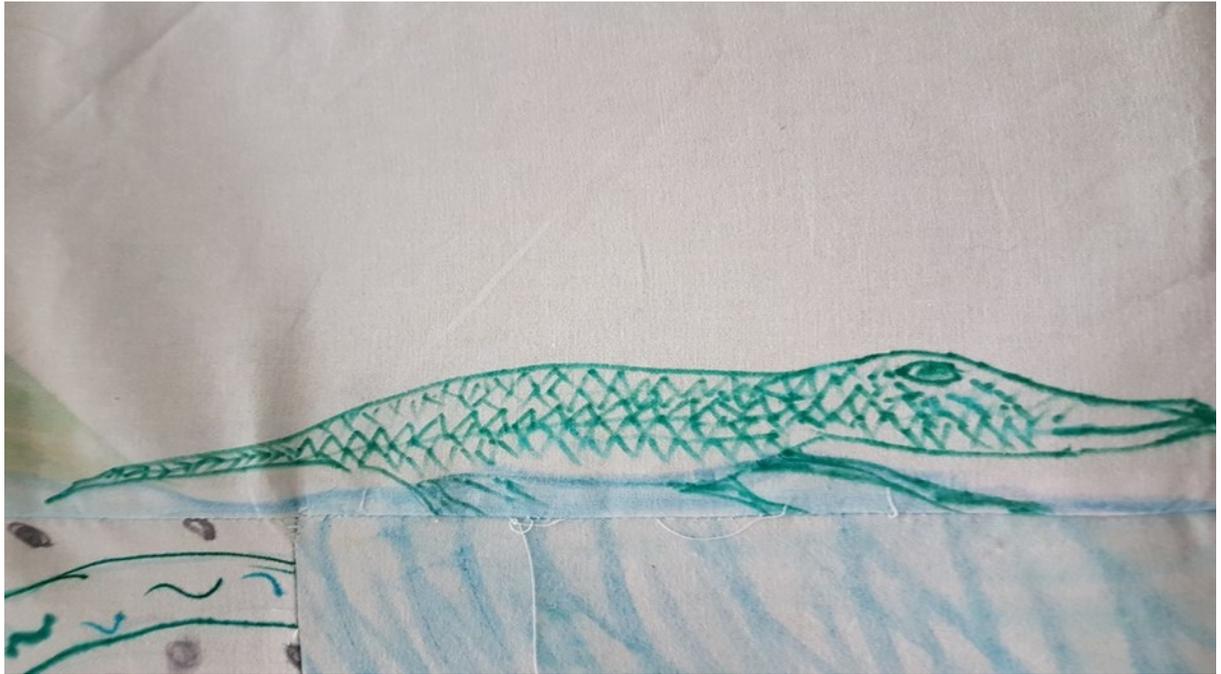


Figure 5.2: Crocodiles are the Ancestors



Figure 5.3: Mount Pinatubo

The work which fills the top left-hand side of the blanket is that of another woman. This time the woman is from the First-Nations peoples of Canada. Like me she does not fit the physical stereotype of her people. She has blonde hair, lightly coloured eyes, and fair skin. Her piece depicts a fish within a fish. Both fish represent the halibut which is a significant motif of her culture (Figures 5.4 and 5.5). She spoke about how she had drawn the halibut before, but not the fish within the fish. It was a

revelation to her as she drew and pondered her Indigeneity, her identity as a First-Nations woman of Canada. Over the years she had been continually drawing the halibut as an expression of herself, not just the culture that is her heritage. While drawing in the HOSW workshop she had added the fish with the large teeth within the outer larger fish, for the first time. It was in doing this that she realised she should not be afraid of its teeth or her heritage. I felt privileged to have been with her when this occurred. I did not ask in case she was retraumatised, but I imagined that her physical appearance had caused her identity as a First-Nations woman of Canada to have been denied her in the past.



Figure 5.4: Halibut



Figure 5.5: The big-toothed fish

There was also a First-Nations woman from Hawaii who shared the workshop with us. She chose not to draw, but shared Hawaiian language with the group telling us about her grandmother's teachings. The woman was still practising CHI, as she was utilising the multiliteracies previously described in this chapter to explore and express her Indigeneity as she lamented the loss of the Hawaiian language that had occurred with too many members of her community. She was performing by using her ancestral language to tell stories. Performance is a form of multiliteracies and the arts and thus in this case the person using performance was also working towards healing from colonialism by using CHI.

Although those who participated were relatively small in number I think that overall the workshop was a tremendous experience in sharing, yarning and re-claiming First-Nations identity. The participants honoured First-Nations knowledge and the creative spirit. It was I think a major step towards developing CHI as a decolonising self-help para-therapeutic practice. The inspiration and essence of each person participating was their First-Nations identity. Through creating meaning from their identity

as First-Nations peoples, each whether realising it or not was commenting on the influence of colonisation on their lives. The First- Nations youth of Canada were experiencing colonialism through not being allowed to live where they wished, which was closer to their family. Eagle Woman through colonialism had not been able to grow up within her culture and had become socially and emotionally unwell, ending up in prison. Colonialism and their knowledge of it had made the First-Nations women of the Philippines contemptuous towards those descended from the colonisers because of their lack of knowledge about the ontology of First-Nations peoples. The impact of colonisation on the Hawaiians was demonstrated in how strongly they held onto their language and spirituality. The fair-haired First-Nations Canadian woman, for example, demonstrated resistance to colonialism through her work, shouting ‘I am not afraid...I am my culture and my culture is me’. The efforts of workshop participants to counter the colonialism that each had experienced precipitated unique expressions of creativity that added to my development of CHI.

2nd Asia Pacific Rim International Counselling Conference – Hong Kong 2011

Professor McKenna and I presented a paper backed up by visuals in a power point on decolonising counselling through the visual arts. I also used this opportunity to explore my identity from the perspective of a survivor of childhood and young adolescent sexual assault, something I have decided not to emphasise in my thesis. Nevertheless, as I have developed a greater theoretical understanding of racism and lateral violence I perceive these negative experiences as being the result of colonialism.

As the format was different from a workshop there was no real feedback on the use of CHI; whilst preparing for the presentation however, I had read Cox (2008). I found her assertion that family, community, and society may either enable or disable the ability of a survivor to heal from sexual

assault and ‘other unresolved traumas’ (Cox 2008 p. 1) very relevant to Atkinson (2002) and my own my personal work on trauma.

Throughout my thesis I have used the term ‘lateral violence’ when discussing violence of any kind that occurs as First-Nations against First-Nations; however, Cox uses the term ‘intrafamilial’ where family includes the immediate or nuclear family, extended family and/or community (Cox 2008). My use of lateral violence has been deliberate, as it is a term that I think Not-First-Nations readers are more familiar with and may be able to better understand and see as a possible aspect of their own lives. Though ‘intrafamilial’ does reflect very well First-Nations understanding of family, I have chosen only to use it here in discussing the presentation to the 2nd Asia Pacific Rim International Counselling Conference.

Whether sexual assault upon First-Nations peoples is perpetrated by Not-First-Nations peoples or perpetrated as an aspect of lateral or intrafamilial violence, it is important to comprehend the history of trauma that First-Nations peoples of Australia have experienced (Robertson, 2000). The colonists perpetrated sexual assault initially as a strategy of the frontier wars and again in the 20th century due to their unacknowledged fear of First-Nations peoples and their need to demonstrate power, because sexual assault is about power not physical intimacy or satisfaction. So, self-deluded, the White-rapist would tell their stories of the ‘gin-hunts’ without justification, thinking to themselves that it was normal to disrespect First-Nations women. (I direct you to autoethnographic yarns in Chapter 6 for more on this issue.)

Disempowered, dispirited and brutalised, those within our own communities who perpetuate violence of any kind would under traditional lore have been severely punished. ‘The lack of education about sexual assault, and the compounding effects of colonisation, contribute to the normalisation and acceptance of violence in some contemporary Indigenous communities’ (Cox 2008, p. 2). Unpacking

Cox's statement takes me back to my argument that colonisation is still practised within Australia. Issues concerning the way to relate to each other that included knowledge on relationships to be avoided—because the kinship structure and axiology of the people required it—has been destroyed. So too have the traditional punishments for deviation from respectful relationships been lost due to the colonisation process. Although, espousal of a shared socio-cultural identity usually supports and protects group members in the face of pressures imposed upon the group by alterity. A change of course may occur under conditions where instead of protecting the group the shared identity contributes to the community being disparaged, attracting negative attention from other groups. Thus, I add to my interpretation of Cox's work that what she describes is also an outcome of brutalisation, a process that accompanied invasion, colonisation and the so-called 'protection' systems.

The Act in Queensland was described as protectionist, but it implemented brutalising conditions from 1897 to 1984. Brutalisation contravenes civil law and moral codes. It is the use of rape as a weapon of war, which is noted as having occurred on the frontier in Queensland (Loos 1982; Pike 1983; Reynolds 1987). It is verbally abusing a person who knows if they speak back to defend themselves they will be physically punished (Mathews 1988). The colonial process of child removal, the accompanying abuses—either sexual, physical and/or emotional—happened to many; all add to the social and emotional ill-health of individuals and their community. The adults in prisons on the missions and reserves had their personal power and the authority of the traditional system of governance undermined, providing a basis for the demise of both collective and individual identity— collective law and individual morality.

As emphasised through the work of Atkinson (2002) the traumas outlined above are inter and transgenerational. Understanding how these traumas impact on individuals and generations makes it easier to grasp the words of one First-Nations man of Australia who after having 'his first confrontation with street-level racism...[recalls] "It was shocking...to be confronted with those sorts of racist values

and ideals...In the matter of a few years I had become transformed from white ward of the state into a bewildered young Aborigine and an object of racist taunts and gratuitous violence”...The bashing crystallised his emerging view of himself, a process which he later described as “the trauma of the awareness of my Aboriginality” (Beresford 2006, p. 63).

SNAICC National Conference – Cairns 2013

The next collective opportunity I had to develop CHI was in 2013 when I presented a workshop on CHI at the SNAICC (Secretariat of National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care) National Conference in Cairns that was themed *For Our Children: Living and Learning Together*. The 2013 SNAICC Conference attended by over one thousand people and held in Cairns had a workshop strand on healing. My work on CHI fitted within the workshops on healing and the conference objective of ‘Share and Celebrate Stories’. In full, the objective was ‘To celebrate Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures, strengths and successes in child and family services. To share our stories and ideas about what works and how we address our challenges ... [It was] an opportunity to interact, share and discuss...stories’ (SNAICC 2013, pp. 10-11). As well as the usual keynote speeches, workshops and paper presentations the conference program included yarning circles, and performances from the children and adolescents of Far North Queensland First-Nations communities.

Emeritus Professor Judy Atkinson presented a keynote address which she titled ‘Working Together to Heal Generational Trauma within Aboriginal Children and their Families’. Her academic contributions to the understanding of trauma related issues which stem from the violence of colonisation include the healing of First-Nations peoples from such trauma, which she suggested requires curriculum development and innovative teaching practice. Her book *Trauma Trails — Recreating Songlines: The Transgenerational Effects of Trauma in Indigenous Australia* (2002) provides context to the life stories of people removed from their country in a process that has created trauma trails. Atkinson also

discussed the changes that can occur in the lives of people as they make connection with each other and share their stories of healing. Her healing process called We Al-li: A Program of Healing, is like psychoanalysis and my para-therapeutic CHI, as both rely on story.

My workshop on CHI titled Celebrating Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Cultures was an interactive session. Nonetheless, similar to the HOSW workshop I acknowledged the traditional owners of the land who in the case of Cairns are the Gimuy Yidinji. Next, I introduced myself first, and linking the work of developing CHI to the conference emphasis on celebration I spoke about how, as First-Nations peoples of Australia, we celebrate:

- Belonging to the land, its waterways and the sea,
- Our families, clans, language groups and nations,
- Our cultures,
- Our past, our present and our future.

I shared with the participants of the SNAICC workshop that after the HOSW workshop on CHI I had been gifted with visual arts on cloth that celebrate the original and contemporary stories of First-Nations peoples of the world. Additionally, I informed the participants that I currently defined CHI as a para-therapeutic, decolonising, self-help method for First-Nations peoples wishing to work privately through the arts, and towards healing from the negative impacts of colonisation on our emotional and social well-being.

An important realisation coming out of the 2013 workshop and impacting on the development of CHI is the effect of colonisation on Not-First-Nations peoples. When it became obvious through participants' personal introductions that some within the workshop were Not-First-Nations peoples who worked with First-Nations communities I was a little confused. This led me to consider how Not-First-Nations peoples may use CHI as a tool in their own cognitive decolonisation.

Considering all of the workshop participants I spoke about how I hoped, in the brief time we had together, we would be able to feel safe to grieve; the First-Nations peoples for the stolen land, the stolen children and the general devastation produced by colonisation and in asking Not-First-Nations participants how they saw themselves as grieving for the shame of their ancestors' violent and ignorant actions, that had not only caused pain to First-Nations peoples but also wrecked much of the natural environment which First-Nations peoples had been the guardians of for thousands of generations.

As well as the workshop supporting my development of CHI I mentioned the need for the people working with First-Nations children and youth to replenish their health, so a more meaningful future could be laid out for the young ones. Reminding people that sharing stories through the visual and performing arts is not something new to First-Nations peoples and as multiliteracies were acknowledged as forms of communication for all people, I invited people to commence drawing and yarning.

Some participants were convinced that they could not draw, so I spoke to them about the fact that many cultures around the world left handprints or stencils on rocks to demonstrate that they had been present at a place, so they drew around their hands as their contribution. The Aboriginal flag (Figure 5.6) appears in more than one panel. The flag's symbolism is black for the people, red for the land and bloodshed in the struggle with a central yellow sun. The symbolic sun relates to hope for a better future and fitted well with the theme of celebrating First-Nations communities.



Figure 5.6: Aboriginal flag and handprint that signifies “I have been here”

Below are the contributions that demonstrate a nexus between some of the First-Nations peoples of the world. There was a Christian man at the HOSW workshop in 2010 who through sharing his Hawaiian traditions drew Pele, the Hawaiian deity of fire. He portrayed her with wispy flames for her hair that swung around her shoulders. I would have liked to have incorporated all his portrait of Pele into the blanket, but due to its size and alignment I have chosen to only include the whale tail necklace he drew. His use of the whale tail linked three years later with a motif used by a First-Nations woman of Australia. The Native Hawaiian man’s piece is the blue-on-white panel in the centre of the top row of the blanket. It is the necklace he drew on Pele. Below the panel from the Hawaiian man is a whale with its tale flicked in the air. This panel came from the SNAICC Conference and was one side of another piece of material divided in two to demonstrate the use of Yirritja or two-way thinking, just as Eagle Woman from the HOSW workshop had done with her illustration on one side of her material of a prison and on the other side her home that she depicted as a tee-pee reflecting her cultural traditions. The First-Nations woman of Australia at the SNAICC Conference spoke to me about knowing that she must live in the city for employment which brings in money so that she can share the financial burden with her husband for looking after their family. Thus, on the left-hand side of her panel she had drawn a city with high-rise buildings and a road, while on the right-hand side was the ocean and the whale which represented her people’s sea country where she said she would rather be. I told her of the

Hawaiian man's use of the whale tail on Pele's necklace and she smiled at the intersubjective relationality of the two saltwater peoples. Saltwater here refers to the fact the country that is traditional to both people incorporates the ocean, thus they are saltwater people.



Figure 5.7: The whale tails

Many other participants drew country and the activities they conduct there. These panels include drawings of water as rivers, creeks, swamps, and the ocean as these are also aspects of First-Nations peoples' country as are the sky and its constellations.



Figure 5.8: Constellations are also country

There is specific reference to the Pleiades constellation (Figure 5.8). It is technically a star cluster rather than an actual constellation as it is a part of the Taurus constellation. However, most people think of it as a constellation. The Pleiades is visible in the southern hemisphere during summer and is most visible between October and April. In some First-Nations cultures across Australia the Pleiades is, as with other cultures of the world, associated with the story of seven sisters. Variations of the story come from the Pitjantjatjara and the Yankunytjatjara peoples of central Australia, the Parnkarla of the Eyre Peninsula, and Ngarrindjeri of South Australia as well as versions from the regions known as Arnhem Land, the Kimberley, and New South Wales (Hamacher, Fuller & Norris 2012; Norris 2016; Pring 2002).

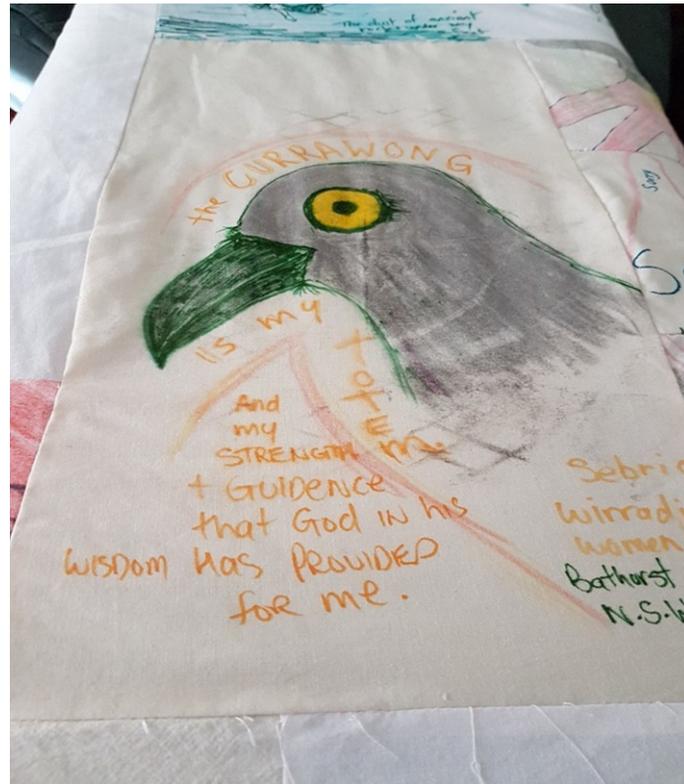


Figure 5.9: Totems and words from SNAICC

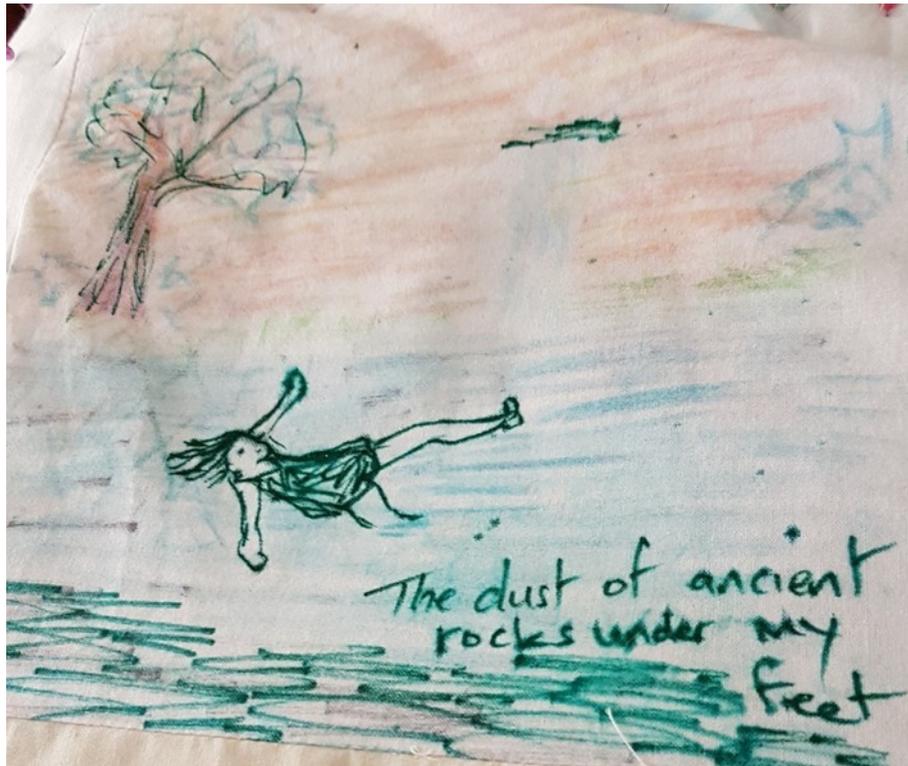


Figure 5.10: Some added words



Figure 5.11: Totems and religious icons

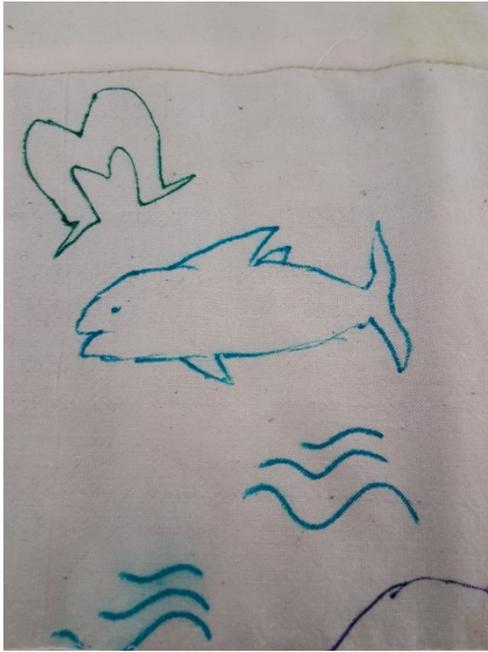


Figure 5.12: Torres Strait Islander headdress and symbols of their sea country



Figure 5.13: The Australian Hibiscus is the flower of the Stolen Generations

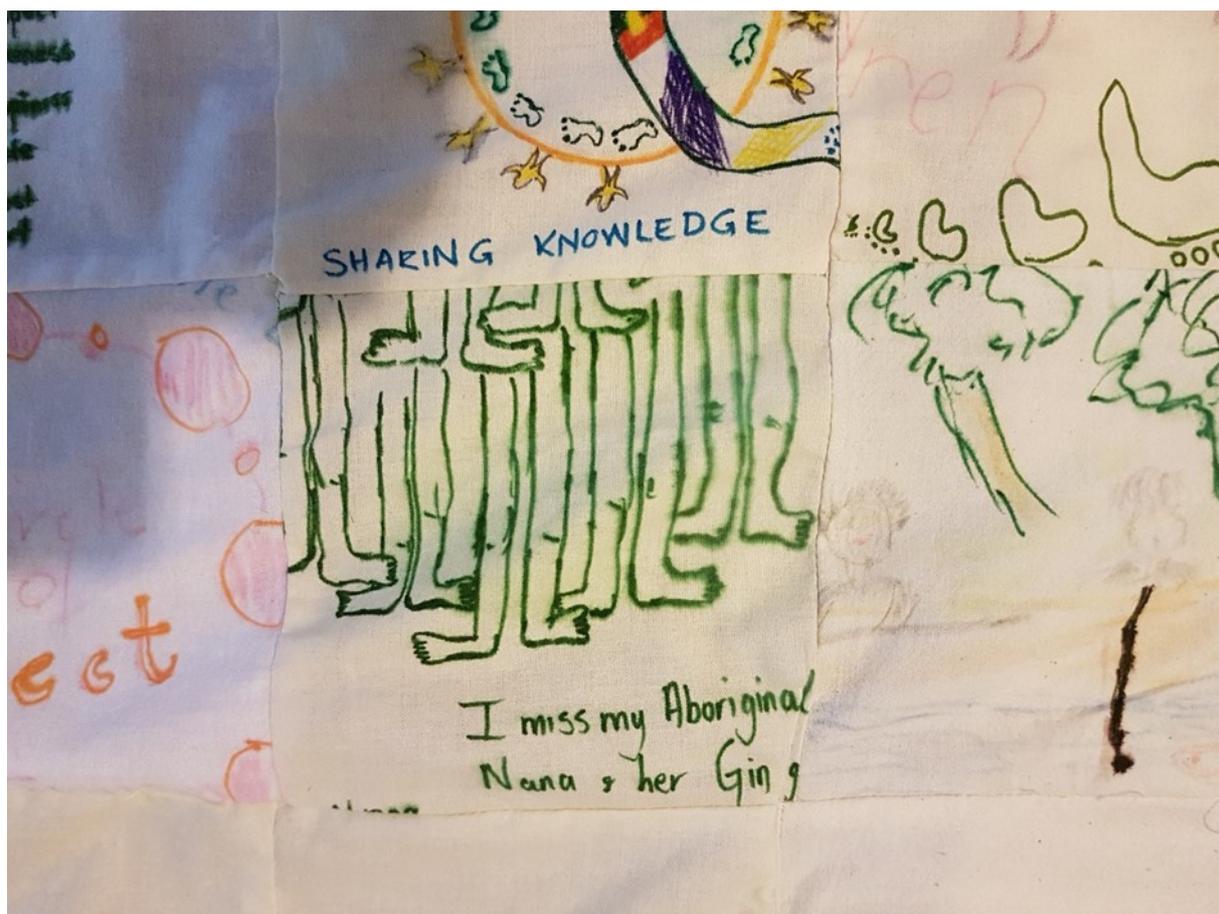


Figure 5.14: Sharing knowledge sharing memories

Yarning and visual arts, the connection to culture, was strengthened by enabling and inspiring the use of the arts as healing and celebratory mediums of self and community expression. Fitting with the SNAICC 2013 Conference theme, CHI was a counterbalance to trauma and a method to celebrate our First-Nations communities. Nevertheless, as noted earlier, the SNAICC workshop of 2013 included Not-First-Nations peoples which was for me unexpected and made me consider how CHI could be utilised by Not-First-Nations people. The thinking about how Not-First-Nations people may use CHI led me to imagine how they might react to stories from Australia's past that they were unaware of, such as those of massacres and slavery, and I realised how they could use CHI.

Truth-telling and CHI

Informed by sharing stories from our shared history, cognitive decolonisation is necessary if there is to be the paradigm shift within Australia that enables us, all the peoples of Australia, to truly move beyond colonisation and become a postcolonial nation state. Implied support for the ethos of cognitive decolonisation Reconciliation Australia states 'Our vision is for a just, equitable and reconciled Australia' (Reconciliation Australia 2017). Further, Reconciliation Australia proposes that there are five elements to achieve this vision: Race Relations, Equality and Equity, Unity, Institutional Integrity and Historical Acceptance. I agree that all Australians must understand and accept the wrongs of the past and the impact of these wrongs, and I am hopeful that through knowledge and acceptance such wrongs will not be repeated.

In nation states with similar colonial histories, such as Canada, sharing history has become known in the first decade of the 21st century as 'truth-telling'. I will continue to use the label 'truth-telling' for the process of sharing stories of history. Truth-telling is a process that must make space for the counternarratives that are historical narratives embodied within individuals, families and communities of First-Nations peoples of Australia. However, Australia must learn from the Canadian experience where truth-telling did not occur as an aspect of cognitive decolonisation before reconciliation, but a reconciliation process. The problem of having truth-telling as both the process of cognitive decolonisation and of reconciliation is that it confuses the descendants of the colonisers who according to Regan (2006) saw everything as historical. Regan observed that 'Rather than searching for ways to dismantle the live history of colonialism' (2006, p. 201) the Canadian nation state simply sought psychological healing for First-Nations peoples. In this way the First-Nations peoples of Canada were cast as victims and thus again viewed as without agency and less than others within Canadian society.

Therefore, I view truth-telling to be a necessary step, but only one step towards cognitive decolonisation. A multi-step process of cognitive decolonisation may begin with truth-telling, but it

requires an examination of White Privilege and other strategies included within Whiteness Studies. Although referred to as Whiteness Studies there is a rationale for people whose skin colour is not classified as 'white' to also undertake some of the strategies utilised in the pedagogy of Whiteness Studies. These are people who have come to the nation state at a later stage, joining the descendants of the colonisers as members of settler society.

Whiteness Studies includes investigation of the construction of whiteness. It is a process that requires inquiring into the rationale for diverse groups of people identifying as white. Thus, acknowledging multiple delineations of what whiteness means enables postmodern thinking to go beyond the binary of black and white to engage with the 'colourline' (Du Bois 1935) and Whiteness Studies (Moreton-Robinson 2004) Further, however Whiteness Studies requires inquiry into how society interacts with those whom it identifies as 'white'. Such discourse necessitates examinations of racism and practices of white supremacy which are not easy dialogues to have. Nonetheless, white supremacy and racism are alive and functioning in contemporary Australia. The narrative of Hagan (2005) and the stories from Riley's life (Beresford 2006) confirm this unfortunate state of affairs. A discourse of the type I suggest requires an analysis of degrading language and practises such as I describe within my autoethnographic yarns (detailed in Chapter 6). Whiteness Studies calls for an investigation into current legislation that targets First-Nations peoples exclusively and/or specifically.

Teaching the philosophical understandings upon which the methodologies yarning and dadirri are founded would also be supportive of those Not-First-Nations peoples undertaking cognitive decolonisation in preparation for better enacting reconciliation in their everyday lives. Yarning and dadirri are necessary for effective communication which is necessary for the establishment of reasonable relationships. However, the content of the communication process may also be seen to detract or value-add, establishing the communication process as sound, rather than simply average. Common sense informs a person that a very good communication process is preferable to a typical

communication process, so I include here a number of topics for consideration as the content of the yarning and dadirri that may arise from CHI if practised collectively with a group that includes Not-First-Nations peoples. Further, I suggest that the topic not only be considered as yarning and dadirri processes but also focusses on the creative element of CHI. The topics may include and are definitely not restricted to the following three: schoolyard interactions; my non-white neighbour; and for advanced groups ‘what does it mean to be human?’ It is only when there is a critical mass of individuals within Not-First-Nations peoples of Australia who have achieved cognitive decolonisation that Australia will be prepared to take another step towards reconciliation by undertaking what Professor Marcia Langton has called a ‘genuine intercultural dialogue’ (Healy 1997, p. 46).

Maslow and CHI

CHI as presented to workshop groups who collaborated in the process produced decorated calico or white cotton pieces. A number were donated for the making of a blanket. Each piece is an example of the visual literacy of multiliteracies and photographs of some of the pieces presented earlier in this chapter. The rationale for the final product of the workshops, being both the development of CHI and a blanket, relates to First-Nations peoples as members of humanity. Maslow (1943, 1954) stated that people are motivated to achieve certain needs and that some needs take precedence over others (cited in McLeod 2017). The need to feel warm and sheltered is covered in the two lower levels of Maslow’s needs, physiological and safety, where both needs may be met by a blanket. Here it is important for the reader to understand however that Not-First-Nations peoples did not introduce First-Nations peoples to blankets. First-Nations communities across Australia have for millennia used materials such as kangaroo, wallaby or possum skins sewn together to make cloaks (Pascoe 2007; Patten 2016) which I imagine were also used as blankets. The top three levels of Maslow’s original hierarchy are ‘love or belonging’ as a need, the ‘esteem’ need and the need of ‘self-actualisation’. It is my thinking that CHI supports the three higher level needs as identified by Maslow.

Blankets and CHI

My rationale for choosing to ask my CHI collaborators to contribute to the making of a blanket are multifaceted. Initially, the suggestion that I may wish to develop CHI further, inspired me to look at textile arts. The Arts are meaning-making and when considering the traditions of First-Nations peoples of Victoria, whose lands I have lived on since 1990, I was inspired by the work of First-Nations women who are also Victorian artists. In Victoria Vicki Couzens, a descendant of the Gunditjmara and Kirrae Whurrong clans, and Treahna Hamm and Lee Darroch, both Yorta Yorta women, have been working on revitalising interest in traditional possum skin cloaks of First-Nations peoples in south-eastern Australia. They began working together in 2002 and made a major contribution to the 2006 Melbourne Commonwealth Games by working with First-Nations groups across the state of Victoria to produce 36 cloaks that First-Nations Elders wore during the Opening Ceremony. Although I know some First-Nations groups in Queensland also made cloaks, I do not think that it would be respectful for me to follow in the steps of First-Nations women of Victoria and make a possum skin cloak. This is because having never lived on my ancestral country, I consider myself a refugee or at best, a guest of the Kulin on whose land I have lived since 1990.

The blanket symbolises resistance and resilience of First-Nations peoples. It comments on relationships with governments, particularly the colonial governments that handed out blankets to our ancestors (Foster 2000; Reece 1967) as described here: ‘We were hunted from our ground, shot, poisoned, and had our daughters, sisters, and wives taken from us . . . a number were poisoned at Kilcoy . . . They stole our ground where we used to get food, and when we got hungry and took a bit of flour or killed a bullock to eat, they shot us or poisoned us. All they give us now for our land is a blanket once a year’ (Rowley 1970, p. 158).

‘Blanket stories’ are told amongst First-Nations communities in contemporary times; they are the stories of whole groups of First-Nations peoples who were murdered, because the invading colonisers

gave our ancestors blankets infected with smallpox. An example of this connection between blankets and biological warfare against First-Nations peoples of Australia is the story of the smallpox epidemic of 1789 (Foster 2000; Reece 1967; Warren 2014). The journal of marine captain Watkin Tench indicates that Arthur Phillip's First Fleet carried bottles of smallpox. Scientists report that smallpox materials retain the virus for several years when exposed to room temperature. Accepting that the virus would have weakened to around half-strength due to the temperature on the sailing ships; the virus however retained sufficient strength to easily cause the epidemic that spread beyond the current boundaries of New South Wales (Warren 2014). The half-strength virus was especially effective as our First-Nations ancestors had no physical immunity to such a virulent disease.

My research has revealed that the use of smallpox to decimate First-Nations peoples of the Sydney area and Murray-Darling River system was not the first time the British had used biological warfare against First-Nations peoples. In the 18th century, the British fought France and its First-Nations allies for possession of Canada during battles that raged over the years 1754 to 1763. At the time of the Pontiac rebellion which caused the siege of Fort Pitt in 1763 when First-Nations peoples of the America's sided with the French against the British, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in North America, wrote to Colonel Henry Bouquet requesting the use of smallpox against the French aligned First- Nations peoples (Flight 2011; Guyford n.d.). Bouquet's reply indicated that he would infect blankets and distribute them amongst the French allies. Exposure to smallpox decimated First-Nations peoples of the North Americas (Flight 2011; Guyford n.d.).

Consequently, through the process of making the blanket the workshop participants and I are reclaiming the blanket as a symbol of comfort and protection rather than a sign of oppression and death. A blanket swaddles the newborn, and caressingly wraps the dead. It is an item with which most people interact daily as they journey from birth to death. The blanket through enabling me to practice

CHI has supported me to work through emotional and social well-being issues inherent in my autoethnographic study.

My contribution

I was not intending to add my creative work to the blanket. However, encouraged by my supervisors who suggested that I embellish the reverse of the blanket, after consideration I decided to paint motifs related to the creation stories of the area that I consider to be Far North Queensland, particularly the area surrounding the paths from the sea to savannah.

I acknowledge Aunty G from Mareeba and the following authors for their contributions to my understanding of the Dreaming story of the Ancestral Being I call Kurriyala. Gladys Henry (1986) who spells the Creator Being's name as Girroo Gurrll, the spelling used by Jennifer Isaacs (1980). Edwina Toohey (2000) whose spelling is Kurriyala, Percy Trezise (1969) whose spelling was Goorialla and Timothy Bottoms (1999) who informs us that within First- Nations groups of tropical north Queensland the Creator had the Djabugay names Gudju- Gudju, but only when in the guise of the carpet snake Budaadji. And where Djabugay and Kuku-Yalanji meet, he became Kurriyala (Bottoms 1999, pp. 4-5).

Kurriyala Storyline or Dreaming Track or Songlines links several First-Nations groups in Far North Queensland. Not only is this attested to by Bottoms (1999) but also Trezise (1969) where he writes, 'I had not previously recorded a full version of the rainbow serpent saga on the peninsula, but George knew the southern version and Harry the northern...all the names are in George's language, Gugu-Yalanji' (Trezise 1969, p. 66).

Various writers also note several topographical features mentioned along the Storyline. The fact that the various telling of the storyline of Kurriyala include these topographical features is important,

because it links Kurriyala to country and the people of Kurriyala to country. These places listed here in alphabetical order are locations noted in Standard Australian English that Kurriyala visited and/or created. They include all the water sources from Crystal Cascades to Kuranda, plus Atherton Tablelands, Barron Gorge, Barron River, Black Mountain, Cardwell, Double Island, Echo Creek, Fairview, Four Mile Beach, Freshwater Creek, Grant Hill, Hinchinbrook Island, Kennedy River, Mareeba, Mount Mackay, Mount Mulgrave, Mount Mulligan, Mowbray River, Murray Falls, Murray River, Normanby River, Palmer River, Port Douglas, Robb's Monument, Scrubby Creek, Silky Oak Creek, Stoney Creek Falls, Surprise Creek, Tully River.

My understanding of Kurriyala's story is that he rises out of the sea off what is known as Hinchinbrook Island. His head looks as if he has red hair because hanging off his skull are nautilus. Both the mollusc that lives inside the shell and the outside of the shell are coloured red and white. Whilst Kurriyala has a head, neck, shoulders, arms, hands, and chest of a man; he has no legs and his torso is that of an eel, when in the saltwater, and that of a carpet snake when on land. He uses his voice to create and name most of the topographical features of Far North Queensland as well as animals, birds, fish and plants. Much of his travel was underground, surfacing in water holes. He told the people how to take the poison out of the *Zamia* palm nuts, so they could eat a paste made from the nuts. He carried his wooden sword with which he cleaved everything from his share of the *Zamia* palm nut paste to rocks. Thus, the men of the rainforest part of Far North Queensland also made wooden swords that they carried with them.

Kurriyala took nautilus shells, the interiors of which shine like a rainbow, to the people of the Tablelands and traded them for dillybags. This part of Kurriyala's storyline was kept alive by the people who were observed by Walter Roth, who during his time as Protector of Aborigines in northern Queensland (1898–1904), reported seeing the trading of square cut nautilus shell necklaces carried by

the Barron River people up the coast to Port Douglas, and inland to Kuranda and Mareeba. The Barron River people would bring back hour-glass dilly- bags and round based baskets (Bottoms 1999).

On the Tablelands where Kurriyala camped, the remains of his campfire became the coal dug out from beneath Mount Mulligan. Kurriyala made Mount Mulligan from his droppings and called it Ngarrabullgan. On top of the tabletop mountain he fashioned a large waterlily lagoon and big caves. Sitting on top of his creation he listened; on the wind he could hear the voices of many people. After waiting and listening for a long time he said “This is not my country. These people speak a different language to me. I will go further north and look for my people”.

Travelling north he made Mount Mulgrave again from his droppings. Mount Mulgrave is a long granite mountain shaped like a snake. When reaching the Palmer River, he again listened. Coming on the wind from the north he heard people speaking his language. Continuing north he made a big limestone hill and another waterlily waterhole. Once he reached Scrubby Creek he built a shelter and camped there, waiting for some of his people to come along.

However, Kurriyala grew impatient and when he heard the people singing he knew they were holding a Bora and he travelled further north towards the singing. When he reached the junction of the Kennedy and Normandy Rivers he saw his people. Hiding in the long grass he watched his people. The emu, cockatoo, brolga, jabiru, ibis, kangaroo and all the other men were dancing and singing. The double-barred finch saw the grass move and called out that someone was coming. Kookaburra sent his children to see who was there. As each child came close Kurriyala would quietly say, ‘Go back and tell them no one is here. I wish to watch the men dance.’ The children went back and they all said shyly looking at their feet with shame, as they knew they were lying, that no one was there. The children ran away quickly, and the Kookaburra father wondered but did not question his children further.

The men began dancing again. The singers had didgeridoos, which were sung and yelled through. After waiting and watching for a long time Kurriyala stepped out from his hiding place and his people greeted him. Kurriyala had however to tell them that they were not dancing properly, and not dressed properly. He told the men to watch him. He put a lump of bee's wax on the back of his head and then stuck cockatoo feathers into the wax to make a rayed headdress. Kurriyala put on pandanus armbands, a pearl-shell pedant, beads made from yellow grass stems, and he placed a white bone through his nose. He painted the correct designs on his body with white clay and began to dance. The men watched and then copied Kurriyala, who then showed the singers the right way to play the droning didgeridoo. When finished, Kurriyala made himself a shelter and slept. During the night and the next day Kurriyala and his people had a great adventure. It ended with the people turning into all the birds and animals of their country and Kurriyala going down into the sea. He is still there today in the sea by Barrow Point. Like a magnet he drags boats, trying to pass by under the water, so the people stay away.

As my contribution I have drawn Kurriyala, the nautilus shell, the waterlilies of the lakes and other waterholes he made (Figures 5.15, 5.16, 5.17). The fish and leaves acknowledge that he covered all the country from the sea to savannah.



Figure 5.15: Waterlily from the lake on top of the sacred mountain



Figure 5.16: Kurriyala rose from the sea with nautilus on his head



Figure 5.17: Kurriyala as an eel

Conclusion

Informed by stories from the country of my ancestors, I felt good after my painting of Kurriyala's story. Through CHI I have examined and improved the quality of my biographical and cultural understandings. Although the process of CHI, does not directly mention its support of physical health, durable emotions and spirit are necessary for a well body; in this way, CHI is an element of holistic health and healing. Developing a deeper self-knowledge which incorporates comprehending the structure of my distinctive identity for me is healing.

Chapter 6 – Yarning Up!

Introduction

Yarning, dadirri, historical geography, phenomenology and the heuristic approach of autoethnography have enabled me to capture data which is presented in this chapter as vignettes. Like a photograph each vignette has captured a moment in time which has been substantially evocative for me to recall it many years later. Each vignette is phenomenological in that it portrays a snippet from my lived experience. Some vignettes contain pain or potential pain and generally refer to experiences of rejection or racism. Although racism does not always involve physical injury, both rejection and racism involve injury to one's social and emotional well-being. The yarns of potential pain tell of situations with the capacity to connect me with country and/or of putting me into a relationship with someone who may know more about my Grandfather and our ancestors. Each potentiality must be investigated.

Section One: Identity and the colonised mindset

For as long as I can remember, when I have introduced myself as a First-Nations person, individuals ask at least one of the following derogatory questions:

“How much Aboriginal are you?” “What part Aboriginal are you?”

“You don't look Aboriginal, why do you say you are?”

“Who is really Aboriginal in your family...your mother, your father, your grandparents?”

“Where were you raised? Brisbane; well if it wasn't Inala you're not really an Abo”

I construct these denials of my ‘genuine’, ‘authentic’, ‘real’ identity as a First-Nations person, as due to the ‘colonised’ mindset of those who question and who equate emblematic indicators, such as physical features and locality, with Aboriginality.

An educated “gin”

Such questions as those mentioned above are particularly galling after spending much of my education having my Aboriginality used against me.

The boy shouted, “Hey, little gin from the Bend!” He was looking at me and I didn’t know why. He came closer and shouted in a sing-song voice right up close to my face, “Little black gin from the Bend!”; “Little black gin from the Bend!” I did not know what he meant, but I could see from his expression he was being mean. I fought him, finally having him surrender when I sunk my teeth deep into the fleshy upper part of his left arm. This all occurred within weeks of me starting primary school. Although, initially the victim, my parents never went to the school to defend me. Over the years, if I mentioned such instances to my mother, I heard her reply, “Well what did you do wrong? You must have done something to make them upset with you”. For retaliating, I sat outside the principal’s office on a dirty, splintered, wooden floor for what to a five-year-old seemed like an eternity of lunch hours.

Each generation of my family that attended that school, from my mother through to little cousins, has a story of abuse. Years later I discussed our schooling with an older cousin of my generation. When he was in Year 7 there was only one teacher. When I was in Year 7 that same teacher was the senior of the two teachers and a racist. Banned from the classroom, my cousin spent his last year of primary school helping the school gardener or simply being absent. He would fulfil his responsibility of walking me to school but would leave, being there again in the afternoon to walk me home to his house.

I think his teacher's attitude and the impressionability of my own, more junior teacher is also the rationale for me not receiving the girls' athletics championship trophy that year. They gave the award to a blonde girl, even though I had surpassed her in every event on both track and field on the day. Admittedly I had not beaten her in the lead-up to the athletics carnival, but I knew when I needed to put in the effort, I knew which day counted. I guess they thought that being First-Nations I did not have the intellect to tally it all up. This was not the last dismissal of my intellectual abilities.

At teachers' college an academic obviously wedded to the ideology of eugenics stated in front of a lecture theatre, full of my fellow students, that I would only be able to undertake my work at the college because of my "White-blood". Mortified, but remembering the dirty- splintered, wooden floor, I did nothing. My resistance to his racism came when at our graduation ceremony, all the others stood up to applaud when told he had overcome a heart attack. I did neither, something even my closest college friends could not understand.

Another lecturer, a friend of my practicum mentor deliberately tried to distract me, by engaging me in conversation while I was undertaking a major exam. This was another example of racism spread wide in the Queensland of the 1970s. The lecturer's reason for his action was my chastisement of his friend for using the word 'gin', an event made worse by the fact that he had used the derogatory term in front of his students, on average aged 10 to 11 years. The dirty, splintered, wooden floor, in this case, was an attempt to sabotage my achievement of a qualification to teach—the stakes were getting higher.

During a different practicum placement, the mentor teacher, students and I were returning from a swimming class. As we walked I witnessed the teacher tuck the strap of one of the girls' singlets under the child's dress. The children were only in Year 2, thus six or seven years old, so they did require support with some basics. Seeing that this was appropriate touching I did the same for one of the other girls in the class, only to look up and see the boggled eyed teacher stepping swiftly towards me and

hearing her say, far too loudly, ‘Don’t touch her, you never know what you will catch’. The little girl was like me Aboriginal, but unlike me, the little girl’s Aboriginality was evident by her stereotypical, physical features. Embarrassed for the child, enraged at the teacher, concerned about my pending qualification,

I did not know what to do. Even remembering this event my stomach knots and I feel like Judas for standing stunned and silent. I had let the little girl, my family and community down. It is one of those moments that I cannot change. The only good to come from it is my resolve to make Not-First-Nations people more aware: not just of the shared history but of the abilities, achievements and aspiration of First-Nations peoples—details still not understood or accepted while I was at teacher’s college.

When I graduated in 1979 from North Brisbane College of Advanced Education, the Queensland Education Department (QED) had implemented an exit interview, where all who qualified had to answer questions from the QED inspectors. They ranked and placed us on a list to receive a teaching placement. The question I remember the inspectors asking came from the only woman on the panel. She began with the statement, “You have written on your form that you are Aboriginal”. I nodded and was about to utter “yes”, as she was not looking at me, when she added “Is this to give an excuse for your poor marks?” I was dumbfounded. As far as I knew I did not have poor marks. I looked at her and finally had the courage to say “No, my Aboriginality is not an excuse. I put it there in case you wanted me to teach Aboriginal kids”. Continuing to demonstrate her ignorance she came back with “But you’re married with a husband working in a public service position here, we can’t send you out bush.” The adrenaline spike which enabled me to speak had dropped just as quickly as it had risen. Exhausted, I have no memory of what occurred next.

When I took my report cards home from school, the standard comment from my father was “As long as your teachers like you, I don’t care about your marks”. Dad’s remarks reflected the era. Girls when

they became women became mothers and if you were the parents of the woman you were lucky if she was married first. Mum usually just said “Well the only thing I was good at in school was sport”. She would then retell the yarn of being strapped around the legs for not knowing her times table. My mother would sometimes vary her response depending on whether Father was able to hear her or not. If Dad was out of earshot, she would recite her mantra, “You have to be better than the whitefellas to be equal to them”.

The truth of the mantra came into play the day I met with my high school Guidance Counsellor. During the session we were to decide on the subjects for Years 9 and 10. The junior years of secondary school laid the foundation for Years 11 and 12 which I already knew I wished to complete. The Guidance Counsellor balked at me going on to the last two years of secondary schooling saying; “What are you doing here?” Without allowing me to answer I was told “It’s a waste of time and government money you trying to finish senior. Your lot never finish anything you start.” Too stunned to retaliate, and subconsciously reflecting on the dirty, splintered, wooden floor, I meekly continued to repeat “I want to be a teacher”; begrudgingly allowed to enrol in the second-class academic stream that my secondary school offered. I did receive (in the same time period as the students who I had enrolled with), perfectly respectable junior and senior secondary certificates. The anger generated by recalling his racist attitude has motivated me to prove that the ‘little black gin from the Bend’ can do it and has done it, despite the racists.

Nigger bans

It is the early ‘80s and I am a married woman working at an inner-city school in Brisbane, saving money, so my husband and I may purchase a house and start a family. My current battle against racism is with my 9-10-year-old students who wear black rubber bands around their wrists that they call

‘nigger’ bands. A teacher employed to work specifically to improve student literacy is working with my class, asking for words that end in the ‘er’ sound.

Appalled when she accepts the word ‘nigger’ without flinching, I realise my attempt to explain why the term is offensive is not working.

Later I telephone the Head Office of QED. A few days later the school twitter is that a man from Head Office is visiting. The staff and those few parents who care get very excited, and the school quickly undergoes a ‘spit and polish’ regime. The next day the whole school population gathers in the library and Mr. Archer, a man similar in appearance to my Uncle Henry, speaks to the school of the rich heritage of Australia from a First-Nations perspective.

The staffroom is full of disappointment and to put it in a colleague’s words: “We thought someone important was coming”. I get hauled into the principal’s office for the second time in my life and interrogated about my reasons for going over his head. The literacy teacher is involved; she is upset, I get told, not for the first or last time in my life, that I am too sensitive. I think I am doing the right thing and that I will continue to respond to similar situations in a similar manner.

Asinine assumptions

Mother enrolled me in piano lessons and I was berated by my teacher for not having rhythm with the words “What is wrong with you? People of colour are supposed to have rhythm”. Stereotyping and essentialism are racism.

As a teenager when at teachers’ college, I was asked by a lecturer to ‘do an Aboriginal dance as a mark of NAIDOC (National Aboriginal and Islander Day of Observance Committee) Week’. Her comment

was another display of an outdated concept of Aboriginality. The only First-Nations dance I could offer was my own interpretation of whatever was amongst the top ten hits. At that time in my life I had no exposure to First-Nations dances of the type she wanted: a dance that if done correctly would have required me to perform at least with bare breasts on the grounds of the college. The lecturer's assumption that I could offer an Aboriginal dance was essentialist and based on the belief that, as an insider, I would also be an expert on all things First-Nations.

About a decade after he had 'dumped me' (as we teenagers said at secondary school), my high school boyfriend and I happened upon each other. He told me the reason he gave up on our relationship which had lasted for three and a half years, was because his mother said, "As an Aboriginal she will want a 'tribe' of kids and you won't be able to afford them". I have always contributed financially to my partnerships and have two loved biological children. He has a dependent wife with four children and could not attend the school reunion due to his need to be at work rather than see his family go without. In other words, his mother's appraisal of me was not simply wrong because she had based it on her ignorant thoughts about First-Nations women, but because her son had ended up in a position worse than the one he would have been in if he had continued his relationship with me.

Social practice shapes agency

A personal example of social practice shaping agency occurred for me in the 1990s when I was working as the Federal Aboriginal Education Officer of the Australian Education Union. I was attending a trade union training course with other First-Nations peoples in the education industry. One of my peers needed to go to the chemist and being the licenced driver of our hire car, I needed to go with her. Ignorant people looked at me and questioned my Aboriginality, but no one would question the Aboriginality of my companion. Fitting the physical stereotype of a First-Nations person caused the proprietor of the pharmacy to be rude to her. He served all Not-First-Nations peoples before my

colleague, even when they entered the shop after us. Sensing, my frustration at the abuse she was receiving, my companion gestured for me to “be quiet”, as she accepted the obvious racist behaviour that denied her the right to be treated in a civil manner. My companion’s tolerance of overt racism was oppositional to her usual demeanour as an intelligent, assertive leader to whom other First- Nations peoples turned for advice and support.

In the car we discussed the situation with my anger prompting me to suggest involving the police, but both of us knew that we could not be sure of the attitude of any police officer. Memories were triggered of overhearing my Mum’s Not-First-Nations friend of the 1970s speaking about her son. A police constable in training, he was to be ‘blooded on the Blacks at Inala’. It was not a joke. Some of my family lived at Inala and as a teenager, I was afraid for them.

Choosing not to recall painful memories in the company of my colleague, who had been through enough for one day, I silently pondered an incident from 1979 when my mother would not come with me to shop for my wedding dress, saying “You’ll get better service without me.” Here my peer and I were, two decades later, in a geographical and demographically different space experiencing equivalent racism! Seeded in the pseudoscientific thought of earlier centuries, racism is the source of the social practices that deny First-Nations peoples our agency. Racism spreads from one generation of racists to the next, enabled by xenophobia that confuses cultural markers, such as religion, for race. A cockroach of the negative ideologies of the world, racism resists extermination.

Individuality within the collective

Unfortunately, acts of racism in the form of stereotyping and essentialism that I have experienced have not always come from Not-First-Nations people but from other First- Nations peoples, particularly other women who have their own essentialised ideas of who a First-Nations woman is, and how she

should present in the world. Firstly, in 1984 when I began working with four other First-Nations women in the head office of QED, I was the only women who had long hair and wore high heels. Within my first week I was told by one of the other women my hair and heels were not Aboriginal.

About six years later, around 1990 when I began working as the Federal Aboriginal Education Officer of the then Australian Teachers Federation, I had a male First-Nations unionist say “no ‘real’ Aboriginal woman would wear a gem encrusted ring”. I was wearing my engagement ring, like many other First-Nations married women I knew.

The two preceding stories illustrate how some First-Nations peoples have themselves decided on a stereotype of how a First-Nations person, particularly a woman, should or should not present. The people in these stories and the woman in the next vignette demonstrate colonised mindsets. I now understand they are probably suffering from internal oppression. I think if they considered how our cultures have adapted to survive and how Yirritja Theory enables us to think in two-ways, they would be working towards cognitive decolonisation.

When I moved into my home, I introduced myself to other members of the Koorie community who also lived in my area. On inviting one of the women to my home she asked to look at my backyard. We went outside, and she preceded to harangue me for having rose bushes planted amongst gum trees and banksia bushes. “You should never let the plants of the invaders take hold in the ground”. I smiled and asked if I “could have seeds from her bush tucker fruit and veg garden” She scowled but got my meaning. Laughing, I said, “Sis take their best and leave them the rest”—a statement I had heard when other First-Nations peoples were talking about land rights. It is common knowledge amongst First-Nations peoples that any land annexed for First-Nations use, either as reserves or through the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976, were places Not-First-Nations people did not want to live. She then saw the irony of my statement and laughed with me.

Times change

Asked by the Traditional Owners of the area to have Mum at the state school by morning tea, I complied, although I am feeling pressured. My husband is back in Melbourne, sick in hospital. I'm in Childers packing up Mother and the chattels of 68 years of married life accumulated by her and Father, who died six months earlier. I am supposed to be writing my PhD thesis. Putting First-Nations responsibilities first, I am sitting next to Mother in the school's library that today doubles as a theatre. The principal welcomes all First-Nations peoples in the audience to the school's NAIDOC Day. This is so different from being bullied in the playground, racially harassed with words as sharp as stones that have weighted my soul like a conglomerate of boulders since those early school days: 'Gin, Little Black Gin! Gin from the Bend; one of the no-one-wants-ya tribe'.

Here on the stage a First-Nations youth from the local high school plays the didgeridoo and is applauded loudly by the crowd. The White school principal asks that he be given more praise as he exits the stage. Then the young ones from a primary school a little way south where 90 First-Nations children attend ascend the stairs onto the stage. Their teacher, another First-Nations woman, explains that the dances are choreographed by the children who practise during their lunchtimes; thus, their dances, although reflective of the children's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander heritage, are contemporary. They dance to Goanna's Solid Rock and Christine Anu's version of My Island Home. Another song is sung by some of the girls in one of the first languages of Australia and I sing along. It is a traditional song that was made popular by the Koorie women's group Tiddas.

A White teacher sitting in the front turns and says, "They're very good aren't they" and I cannot help myself as I reply, "Yes and the response they're getting is better than the 'Little Black Gin' I got called in the playground". "Yes", she says quietly, eyes downcast. The smile gone from her face, she turns away. I think but do not say "thankfully times change". Later during a moment of reflection, I wonder

if my words had been too harsh; should I remind White Australia that it has a Black history in more ways than one?

Section Two: Connecting to Country

The nexus between country and my understanding of First-Nations philosophy, known as the Dreaming, has been discussed in Chapter 1; here I build upon that understanding in relation to my personal journey of healing. First-Nations peoples who experience trauma because they or a family member was stolen from family, community and country, makes bearable the severed connection through a journey of healing. Such a journey may be metaphorical, metaphysical and physical—usually all three. The healing journey is about returning to country significant to one's ancestors. Such a journey is an imperative. For me as a First- Nations woman in her mature years with grandchildren I began walking my path, following my journey of healing, just as I did when as a child I sat and questioned the adults in my life, about my maternal Grandfather.

In 2009, I obtained permission from one family amongst the Traditional Owners of Kuku- Djungan country, to take Mum and Dad travelling in the company of my husband and sons, out to the Hodgkinson River. Since then I have been able to return twice, in 2011 and 2013. It was initially my plan to keep this pattern of visiting every two years. Unfortunately, with the deaths in 2014 of both my father and my husband, family responsibilities and my own emotional and social well-being interfered. Although I am semi-retired and financially challenged, I sincerely hope to return before 2020.

Finding the Hodgkinson River – 2009

The following vignettes have arisen from the 2009 visit when my father and my husband were with me in their corporeal forms—still alive.

Arriving

“Pharr” we disembark from a QANTAS flight in Cairns. It is the dry season, but to my temperate climate sons the heat and humidity are too much. “How do people breathe in this heat?” I am asked. “It’s not the heat, it’s the humidity; you should be here during the wet!” I answer back over my shoulder.

My husband has gone ahead, helping the old people. I am lucky to still have my parents around for my children to get to know; intergenerational interaction is especially a part of being a member of a First-Nations family. For me the term ‘family’ goes beyond those bonded by DNA. My redefining of terms is one of the ways by which I challenge dominant understanding and implementing my urban First-Nations ways of being. For me ‘family’ refers to people descended from a common ancestor, but also those who have married into, or married up with, the family of descendants. Family are those who have been taken into that family and thus accepted by members of the family, as a family member, because of mutual affiliation. Sociologists may refer to my family as bonded by social capital rather than DNA, but my concept of family goes beyond mere social capital and incorporates First-Nations understanding of reciprocity and intersubjectivity to support relationality.

Societal assumptions—that the family of birth meets all physiological and psychological needs—is not always correct. Individuals who suffer from personality disorders may work against the needs of other family members. Being born into such a situation I have over the years developed my own family. Thus, my concept of family includes those with whom I celebrate, commemorate and engage with voluntarily and purposefully around significant events, traditions and rituals of life.

For First-Nations peoples, family and country are equal aspects of belonging and being—they are at the core of Aboriginality. Where do you come from? Who are your people? These are the usual questions asked when first meeting another First-Nations person, especially when the meeting occurs within a

First-Nations setting. My connection to country in 2009 was still wrought with a difficulty of not knowing the exact country to belong to or return to. Is it the country of the Hodgkinson Goldfield from where my Grandfather's middle name comes? Is it the country around Port Douglas, the place he always wrote on government forms as the place of his birth?

Having been able to locate Port Douglas on maps since the 1990s and from about the same time, easily access the internet to find out more about the location, it was the Hodgkinson link that was more of a mystery. Finally, with publication on the internet of Native Title maps I found that the Hodgkinson was both a river and a goldfield. The river runs a few kilometres away from Ngarrabullgan, also known as Mount Mulligan, in Kuku-Djungan country. One of the questions my longer journey has still to answer is how and why the ancestral land of my maternal Grandfather has been at different times recognised as both Kuku-Djungan or Djungan and Kuku-Yalanji.

I tried to communicate 'Whitefella' way and I asked this question bluntly when I telephoned the son of a recognised Traditional Owner. He of course, ignored me by saying "Well, I finish work on the property about mid-afternoon of the Friday you are up here. Give us a call." Put in my place, already receiving permission for my family to go out to the river, it was cheeky of me to ask for any knowledge, particularly important knowledge, over the phone.

Researching

The knowledge I have of Ngarrabullgan, the large tabletop mountain located 100 kilometres west of Cairns in Far North Queensland, has come from books and the internet, which is how I found out about whom to speak with to seek permission with regards to returning to country. An archaeologist from Monash University has worked with the Kuku-Djungan community to undertake both studies of rock art and geographical studies of the area recognised as Kuku-Djungan country. His work is on the

internet. It was via email communication that he gave me the family names of two major families of the Kuku-Djungan community. From that information, I contacted a community-way sister who has recently returned from down south to live closer to her Atherton Tablelands ancestral country by moving to Cairns. My tidda made enquiries on my behalf and came up with other information which enabled me to contact the correct family to ask permission about returning to country.

Where my parents met

My parents met in Cairns during WWII. Assigned to ‘Popeye’s Army’, Dad worked for the Australian Army’s water transport—barges that supplied soldiers, weapons, food and miscellaneous gear to the islands to combat the encroachment of the Japanese army. Most of Dad’s runs were up through the Whitsunday Passage to Papua New Guinea. My Mother worked in the laundry that supplied sterilised sheets for the hospital where soldiers wounded in battles on islands in the Coral Sea recuperated. My parents met at a dance in Charters Towers, a little inland and north of Cairns. They had only known each other for three weeks before Dad was to go out on his next barge run. He took Mum for a ride on the Karunda Railway and at that beautiful station, decorated with rainforest plants, Dad asked Mum to marry him. She said “no”, but they exchanged letters while Dad was in PNG and one from Mum said, “I wish I had said ‘yes’ to your question”. Dad was a happy man.

A realisation

A few years prior to our trip north my parents stayed with us while Dad had his second hip operation. It was then that I realised that my parents are ‘old’ and that I may not have them around for much longer. Although I have had reasons to say to them, particularly my mother, that I love them but do not always like them, it is that whole issue about they are my parents. There will be sadness when they leave this life—leave me.

Journey one

Early, as the tropical dry-season sun rose over the Coral Sea, we started out on the first journey ever taken by members of my matrilineal Grandfather's family looking for the country of his birth—the country of our ancestors. We travel the road that winds through the green, shady, lush beauty of the tropical rainforest, over the mountains of the Great Dividing Range. Driving west on the Atherton Tablelands the rainforest rapidly evaporates, leaving us driving on flat, arid land encircled by mountains. Reaching Mareeba more quickly than I thought, we stop at the local tourist information centre to check on road conditions.

I know I should pick up the telephone and again speak to the people I do not know, but who in some distant way are probably relatives. It would only incur the cost of a local call but again the tingling thighs, the dry throat, the jelly feet: the absolute inability to take the action which may result in rejection. For although one person had been willing to speak to me that did not mean that the person who picked up the telephone this time would have the same inclination. The person I contact this time may put a stop to our trip out to country. My weak, fearful, child-self wins out and I do not touch, let alone pick up and use a telephone.

The report on road conditions is inconclusive, so we drive on to Dimbulah and stop there to ask what the locals know of the road to Thornborough. Dimbulah is much smaller than Mareeba and we stop at the one service station in town for my husband to ask for directions and information about the road. "Its fine," says the crinkle-faced man to whom my husband speaks. We head north, soon coming to a dirt road. The dusty road twisting like a startled snake this way and that makes travelling uncomfortable, but no one complains. A kookaburra flies across the front of our vehicle; taking this as a sign of welcome I shout at my husband "Stop!" By the time I grab my camera and get out of the people mover there is no sign of the feathered herald. However, having my camera in hand, I take the

first photographs of what may be my ancestral country. I breathe in deep, holding the air in my lungs, cherishing the air, feeling it nourish every fibre of my being. But still I do not know if I am home.

For many years, because of my links to Port Douglas, I thought that my identity was linked with the rainforest, but here the beautiful country I look out across is dry: the sky, an ideal azure tinged here and there with the wispiest of white clouds pulled thin to near invisibility— a spider’s well-spun web, throwing a canopy over the setting. Termite mounds stand erect amongst the scrubby eucalypts and acacia scattered singularly or in small groupings across the straw-coloured grass that barely covers the pale ochre soil. The gum trees have white, smooth trunks with mid green leaves. Ironbark trees with their rough, dark also black trunks are highlighted with contrasting bright green leaves. The reddish-brown sap, with its glacier slow movement down the trunks of the tallest trees, gives the appearance of the country being slowly bled.

We drive on, now and then a glimpse of a creamy white flowering gum, nourishment for the native bee. The rutted dirt road continues its serpentine twists up and over hummocks, dust spews from under our wheels. Cattle are more populace than kangaroo, we brace ourselves against the corrugated grids which keep the livestock in assigned sections. Coming down a slope we finally arrive at the Hodgkinson River. We stop taking in the first sighting of a location longed for.

Being the dry, here where it crosses the road, we can see the smooth, greyish, water-worn rocks of the riverbed. The road curves up a slope and twists towards the east. We relinquish our look at the river and drive on, planning to find the ghost town of Thornborough when lo and behold, here it is! A simple sign marking the location of the colonial town’s ruins. Once touted as the capital of Far North Queensland, Thornborough’s marker stands to the west of the road—alone but erect and sturdy. My hands bundle into fists, spring open again; I cover my face and open the door. As I spring out of the vehicle, my body seemingly moving of its own accord. Here! Here! I am truly here. Tears well in my

eyes and I look across at Ngarrabullgan silently, thanking the Ancestors for allowing my family to come this far—for letting me, come this far.

Finding the Traditional Owners – 2011

Murris in Mareeba

During the dry of 2011, I can attach days to the front of a journey to Cairns to attend a conference at which I will deliver a paper. Staying my first night with a tidda who I first met in 1984, the next morning, I follow her in my hire car. We drive up the range to the Atherton Tablelands, stopping at Mareeba where I have booked accommodation for a week.

My tidda is attending a meeting organised by the local shire councils: I tag along. The meeting discusses how the region's small businesses may interact with the growing Asian economies. Meeting participants represent groups ranging from the Traditional Owners of countries encompassed by the region through communities originally established by people classified by society as hippies to more conservative agricultural groups. The concepts shared by the representatives of these diverse groups are well articulated and innovative. The presentations are engaging, and I enjoy learning about the region.

During morning tea my tidda introduces me to the other Murri women present. Just in case, you, reader, do not know, Murri is the term that most First-Nations peoples of Queensland use to describe ourselves when not using a singular language group name. I tell the other Murri women in attendance what I know of Grandfather's story—his middle name is Hodgkinson, and in the 1870s and 1880s the man who raised him had worked at the Queensland National Bank of Thornborough. Further, I indicate that I had hoped these clues would take me back to my ancestral country. A woman from the local First-Nations community-controlled health service, Mulungu, informs me that the health service has a

Link-Up worker. I explain I had not approached Link-Up. I thought that separated from my Grandfather by my mother's generation made the removal too distant for Link-Up to help. The shaking of heads and smiles confirmed this was not the case. I was excited and anxious; I could feel my face smiling as well as my stomach knotting. At the end of the meeting the woman from Mulungu would show me the way to the health service where I would meet the Link-Up worker. My tidda, knowing how I was feeling said she would accompany me.

I then mentioned the other confusing clue that I needed to follow up—the fact that my Grandfather always wrote Port Douglas on government forms and told the family that that was where he was born. The issue confused me as I knew from maps that Port Douglas was on the coast and I had not been able to find a physical connection in the shape of a road between Port Douglas and the Hodgkinson Goldfield, or Thornborough. A woman in the group who was from the Kuku-Yalanji peoples mentioned the Bump Track. I was extremely grateful for this new knowledge. Like my meeting in 1990 with the Elders from Woorabinda the clue to my ancestral group's identity came as we were parting, and I had no opportunity to truly express the depths of my appreciation.

Mulungu

My hands were sweating and slippery on the steering wheel as I followed the car of the woman leading the way to Mulungu. My rear-vision mirror reflected the car my tidda was driving. My anxiety subsided a little as I felt cushioned front and back by the First-Nations women surrounding me.

When we arrived at Mulungu I had to wait because the Link-Up worker was in a meeting. Sitting was not an option, for my tightly wound muscles and pacing would give the wrong impression. Moving around the space, inspecting whatever hung on the walls, feigning interest, every other pace I threw a comment over my shoulder to my tidda who sat patiently. When I turned to face her, I could see she

had a knowing smile, maybe even a smirk on her face. She knew I was emotionally ready to explode, not in a bad way, but explode all the same. Unfortunately, I exploded once the woman who was the Link-Up worker had been introduced. I blurted ‘Can you take me out to the Hodgkinson River? Please take me on country, take me to the Hodgkinson River.’ My tidda intervened calmly, saying ‘She is Aboriginal, she is just a bit excited’. It is a display of bad manners to be so direct without having sat and been in the company of someone new for as long as they needed to appraise you. I was being very rude—a precocious child unable to control herself. The Mulungu Link- Up worker was at first a little taken aback, but she soon smiled at the child I was being, giving me a glimpse of her mother spirit. I called her Auntie for although not much older than myself she was a woman with knowledge that outstripped my own, and importantly she was willing to share with me.

Aunties

Later that day, after Auntie Mulungu had checked that it was okay, she directed me to a street in Mareeba where there were two homes that housed offspring of one of the Traditional Owner families. These people were also Auntie Mulungu’s cousins. Auntie G was one of these cousins.

When Auntie Mulungu introduced me to Auntie G I remembered my manners, and eventually Auntie G asked if I wanted to go on country. Tilting my head towards heaven and closing my eyes I said a silent thank you and a definite ‘yes’ to my benefactor. With a smile of utmost appreciation, I looked at the Aunties for a moment, simply breathing in our shared atmosphere. The Aunties smiled back. I crinkled my nose and squinted my eyes like an excited child and we all laughed.

Taught a lesson

The next morning, I am surprised at how well I have slept, but realise that the Aunties give me a sense of security. As planned I purchase provisions for the day. Introduced to Auntie G’s younger brother at

her home, our starting point, I am happy when everyone finds their seats; Auntie G is the front passenger, Auntie Mulungu sits in the seat behind her and Little Brother sits behind me, the driver.

Instructed after only an hour on the road to stop for morning tea, I feel frustrated with what I see as a delay; I walk away from the group looking at birds in a tree. There is laughter from my guardians.

When I turn to see what caused the laughter, Auntie G pats the space next to her on the picnic bench and I sit down. Indirectly, the yarning reveals that I was being tested. Unfortunately, I am found wanting, too impatient. The Elders have decided I need to be still, to slow down and learn to wait.

Having dragged every cup, plate, and utensil out of our kit, just to have a cup of tea and a buttered bun, they wash up, telling me to stay seated. Then everyone had to attend the ablutions block. I sigh, look down at my hard, wooden seat and I am back, sitting on the dirty wooden floor outside the principal's office. I am a child again. Admitting to myself that yes, in this situation no matter how many pieces of paper I had that give me letters after my name, in the company of my Elders, I am a child. Taught at home that I was wrong, taught at school to be passive, here however my Elders are teaching me something worth learning—to be at peace with my companions and surroundings.

North by west

Back on the road and another stop, this time at Mount Carbine to make sure the vehicle is fully fuelled. It is a quick break as I am the only one who gets out of the vehicle. A little further north and we turn left, heading west, and soon we are in country. Forging creeks that in the dry contain water—I pause and take photos.

Passing other cars without moving in their seats or changing their posture in any way, my companions check out who is travelling on country. Most vehicles and passengers were judged to be okay, but one

raised their collective ire. Soon after we stopped to view Ngarrabullgan in full splendour, I heard words such as: “They were told they were not to come out here”; “Using country to hide while they take drugs”; “Cheeky that one”; “I’ll let so-and-so know when I see him. He’ll fix that one”. Then they saw an arrangement of stones and rocks, which I had not recognised as different to all the others until it was pointed out to me. It was a baby’s grave. Then the yarning turned to “Terrible sorry business, but I wonder who gave her permission to put the little one here”; “I know she wanted the baby to be able to see Ngarrabullgan, but I thought she had been told no”. There was no discussion about telling anyone else of their find as with most people there is legal and there is just, and they are not always the same.

The river

Told many stories, particularly about ‘the Mountain’, as I embarrassingly decided to call Ngarrabullgan after failing to pronounce the name properly, the only result was whoops of laughter from my guardians. My excuse was that I had codified, using the common alphabet only in recent decades: Njrrabulgan, Nurrabullgan, Ngarrabullgin or Nguddaboolgan are alternate spellings of the Mountain’s name, and I am not a linguist.

Driving, we yarned, and eventually came a request: that I would come back with a botanist to look at a red-flowering plant that only grew in one crevasse of the Mountain on its north-eastern side. I said I would do my best. I am still working on fulfilling the request.

Cautious of the rough road, I was driving a little too slow for my companions, who I think may have been hungry. It was well after midday. Only picking up speed a little, the Aunties laugh in unison and shout, “Drive faster!”

We stopped at Kondoparinga Station, which in 2011 the Kuku-Djungan as Traditional Owners of the land around Mount Ngarrabullgan through the process of native title, 'own'. There was a reasonable house with a steel ceiling overhanging a wide cement base. I was told that this is where people sleep in their swags when the community meets, or sometimes individuals simply needing to get away from town to re-energise would, with permission, stay there.

Again, there was some conversation which was not to do with me about who was supposed to have done what and why they may not yet have fulfilled their responsibilities. Not wishing to intrude I walked away, exploring the area, thinking my guardians were not aware of me, then came a united scream that contained a little panic. I stopped, looked at my feet, thinking I may be about to step on a snake, only to find I was heading for a crocodile's rest on the bank of the Hodgkinson River.

Excited to see the river, I stood, eyes wide open, arms outstretched in the direction of the river miming my desire to go see. Everyone laughed, asking Little Brother if he had seen a rifle inside; seeing him shake his head, Auntie G looked at him disappointed. "And you didn't bring one?" He shook his head again. Speaking to each other in whispered voices the Aunties final looked at Little Brother and one said, "You go with her" and as he reluctantly put down his sandwich and cuppa, the other said, "You know why you're here". As he slowly made his way through the ankle-deep grass one Auntie shouted to me, "Don't go past the top of the bank" and the other to Little Brother "Don't let her go down the bank". Little Brother and I were both children under instruction.

Trundling through the ankle-deep grass, I mistakenly thought his silence was sulking, so I said, "Sorry about this". When there was no reply, I apologized again, this time for driving so slowly that I had made lunch late. Again, there was no reply. Still feeling I had offended him I continued talking as we waded through the grass. "I have seen the river, but never at a spot with water in it before". We were at the edge, on a high riverbank that sloped down to the water. I was completely wrong about him being

upset with me. He was just the type of person who only spoke when he had something to say. Talking without a pause, he pointed to the spot where the croc obviously slides into the river. He estimated its length and weight from the width and depth of the indentation that was the croc's slide, which suggests the reptile was at least two metres long and well fed. Going on to list the croc's menu I found that stray calves, wild boar and birds made up most of it. The fish had learnt that this was the croc's territory and stayed away. Little Brother pointed out the enormous spider web strung between several trees on either side of the croc's muddy resting place. It was so big that I had already mentally noted it, thinking I had never seen a spider web as large as this one before. Little Brother said insects would hover around the croc when it was on the bank, making this a good spot for the spider. Further he verbalised his contemplation that it would be impossible for a mosquito to penetrate the croc's scales. Looking down, thinking, shrugging his shoulders and shaking his head, he did not see a white ibis fly low to the water. I held my breath, willing the croc to be somewhere else, so it would not leap from the water and eat the ibis. The ibis and I had the luck that day. We looked at each other and I smiled, saying "Nature is amazing". He smiled, again silent, he motioned with his head for us to return to the Aunties.

While I sat and ate I told the group about my research and how I was using creativity as a self-healing mechanism. Auntie G said she painted and got excited about the possibility of me coming back to run workshops at Kondoparinga. The others had tidied up and re-packed the four-wheel drive. We next stopped at a beautiful spot where the solid, sharp, straight cliffs of Ngarrabullgan could be viewed both as a reflection in the large waterhole and for real.

This was a formal camp ground, with a manager. From their language the current campers sounded as if they may have come from a northern European country. We used the toilets, which were like the thunder-box toilet of my childhood home. This came as a relief to my guardians who initially thought I may have only ever experienced flushing toilets. When the hamlet of Mount Mulligan closed, with the families relocated to places such as Mareeba, the camp ground hosted regular reunions. I was invited to

attend the next one which was planned for the following year. I wanted to go and could not bring myself to tell them that work, and my immediate family responsibilities would mean I could not attend.

Our next stop was the old Mount Mulligan coal mine site. I had read about the disaster, but the retelling of the story from my guardians included the fact that the miners were digging up the Great Serpents fireplace and that is why the mining accident happened. As we drove through the remains of the township of Mount Mulligan my companions noted where families had lived and, for the Aunties, where they had played as children.

The next section of the drive took us into Thornborough with me entering the ruined town from a different direction to how my family and I had two years earlier. I was directed to drive down to the one still occupied house in town. The Aunties spoke with the people who lived there and introduced me. I recognised them as being the same people who had spoken to my family when we had visited in 2009. Not recognising me, they pointed out the ruins of the old Canton Hotel, which I was able to view more closely than on my previous visit. Seeing a cement slab that had been whole two years before, now cracked with grass growing through it, I again thought about amazing nature. We did not stay long as we realised the sun would soon set, and I had already admitted to not being a good night driver.

The matriarch

The next morning, I took the leftover food and tea makings to Auntie G's home. She was appreciative. If I wanted to meet her mum, I was to go to her brother's house across the street that afternoon.

With a few hours before I could meet the matriarch from Chillagoe I let Auntie have her space and went to the Mareeba library and bookshops. I am a bibliophile: the feel of a book in my hands, the texture of the pages between my fingers, the smell of mould and dust in a second-hand bookshop and

its contents all delight me. My love of books was first experienced when I escaped to places unknown through the stories of C S Lewis, now I love books because they are filled with knowledge.

In the library and bookshop, I searched for knowledge about the area's history, particularly that of the formed Hodgkinson Goldfield: any observations of the colonisers of First-Nations peoples. Accounts of broader society into which my Grandfather Davies was born and the one here where he was subsequently raised all lured me. At the library, I paid to photocopy pages and of course at the bookshop I purchased books unlikely to be available in Melbourne. I ended up having to post the photocopied pages and books I had purchased home, as it was too much to fit in my luggage. However, the cost was well worth it, as I have cited many of my purchases in other areas of my thesis.

Returning mid-afternoon to Auntie G's street, I was as she had said, welcomed at her brother's home by the children and women of the household, including Granny G. I sat with the women outside under a canopy to protect us from the Far North Queensland sun which even in the dry, also known as winter, could burn the skin of anyone out in it too long. We sat in the front yard as it was on the eastern side of the house and thus more protected from the sun. I remembered my manners and sat in the garden chair, pointed out to me, next to Granny G and I felt honoured.

The usual introductions, then family yarning that included the mothers suggesting what the children might do while this stranger visited. The interactions reminded me of my childhood. Some children went inside to watch television, but most ran around the yard playing a game of their own construction.

Having brought photographs of my Grandfather, I brought them out and rested them in my lap. We moved to the stage of cuppas, which indicated this was the right time for me to begin. I offered the photos to Granny G. They were not very clear as they were copies of copies and Granny's unaided 70-year-old eyes had trouble focusing, but she politely looked before one of the younger women said,

“Mum I bet you can’t even see the man’s face”. Granny looked up with an expression that said you’re right, but I was not going to say anything. I could see from whom Little Brother, Granny’s youngest child, had inherited his communication style.

Granny turned to me and said, “Well you think you might be from Thornborough”. I accepted the invitation to speak about the clues Grandfather had left as to his place of birth. Granny listened but her body language was muted, and I was unsure as to what she thought. I stayed for about an hour, having a general yarn with the women, and then asked Granny if I could give her a hug, to which I received a nod. I gave her a kiss on the cheek and tried to hug her while she sat in her chair, bid a collective goodbye to the gathering and went over to Auntie G’s. This was so like my childhood when my family lived within walking distance of each other. Now that I had met her mother she started calling me ‘cuz’ and I was happy about that, but unsure as to what her mum really thought.

Story for Mulungu

The next morning, I went to Mulungu to see the Auntie who was the Link-Up worker. I wanted to thank her for her support and say a proper farewell. She wanted me to write my story down for her records, which I did on one of the health service computers. It was my last day in Mareeba before driving back to Cairns to attend the conference. Auntie Mulungu told me I should register with the Land Council. Uninterested in claiming any benefits from the community, and still unsure as to whether the Kuku Djungan or Kuku Yalanji were my community, I did not.

Next, I visited Auntie G and with her was another First-Nations woman helping Auntie G with her study. The woman turned out to be the daughter of the man who had conducted my brother’s funeral service in 1968. I told her of my interaction with her father when I was a child. She said little and showed no enthusiasm. I remembered that after advocating for the rights of First-Nations peoples

within his church and the broader society through the government of Queensland, his spirit broken, this beautiful man had become an alcoholic. I thanked Auntie G with hugs and cheek kisses, before leaving, making promises to return. There was no one visible at Auntie G's brother's house, but I had already asked her to thank her Little Brother and Granny, so I got in my vehicle to drive back to Cairns.

Mossman Gorge

There was one more day before the conference started. Wasting no time, my Sis who I have known since 1984 drove with me to Mossman Gorge. There we visited Bamanga Bubu Ngadimunku Incorporated, an association that advocates for the Kuku Yalanji Mossman Gorge Community. I was introduced to Auntie J, who then walked me across the road to introduce me to other Elders of the Kuku Yalanji. I told my story and showed my photographs and the Elders all agreed Grandfather looked like a family from the Kuku Yalanji, but those of the Mitchell River area, not the coastal area. The Mitchell River Kuku Yalanji are today referred to as the Sunset or western Kuku Yalanji. It was suggested that I contact two young members of this family which I did when I returned to Cairns.

Sunset Yalanji

The Sunset Yalanji man and I met for coffee—a ranger working on country, he was excited by the photograph. He was even more excited by what the Elders from Mossman Gorge had said and ended up calling me 'Auntie'. It was all wonderful, real deadly, but again added to my confusion about which country I belong.

Taking His Spirit Home – 2013 FNQ Visit

What the matriarch said

Having told the people whom I had met in 2011 that I would be back to visit them, after attending the Secretariat of National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care (SNAICC) Conference 2013 in Cairns I went and stayed with my eldest cousin, Ted and his wife, Margaret. They are beautiful people. In 2013 they were both in their late seventies. They continued to rise at 5.30 each morning as they had done all their working lives. Surprisingly, they do not go to bed until after ten.

Margaret accompanied me on the day I drove up to Mareeba to visit Auntie G. We took food and tea and coffee makings. Although I had spoken with Little Brother and asked him to let his sister know we were coming, she did not know, he had not told her. So, as I stood at her front door she squinted as the sun was behind me and said, “Oh the woman from Melbourne”. This was my first hint that something had changed in our relationship as she had been happily calling me ‘cuz’ when we had last seen each other.

She invited Margaret and me in. After introductions I served morning tea. I complimented Auntie G on a new painting on her wall which I also recognised as the view of Ngarrabullgan from the camping ground. Auntie G had captured the reflection of the Mountain in the lake. Like me, she was a self-taught artist, and her painting demonstrated a strong relationship with Ngarrabullgan and the camping ground. It was at the camp ground that the reunion of former residents of the township of Mount Mulligan occurred. We talked about her study and she spoke to Margaret who was born in the Torres Strait about the fact that her husband had been an islander, something I already knew. We talked about her family, and as she was having a difficult day with her health and I needed to also visit Kuranda, I began to pack up.

It was at this stage that she said an older man within the Kuku Djungan community had said they should just refer to themselves as Djungan and drop the Kuku. She quickened her speech a little and went on to say that her mother had told her “that only those people who had been at Mount Mulligan could claim to be Djungan”. So, there it was! The family matriarch had rejected my Grandfather and me. I hugged her and kissed her cheeks and we left. The next I knew of her was when I telephoned Little Brother in January 2014 to wish everyone a Happy New Year. She died on Christmas Eve 2013.

Kuranda

I had organised to meet women of the Kuku-Yalanji peoples in Kuranda. Originally wishing to meet the Kuku-Yalanji woman who had spoken about the Bump Track, I found she was not available. It turned out that I know the nephew of a couple of the women, as he had also lived and worked in Melbourne and we crossed over, not only through the Koorie community but also in the creative community.

Greeting me with “Oh you’re the Kuku Djungan women”, after Auntie G’s revelations, this greeting depressed me further. However, I have always been pretty good at hiding depression. I answered with, “Well I’m not sure”, and I told the story of Grandfather’s links to Port Douglas. Sure, as I had been categorised as not belonging, I did not bother showing the photographs. I was told that the historian was not there. I left my email address and she was to get back to me if there was anything she knew about my family’s story. Thankfully Margaret was with me. Without her being there, I would have gone to the car and allowed myself to cry. When, after a few months I phoned to see where things were up to; the historian was yet again unavailable. I never received an email.

The Bump Track

Walking down the Bump Track towards Port Douglas I felt that I was taking my Grandfather's spirit home. The Bump Track had been established in 1877 by Christie Palmerston who navigated along First-Nations trading paths to find and create the first road between Port Douglas on the coast and Thornborough on the Hodgkinson Goldfield that was acceptable to packers. It linked Island Point, renamed Port Salisbury, and again renamed Port Douglas, to the Hodgkinson Goldfield. Creation of The Bump Track saw further incursion on country of more First-Nations peoples. With a young cousin, guide and tourists walking deep into the rainforest there was a breeze, which quickly tickled my senses before briskly dissipating. Then the call from the front: "Here on the side of the track is where we should find the grinding stone". I thanked the Ancestors for the breeze that had welcomed me to the country reassuring me that it was okay to search for the stone. However, it was not there, and the guide concluded that someone had come along and removed the treasured relic. Several metres further along the track I called for a stop. Asking the guide to check my observation, he confirmed I had found the precious grinding stone. The Ancestors had guided my eyes to see the stone before anyone else on this journey. I still feel grateful.

Reaching a creek with rocky rapids that surprisingly ran in the dry, the others crossed the water on stepping stones. Wading through the water, my short legs and the inflexibility caused by a chronic auto-immune illness restricted my options. Remembering stories where water equates to either spirit or knowledge left me feeling privileged. Ruins of an iron and wooden bridge projected out from the bank—a demented skeleton of WWII. If the Japanese forces reached them, the coastal people were to retreat to the Tablelands via the Bump Track, blowing it up behind them. At the end of the war not all the bombs were located. The judgement to blow up the bridge and other vital sections where bombs may have been located, as the safest action, meant the link from coast to hinterland met its end.

On the eastern side of the creek grew ancient trees. We lounged against the trees and ate muesli bars. Under the overhang caused by trees roots swam a freshwater eel. Being quick enough to see a swirl in the water where the eel had turned, our guide confirmed my sighting. Though I felt much more vindicated when my young cousin later told me he had also seen the eel. I had not been quick enough to get a photograph but then perhaps I was not supposed to. None of the photographs from the 2011 trip on country had worked. I found out later that even though I was using completely different equipment, again the memory cards were blank. Successfully using the photography equipment from both trips before and after my visits to country, here was an esoteric lesson. Photographs from the conferences I attended during my visits north all came out. I simply was not able to photograph country.

Other encounters we had on the Bump Track included seeing a six-metre-long python. Its scales glinted under the sun coming through the rainforest canopy. The encounters with the eel and carpet snake are significant, together they are Kurriyalla.

Conclusion

The main thread in my methodological net, autoethnography, requires evocative personal narratives. It also requires the writing to increase understanding of a specific culture by engaging with and challenging representations put forward by others about the researcher's identity. Thus, most yarns focus on my experiences of racism within education settings. Such experiences have had a major influence on the construction of my identity as a First-Nations woman. It is my identity as a First-Nations person whose family was removed from country that has required me to undertake the physical journeys noted in this Chapter as autoethnographic vignettes.

Selected because each is situated within an educational setting, or at least with other educators, and represents how my Aboriginality has been viewed by others; the vignettes in section one of the chapter

reveal experiences that I consider to be examples of the social construction of my Aboriginality. Being the foundational aspect of my understanding of myself, these constructs by others of my Aboriginality, did for a long time strongly influence my self-image. Fortunately, I have, as Maslow named it, self-actualised and as Jung put it, I have been able to individuate, which means I have formed myself as myself, rather than a reflection of how others believe I should be, but that is a very recent development.

Like the example used by Pratt (1991, 1999) of an Andean First-Nations person speaking back to the King of Spain, I am using my methodological net, particularly autoethnography, to speak back to those who have used my Aboriginality as a form of ridicule or attempted to dictate who is a First-Nations person or not.

Included in section one are yarns of Not-First-Nations peoples using colonial discourse and colonised mindsets in their representations of my Aboriginality. Such yarns support my assertion that Australia is neither a postcolonial nation state nor a decolonised society. Arguably this process is only speaking back to alterity, but it is not. Unfortunately, sometimes people of the ingroup conform with the stereotypes imposed on them by more dominant groups in society and therefore think that all within their ingroup should comply. Such people usually do not recognise that stereotyping is essentialising and thus a form of racism and internalised colonialism. Also requiring First-Nations communities to undergo cognitive decolonisation; similar to Heiss (2012) in her publication *Am I Black Enough*, I also tell yarns relating to the colonised mindsets of First-Nations peoples who have bought into an essentialised stereotype about the ontology and axiology of First-Nations peoples.

Section two in this chapter contained vignettes portraying my quest to locate the country of my First-Nations ancestors. Walking country has enabled me to develop a greater understanding of Grandfather, and the legacy of Aboriginality he bequeathed to his descendants. Walking country, as historical geography requires, has enabled me to be more closely connected to all the entities, both animate and

inanimate of the region where Grandfather was born. Immersion in the environment allowed me to better understand the Dreaming of the area and to imagine the artefacts made from the resources there, as well as to connect with the people of the place.

Chapter 7 – Man of Rivers: Child Slave

Introduction

Connecting to country and being able to state my identity according to the name of First- Nations peoples who are my country's Traditional Owners has required connecting with my matrilineal Grandfather's life. Linking to Grandfather's life requires comprehension of the wider cultural, political, and social meanings and understandings of Queensland, both as colony and state. It is in this and the following chapter that I make these linkages.

Queensland: The Colony

Initially established as a penal outpost of New South Wales in 1825, Moreton Bay became Queensland in 1859. Extreme violence, particularly in the north (Loos 1982; Pike 1983; Reynolds (n.d.); Reynolds 1987), accompanied the colonisers along with the introduction of diseases that resulted in a rapid decrease in First-Nations population. Nevertheless, a decrease in First-Nations peoples was not seen to be enough for some colonisers. For invasion to move on to colonisation the land had to be cleared which included dispersing First-Nations peoples—my ancestors. Thus, the colonial government supported the activities of the invading colonisers by establishing the Native Mounted Police (Hillier 1994; Richards 2008; Roth 1898). The 'dispersals'—the euphemism for massacres conducted by the Native Police—are known to have left some First-Nations children orphaned (Connolly 1984).

According to laws of the colonial governments, such children were under the Industrial and Reformatory Schools Act 1865, supposed to be sent to industrial schools and reformatories with many First-Nations children. They were sent there only because they were 'born of an Aboriginal or half-caste mother' (Kidd 2011, p. 20), not because they were orphaned.

However, not all child survivors of the ‘dispersals’ were sent to institutions specified under the 1865 Act. Grandfather may have been one of the First-Nations children orphaned because of a massacre, but not institutionalised as an orphan; instead he may have like other First-Nations children in his situation been taken in to work for the colonisers.

Still the colonial government had to deal with the humanitarians of the time, most of whom were from established southern colonial areas. The southern humanitarians used their newspapers to express their unhappiness at the treatment of First-Nations peoples in Queensland. Many of their concerns focused on the kidnapping of First-Nations women and children for economic and sexual exploitation (Conor 2016). However, such comments in the newspapers were usually countered by charging the humanitarians as being southerners, with no idea of what it required to open-up the country.

By the late 1880s the Queensland colonial government must have felt confident enough to implement plans to control First-Nations peoples they had not been able to ‘disperse’. In 1894 Colonial Secretary, Horace Tozer appointed a Special Commissioner of Police, Archibald Meston. He was to plan a systematic program; the stated aim was to improve the living conditions of First-Nations peoples. Whether it did or did not achieve this aim is a matter for debate.

After extensive travel around the colony but mainly in Far North Queensland, Meston presented his report and recommendations to the Queensland colonial government in late 1896. Meston made twelve recommendations. Multiple newspapers printed (at least) excerpts of the report and its recommendations. Meston was venomous in his assessment of the Native Mounted Police (discussed in Chapter 2 and about whom I have more to contribute later in this chapter). Meston’s attack on the Native Police prompted the then Queensland colonies Commissioner of Police, W E Parry-Okenden to undertake his own fact-finding tour of the colony. Parry-Okenden also presented a report and

recommendations to the Colonial Secretary. Eventually, Meston's opinion in echoing the consideration of southern humanitarians held out and the Native Police were disbanded.

Archibald Meston's report of 1896 notes: 'Boys and girls are frequently taken from their parents and their tribes and removed far off whence they have no chance of returning; left helpless at the mercy of those who possessed them' (, p. 4). He does not however officially acknowledge that the children are slaves. Provision made in the Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897, developed from Meston's recommendations, reinforced the Industrial and Reformatory Schools Act 1865 which, as previously stated, already enabled the government to institutionalise First-Nations children.

The colonial government of Queensland finalised the Act in December of 1897. At the time of The Act's creation Grandfather would have been about 16 years of age. He was already living in Allora on the Darling Downs. The Act restricted the opportunities and aspirations of First-Nations peoples until the 1980s (Kidd 2011). The impact of the Act would come into force when Grandfather's master, Thomas Clinton Davies dies.

First Steps – Walking my path

Beginning my search for country in the late 1970s when I was a teenager at Kedron Park Teachers' College, I began looking by investigating Thomas Clinton Davies, the man in whose household my Grandfather Davies lived. The extended family oral history had Thomas working as a bank manager; hence, I wrote to every major bank offering services in Queensland. Fortunately, I received a letter from the archivist of the National Australia Bank, Arthur O'Neill. He was able to inform me that Thomas at age twenty-six joined the Queensland National Bank on 15 September 1876. Consequently, being in his mid-twenties Thomas 'commenced on a salary of seventy-five pounds per annum and an

allowance of five shillings per day. The latter would indicate that he commenced at some fairly remote branch' (Arthur O'Neill 1978, letter, 15 December).

The remote branch of which O'Neill wrote, was the Thornborough branch. Being an emergent researcher in the era pre-World Wide Web, I was unable to locate the towns listed in O'Neill's letter. Knowing the family yarn about Thomas and his wife Jane giving Grandfather the middle name Hodgkinson, so "he could find his way home", I also looked for that name and the location of anything that was Hodgkinson. As previously mentioned, Grandfather always wrote Port Douglas as his place of his birth on forms requesting that information. I could find Port Douglas on my maps from the 1970s but not Thornborough, nor Hodgkinson. Making it more perplexing was the fact that O'Neill wrote that Thomas may have only ever worked at the Port Douglas branch for a few days as relief staff, if he had ever worked there at all. The initials 'TCD' appeared in a bankbook of the era; however, linking his full name Thomas Clinton Davies to documents of the branch had not been possible. Left confounded, I wondered about the family's oral history and the accuracy of the bank's archives. Desperate to be able to belong, to know my country, to know my community, to know our culture, I had taken the first tentative steps on what has turned into a very long journey lasting over forty years.

The year 1979 was the third and final year of my Diploma of Teaching. It was during this year that I married for the first time. Being married was a status that in Queensland at that time went against a woman achieving employment within a State Department. It was a situation which Queenslanders did not question and for several reasons, I did not even consider working anywhere else. Fortunately, as I had accepted a scholarship administered through the Commonwealth Government I received a letter suggesting I undertake the Commonwealth Government Public Service Examination. Passing, I worked in the Brisbane office of the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs for the first six months of 1980. Situated on the ground level of the building I worked in what was a book and stationary store, where I was able to purchase a copy of the Tindale map.

Norman Tindale, although better known for his anthropological research, was in fact qualified as an entomologist, who ended up working as an anthropologist for the South Australian Museum in the 1920s. Tindale's map is a map of 'Tribal Boundaries in Aboriginal Australia'. On his first expedition to Groote Eylandt from 1921 to 1922 Maroadunei, an Elder and song-maker of the Ngandi peoples introduced Tindale to the concept of 'Tribal Boundaries', establishing that First-Nations peoples of Australia were not nomads wandering without purpose.

Tindale had the following comment to make about his efforts to publish about boundaries for First-Nations countries. Acknowledging Maroadunei, Tindale states; 'It was he who introduced me to the idea of the existence of tribal boundaries, limits beyond which it was dangerous to move about without adequate recognition. His account of the tribespeople he had visited and his guidance in the matter of vocabulary changes enabled the writing of a paper containing data and a map of southern Arnhem Land tribes' (Tindale, 1925 cited in Tindale 1974, p. 3). The editor to whom it was submitted refused to accept a map with finite boundaries, making the assertion, then popularly believed, that 'aborigines' roamed at will over the whole country—free wanderers. The dotted lines that appear on the map were permitted to remain and the paper was accepted after a compromise (Tindale 1974).

Although Tindale's habit of measuring and noting the various physical attributes of First-Nations peoples, which he then used to proclaim distinct groups within First-Nations peoples of Australia, was racist and by the 1970s thoroughly discredited (McGregor 2016); he had learnt well from Maroadunei. It is Tindale's map that has supported my metaphorical journey of healing. Without Tindale's work I think there would be much less understanding of concepts of country of First-Nations peoples. Linked by cultural markers such as kinship and language First-Nations peoples were and are bound to the land. The relationship between people and their country is spiritual, geographical and ecological. Tindale's collection and collating of scientific data from numerous expeditions culminated in his 1974 map and

tome titled *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia – Their Terrain, Environmental Controls, Distribution, Limits and Proper Names*.

Armed with Grandfather's statement that he was born in Port Douglas I went to the map and found the town on the far north-east coast of Queensland. The location appeared to me to be only a little north of Cairns where Tindale and Joseph Birdsell, during the late 1930s, collaborated on an anthropological study of First-Nations peoples living in the rainforests of Far North Queensland. My Grandfather's short stature fitted with Tindale and Birdsell's descriptions of the rainforest people. Too naive to think critically of these writings, finding Port Douglas on the Tindale map, just north of Cairns, my desperate attempts to challenge colonisation and its consequences saw my family become rainforest people of Far North Queensland.

A decade later in 1990 the Queensland Education Department seconded me to the Catholic Archdiocese of Rockhampton to assist with the development of the Catholic Education Aboriginal Studies Curriculum. Sharing Grandfather's story, as I knew it then, with the three Elders from Woorabinda, with whom I worked, the family became Kuku-Yalanji. Giving me the name Kuku-Yalanji was an Elder with an uncanny resemblance to Grandfather. This was an incredibly emotional experience for me; I remember the Auntie within the group holding and rocking me as I cried.

It was 1993, the United Nations International Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples, and I had been living and working in Melbourne since July 1990. Every day I interacted with a computer for work, eventually purchasing one for my family's home use. While surfing the web one evening I found a map with the town Thornborough marked. Thornborough was the place where Thomas Clinton Davies had first worked for the Queensland National Bank. It was also close to the Hodgkinson River. I felt frozen, not cold, but suspended in time and space; unable to move, I held my breath. On the computer screen was an extremely important revelation. However, because the map showed Port Douglas on the coast,

and Thornborough and the Hodgkinson River inland on the other side of the Great Dividing Range; it made me wonder about the steadiness of the steps I had already taken along my path, on my journey of healing.

Grandfather's date of birth

The exact year Grandfather was born is unknown: something attested to by an inquiry of 29 May 1940 from the Commissioner of Police to the Director of Native Affairs. The Director replied, stating: 'It is regretted that this office has no record of this man's age. He enlisted in the 9th Battalion AIF in 1915 and the Defence Department may have some record' (Bleakley 1940, letter, 4 June). Like others who wished to enlist, Grandfather may have given an incorrect year to fit within the criteria for enlistment. However, the clues are that James Venture Mulligan and his party found gold in the Hodgkinson River in early 1876, causing increasing encroachment on First-Nations peoples' country between the Hodgkinson and its initial ports at Cooktown to the north and Cardwell to the south. Later in 1876, this encroachment occurred between the Hodgkinson, Trinity Bay and Smithville. Trinity Bay and Smithville are now areas of Cairns. Establishing an acceptable road for packers over First-Nations' trading paths in 1877 Christie Palmerston claimed the honour of founding the best road between the coast and the goldfield. The road became known as The Bump Track. As mentioned earlier, I did not find out about The Bump Track until it was mentioned by a Kuku-Yalanji woman Sandra Levers, who I meet briefly in 2011 at a meeting in Mareeba. The Bump Track, connected Island Point, renamed Port Salisbury, and again renamed Port Douglas, to the Hodgkinson Goldfield. Creation of The Bump Track saw further incursion on First-Nations peoples' country.

Thomas Clinton Davies and his wife Jane Mary married in Thornborough the 'capital' of the Hodgkinson Goldfield in November 1881. On 12 December 1882, the adult males of the district of Thornborough met at the Commercial Hotel to farewell Thomas before he moved his household to Ravenswood. A speech from the occasion confirms Thomas as having been at Thornborough

officiating on behalf of his employer, the Queensland National Bank, since 1876 (The Telegraph 29 December 1882, p.3).

Ten days after farewell celebrations in Thornborough on 22 December 1882, the initials 'T.C.D.' appear twice in a Port Douglas branch customer's signature book (A. O'Neill 1978, letter, 15 December) suggesting that Thomas may have been relieving at the Port Douglas branch on his household's way to Ravenswood. The brief respite in Port Douglas may have been when Grandfather came into the Davies household. All available data indicates that Grandfather may have been born as early as the mid-to-late 1870s but no later than 1882. The Davies gave him Christmas Day as his birthday. It appears from paperwork that Grandfather adjusted his year of birth according to his needs with 1880 being recorded on the birth certificate of his youngest child.

With a date of birth somewhere between 1876 and 1882 Grandfather was born during an era of frontier war in Far North Queensland (Cole 2004; Hillier 1994; Laurie 1958; Loos 1982; Pike 1983; Reynolds (n.d.); Reynolds 1987; Richards 2008). It was a war acknowledged by the newspapers of the time and described as 'the sickening and brutal war of races that is carried on in our outside settlements, especially those in the North' (Brisbane Courier, 8 May 1880, p. 4).

It was an era of resistance and retribution that led to massacres. The prevailing social mind-set of the invaders being one that fell in with beliefs that promoted First-Nations peoples as inferior.

Demonstrated through newspapers of the time is the belief that the invading colonisers saw children, like Grandfather, in need of Christianising and civilising. The First-Nations children were taught to read and write 'Christian doctrine, Bible History, as well as sewing and housekeeping for the girls and station work for the boys' (Kidd 2011, p. 62). It was thought that First-Nations children of

Grandfather's era needed to be 'taught regularity, diligence and basic skills' (Kidd 2011, pp. 21-22).

Such beliefs highlight the ethnocentrism and arrogance of the social mindset of the colonisers.

Linking Grandfather to the Davies

Deliberating on how Grandfather came into the Davies household, again leads to reflection on several possibilities. The options include Grandfather being a child taken by the Native Police, or some other agent, to be specifically given to the Davies because of a request made by them for a First-Nations child. Grandfather may have been a child still alive at the end of a massacre and given to the Davies because the adults of his group were dead, and the Davies wanted a First-Nations child domestic. Grandfather may have been a child amongst a group that came into, was brought in or sent into Thornborough. Such situations usually occurred because First-Nations peoples were, due to the process of genocide as subjugation discussed later in this chapter, starving. Otherwise, Grandfather may have been as the Davies told him the baby of a domestic servant who died while in their service and they decided to keep him. The following paragraphs outline circumstances relating to time (the period from 1876 to 1882) and place (Thornborough on the Hodgkinson Goldfield, and Port Douglas on the coast).

Massacres – Genocide as eradication

The frontier wars occurred because of First-Nations peoples' resistance and colonisers' aggression. The war produced massacres where First-Nations peoples were murdered. These mass murders are defined to be as being the slaying of under-armed people, meaning that any weapons they may have had were not of the technological equivalent to those being used against them, and/or unarmed men, women and children. Those who were killed were usually selected, simply because they represented the people to whom the killers objected. Generally, carefully planned rather than occurring in the heat of battle, massacres were enacted as surprise attacks and thus relatively quick. Nonetheless in the frontier wars multiple massacres occurred over an extended period of time with their objective being genocide. Having genocide as their objective, massacres, also known as 'dispersals', were intentionally concealed through clandestine methods including the disposal of bodies and the coercion of witnesses. Bodies were often burnt or sometimes thrown into waterways not used by the colonisers or their stock.

Genocide is defined as ‘the intent to destroy a group as a whole or in part’ (Semelin 2012). According to social scientist Jacques Semelin (2003, 2012) genocide is used to eradicate or subjugate a population. When used to subjugate, genocide’s role is to partially annihilate a group so as to force the rest of the group into total submission. Although the population is only partially annihilated the act of genocide is intended to have an overall impact on the rest of the group (Semelin 2012). It can be said that partial annihilation breaks the psychological resistance of people. Without psychological resistance there can be no physical resistance and thus the population is not the group it was before; therefore, genocide has occurred, and the people are subjugated. Genocide as eradication eliminates a community from a territory controlled or coveted by another group, usually a nation state. It involves ‘cleansing’ or clearing the area of the presence of another who is deemed undesirable and/or dangerous. ‘For this reason, the concept of eradication seems particularly relevant since its etymology conveys the idea of severing roots or extracting from the earth—in short “uprooting”—as would be said of a harmful plant or contagious disease’ (Semelin 2012, p. 28). Considering the strong connection to country that First-Nations peoples have, Semelin’s analogy is very apt. I think that those colonisers who were involved in conducting massacres in Far North Queensland saw clearing the land of First-Nations peoples similar to how Semelin (2012) has described genocide as eradication. However, I also think that both genocide for eradication and genocide for subjugation overlapped when it came to the invasion and colonisation of Australia.

Although I have insinuated that the colonisers had superior technology when it came to weaponry used during the frontier wars, one of their most effective weapons was the Native Mounted Police. During the decades following invasion, which in Far North Queensland commenced in 1861 (Loos 1982), the colonisers response to First-Nations peoples was to dispossess us through ‘dispersal’—another term for genocide as eradication. This task when not carried out by the colonisers themselves was dealt with by the Native Police. As previously discussed in Chapter 2, all the officers in the Native Police were colonisers. The troopers were First-Nations men who came from First-Nations groups who were

strangers or traditional enemies of First-Nations peoples they ‘dispersed’. Secrecy was the modus-operandi of the Native Police and matched the use of the word ‘dispersal’ as a euphemism for ‘massacre’. The secretive characteristics of the Native Police was enhanced by the way that the British officers commonly situated their detachment of troopers out of town. The troopers were brutalised by the actions of their British officers (Richards 2008). When the Native Police committed massacres, they were praised for ‘dispersing’ the ‘problem’ (Evans 2007; Haebich 2000; Kidd 2011; Reynolds 2006; Richards 2008; Robinson 2008; Rowley 1981; Tickner 2001).

Launched on the internet in July 2017 was a map of Australia that partially indicates massacres sites. The academic behind the ongoing project is Australian historian, Professor Lyndall Ryan who defines a massacre as the indiscriminate killing of six or more undefended people (Ryan 2008). The locations Ryan and her team have marked on the massacre map are sites on the trauma trails, of which Atkinson (2002) writes. Ryan is Not-First-Nations person who I think of as an ally. Thus far she has only used archival research rather than community consultations because she thinks that those White Australians who are unconvinced about how extensive the massacres were, need to comprehend that her research is based upon the records of their own ancestors who were the magistrates, crown-lands commissioners, and colonisers who wrote about the massacres in their journals and letters. Ryan postulates that since First-Nations peoples of the contact-conflict era lived in close quartered communities of about twenty people, losing six or more people in a massacre would usually lead to the disintegration of the whole community (Ryan 2008). Further, Ryan estimates that looking at Australia as a whole; there were more than five hundred massacres of First-Nations peoples, and massacres of settlers numbered fewer than ten (Brennan 2017; Dovey 2017; Katz 2017; Power 2017; Stephens 2017; Wahlquist 2017).

Another Australian historian who included finding massacre sites in his research was Emeritus Professor Ian Clark, who began his inquiry by examining the inspiration for place- names such as Murderers Flat, Massacre Inlet, Murdering Gully, Haunted Creek, Slaughterhouse Gully and so on

(cited in Dovey 2017). When I read of Clark's research, I was reminded of how a creek, in the regional city of Gladstone in Queensland where I lived during the late 1980s had its name changed from Police Creek to Auckland Creek. Police Creek probably indicated the presence of a Native Police barracks (Richards 2014).

Conducting my inquiry into massacres I focused on those years between which I think my Grandfather was most likely born, being 1876 to 1882. I added the parameter of locations within Far North Queensland such as Port Douglas, Thornborough and Hodgkinson. Eventually I located some colonial newspapers and published government reports to read. The oral histories passed on by perpetrators and witnesses are kept alive using the yarnning tradition of Australia; for example, the story told by the Toru guide on the Bump Track in 2013 as mentioned later in this chapter. In publications by Percy Trezise (1969) and Daniel Connolly (1984) I found written records of previous oral histories concerning massacres from the location and era I was researching.

Connolly (1984) describes the aftermath of a massacre of First-Nations peoples he labels as 'Hodgkinson Aborigines' suggesting they were First-Nations peoples of the Hodgkinson Goldfield, who in the 21st century are acknowledged as the Djungan peoples. Connolly reports that in retaliation for an attack upon colonisers on the Leadingham Creek, Native Mounted Police in 1881 attacked a group of First-Nations peoples at Cattle Creek. The massacre murdered most of them. The massacre's survivors were girls and boys who were taken to Thornborough where colonisers living in the town took them (Connolly 1984). Is this how Grandfather came into the household of the Davies?

When I used the words 'Cattle Creek' and the years 1876 to 1882 as search terms I was unable to retrieve results from the Trove search engine that enables research to be conducted using the archived newspapers of the National Library of Australia. However, I had one result on a related search. Using the search parameters 'Leadingham Creek' and the years 1880 to 1882 looking for an event that may

precipitate a massacre I only found articles about a Mr. Lee. Working at Northcote, a town on the banks of Leadingham Creek and also a part of the Hodgkinson Goldfield, Mr. Lee was assaulted and robbed. Appearing in several newspapers, one of the articles commenced with the words ‘Another deed of atrocity’ (The Advertiser 11 November 1882, p.11; The Morning Bulletin 24 November 1882, p.3 The Capricornian 25 November 1882, p. 19 and The Telegraph 27 November 1882, p.19) and ended with the sentence ‘Northcote had no police, and some six or seven residents rolled up to pursue the miscreants; we sincerely hope they have caught them’ (The Advertiser 11 November 1882, p.11; The Morning Bulletin 24 November 1882, p.3; The Capricornian 25 November 1882, p. 19; The Telegraph 27 November 1882, p.19). Although the first newspaper report states ‘It appears, however, that Mr. Lee has no recollection of what had occurred beyond receiving a blow on the head; nor did he see the blacks’ (The Advertiser 11 November 1882, p.11; The Morning Bulletin 24 November 1882, p. 3). The second version reads ‘The blacks have committed an atrocious assault on a Mr. Lee, while camping with horses near Northcote. After leaving him unconscious—he was struck down from behind with a nulla-nulla and evidently considered dead—the niggers went away with three horses, saddles, and bridles, and a blanket’ (The Capricornian 25 November 1882, p. 19; The Telegraph 27 November 1882, p.19). The original story reported in the newspapers makes a statement that I think could easily be challenged in court: ‘That the savage attempted murder was perpetrated by the dark devils is shown by incontrovertible facts. Some twelve of them were seen in the early part of the day on the adjacent flats, and two more boys had joined the mob in the morning’ (The Advertiser 11 November 1882, p.11; The Morning Bulletin 24 November 1882, p. 3). Nevertheless, there was no court case and there was no challenge to the supposed ‘incontrovertible facts’, but there was revenge taken out against the local First-Nations peoples. Even though Mr. Lee could not identify his attackers, not even to say whether their skin was dark or light, another massacre occurred.

The newspapers did not report all frontier activity. Like today, war that focuses on genocide did not always make the news, especially when the perpetrators deny it ever occurred. When it came to

reporting the actions of the Native Police, so little was thought of the life of First- Nations peoples that most newspaper reports simply state something along the lines of: ““dispersed” a few of them’ (Mackay Mercury and South Kennedy Advertiser 18 March 1876, p. 2); ‘the blacks were dispersed’ (The Telegraph 22 July 1876, p. 2); ‘blacks “dispersed” lately by the model institution, the Native Police’ (Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser 15 September 1877, p. 2); ‘started after the blacks, found a large camp and dispersed them’ (The Brisbane Courier 22 May 1879, p. 3; The Queenslander 24 May 1879, p. 668; Morning Bulletin 29 May 1879, p. 3; The Capricornia 31 May 1879, p. 16).

Another article chronicles the colonisers stealing a complete catch of fish, which justifiably angered the First-Nations peoples of the country. Native Police came, captured, raped and murdered First-Nations peoples with no remorse. Most of the murders were covered with the words ‘more blacks were seen, and at once dispersed’ (The Queenslander 19 June 1880, p. 786). A report of First-Nations peoples near Kingsborough, the second main town on the Hodgkinson Goldfield, concludes with ‘police have taken active measures to suppress the mischief’ (The Week 5 March 1881, p. 6) or ‘thus dispersing the mob’ (The Brisbane Courier 31 March 1883, p. 4). Such simple words to describe acts of genocide.

Never officially reported; oral history stories of massacres committed by colonisers support my thinking that more occurred than were ever known about by the general populace or the authorities. The following story told on my walk down the Bump Track is an example that supports my argument. The group stood looking out over the Mowbray Valley. Our guide, a Not-First-Nations person, pointing to a cave I could not discern told how a group of local colonisers rounded up a group of the First-Nations peoples living in the Mowbray Valley into the cave shooting all of the people. Occurring in the late 19th century the colonisers justified the massacre because a cow had gone missing. However, three days after the massacre of children, and their parents, grandparents, cousins, aunts and uncles the cow came wandering back from the shrub (Bump Track Guide, 2013, verbal

communication, 8 June). Murdering a whole community of people because one cow wandered off into the scrub did not seem to have worried the colonisers who through oral history kept the narrative alive.

If Grandfather and the Davies did not come together because as a young child, he became an orphan due to a ‘dispersal’, perhaps the Davies story that Grandfather’s mother was their domestic servant and he died while in their service, thus they took him into their household, is true. The question then is how did Great-Grandmother encounter the Davies?

Coming in, brought in, or sent in

Noted in the newspapers the wet seasons of the latter years of the 1870s were on the Far North Queensland goldfields, First-Nations peoples were drought stricken. Deprived of their natural game and customary waterholes they suffered starvation as famine struck in the dry years of 1877 to 1879 (Bolton 1972). There is a sad account from late 1877 of a First-Nations man named Cockey, working as a stockman for a coloniser called Duff who had cattle on the Mitchell River. First-Nations women from a group Cockey encountered west of Mount Mulligan asked him to take their children with him to prevent them from starving to death. Cockey took one child with him to Watsonville. He described the group as so emaciated they could hardly walk (The Telegraph, 23 November 1877, p. 2; The Capricornia 24 November 1877, p. 7; Brisbane Courier, 27 November 1877, p. 2; The Week, 1 December 1877, p. 8).

During 1881 a report of cattle spearing on the Walsh River has the Native Police sent out to conduct a ‘dispersal’. The report goes on to state: ‘In patrolling the district, a gin and piccaninnies were the only members of the tribe that could be met with. These were brought into Thornborough, where they are cared for, the mother having gone into decent service’ (Morning Bulletin, 4 November 1881, p. 2) I wondered if the First-Nations woman described in the article as having gone into ‘decent service’ may

have been my matrilineal Great- Grandmother. Further, were any of the children written of, my matrilineal Grandfather. It is interesting that the Davies marry in Thornborough at the end of November 1881 and the First-Nations woman and children come into Thornborough in the same month as the marriage.

Reports of September 1882, about three months before the Davies leave Thornborough, have over 100 starving First-Nations peoples entering the town (Week, 16 September 1882, p. 14). The Byrnes brothers, who ran cattle on the Mitchell River, were instrumental in the entry into the town of First-Nations peoples (Mackay Mercury and South Kennedy Advertiser, 30 September 1882, p. 2). In April 1882, at a meeting of the divisional board that included Thornborough, one of the Byrnes brothers spoke, stating the conviction that First-Nations peoples were starving in the ranges which is why they were hunting horses and cattle. Further that the town should bring in the First-Nations peoples (Brisbane Courier, 3 April 1882, p. 3). Over the months from September to early December two more groups of starving First- Nations peoples enter Thornborough, with the third group numbering twelve (Brisbane Courier, 4 December 1882, p. 6).

Was Grandfather a child amongst the starving First-Nations peoples entering Thornborough in the latter months of 1882? Was he given to the Davies because Great-Grandmother feared he would die of starvation if she did not hand him over? Was Grandfather a child survivor of a massacre? These questions are a part of the continual search that inspired my research which resulted in this thesis. Answering these questions matters to me. In the yarn that is Australia's national story, however, Grandfather is lucky to be considered by alterity to be a hanging thread. Answering these questions is now not possible, but they haunt me. This is because Grandfather is me and I am him—we are forever intertwined.

Similar yarns

When I was a child I thought that Grandfather's story was unique. Nevertheless, through being able to yarn with other First-Nations peoples, more than those within my immediate extended family and conducting historical research I have come across similar yarns. I share them here so that similarities and differences may be noted.

Harry Mole

Recalled by Percy Trezise (1969) is the yarn of Harry Mole, one of the Elders who accompanied Trezise on his trips into the bush of Far North Queensland looking for rock art. 'Harry had been (a) police tracker at Laura for more than sixty years, ever since he was brought in as a child by members of a punitive expedition who had slaughtered virtually all of his people, the Gugu-Warra tribe. This occurred near the Jack Lakes, about a hundred miles north-west of Cooktown' (Tresize 1969, p. 51). Retold in *Quinkan Country* (1969), Tresize's book about the search for Aboriginal cave paintings in Cape York, when Harry Mole was an old man, the 'punitive expedition', as Trezise chose to label the massacre, must have occurred close to the turn of the 20th century (Woods 2012). Trezise has Harry being a child at the time which brings Harry's birth close to the time of Grandfather's birth. The Jack Lakes where the massacre occurred, and Laura where Harry lived, are situated in the geographical area I think of as Far North Queensland. Both are north of the Hodgkinson Goldfield. Laura is thought of as being on the Palmer Goldfield.

Clara Salisbury

The story of Clara Salisbury begins in the newspapers of September and October 1877, similar to the yarn about Harry Mole. The newspaper article in summary states that Sub- Inspector Douglas, an officer in the Native Mounted Police, took his troopers a little way south of Port Salisbury (which was an early name for Port Douglas), driving about a dozen First-Nations peoples into the sea. Hearing

shots coming from the scrub close to Port Salisbury; a day later a person referred to by the author of the newspaper article as ‘our native Bashi-Basouka’ came into town, bringing with ‘them’ a ‘female piccaninny’, about two years of age (judged by the fact that the child had a mouth full of fine teeth). Mrs. George Wilson took charge of ‘it’, giving the girl the name Clara Salisbury (Brisbane Courier, 29 September 1877, p. 6; Queenslander, 6 October 1877, p. 6).

One of the most infamous amongst the Native Police officers who served in Far North Queensland was Sub-Inspector Douglas. His nefarious manner of dealing with First-Nations peoples was the most potent aspect of his reputation. Fredrick Wheeler, acknowledged in his own time as being one of the most dishonourable officers in the ranks of the Native Police, trained Douglas who commenced his duties in 1872 (Richards 2008). Sub-Inspector Douglas had established a camp about four miles down the Hodgkinson River from Thornborough in July 1876. It is from this camp that Douglas and his troopers may have travelled for the weekend along the coast, followed on the Monday by a ‘dispersal’.

Orphaned through Sub-Inspector Douglas and his troopers’ actions, Clara appears in the newspapers again in 1883 when she was about eight years of age. Under the heading ‘City Police Court’ with the subheading ‘Neglected Children’ runs the following report: ‘A little aboriginal girl, who gave the name of Clara Salisbury, was brought up as a neglected child. Inspector Lewis stated that the child had been brought down from Townsville, a brief time back by some gentleman, from whom she ran away and that she had for the last few weeks been wandering about in the bush. The Police Magistrate said he would remand the child in order that efforts might be made for her admission to the orphanage’ (Telegraph 4 April 1883, p. 3). These events took place in Brisbane. I feel ill, speculating as to what may have occurred to cause the little girl to run away. What happened to Mrs. Wilson? Did the woman give or sell Clara to the man, or was he a third or fourth ‘owner’ of the poor child?

Again, Grandfather and Clara Salisbury were born about the same time and in the same vicinity and like Harry Mole they ended up living with the colonisers. Unlike Harry, who lived in Laura, Clara and Grandfather ended up far from their country. Clara is last noted in Brisbane approximately 1750 kilometres from Port Douglas, which we can glean from the original news report was near her home. Grandfather when living at Allora was approximately 1700 kilometres from the region of his birth, somewhere around Port Douglas or Thornborough. Fortunately for Grandfather and Clara, at least they resided within the boundaries of the colony to which their country belonged. This was not the case for all First- Nations peoples caught up with the colonisers.

Port Dougly

A newspaper article under the heading ‘Our Melbourne Letter’ states ‘I have just run up against a Queensland blackboy. The aboriginal is as scarce around Melbourne as water in the Sahara, and seeing a real live nigger boy in the suburbs which I effect, it entered my head to bail him up with the customary interrogatories of “What name belonging?” ... “Port Dougly” ... ‘I afterwards met his boss and learned that while in Herberton he took a fancy to the boy and finally seduced him with a plug of tobacco. He is now nurse maid to some very promising young ladies, who talk as largely of their “black servant” as if nobody had ever seen a blackboy before’ (Week, 22 September 1883, p.11).

The derogatory use of the word ‘boy’ to describe First-Nations males of any age makes it difficult to gauge the person’s age. My Father, a Not-First-Nations man, who respected First- Nations peoples, and who also had a very good father-in-law and son-in-law relationship with my Grandfather, told me that Grandfather accompanied him to purchase his first dinghy. They went in one of Grandfather’s boats-for-hire down the Pine River into the bay, hugging the coast, then into the Brisbane River. Father who had always been an adrenaline junkie enjoyed the trip but was horrified by the Not-First-Nations men

from whom they bought the dinghy. By the time my parents had wed and settled in a cottage up the road from Grandfather and Nanna's, it was late 1947 and Grandfather's hair was already white. So, when the men on the Brisbane River referred to him as 'boy' Father was ropeable. Grandfather's non-verbals indicated Father should keep the peace. Grandfather accepted insults but not to others.

It can be logically surmised that the First-Nations man written about in the article and named Port Dougly was from Port Douglas, taken to Herberton and then passed on to a person who took him to Melbourne. Both Clara Salisbury and Port Dougly came from the area where Grandfather said he was born. I cannot help reading their stories and thinking they may be kin. My heart aches for them both.

Wabra Charlie

Taken by colonists in 1853, before Queensland became a separate colony to New South Wales, another First-Nations man not only resided but died south of the Queensland colonial border at a place called Yarravel, a hamlet north of the Macleay River and north west of Kempsey. His name was Wabra Charlie. Wabra died in 1877. His colonial master Mr. P. G. Panton after Wabra's death wrote the following: 'Mr. William Panton and myself brought Charlie from the upper Brisbane River, Queensland, in the year 1853, since which time he has remained with me, serving myself and family honestly, faithfully, and well, an example to servants generally, for truthfulness, integrity, and obedience. In disposition Charlie was singularly mild and gentle, and his love of children was something extraordinary; indeed, I shall ever bear in grateful remembrance his fondness for my children, which was only equalled by their fondness for him. It is gratifying to be able to give this testimony to the worth of an aboriginal after twenty-three and a-half years' service and belonging to a race fast dying out' (Evening News, 10 January 1877, p. 2; Rockhampton Bulletin, 23 January 1877, p. 2; Clarence and Richmond Examiner and New England Advertiser, 27 January 1877, p. 6; Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser, Saturday 27 January 1877, p. 3).

There is no explanation of circumstances by which the Panton brothers initially encounter Wabra Charlie or how he becomes a ‘servant’. Panton knew the man as Charlie; however, he also used the name ‘Wabra’, suggesting that when taken, he was old enough to recall the name given to him by his kin. Although writing with respect and affection, Panton’s testimony that Wabra ‘belonging to a race fast dying out’ is an example of the influence of pseudo-science and social-Darwinism on the colonial mindset, which I contest still exists in some areas of governmental administration and in social situations.

Harry Cleveland

An article about a ‘master’ insuring the life of his First-Nations servant gives further insight into the life of another person who lived in similar circumstances to Grandfather. This article states that it was ‘probably the only instance of an insurance company having accepted a risk on the life of an Australian aboriginal. It seems that this native, whose name is Harry Cleveland, and who is about 19-years-of-age, having been for 12 years in the service of a gentleman whose occupations take him a good deal into the country districts of South Australia’ (Border Watch, 19 September 1883, p. 4; Port Augusta Dispatch and Flinders' Advertiser, 26 September 1883, p.3; South Australian Advertiser, 6 October 1883, p. 4; South Australian Weekly Chronicle, 13 October 1883, p. 10; Darling Gazette 15 October 1883, p. 3; Queensland Times 20 October 1883, p.2; Telegraph 29 October 1883, p. 3). Harry at about seven years of age commenced working as a ‘servant’.

‘Harry was a Queensland black, having been born in the year 1861, day and month unknown, at Cleveland Bay, North Queensland, from which he derives his name’ (Border Watch, 19 September 1883, p. 4; Port Augusta Dispatch and Flinders' Advertiser 26 September 1883, p. 3; South Australian Advertiser, 6 October 1883, p. 4; South Australian Weekly Chronicle, 13

October 1883, p. 10; Darling Gazette 15 October 1883, p. 3; Queensland Times 20 October 1883, p.2; Telegraph 29 October 1883, p. 3). Consistent with other colonisers who took First- Nations children as servants the name Cleveland relates to Harry's home country, which in contemporary times is a part of the harbour of Townsville.

The report stated Harry 'was a teetotaller; that he had had the measles; that he had had "one mark on his left shoulder, tattooed", that his stature is 5 feet 7 inches, his weight 10 stone 5 lbs' (Border Watch, 19 September 1883, p. 4; Port Augusta Dispatch and Flinders' Advertiser 26 September 1883, p. 3; South Australian Advertiser, 6 October 1883, p. 4; South Australian Weekly Chronicle, 13 October 1883, p. 10; Darling Gazette 15 October 1883, p. 3; Queensland Times, 20 October 1883, p.2; Telegraph, 29 October 1883, p. 3). Harry and my Grandfather were both raised as teetotallers. Both men were short in stature. Grandfather did not have any scarification, which is what I think Harry's left shoulder 'tattoo' was. However, Grandfather's best friend and classificatory brother, Uncle Peter, who had been about eight when taken, also had a shoulder scarification. I think that Uncle Peter and Harry may have gone through the first stage of the lore and therefore they each had one shoulder marked.

The information I have included here on Uncle Peter was noted in his Queensland government file, a result of living under The Act. As written about elsewhere in my thesis, my eldest cousin recalls being a child observing Grandfather and Uncle Peter's interactions. My cousin thought that sometimes Uncle Peter was teaching Grandfather language and sharing other cultural knowledge. This included the pair making a spear and a spear-thrower. Grandfather dared Uncle Peter, who was speaking proudly of his abilities as a hunter, to spear his hat placed on a post about 200 metres away. Grandfather ended up with a hole in his hat and he never doubted Uncle Peter's abilities again.

Harry Cleveland, as stated in the newspaper articles concerning Harry's 'master's insurance policy on him; both doctors employed by the insurance company to examine Harry 'agreed that the life was first

class and that the only defect was the ‘family history’ which was necessarily ‘very meagre’. With these simple words I feel the pain of lost family, knowledge and customs all over again. One thing I can gauge from contemporary information on Harry’s country at Cleveland Bay is that in the 21st century the bay is a dugong protected area within the Great Barrier Reef World Heritage Area. Harry may as a child have eaten dugong which before invasion would have been plentiful.

The child slaves

Although Cleveland Bay is too far south to fit within the region that I have designated as Far North Queensland, inclusion of Harry Cleveland’s and Wabra Charlie’s stories with those of Harry Mole, Clara Salisbury and Port Dougly are important examples of the lives of some of the First-Nations children born during the 19th century. Like my Grandfather they survived first-contact-first-conflict, but they were also victims of the invasion. They were talked about as servants and brainwashed to think of themselves as family members thus negating the need to pay them because these children were slaves. Anthony Trollope, an author who travelled Queensland in the 19th century, initially used the term ‘slavery’ to describe the situation that these children lived under (Robinson 2003a, 2003b, 2008).

Reported in public newspapers and those specifically produced by the Catholic Church for its parishioners, there are various events ranging from church fundraisers, family weddings and holiday visits from friends, hosted by the Davies. I imagine these events would have placed a financial burden on Thomas Clinton; but it would have been Jane Mary who was required to organise her domestic help to cater for and clean-up after such occasions. I can imagine my Grandfather, who at the time of marriage listed his occupation as waiter, being one of her mainstays.

Raised by white-collar Irish Catholics, to carry on the man’s surname but never be acknowledged as his heir or in the man’s obituary, Grandfather was a member of the first generation of those First-

Nations children who belong to the Stolen Generations. However, exploring the circumstances of his childhood was not in the remit of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission when they prepared the Bringing Them Home report.

Knowledge of the existence of this group of stolen First-Nations children is absent from the national psyche. Having a child slave in 19th century colonies of the British empire was according to the colonisers normal: a necessity for the ‘salvation’ of the child. It was also a necessity to cloak the child slave experience as ‘salvation’ since slavery had been made illegal within the British Empire since the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833.

Invasion

The matter of terminology was raised during the 2016 Australian election campaign, where those on the political right again queried the use of the word ‘invasion’ to describe the situation of first-contact-first-conflict in Australia. When I was working as a founding member of the Queensland Education Department’s Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Branch many teachers were defined by their alterity. They could not, would not, accept the term ‘invasion’ because they lived under the misunderstanding that First-Nations peoples simply capitulated to the British and the others who followed them. They had no concept of the sophistication of First-Nations peoples’ cultures. They thought we had no architecture or land boundaries or agriculture. Considering First-Nations peoples to be inferior, the descendants of the colonisers in the politically conservative Queensland of the 1980s were ignorant of the boundaries and agriculture in place at the time of invasion.

First-Nations peoples of Australia did not capitulate. By the time the invading colonisers reached Far North Queensland First-Nations peoples already knew the stories of the faces of clay and their sticks that killed; thus, my ancestors’ response to the invaders has been described as fiercer than some of our

southern cousins and the strategy of guerrilla warfare is noted as having been used by First-Nations peoples of Far North Queensland. Thus, it was reported in newspapers: ‘Northern Queensland, the part of Australia most recently settled by Europeans, and the most thickly populated by aborigines of an exceptionally fierce and bloodthirsty type’ (Telegraph, 23 October 1880, p. 2).

There are many reports of resistance by First-Nations peoples to aggressive practices of armed invading colonisers who entered my ancestors’ traditional countries, especially after it became obvious that the invaders’ intention was to remain and colonise. The battle at Rorke's Drift between the Zulu and British has been immortalised on film. I wonder how many Australians, particularly the Cusp Generation discussed in Chapter 1, know of the battle of the Kalkadoons, the Eumeralla Wars or guerrilla warfare tactics of Far North Queensland. So, no, my ancestors did not capitulate. Now to the questions of culture.

Beth Gott is a plant physiologist and an Honorary Research Fellow at the School of Biological Sciences, Monash University. She is extremely knowledgeable about her area of interest, which is the traditional significance and uses of indigenous Australian plants. Gott has written many papers on the use of indigenous plants in south-east Australia (Hooker 2004). Gott (cited in Gammage 2011) refers to the economic practices of First-Nations peoples in pre-invasion Australia as hunter-gather cultivators.

Looking for evidence of cultivation in the stories of European explorers, Bruce Pascoe (2016) considered Rupert Gerritsen’s work on the domestication of plants and proclaims First- Nations peoples to be agriculturalists. This claim may be seen to be backed up by Rhys Jones. In his 1969 article (republished in 2012 because of its significance contribution to anthropology), Jones findings state ‘areas of tropical Australia, has a marked seasonal climate with a wet and a dry season. The Aborigines organized their life according to this pattern, and the firing of the bush during the dry season was a decisive part of their economy... After firing, the Australian bush shows remarkable

powers of regeneration. Eucalypts throw out new leaves, and grasses grow afresh from the burnt ground. Many of the vegetable foods eaten by the Aborigines are more palatable when young—for example, ferns, grasses, leaves and shoots of trees’ (Jones 2012, p. 6). Further on in his article Jones argues that fire-stick farming, the activity to which his article is dedicated, also changes the pattern of plant growth and was done deliberately by First-Nations peoples ‘to give cover to kangaroos’ (Jones 2012, p. 7). I read this manipulation of the landscape to cater for kangaroos as a food source, as husbandry. Thus, my ancestors also engaged in agriculture and husbandry; so, what does this mean in connection to the land?

Educated by the Elder Maroadunei, Tindale wrote about First-Nations concepts of land boundaries in the early half of the 20th century. Maroadunei’s work with Tindale was verified by the findings in the *Mabo v Queensland (No. 2)* case. On 3 June 1992 the High Court of Australia’s recognition that First-Nations peoples of Torres Strait and the Australian mainland acknowledged boundaries that designate differentiated estates of land to distinct groups of peoples, for many, was a revolution.

Continually proven to be false, the ideological concept that First-Nations peoples of Australia did not ‘own’ land, did not fight for land and did not utilise land, needs to be struck from all records. Invasion by the British did occur. Invasion is the correct term for labelling the beginning of British occupation.

It is vital to understand invasion as a process that occurs over time, particularly across a continent as large and diverse in environment and topography as Australia. Invasion of the country of the Gadigal of the Eora Nation, the traditional custodians of Sydney on 26 January 1788, for example, was a cataclysmic event which led to an apocalypse for many First-Nations peoples of Australia. On a personal level, invasion led to the need for research, such as mine. Nevertheless, invasion did not commence in Far North Queensland until 1861 (Loos 1982, p. xvii). It was then that the invading colonisers began to expand what Australian historian, Henry Reynolds calls the frontier to the far north

of the continent. In the process of expanding their boundary they invaded the country of my ancestors—murdering many, enslaving others and causing me to live as a refugee on someone else’s country. I am always searching for answers about ‘who I truly am’, and questioning ‘whose country I should share’.

Conclusion

Grandfather’s childhood would have consisted of him travelling around the colony of Queensland as a member of the Davies’ household. Thomas Clinton Davies arrived at Thornborough in 1876. He marries Jane Mary in 1881 and it appears that about the time of their marriage Grandfather comes into their lives. At the end of 1882 they move to Ravenswood. In March of 1885 Thomas becomes Acting Manager of the Maytown branch of the Queensland National Bank. In 1889 Thomas appears as Manager of the Dugandan (now Boonah) branch. The household makes its final move when Thomas takes up his last posting as Manager of the Allora branch in 1894. By that stage Grandfather would have entered his teenage years.

Initially I thought Grandfather would have left the Davies’ household as a teenager. Evidence however reveals that his separation from them did not occur until Thomas’s death when Grandfather was in his late twenties or early thirties. Thomas’s obituary makes no mention of Grandfather. Perhaps this made Grandfather realise he was not really considered to be their son. Especially when, after Thomas died in August 1908, Jane moved to Toowoomba without taking Grandfather with her.

Chapter 8 – Man of Rivers: Ward of the State

The young man

I do not know the exact date when Grandfather and Jane Mary went their separate ways. And I do not know how to describe the state of their relationship at the time they separated. I do know whether they ever wrote and spoke to each other again. I can only assume they did not, as there is no evidence of interactions between them after Thomas's death. I only know for certain that Grandfather was in Brisbane by at least late September 1909.

In Brisbane

A newspaper article published in the Brisbane Courier dated 6 October 1909 (p. 5), names Grandfather as assisting police to rescue a man from the Brisbane River. The incident occurs on the night of 20 September 1909. Witnessing Lionel Hart, a drunk, jump into the Brisbane River and struggle with Constable John Carrigg who was attempting to rescue him, dragging them both underwater, Grandfather ran to the Criminal Investigations (C.I.) branch office. He then directed a Constable Grayson to the section of the river where he had witnessed the event. Taken ashore and conveyed to the watch-house, Hart continued to desperately struggle. Was Hart just a silly drunk or was he trying to drown himself: either way Grandfather had helped to save his life.

Four years later the Governor of Queensland, Sir William MacGregor, awards Constable Carrigg the Kings Medal for Bravery and the Royal Humane Society of Australasia Medal. In the intervening years, Grayson has been promoted from a Constable to Acting Sergeant and receives the Royal Humane Society of Australasia certificate of merit. The article that appeared in the Brisbane Courier on 29 November 1913 (p. 6) reports 'A man named Gus Davies brought Constable Grayson, from the C.I. branch office, and after further desperate struggles Hart was taken ashore and conveyed to the watch-

house.’ Grandfather does not receive an award. And neither does the newspaper report acknowledge his Aboriginality, which would be fine if it had not been that while growing up in Brisbane, every misdeed of a First-Nations person was noted in the newspaper, always mentioning the person’s Aboriginality. Thus, when a First-Nations person does something laudable the person’s Aboriginality is left out, which I think is misuse by newspapers of their role in public pedagogy: teaching the public that First-Nations peoples can only do things considered by society as ‘bad’.

Employment

The family oral history has it that if Grandfather had problems obtaining work he had a letter from the Davies to take to the Catholic Church. Unfortunately, the evidence points to this as perhaps not happening, or if it is a true recollection, then it did not go well. Grandfather could read and write in Standard English; attesting to this is his handwritten correspondence with the public servants who staffed the Aborigines Protection Office and yet he was never able to obtain a job where literacy counted. In a letter written to John Bleakley in his role as Aboriginal Protector, a neighbour, Mrs. Clare Carvell notes, ‘and for an aboriginal and his family jobs are not too easy to get’ (Carvell 1935, letter, 25 July).

Marriage

In 1912, Grandfather marries Easter Eveline Smith, known as Esther Evelyn Smith, born 15 October 1891; he tells Nanna she could raise the children in any church but the Catholic Church. My matrilineal grandparents meet at the place where they worked. Nanna was a kitchen maid and Grandfather, a waiter. Mum always referred to the place as The Mansions, but I have not been able to find any records of it.

Unfortunately, life must have been extremely difficult for Grandfather and Nanna. Before their marriage their eldest son was born on 3 January 1911, and I think they were both let-go from their employer. I presume they did not marry as soon as Nanna realised she was pregnant as Nanna's Father disapproved of Grandfather, because of his Aboriginality. Thus, they had to wait until she had turned 21 and did not need her father's permission to marry.

After they married they lived for some time with Nanna's Grandmother, known to me through the family's yarns as Granny Eyre. She was supposedly the niece of Edward John Eyre who had been the Protector of Aborigines at Moorundie on the River Murray from 1841 to 1844. He is also known for taking a First-Nations lad by the name of Wylie away from the King George Sound peoples of the Albany region of Western Australia to Adelaide. Later, after locating water and food for Eyre on a trek across from Adelaide to the west coast Wylie was reunited with his people, but more by coincidence than any plan of Eyre's. In 1844 Eyre removed two more First-Nations boys, taking them with him to England supposedly to be educated. One of the First-Nations men, Warrulan, known by the English as Edward, became ill and died of pneumonia in Birmingham on October 23, 1855, aged about 19 years. I have no information on Warrulan's companion Kour (whose name meant Crow) who was on the same vessel, under the care of Anthony Forster (Braithwaite et al. 2011).

Unemployed and desperate

Reportedly Grandfather ended up in the Summons Court a few times in his life. The first time was reported in the Brisbane Courier of 13 May 1916. Recorded as a 28-year-old Kanak labourer charged before Mr. C. A. M. Morris, P.M., in the Central Police Court with having on 8 May 1916 at South Brisbane stolen a purse containing £20, the property of A. F. Matlalieu. Forced to enter his own good behaviour bond of £30 for 12 months, and to make restitution for the money stolen, Grandfather must have given 1888 as his year of birth, when arrested for the report, to state he was 28-years-old. The

rationale for the description of ‘Kanak’ is unknown. Society at the time viewed Melanesians and Polynesians more highly than First-Nations peoples; I credit this to the strength of the Enlightenment pseudo-sciences, particularly social Darwinism and the Great Chain of Being, both of which classified First- Nations peoples of Australia as the lowest of the low. Perhaps Grandfather’s manners, use of Standard English, and his ability to write may have confused prejudiced police and justice officials or fearing their prejudice, he may not have wanted to express his true identity.

The Great Depression impacted on everyone. Although I think it fair to state that due to chronic unemployment, financial misery had already become the norm for my grandparents, with the crash of Wall Street in November 1929 simply exacerbating their situation. An article in the Brisbane Courier of 10 January 1929 reports Grandfather as trying to reuse a workman's weekly railway ticket a fortnight after its date of expiry. Fined £15, with 3 shillings and 6d costs or two days imprisonment, he pleaded guilty and was given a week to pay the fine.

The second Summons Court appearance is in the same week, before Mr. H. L. Archdale, Chief Police Magistrate, on a charge of having used a wireless set without a license. Grandfather admits that the set had been in his house for two months but said that it did not work. ‘Mr. T. Armstrong of the Postmaster General's Department which administered wireless licences replies, “They all say that their sets do not work too well”. Mr. Archdale: “And they are correct, sometimes”. Fined £2 with 3 shillings 6d costs, or two days imprisonment’ (The Telegraph 9 January 1929, p. 6). I do not know which option Grandfather took.

Ward of the state or not

Apart from newspaper reports, my data for this chapter on Grandfather’s life also come from information contained within his Queensland Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs file. The

first letter that appears in the Queensland Government file, what was at that time referred to as the Office of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals is dated 29 July 1923. The letter makes comment about Grandfather having been into the Office. The correspondence in Grandfather's file contradicts itself over the 20 plus years it covers, as to whether or not he was considered to be a ward of the state. The confusion appears to be because Grandfather was married to a woman of European heritage and because he had served during both world wars. I have also acquired information from the government about Grandfather's military service.

Cricketing photo

When I received my copy of Grandfather's file from the Queensland Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs, a photograph of Grandfather in a Light Horse uniform was enclosed, although my research has no records of him as a member of the Light Horse Brigade. However, Thomas, as a Lieutenant in the Queensland Imperial Force (QIF) later Australian Imperial Force (AIF) and recruiting for the Boer War, had access to the uniform. Thomas may have arranged for the taking of the photograph, as I think he did for the photograph of Grandfather with a cricket team at Glengallan, a property near Allora on the Darling Downs. These photos show Grandfather as a young man and it was a copy of his face from the cricket photo that I showed to people in Far North Queensland.

Grandfather sometimes took my Mother and/or her brother Henry, whose full name was Thomas Henry with him when he went to play cricket. Mother and Uncle Henry were the sporty ones amongst the siblings. There is a yarn about a close cricket match with tension visible in the air. Grandfather was in slips and ready to catch his opponent out. He saw a movement and caught a swallow flying past, demonstrating quick reflexes, but perhaps this is an exaggeration or distorted memory. (Such memories are discussed further in the next chapter.)

Service – WWI

When war was declared in Europe in 1914, Grandfather enlists in the Australian Imperial Forces (AIF) on 25 May 1917. He is described on the Certificate of Medical Examination as aged 37 years 5 months and 5 feet 4 inches in height, which is approximately 160 centimetres. Grandfather's chest measurement is recorded as 35 to 37 inches or roughly 91 centimetres. He was noted as weighing 236 pounds or almost 16 stone or 102 kilos, with a dark complexion, brown eyes, black hair and being of the Church of England. Grandfather thus can be visualised as a short, barrel-chested man. He gave 25 December 1880 as his date of birth, using a date which I think is closer to his actual age. And he was listed as a station hand with place of birth being Port Douglas. Grandfather enlisted at Gaythorne and his WWI service number is 3282. His next of kin was of course Nanna. When he first enlisted Nanna was living with their two sons and her mother at Bald Hills. However, in 1918 Nanna's details changed and she and my Uncles were living with Granny Eyre at Fifth Avenue, Eildon Hill, Windsor in Brisbane while Grandfather served.

The Certificate of the Attesting Officer, dated 25 May 1917, is signed by Captain James B. Walker who has struck out the statement 'I have examined his naturalisation papers and am of the opinion that they are correct'. This action suggests that Captain Walker is fully aware of Grandfather's Aboriginality but like all men enlisting from Australia at this time Grandfather is considered to be 'British born', something I have always found amusing in an ironic sense. It was also on 25 May 1917 that Grandfather had to take the oath swearing that he 'will well and truly serve our Sovereign Lord the King in the Australian Imperial Force'. This makes me feel uncomfortable as it suggests that Grandfather had relinquished his sovereignty over his own life. I must remember that the context of Grandfather's oath is one I have never experienced, and I cannot judge his decisions against my own life experiences, even though I still think, and feel we are inextricably connected. On 25 May 1917 Grandfather is certified as medically fit and becomes Private Davies of the 8/41st Battalion, being the 8th reinforcement group of the 41st Battalion.

Like all other soldiers Grandfather had to be certified by a commanding officer that he could use a rifle, and this occurred on 11 June 1912. As the war was in Europe, Grandfather, again like all other soldiers from Australia, had to travel via ship to Great Britain. He embarked at Sydney on HMAT *Hororata* (A20) on 14 June 1917. The letters 'HMAT' before the ship's name designates it as His Majesty's Australian Transport. Admitted to the ship's hospital with mumps, a week before he was due to disembark, I imagine Grandfather was disappointed. Growing up in the Davies' household, although Thomas never actually fought, Grandfather saw Thomas in an officer's military uniform, and like other men on the *Hororata* I imagine Grandfather had an unrealistic view of war as a grand adventure.

Disembarking on 25 August 1917 at Liverpool in England, two days later Grandfather is marched into the 11th Training Battalion at Larkhill, Salisbury. On 5 November 1917 he is marched into Number 13 camp, known as Camp Fovant, which is also in Salisbury. Later he is marched into Number 2 Com. Depot at Weymouth on Christmas Eve 1917. I am unsure as to whether 'Com.' stands for 'Commonwealth' or 'Command' but it does not really matter, as Grandfather was then turned around on the same date and sent back to Camp Fovant. I do not know why he was sent back, I can only speculate. He embarked to return to Australia and discharged on board the hospital transport ship S.S. Balmoral Castle on 1 February 1918 arriving in Sydney on 28 February 1918. When he travelled back to Brisbane and was discharged on 27 May 1918 on medical grounds of chronic rheumatism and flat feet, Grandfather was either in his late thirties or early forties.

Deep Water Bend

Initially opened for selection by the colonisers in the late 1880s, land only accessed by a dirt track called Wyampa Road and stretching along the south bank of the Pine River in 1921 became a soldier's settlement. Situated at the tidal end of the river, the blocks of land were not successful as farms.

Without more energy than the soldiers had to expend on soil development, the land was simply salt

flats and swamp with the only bores producing brackish water. Although the land appeared to be clear, here and there the swamp seeped through. Tea-tree, bracken fern, a tall grass with a sharp edge we called 'bladdie' grass, the weed known as 'stinking-roger', with small stands of she-oaks and occasional tall eucalyptus covered the land. Vegetation suitable for dairy cows was scarce on the river bank. Between the top of the bank and the low tide was mud where mangroves grow. My close cousins think I am foolish, but I miss the mangroves.

Declared a fishing reserve of the Brisbane City Council in 1929, the allotments east of the home where I grew up became known as Deep Water Bend. Determined to support his family, and like others who had tried, unable to farm the land, Grandfather hired out dinghies for people to go fishing or simply have fun paddling on the river. Over time a fact that led to some confusion by a local historian, Eaton (2001), was the report that Grandfather, being one of the original soldier settlers, was caretaker of the reserve, though according to family knowledge this never occurred. Mrs Clare Carvell originally ran the kiosk at the City Council Reserve at Deep Water Bend from when it opened in 1929 until after my birth in 1959.

Death of a child

Grandfather thanks the office staff for 'the little parcel that had been left at the Children's Hospital for my girlie Evelyn when she woke up & seen it she was pleased. She is not coming home I don't think, she is very low & weak. Yes, the world is full of troubles' (A Davies 1932, letter, 7 January). In an exchange of correspondence with the office in March 1932 Grandfather is told 'The little girl's funeral has been paid for by this office. You need not worry about that' (Chief Protector of Aborigines 1932, letter, 14 March).

The family yarns suggest that the Bald Hills State Primary School teacher and principal of the time (whose name I will not mention as he has descendants still living in the suburb) pushed Auntie Evelyn hard against the corner of a desk fracturing her hip; bone cancer and death followed. For his sins, my uncles and their friends caught the offending teacher when he was alighting from a train at the Bald Hills Railway Station and poured a bottle of writing ink down his throat; he was queasy and humiliated but lived.

Buried at the Lutwyche Cemetery Brisbane, Auntie Evelyn died on 19 January 1932, only 14 years old. My mother provided a headstone for her sister's grave in the 1980s.

Land – but no rights

Grandfather writes on 7 March 1932, asking if someone at the Office had spoken to the Minister for Lands about rent that was due on his land and house. The letter also contains an apology for not having been up to the Office on Saturday. The issue lay in abeyance until 16 May 1932 when Grandfather visited the Office and informed the staff that he had been in hospital for two weeks suffering from pneumonia, pleurisy and rheumatics. He had however forwarded money to the Lands Department.

A letter dated 4 July 1934 from the Deputy Chief Protector of Aboriginals, C. O'Leary, addressed to the Land Administration Board, reveals that Grandfather's property although close to the river, has no river frontage. Mr Jensen leased the property upstream and Mr Edwards the downstream lease and the two men had decided not to allow Grandfather access to the river, impeding his boat hire business.

O'Leary writes, asking the Lands Board if it is possible to have the leases amended to allow access for Grandfather's boat hire business. Receiving no reply for almost twelve months, O'Leary writes again on 10 June 1935, again pleading Grandfather's case.

The letters sent by O'Leary on 4 July 1934 and 10 June 1935 had no reply from the Lands Board. On 25 July 1935 a neighbour Mrs Clare Carvell writes directly to the Chief Protector, John Bleakley. Carvell had observed surveyors on the land and she thought that the Lands Office were preparing to sell the land. Carvell thought that Edwards, who held the downstream lease, had influence with Mr Parker of the Lands Department. Carvell was objecting to Parker giving Edwards knowledge about letters and business which should only be known to the Lands Office and the person concerned. Further, writing candidly, she expressed her beliefs that Edwards is unscrupulous and envious of Grandfather. Carvell also stated that Edwards did not want the land for putting in crops as he had more than he could manage under crop anyway. She expressed her belief that Edwards wanted more waterfrontage to expand his own boat hire business and to be able to continue to rule and regulate Grandfather's business. Carvell in her letter of 25 July 1935 stated that she was aware that Edwards had already said that Grandfather was not to build any more boats.

Carvell commented that Grandfather's land was marsh and underwater at high tide with 'only a few acres around the house of any use' (C Carvell 1935, letter, 25 July). She stated that 'for an aboriginal and his family jobs are not too easy to get, as you know, Mr Bleakley!' (C Carvell 1935, letter, 25 July). Carvell also highlights some of the racism that existed at the time by expressing her opinion that Edwards thinks 'because they are black... they should be consigned to the outback, and not have a piece of land a white man covets' (C Carvell 1935, letter, 25 July). Stating she has known 'these kiddies for fourteen years and am very fond of them, they compare very favourably... with white children, well-mannered and intelligent' (C Carvell 1935, letter, 25 July). She reminds Bleakley that Grandfather served and informs him that Edwards 'stopped in Australia in safety' (C Carvell 1935, letter, 25 July). Carvell believed that if Edwards continued his campaign against Grandfather 'He would break the poor old man's heart and you know he hasn't too many years to live. So, I earnestly ask you, to use what influence you have, to stop any action in this direction' (C Carvell 1935, letter, 25 July). Grandfather would have been in his mid-fifties or early sixties when she wrote the letter, but his

physical health was obviously poor enough for her to think that he did not have too many more years to live. I wonder whether Grandfather's poor physical health was because of the arduous work he had done as a child slave or had something to do with his excursion to England or something else like working with the boats. I was told as a child that Grandfather was a diabetic, but I do not know when the condition was diagnosed. The Office response to Carvell's letter of 25 July 1935 dated 30 July 1935 states: 'you may rest assured that Davies' interests will be fully protected by this Office' (J Bleakley 1935, letter, 25 July). The Office also asked Carvell's permission to refer her letter to the Department of Public Lands. Carvell lost no time in replying and gave permission for him to use her letter in any way he thought fit.

A good neighbour

Mrs Clare Carvell was alive when I was born, and I have seen photographs of the woman my mother always says was her Godmother, but I do not have any memories of interacting with her myself. Like Grandfather, the stories I have heard about her over the years generate warmth within me when I think of her. Mum called Mrs Carvell 'Carvely'. Carvely and her cat lived next door to the home built by Dad, upon land sold by Carvely; the house I grew up in had river frontage and access to Wyampa Road. Carvely sold the land on the condition that Mum's name be on the deed as well as Dad's, something a little unusual in 1947. There is a story of Carvely's cat being found sleeping next to me, in my baby basket in the sun on our veranda; I believe the cat was severely chastised.

The Great Depression

In a letter to the Chief Protector of Aboriginals, Grandfather apologises for not being 'Up to see you of late I am dropping you these few lines...there is nothing doing in Boats only might one or two every second Sunday. I would like to know if you could give me a bit of help for the children and the Mother for Xmas. The money I get for relief just gets food & I got to pay the Baker & Butcher anything I want

I can't buy any clothes for myself it all goes on the horse keeping him shod and repairs to the Sulky & harness & things like that. I will try to come to the Office on Thursday morning. So, I'll close now with best wishes to all in the Office I remain' (A Davies 1923, letter, 8 December). Reading this and similar types of letters written by my Grandfather is harrowing as it emphasises the fact that my mother and her siblings grew up in poverty. When I align these letters with Mrs Carvell's statement 'and for an aboriginal and his family jobs are not too easy to get' (C Carvell 1935, letter, 25 July), I think of the prejudice Grandfather suffered because of his Aboriginality.

Directing the city anglers from Bald Hills to Grandfather's boat ramp were signs nailed to trees which read 'Hire your boats from Digger Davies'. Nevertheless, during the Depression even this was of little help. Winter in Queensland's sub tropics usually receives less rain than the summer. Boat rowers and anglers were more likely to wish to hire Grandfather's boats in winter. Nonetheless Christmas coincided with the summer season when Grandfather would take on relief work organised by the government. Similar to many other people living in Australia during the Great Depression (1929–1932) Grandfather 'wanted not charity, but work' (Cathcart 1965, p. 577). Unemployment rose from 7 per cent in 1926 to 11 per cent in 1928. The reality was that most Australians battled for a living. If he was unable to get relief work, Grandfather worked on repairing his boats, making new paddles, maintaining his sulky and horse, and caring for his family as best he could.

The Great Depression for most of society had lifted by the end of 1932, and initially my family's situation appears to have lifted as well. On 26 June 1933, Grandfather wrote to the Office requesting money to purchase more boats as he was turning away potential business. Grandfather's letter goes on to request that if there was no money for the purchase of boats could they please give 'some warm clothes or blankets, two singles if you could; times are bad Sir'. Within nine months the Pine River district experienced stock and crop losses and a man drowned. The wet had delivered torrential rain and floods. I remember as a child having seen a black and white photograph of the floods of the 1930s.

A letter sent in March of 1934 from Grandfather to the Office lets them know that the family had to get ready twice to get out due to the floods and that Nanna and the children—my Mother and Aunties—had been very frightened.

Within days of being both verbally and physically assaulted by his brother-in-law Ernie Smith, Grandfather ends up in the Brisbane General Hospital. He is diagnosed with diabetes, which is a condition that I know from personal experience can be made worse by stress. I suspect that it is his diabetes that has him in hospital on this occasion. On the family's behalf Nanna calls into the Protector's Office to let them know that Grandfather was in hospital. Pressed with questions about what had occurred with her brother, Nanna told Mr Keen from the Office that the trouble arose when an old man named Lacey who was visiting her brother used very foul language towards her and the children. Grandfather protected her against the man's insults and her brother assaulted her husband. Going further she told Keen that her brother had never assisted with food or anything else. Although Lacey had left Nanna, he told the Protector 'that the whole family will be pleased when Smith [Nanna's brother – Ernest Henry Smith, Great Uncle Ernie who I meet when I was a child] has left the premises'. Keen advised Nanna that because Grandfather would be in hospital for some time and would not be able to work on Intermittent Relief, she was to seek rations from the local police while he made inquiries about getting Grandfather a pension. Released from hospital in mid- September, Grandfather, at the end of September, advised the Protector's Office that he had to report back to the hospital as he was not yet allowed to work, and the family was receiving relief rations.

Challenges continue

The challenges continue as the Chief Protector had yet again to contact the Secretary of the Land Administration Board. An assurance given by the Lands Board to take no action without consulting the Office becomes void when the Lands Board sends a letter stating they are going to reduce the amount

of land Grandfather has access to. In May they had confirmed that Grandfather was in debt to them by less than 20 pounds and in September the Lands Office stated that the amount owing for house and land rent was 200 pounds. This sudden financial change was not possible as the annual rent for the land and house was only five pounds. Further, they were going to be asking for more money on the reduced area of land than he was already paying. This all seems to confirm the thoughts that Mrs Carvell had expressed in her letter dated 25 July 1935 and addressed to Bleakley that Edwards with the support of his friend at the Lands Office, Parker were trying to push Grandfather and the family out.

Having received this information the Chief Protector wrote on 13 November 1935 to the Lands Board, reminding them that Grandfather was a returned soldier, in delicate health and with a large family to maintain. In December Grandfather sends three weeks of his rent for the land and house to Mr Keen at the Protector's Office, asking him to send it on to the Lands Department, apologising for not having been into the Protector's Office because he had not been well, and he did not have money for the train. I have not been able to locate a response from the Lands Board.

The following March the Chief Protector writes again to the Lands Board stating that Grandfather has met with an accident, is under medical treatment and would bring his payments to them, up-to-date, as soon as he could. Grandfather made the payment in April. All of this information was sourced from letters, memos and notes contained within the file the State Government of Queensland had on Grandfather.

First rates notice

Back dated to the August of 1935 a rates bill from the City Council is for the first time sent to Grandfather. Previously paid by the Lands Department, the City Council made Grandfather liable for

the rates. Told that if Grandfather received a pension he could get an exemption for the rates, the Office inquired on his behalf.

On 6 May of 1937 the Protector's Office wrote to the Under Secretary of the Department of Health and Home Affairs. The letter was informing the Under Secretary that Grandfather was a ward of the Department who occupying an informal lease in the Bald Hills Soldier's Settlement and had received a rates notice from the City Council. Explaining there were no previous assessment of Grandfather's lease for rates, the Office queries if Grandfather will be liable for payment of rates.

Further, the Protector writes that Grandfather's only income was three-days-a-week relief work or the occasional fee for the hiring of boats. He was otherwise unemployed, and his physical condition would not permit him to undertake regular manual work, especially as he must attend the General Hospital twice weekly. I think Grandfather's twice weekly hospital visits related to his diabetes.

Limited welfare and citizenship

Service pensions were administered by the Repatriation State Board. The Deputy Commissioner of the Repatriation Board, B Wilkinson notified the Chief Protector in January 1938 that they had refused Grandfather's application. The Repatriation Board's grounds were that their doctors concluded he did not have a condition, such as Pulmonary Tuberculosis, that would have qualified him for the pension.

A memorandum dated 18 November 1938, signed with the initials of the Private Secretary of the Minister for Health & Home Affairs, was sent to the Chief Protector, requesting an investigation to see what could be done to assist Grandfather. The reply dated 22 November 1938 reads: 'Following the cessation of relief rations and pay, this Department has been assisting Davies to the extent of 10/- weekly for groceries, and it is considered that such work as he may be able to obtain, plus the earnings

of his boats at the week-ends, should be sufficient, in the meantime, to keep Davies and his family from hardship. Every endeavour is being made to obtain more work for Davies, and you will be advised when any finality is reached in the matter.’

At the time of Federation in 1901, legislative definitions of Aboriginality, usually couched in terms of degree of descent, affected the rights of First-Nations peoples at state level. Although it was thought that the Commonwealth could not legislate concerning First-Nations peoples until after the 1967 referendum; from its first conception the Commonwealth Government through legislation-controlled citizenship and social security. The Office had endeavoured on Grandfather’s behalf to obtain either an Invalid or War Pension for him, but the Commonwealth denied First-Nations peoples’ access to social security. Thus, the Office requested City Council remit the rates they had levied.

Writing under the Protector’s new title of Director of Natives Affairs to the Town Clerk of the Brisbane City Council, he describes Grandfather as ‘a full blood aboriginal’ (J Bleakley 1941, letter, 8 April). The Protector’s Office goes on to inform the Town Clerk of Grandfather’s military service. Further, he writes: ‘married to a white woman and because of this peculiar circumstance cannot be assisted by this Department as far as removing to institution where he and his family could be given the necessary care and attention’ (J Bleakley 1941, letter, 8 April). This was followed with a comment about Grandfather earning a precarious living by taking up odd jobs and hiring punts on the Pine River. The author notes Nanna’s continuous ill-health, that my eldest uncle only receives casual employ, and that Uncle Henry, the younger of my matrilineal grandparents’ two sons, is married, and abroad with the Second AIF. The letter concluded: ‘It is impossible for Davies to meet the abovementioned claim for rates or any subsequent claim and it would be appreciated if assistance could be given him by waiving any such claims’ (J Bleakley 1941, letter, 8 April).

Mr Hitchcock of the Brisbane City Council telephoned the Protector's Office to let them know that unless Grandfather was a recipient of an Invalid or War pension the Council could not take responsibility for the rates. Here is a clear example of the dilemmas First-Nations peoples deal with due to mutually conflicting legislation. Hitchcock spoke to the Repatriation Office mentioning that Grandfather is unable to obtain a pension because he is a First-Nations person. A Mr Moss, an officer of the Repatriation Office, was surprised at this fact and suggested that if Grandfather could not get a War Pension he might be eligible for a Service Pension for which Grandfather should reapply.

If Grandfather was successful in obtaining a pension, he would not be liable for general rates but for cleansing and water rates only. This made me laugh when I saw this comment as even when I was a child, the area I grew up in called The Bend had no town water. We only had water tanks and no one from the council dealt with our night soil, as my mother would refer to the contents of the outside toilet. My father had to deal with the night soil by burying it in the back paddock or if the ground was too swampy, pouring it into the river. Grandfather had to do the same for his family, making the idea of paying cleansing and water rates absolutely absurd.

Mr Hitchcock of the Brisbane City Council went on to state that there would be no enforcement of collection under the current circumstances, and in the meantime, the Council will leave the matter in abeyance pending further information from the Office. It was great news for my grandparents to have such an empathic council representative dealing with their case.

A change of luck – maybe

In the first half of 1937, one of the local merchants sent her cousin to collect money from Grandfather. Ironically, Grandfather had won money in the Golden Casket, a lottery system to raise money to support WWI veterans. Arriving at the home, not seeing Grandfather, the merchant's cousin got

abusive with Nanna accusing her of hiding Grandfather. So, my two uncles had to step in. Backing off and shouting, as he leaves he says, “The first night I see him by himself I will introduce him to my bootmaker”. The whole family was upset, and Nanna collapsed and had to be carried to bed (A Davies 1937, note, 1 June).

The following information also comes from Grandfather’s note to the Office. Getting in his car and driving up the road, the merchant’s cousin met with Grandfather as he was going home. Realising he had been incorrect in thinking Nanna was hiding Grandfather, the cousin stops the car, saying that he got into hot water with the boys (my uncles), expecting Grandfather to have the money to hand over to him there and then. Finding that Grandfather didn’t, he becomes quite hostile. Grandfather tries to calm him by telling him he will get the money to him by the end of the week. However, he continues to bully Grandfather who ends the conversation by saying he left the money at the Protector’s Office. Grandfather tells the Protector that if the merchant’s cousin had not bullied him, he would have got him to drive him home and given him the money (A Davies 1937, note, 1 June).

The old home

In November 1937 City Council is notified by the Chief Protector that Grandfather is applying for a War Service Pension and could they continue to wait for payment of rates until there was a resolution about the pension. The Protector’s Office notes that in 1937 there were seven people living in the house. My Mother and her older sister Auntie Ruebena were not counted as living in the house at the time as they both lived in, where they worked. Uncle Henry had turned 22 years in April of 1937 and he had a wife who I knew as my Auntie Lil and their first baby. The baby that the Protector’s Office noted is my eldest cousin Ted who in 2007 first spoke to me about his memories of growing up with our mutual Grandparents. In 1937 Uncle Henry was doing relief work. The eldest son Gus junior, who

would have turned 26 in 1937 is not noted, but considering he was there when Nanna was harassed by Johnson if not living at the house, he obviously visited.

The house had two bedrooms—a small veranda that during my childhood was built in as another sleeping area. The kitchen was next to the back door, which had a tank stand and tank next to the stairs that led from the back door to the yard. The kitchen was equipped with a wood stove. Another room in the middle of the house was the family lounge room. There was a room for bathing but the toilet, for most of that time, was in a separate small building outside. Being a Queensland home, the house was on stilts, thus the toilet was also downstairs. I recall that the bougainvillea bush that my cousin Ted said Grandfather and Uncle Peter would sit under to talk grew outside the toilet as a screen to its door that faced the river. There was a shed behind the toilet that during my childhood was also held up by the purple bougainvillea.

Uncle Peter

My cousin recalls ‘Granddad met a gentleman from Cherbourg, Peter Loder, who we always called Uncle Peter. They were just like brothers; if one was in hospital the other one went along to visit him, and they were the only ones that they would allow to shave each other with a cut-throat razor; that is how well that they trusted each other. Sometimes down the Bend you would be sitting in Nanna’s kitchen, you would look out the window and you would see a person walking down the road. They would have one small case and you would be hanging out the window until someone could see well enough to call out “Uncle Peter”. Then it would be on; someone would be running down the road to go to meet him and carry his bag, or someone would be trying to catch the horse to put it on the sulky to go meet him. Only if we knew he was coming could he be met at the station in the sulky. After a while he and Granddad would go and sit in the shade of an old bougainvillea bush. They would sit down, they would be talking, and we would not be allowed to go near them because they were talking their

business. Sometimes I think Uncle Peter was trying to teach Grandfather his language; sometimes they would be talking about what was going on in the Department and all that, seeing Uncle Peter came from Cherbourg he needed a pass and a lot of times they used to take it off him (Woods 2012, p. 131). Grandfather was willing to be on parole and play the part of the ‘tame black’ for the Protector’s Office and other members of the colonising society, but with his classificatory brother he thirsted for knowledge about First- Nations culture. Uncle Peter and Grandfather were close enough for an Elder, named Uncle Joe Button, to tell me they were brothers when I visited Cherbourg during the 1990s.

Daughters as domestics

Although not forced on to Cherbourg or another reserve by The Act because of Nanna’s heritage and thus not being separated from Nanna and Grandfather through the dormitory system; Auntie Ruebena was removed through forced employment at the age of 14 years. At the age of 17 years she receives a letter dated 12 November 1937 from the Office, signed by the Chief Protector at the address of her employer asking her to authorise them to withdraw two pounds from her savings account to put towards the rent charged by the Lands Board, to which she agreed, with Mrs. D W Street, her employer, witnessing her signature.

My Mother and the younger sisters also started work at about the age of 14 but unlike Auntie Ruebena, known to the family as Auntie Bena, their work was not administered by the Protector’s Office. In 1937 Mother had turned 14 and is doing temporary work with the Office, the note stating she is now available for work. Mum recalls working for a Mrs. Allan at Nundah and looking after Mrs. Allan’s baby, Dianne who Mum called ‘Dinky’. I have no knowledge of Auntie Peg’s work history but know that in 1941 the Director of Native Welfare, as the Chief Protector is now known, receives a request for the youngest, Auntie Bet who was then 13 years of age, to be employed by Mrs. J P Peterson, President of the Metropolitan Branch of the Country Women’s Association (CWA). Mrs. Peterson had met my

Auntie while she and Nanna were staying at the CWA Rest Home at Sandgate because Nanna was suffering from nervous exhaustion. Mrs. Peterson is advised that the Protector's Office had no control over Auntie Betty's employment but as she was only 13 years of age, an exemption would have to be obtained from the Education Department. Mrs. Peterson returned Auntie Betty to Nanna after only a few days. My eldest cousin told me that our Auntie had told him that she had been a handful for Nanna when she was young, which may explain Nanna's nervous exhaustion and why Mrs. Peterson did not employ her for longer.

Paying the rent

Not able to predict that a political strategy of later generations of First-Nations peoples would be referred to as the 'pay the rent' campaign, Grandfather still had to deal with the Lands Board. The reply to the November 1938 memorandum from the Department of Health and Home Affairs was a request that the Protector's Office recover any moneys given to Grandfather from either him or his son. The Protector's Officer reminded the Department that Grandfather married a 'European' woman, enlisted with the AIF during the 'Great War'. A letter sent to the Department of Health and Home Affairs stated that Grandfather was making every endeavour to secure either permanent or casual employment. Further, he had asked the Returned Soldiers League and the Office to assist him in this effort. During 1939 the Protector's Office organised cleaning jobs for Grandfather but that was about it for 1939. Successful in obtaining a few odd jobs; his earnings however, were insufficient to keep Grandfather's large family in food and clothing, to maintain the boats he hired out, to pay for transport, and to pay fully for the rental of land and house plus council rates.

By making an arrangement with Uncle Henry, the youngest of Grandfather and Nanna's two sons, the rent to the Lands Department was being paid as frequently as possible. When the Lands Department threatened forfeiture, the Office paid the 5/- per week from its Relief Fund. Considering that the annual

rent was only thirteen pounds the Protector recommends to the Under Secretary of the Department of Health and Home Affairs that the Department undertake responsibility for the payment of the land's rental. On 24 March 1939 the Protector writes to the Secretary of the Lands Board, explaining that because Grandfather was a ward of the state the Home Secretary had approved the Department of Health and Home Affairs to accept liability for the rent on the lease and requested a statement showing rent due to 30 June 1940. A note added to the copy of the letter on the file advises Grandfather not to be made aware of the arrangement, as the Office wanted Uncle Henry to continue to make contributions to the rent, and that future receipt for his payments would come from the Protector's Office. There are several notes receipting money contributed to the rent from Uncle Henry.

Service – WWII

Tuned into radios, Australia's population heard Prime Minister Robert Menzies make the announcement that Australia was at war on 3 September 1939, two days after Hitler invaded Poland. Running from 28 July 1914 to 11 November 1918 WWI was supposed to be the war to end all wars. However, a substantial portion of humanity had again launched itself into a war that would reach further around the world than the previous world war.

Grandfather, so the family story goes, had gone to the city and shocked Nanna by coming home in uniform. He enlisted for WW2 on 10 June 1940 and was given the service number Q187467. Serving with the No.1 Garrison Battalion, family oral history has Grandfather guarding petrol dumps at Enoggera, Gaythorne and other areas of Brisbane.

On Wednesday 2 October 1940 in The Courier-Mail an article under the heading 'Old Digger Doing His Bit Again' describes the work Grandfather was involved in during WWII. He and about another thousand men who had returned from WW1 became guards of what were considered vulnerable points,

keeping unauthorised people away from places holding vital supplies and keeping guard at internment camps. The Courier-Mail article of 2 October 1940 reports that in the two acres which make up the home of the garrison battalion headquarters at Enoggera, men are wearing every decoration, save the Victoria Cross, awarded in the previous war. By October 1940 the garrison battalion had been on war service a year. Taken up to 55 years of age, men for the garrison enlisted through the R.S.S.I.L.A, the contemporary RSL.

By my calculations Grandfather would have been anywhere between 59 and 64 years of age at the time. He was reported on in The Courier Mail under the banner 'Old Digger Doing His Bit Again' with the subheading, 'A Proud Aborigine'. The article records Grandfather as having been born at Port Douglas. It reports on Grandfather as the only 'aborigine' in the Garrison Battalion. My critical thinking kicks in and I wonder whether any of my family of former generations had considered that the journalist through this statement was to point to grandfather as a curiosity—a bit like a museum or zoo exhibit.

During 1940 Grandfather's military position saw him living with the garrison at Enoggera. Uncle Henry, born in 1915, was abroad with the Second AIF. Mum had joined the AIF and was posted to a hospital in Far North Queensland. The eldest son, Gus junior also joined. He was however discharged because of mental health issues which my eldest cousin said was because he was a conscientious objector. In 1940 Nanna was at home with her youngest child, Auntie Bet. Nanna's youngest son, Uncle Henry has left his wife Auntie Lil, and their two sons, my cousins Ted and Graham, living in the old home with Nanna. Then in her late forties Nanna is in ill-health.

Proud of again serving his country, Grandfather on 8 February 1942 sends each of his daughters a photograph of himself in uniform, inscribing each with 'From Dad with Love and Happy Thoughts'.

Discharged because of medical reasons on 11 October 1944 Grandfather Davies cheered when WWII was finally over for Australia. Unfortunately, this did not occur until August 1945. Bombing the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6 and 9 August 1945 with nuclear bombs, the United States of America accepted the unconditional surrender of Japan on behalf of the allies on 14 August 1945.

Anzac Day

The Australian and New Zealand Army Corps better known as the Anzacs on 25 April 1915 formed part of the allied expedition that set out to capture the Gallipoli Peninsula. Although a loss for the allied forces; the event was the first major military action fought by the Anzacs during WWI and was thus officially declared a national commemorative occasion in 1916.

Under the heading 'Men Who Made the Day' is a report of Anzac Day 1951; the article reads:

'Australian aborigine Gus Davies, at 67, drew the applause from the crowds yesterday as he swung along in his army uniform with his mates in the 41st Battalion 1st AIF. "I have missed only one Anzac Day march that I can think of, he said with pride"' (The Courier-Mail 26 April 1951, p. 3). With a reported age of 67 in 1951 Grandfather could have been born in 1884, but this does not fit with the time line of Thomas's places of employment, so I think yet again Grandfather is simply giving a number, having no real idea of the year he was born, which makes it even more difficult for me to believe the story that his mother was a domestic for the Davies. If she had been, they would have known which year he was born. Anyway, Grandfather's photograph again appears, this time in The Telegraph newspaper, commemorating Anzac Day 1952.

Exemption for a pension

Due to Grandfather applying for a Commonwealth Pension in 1945, enquiries were made of the Director of Native Affairs to confirm that Grandfather had an exemption which came from the Deputy Commissioner of the Old Age Pension. The Director of Native Affairs wrote that Grandfather was never subject to the Aboriginals Preservation and Protection Act in that he married a European wife and served as a soldier in the Great War. A sidenote to the other members of the Office stated that if the 'Pension Office required the issuing of a certificate do so without further reference to Davies and without particulars on the usual forms. This file and the Department's knowledge of the man allows immediate issue'. Mr A Afflick, Deputy Commissioner of the Commonwealth Department of Social Services did require a certificate of exemption for Grandfather. Issued on 23 February 1945 the certificate was numbered 8/45. This now meant that Grandfather could no longer request assistance from the Office, and the following February a letter arrives to confirm this fact.

Death by drowning

Grandfather had been working at The Royal Queensland Show, better known in Queensland as 'the Ekka' on 19 August 1955; that evening he had gone, as was the habit in those days before people thought a lot about pollution, to empty the family's sanitary pan into the river. Nanna knew that this being his last job of the day, Grandfather would return to the house, bath and retire for bed. She had already gone to bed. However, when she woke early in the morning and found Grandfather had not come to bed, she walked across the paddocks to my parents' home and raised the alarm. Mother found Grandfather's footprints leading to the edge of the water and marks that indicated her Father had slipped into the water.

The common family yarn about Grandfather's death is that when he was walking along the banks of the river he suffered a heart attack and fell into the river. However, my Father accompanied Nanna to the police station a week or so later and hearing the outcome of the autopsy was not committed to this story. In his older years, knowing that the family thought of me as one of our unofficial historians he told me that the police said to Nanna that Grandfather's lungs were full of water, but there were no other problems. Dad did not know why Nanna let the family think he had had a heart attack. I think there is a possibility that Grandfather deliberately entered the water to end his life—something no one would want to be the truth.

My Father although my Not-First-Nations parent, supported my thinking that Grandfather was a member of the Stolen Generations, but this is something my Mother has not been able to acknowledge. Dying in January 2014, Father had no knowledge of my most recent hypothesis that Grandfather was a child slave.

Soon after Grandfather's death on 19 August 1955 an article appeared in The Sandgate Echo newspaper which began with the line 'He was a "white" black man'. I had heard this said by a fisherman once to Mother. She was fishing off the jetty at the front of our house and a boat anchored, in the family's opinion, far too close to where she was casting her line. Cousins at the kitchen table started making comments which embarrassed her. She motioned to me to come out and asked me to tell the cousins to be quiet. One of the men in the boat asked Mother if she knew Digger Davies. She stood a little taller and told the man that he was her Father and I heard the man say, 'He was a real "white" man'. I scowled, and Mother shooed me back inside. As I got older I realised that the report and the fisherman, I assume both being Not-First-Nations, thought they were giving Grandfather a compliment. Their words however were not a compliment—they were racist. They denied that a First-Nations man could have a personality that they found friendly, and well-mannered. They showed themselves as

holding ideas about First-Nations men that were negative, so negative that if they liked or respected the man, as they did my Grandfather, then he could not be a First- Nations man but must be a ‘white’ man.

Bleakley’s opinion

After retirement in 1942 John Bleakley wrote, *The Aborigines of Australia: Their History, Their Habits, Their Assimilation*. Bleakley’s book was published posthumously in 1961, following his death in 1957; in this text, he dedicates a section to my Grandfather whom he describes as an example of successful assimilation. However, the recollections of the eldest cousin of the family who spent time living with our mutual grandparents during WWII tell me that Grandfather was a man who would do whatever he could to look after his family and to survive. It was thus necessary to remain on very good terms with people like Bleakley. On the other hand, his interactions with Uncle Peter demonstrated his desire to know as much as he could about the culture from which he had been removed.

His park

In October 1994 Councillor Keith Murray opened a new park in Kyeema Crescent, Bald Hills, naming it the Gus Davies Park. The Councillor is reported as stating that: ‘He was a man who was respected by all who knew him as he neither drank nor smoked. It is fitting that Gus Davies, who spent such a long period of his life in the area and enlisted in both world wars should have a park named after him’ (Bayside Star 26 October 1994, n.p.).

Conclusion

This Man of Rivers, my Grandfather, is the glue that holds my disparate, dispersed, extended family together. We all claim our Aboriginality, which his legacy gave to each of us. We interact in cyberspace on a Facebook Page one of my nieces and a second cousin have created called ‘Deadly Descendants’ that has a photograph of Grandfather in his WWII uniform as its banner.

I am not the only family member to conduct research into Grandfather's life, but I was the first to begin the journey and I was the one to state that we are Kuku-Yalanji, which is something that I became unsure of as I walked the path that is my research journey. I will expand on the concluding chapter to follow.

Although I have spoken with Grandfather's great-grandson who has also looked into where we come from; I have not spoken to him since hypothesizing that Grandfather was a child slave. I have become aware through my research of information that I need to process further, before I disclose it to my extended family. As stated in earlier chapters, not all knowledge is meant to be knowledge for everyone.

Whilst writing these last two chapters on Grandfather's life I think I have found evidence of emotional and social-wellbeing, ill health within him and other members of my extended family, that I will expand upon further in the concluding chapter of my thesis.

Chapter 9 – Stepping Forward

Introduction

Although metaphorical, the process of undertaking research is most definitely a journey. The information about Grandfather has had to be sourced from multiple types of materials. A person with direct knowledge of a situation, or a document created by such a person, is known as a primary source. My cousin's tape of stories about life with our mutual Grandparents is a primary source. Much of the data extrapolated from Grandfather's Queensland Department of Aboriginal and Islander Advancement file also comes under this category. Correspondence responding to letters I wrote in the late 1970s asking for information about Thomas Clinton Davies employment and Grandfather's military service are some of the secondary sources I have been able to access. Other peoples' research writings, such as the one from the Historical Society of Queensland, are also secondary sources. The newspaper articles referenced are available through the Trove search engine of the National Library of Australia. Other source materials, due to the inability to digitalise the documents, are not labelled but placed chronologically in an attached appendix.

In the 1970s my research journey took me to Allora on the Darling Downs in south-eastern Queensland to read Thomas Clinton Davies headstone and to meet with the keeper of the local historical society's collection. In the first two decades of the 21st century, I have travelled to various locations in Far North Queensland to gather data through the lived experience of yarning. Thus, my inquiry has incorporated actual physical travel, but my quest for knowledge has been more than anything, a journey of mind and spirit. Through reading, lived experience and deep reflection, I have much more knowledge than I began with, and for that I am grateful.

Walking my path has not been an easy journey, especially as I come away not being able to answer all of my questions. Initially, my inquiry was about pinpointing where in Far North Queensland

Grandfather was born, so that I could proclaim my Aboriginality according to the name of my people and their country. Unfortunately, this is something that I have not been able to do.

Whilst having stated in Chapter 1 that disconnection from country means detachment from critical cultural markers, such as language and spirituality, which in essence is true; I have come to accept that as a First-Nations woman of the 21st century I do have First-Nations language and spirituality. As an aspect of my cognitive decolonisation, I have come to accept that these two significant cultural markers are alive and practised daily by me. My First-Nations language is Aboriginal English and my sense of connection with my family— biological and classificatory— present as corporal beings and passed as spirit, is a strong aspect of my philosophy of life—my spirituality. Every day I communicate with at least my dawt and a tidda or two using Aboriginal English, and these are situations that exemplify the conjunction between my First-Nations language and spirituality. My contemporary First- Nations spirituality is also expressed in the joy experienced, and respect shown, to the natural environment and the rest of creation. Even though I may never be undoubtedly recognised as a Traditional Owner of a particular First-Nations country, I am, however, definitely a First- Nations woman of Australia.

Apart from not being able to specifically identify my exact ancestral country without some sense of reservation, I have found out so much more about my Grandfather's life than I expected to, and now I must carry this knowledge with me. It is commonly said that knowledge is power. Thus knowledge carries with it responsibility. Following First-Nations protocols, before commencing my research I asked my mother and eldest cousin for their permission to carry out my study, but do I now tell these people in their 80s and 90s what I have learnt? I will continue to ponder this question as I step forward on my path in this journey called life. Such knowledge is too valuable to be shared hastily, and not all knowledge is to be known by everyone.

The rest of this chapter presents my findings and continues the discourse embarked upon in the Introduction. It also outlines areas where I believe further research could be undertaken.

Legislation

The Native Title Act has something to do with my inability to identify precisely the First- Nations country of Grandfather's birth. Although I honour Eddie Mabo and his fellow complainants I now view the Native Title Act as also having a negative impact upon First- Nations peoples and communities, similar to various iterations of The Act and The Intervention. Here I need to note that for First-Nations peoples, Native Title is not the same as Land Rights. Native Title has, in my opinion, made First-Nations peoples more wary of anyone wishing to return to country, due to the possible benefits of being included as a Native Title applicant. Native Title positions First-Nations peoples as competitors. I discussed the issues relating to disinterest and rejection in Chapter 6 where I described my return to Far North Queensland in 2013.

Language

The second difficulty in being able to precisely identify country has to do with interpreting the conflicting accounts of group names in historical records. The work of finding country then is linguistic and historical, and this research has required me to rely upon the records of both professional and amateur anthropologists. Following is what I have been able to glean from publications referencing the area in Far North Queensland in the vicinity where Grandfather was born.

Archibald Meston writes, 'On arrival at Watkins's place on the Annan, twenty miles from Cooktown, we were fortunate in meeting a large mob of blacks assembled from all the surrounding tribes to have a grand corroboree and celebrate the bora ceremony at the Initiation of a number of youths. There must have been nearly 300 blacks... There were men there from the Cocoboothan tribe of Cooktown; from the Lalamman to the north and Kyowarra to the south; the Daldalwarra and Cocowarra of the

Normanby; the Cocominnie of Hell's Gate; the Woolboorjaboor of the Palmer; the Tandiewarra of King Plains; the Canggooarra and Jowal-jowalwarra from the head of the Normanby, and the Cocoyallanjie of the Bloomfield' (Meston 1897a). 'They are all Coco-yallanjie, or sub-tribes of that people, and south of them, towards Bailey's Creek and Peter Bottle, are the Jooliwarra, Toolarra and Coconhumkil; and north towards Cooktown are the Kyowarra' (Meston 1897b).

Although Pike (1982) retells much of Meston's newspaper articles he uses spelling more relevant to the time of publication. The gathering included representatives from all the surrounding First-Nations groups. They were gathered to celebrate a ceremony for the initiation into manhood of several youths. The people included 'the Kokobothan of Cooktown. North of Cooktown were the Lalamaman. South of Cooktown were the Kyowarra. Representatives were also present from the Dadldawarra and the Kokowarra of the Normanby Homestead, west of Cooktown. The Kokominnie of Hells Gate. The Woolboorjanoor of the Palmer Goldfield. The Tandiewarra of King's Plains south-west of Cooktown. The Kanggooarra and Jowal-jowalwarra from the head of the Normanby River. The Kokoyallanjie of the Bloomfield' (Pike 1982, pp. 109-110).

Walter Roth, who was appointed as the first northern Protector of Aborigines in 1898, called First-Nations peoples local to the Palmer River the Koko-minni (Comber 1995). In Meston's noting of First-Nations groups present at the gathering he witnesses in 1897; he states that the Kokominnie, which can be phonetically read to be the same people that Roth referred to as the Koko-minni were from Hells Gates, a gorge on the track from Cooktown to the Palmer Goldfield and the people of the Palmer River to be the 'Woolboorjanoor'.

Nonetheless, Norman Tindale, curator of Anthropology at the South Australian Museum, from 1928 to 1962 noted the people of the Palmer River to be the Kokjelandji, which I read as Tindale's spelling of the name currently most often spelt Kuku-Yalanji. I think Tindale's Kokjelandji are the same people

who Meston refers to as Kokoyallanjie of the Bloomfield River. Tindale's Kokjelandji are described by him to have been living in the area he noted as from the head of the Palmer River to Mount Lukin; south and west of the Dividing Range to the upper Mitchell River at Maytown and east to Byerstown.

In the 21st century, the Mitchell River is acknowledged as belonging to the Western or Sunset Kuku-Yalanji that the Elders from Mossman Gorge thought my family might have been related to.

Unfortunately, Byerstown does not appear on contemporary maps; but it is logical to think that it is the same area on the Walsh River that has been described in newspaper articles of the late 19th century as having been 20 miles, which is about 30 kilometres west of Thornborough.

First-Nations peoples of the Cooktown region are the Kuku-Yimithirr. Meston notes those north of Cooktown that begins at the most southerly point of Princess Charlotte Bay stretching north to Port Stewart as the Lalamaman. These people are called the Lamalama by Rigsby (1999) who adds that this name is also the name of one of their languages. Rigsby also states that the country surrounding the Saltwater Creek and Morehead River drainages belong to the Kuku-Thaypan people who are also named for their language and a principal totem, the Taipan Snake. Kuku-Thaypan country is south-west of Lalamaman/Lamalama country.

Professor Bruno David, an archaeologist (1995) citing Tindale (1974) uses the spelling Djankun for Djungan. Tindale describes their country as 'From Mount Mulligan and Thornborough south to Almaden; east to Dimbulah near the head of Walsh River; west to Mungana' (p. 167).

Francis Richards (1926) who was a descendant of a family that lived on the Hodgkinson Goldfield, spelt the name for the people known as Djungan as Chunkunberry. Parry-Okeden (1897) the colonial Commissioner of Police spelt the name Changunberries and Mathews (1898) a surveyor, and amateur anthropologist spelt the name Shanganburra. According to David (1998) these last three names vis-à-

vis the suffixes 'berry', 'berries' and 'burra' are in fact referencing First-Nations language suffixes 'barra' or 'bari' that are used through southern Cape York Peninsula, meaning 'place of' or 'associated with' (Dixon & Koch 1996, p. 341).

Tindale (1974) notes that the Kokojelandji (Kuku-Yalanji) used the term Kokotjangun to refer to the Djungan and that First-Nations peoples north of the Djungan called them Kokomutju (Tindale 1974, p. 167). Tindale (1974) notes that Kokojelandji, most often spelt Kuku-Yalanji as being the Traditional Owners of the country from the head of the Palmer River, east from Palmerville to Mount Lukin; south and west of the Dividing Range to upper Mitchell River; at Maytown; east to Byerstown. They claim a close relationship with the Wulpura rainforest dwelling people of the Windsor plateau (Tindale 1974, p. 176).

While scanning Tindale's 1974 publication, I also found a reference to a group of First- Nations peoples whose country he describes as stretching from Port Douglas and Mossman north to Daintree; inland toward Mount Carbine. Tindale called these people the Kokokulungur (Tindale 1974, p. 176). Thus, reader, you can see how difficult it is to pinpoint country for a First-Nations person who has not only been removed but removed by a generation, which has seen colonial names changed, for example, Byerstown is no longer easily located on contemporary maps. Since colonisation, the dispersion of First-Nations peoples has caused particular groups to become a diaspora across the continent of Australia.

The use of 'Kuku' as a prefix to many of these First-Nations names suggests to me a relationship between them. 'Kuku' is an attempt to translate the First-Nations languages of Far North Queensland into English. The prefix 'Kuku' is interchanged with, 'Gugu' or 'Guugu' or in older writings even 'Koko.' Considering that the Wulpura people also identify as Gugu Waldja language speakers (Marcussen 2015) it is easy to accept what Tindale recorded as a relationship between the Kuku-

Yalanji and Wulpura. Pike's (1982) retelling of Meston's notes on the Koko-minni of the Palmer goldfield and Hells Gate, similarly to the Kuku-Djungan or Djungan of the Hodgkinson Goldfield were and are in my considered opinion all groups within the broader Kuku First-Nations.

Support for my assertions come from an email written in response to a question I posted on a website aimed at providing a forum for discussion by Australian Anthropologists. I had merely asked if the group had any information about the First-Nations peoples of the Hodgkinson Goldfield area of Far North Queensland. The response dated 6 March 2002 came from Dr. Laurent Dousset who at the time was at the University of Western Australia in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, working as the University and Australian Research Council's postdoctoral fellow. Currently, he is a full Professor at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales | EHESS Centre de Recherche et de Documentation sur l'Océanie (CREDO), Marseille, Paris. Dr. Dousset is conducting extensive work on 'AustKin: A database of Australian Aboriginal systems of social organization and kinship.'

The response he sent read: 'Not quite sure what language/tribe/group is in this area. But from what you say, it could be one of the following:

- * Kuku-yalnji (also called Djankun), in the area of Dimbulah and Walsh River.
- * Agwamin (also Ewamin): Georgetown and area
- * Kutjal: Georgetown and area
- * Tagalag: Georgetown and area.' (L Dousset, 2002, email, 6 March).

At the time of receiving the email, I had not yet read the works of Professor Bruno David (1998) citing Tindale (1940, p. 157; 1974, p. 167) where the spelling Djankun is used for Djungan. Nor had I travelled to Far North Queensland, an experience which made me aware of the close vicinity of Dimbulah to the Hodgkinson Goldfield. The printed email became lost amongst papers I have been compiling since the late 1970s and was only again found in February 2018.

Ray Wood (2016) noted what I have come to understand from my research: that there are variations in what was recorded at the time of first contact and some of these variations are major. At the beginning of the 21st century through Native Title, there are few tracts of land that may be returned to Traditional Owners. Australia's legal system is confrontational and so too are the tribunals that make judgements on Native Title claims. This makes Native Title a space for confrontation not just between First-Nations peoples and Not-First-Nations peoples but also between First-Nations peoples. The significant variations in early records, noted by myself and Wood (2016) I think are motivation for much of the conflict.

Wood (2016) uses Kuku Yalanji country as an example and states, 'with over sixty group names on record, of which eighteen alone are based on kuku 'language, speech' and for which highly contradictory locations are recorded: for instance in the south of the region one map has 'Kuku Kulunggur' where others have 'Kuku Nyungkul(u)' or 'Kuku Buyunji', whereas others have the latter two in the north or west where yet others have 'Kuku Yalanji' (Wood 2016, p. 337). I also found references that had Kuku-Yalanji country encompassing Djungan country and there were no references to the Kuku Kulunggur when I visited several First-Nations groups in Far North Queensland. Thus, for me, I am Kuku-Yalanji with a tip of my hat, if pressed, to the Djungan peoples. I viewed my young cousin and I as honouring Grandfather, and in some way taking his spirit home, when we walked the remains of the Bump Track from inland to the coast. I will continue to honour Grandfather, and his proposal has always been that he was born at Port Douglas. Therefore, I am of the Kuku-Yalanji, with reference to the claim that the Davies gave him the name Hodgkinson to find his way home. I will if compelled to tell my family's story respect the Djungan. Additionally, with the knowledge that the Bump Track joined port Douglas and the Hodgkinson Goldfield; I see myself as a First-Nations woman belonging to the country that ranges from the sea to the savannah of Far North Queensland.

On the following page is a photograph I have taken of the Norman Tindale map (1974) which illustrates First-Nations countries of north-eastern Queensland. The section of Tindale's (1974) map has been included to give the reader some idea of the issues being struggled over through the confrontational process of Native Title. Issues concerning the academic areas of anthropology, archaeology, linguistics, and history are involved in the battles over Native Title.

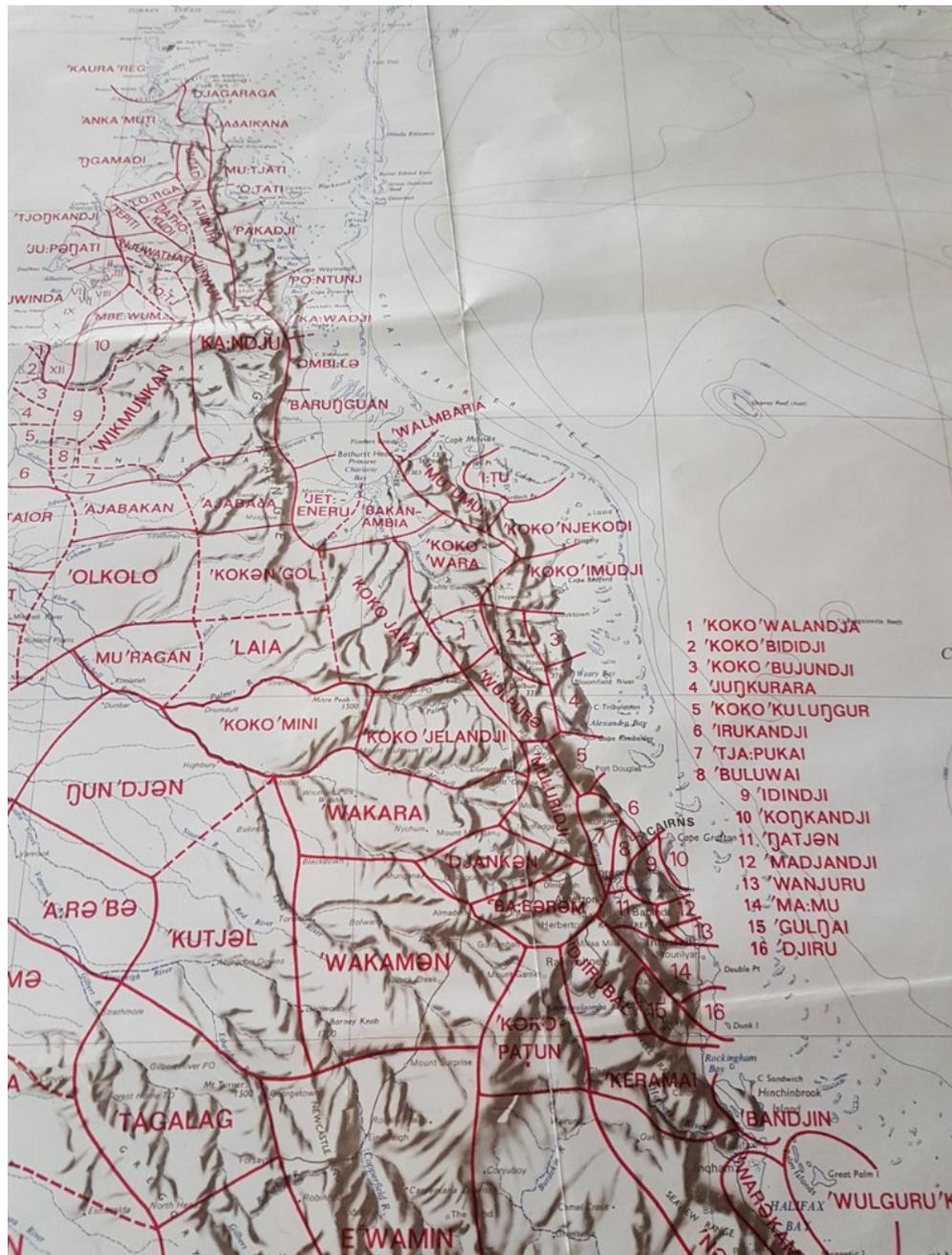


Figure 9.1: Tindale's north-eastern Queensland, 1974

Nanna's influence

The family was not forced on to Cherbourg, the closest government reserve, because my matrilineal grandmother, Nanna, identified as an Australian of Scottish heritage. In the file I received from the relevant Queensland Department, the situation of my matrilineal grandparents' marriage was described in the correspondence as 'peculiar.' Sometimes, the file refers to Grandfather as 'a ward of the state' under the care of the Office, and sometimes it states that he was not. However, he was, from the time he left the Davies, in a world full of situations that I doubt he had been adequately prepared for by his life prior to 1908.

Some correspondence between the Office and Grandfather is Grandfather apologising for not being able to make it into the city for a meeting. As mentioned earlier, the reasons for Grandfather's inability to attend were usually lack of train fare or an illness—sometimes his illness, either one of the children's or often Nanna's. I can imagine that to give Nanna a break Grandfather would sometimes take a child or two with him when he went to the Protector's Office. My mother recalls at various times attending these meetings with Grandfather. When Mum spoke to me about these meetings, I thought they sounded very much like the types of meetings a parolee would have with their parole officer. I used to think that this was one of the arrangements that Grandfather made to stop the government from moving the family to Cherbourg. (The issues that Grandfather and thus the family had to deal with because of The Act were covered in Chapter 8.)

I have fond memories of my Nanna—I love her dearly. She would bake bread-and-butter pudding in the oven of her woodstove and walk across the paddocks to share it with us. Seeing Nanna placed into a nursing home after she fell and broke her hip was sad. Not respected, there, stared at because of her daughters' stereotypical First-Nations appearance, I am so thankful for the Aboriginal Community Elders Service (the Melbourne nursing home where my mother has chosen to live). Nanna is my motivation for having my grandchildren call me Nanna. Memories of her sitting in the morning sun

brushing her hair and braiding it, to then twist it into a Celtic knot that she pinned to the back of her head is one of my inspirations for growing my hair long as it greys, and I grow old. It is her heritage as a Scot and thus a Celt that has influenced some of my creativity and given me a desire to visit those parts of the world where Celtic culture still has some influence.

Auntie Bena

The phrase ‘mixed blessing’ covers my emotions about the fact that Nanna’s identity meant that under The Act the family did not live on a reserve, which would probably have been Cherbourg. However, not being sent to Cherbourg did not stop the government from sending an Auntie out to domestic service. Looking at a government report (Bleakley 1935) for the year my Auntie turned 14 years of age, I read that there was an increase in the number of First-Nations women and girls required for domestic service. Perhaps this was why my Auntie who was supposed to be exempt from The Act, because her mother was a White woman, was recruited into domestic service for the government.

Like all other First-Nations peoples employed under The Act my Auntie's wages were garnished. Concerned about her mother's stolen wages, her eldest daughter contacted me asking me to call the department and ask what had happened with her Mother's money. It turned out that this Aunty did have a file like Grandfather's at the Department, but there were no files on the rest of the family. When it came to her wages her children had no entitlement because she had died in 1990, which was before the stolen wages became general knowledge.

If we had been on Cherbourg, we would have had a stronger connection to our community. However, I would have been raised in a dormitory on Cherbourg, an experience which may not have been as much fun as the freedom I experienced growing up in our enclave down The Bend. Our family refers to the holdings we had situated along Wyampa Road, on the southern bank of Pine River as ‘The Bend.’ It

developed as a shortened version of the Brisbane City Council name for the fishing reserve 'Deep Water Bend,' which is now a part of the Tinchi Tamba Wetlands Reserve.

Child Slaves

Slavery was abolished in the different countries that acknowledged this practice from the mid-18th to late 19th centuries. Australian governments have never acknowledged that child slavery existed within the colonies and early federated nation; but it is known to have existed and was labelled as slavery by those who witnessed it and wrote about it, including author Anthony Trollope and various colonisers who wrote to the newspapers.

Grandfather was a domestic slave, something I had not even contemplated until I read the stories in the colonial newspapers (see Chapter 7). These stories reflect the information presented in Shirleen Robinson's (2008) work on Queensland's Aboriginal child workers from 1842 to 1945. It appears that the Davies treated Grandfather well, in comparison to other stories about First-Nations children in similar circumstances. However, it also may be the case that Grandfather dealt with identity issues throughout his life.

Psychological responses

Due to the phenomenon of infantile or childhood amnesia memories, any experience that occurs during the first few years of life are very unlikely to be consciously accessible in adulthood (Bauer 2014).

Thus, Grandfather would not have been able to remember how he came to be living with the Davies or what his life had been like before him remembering being with them. Similarly, physical trauma to the brain may prevent the consolidation of memories. Grandfather may have suffered both infantile amnesia and physical trauma, as one of the possible ways he came to be with the Davies as a result of being a child survivor of a massacre.

Psychological trauma is a deeply distressing or disturbing experience. Traumatic experiences, however, are much more likely to be remembered than forgotten. Nevertheless, later in life memories of traumatic experiences may be distorted and incomplete as a person remembers the gist, not the details. Psychological factors that enable survival after trauma include life optimism, social support, establishing interpersonal contacts, and a sense that the situation was comprehensible and manageable even under extremely adverse conditions (Prot 2012).

As stated in my conclusion for Chapter 8; I think that my matrilineal grandfather and other members of my family have experienced trauma induced by the process of colonisation and in turn that trauma has precipitated emotional and social ill health. I have witnessed examples of memory distortion (McDonough & Gallo 2008) which refer to a memory that differs from what occurred (Bernstein & Loftus 2008). According to psychologists, memory distortions appear in the form of imagination inflation, gist-based and associative memory errors, and post-event misinformation (Schacter, Guerin & Jacques 2011).

Memory distortion is I think, a way of dealing with the understanding of trauma within an individual's life. People frequently remember their pasts in an overly positive or negative manner as this enables them to inflate their current self-evaluation. In the case of memory distortion of adverse events, it enhances the person's ability to deal with those events if they occur again in the future (Schacter, Guerin & St. Jacques 2011). Evidence demonstrates that experiences of trauma, whether a single event or a sustained stressful experience are vulnerable to memory distortion (Lents 2016).

The damage to my psyche relates to what Professor Judy Atkinson researched and wrote about as 'trauma trails' (see Chapter 5). My understanding of Atkinson's (2002) trauma trails is that they are either metaphysical and/or physical paths upon which people move from sites of either or both physical and/or psychological suffering and damage. I can but will not detail my family's trauma trails nor my

trauma trails, but I will say that there is a connection between them and my decision to continue living in Melbourne and not return to Queensland.

Fear and anxiety arise when people realise they are not who they think they are, or who they think they should be. When in 1990 I told my Mother about my interactions with Elders from Woorabinda, who were Kuku-Yimidiir and who said they thought we were Kuku-Yalanji, she said nothing. When I pressed, asking her why she was not excited, she said 'Because I was raised white.' If this was Mother's honest opinion and not just something she said to annoy me, as she suffers from a personality disorder, then what had Grandfather thought of himself? Not only did he have to accept that he was not the son of Thomas Clinton and Jane Mary Davies but living under The Act he had to accept that he was not white.

Grandfather may have put in place psychological defence mechanisms to block the trauma of his newfound self-knowledge. He may have chosen to repress the truth of his realisations.

Repression relates to emotional and social reactions that stem from psychological motivations.

Repression may be externalised through the person acting in extreme contrast to the stereotypical ideas and behaviours that connect with their true identity. Therefore, Grandfather at his core may have always been the good 'Christian' man, noted in sympathy cards received at the time of his death and passed on to me by my mother, or he may have been presenting to the outside world the extreme opposite to what he had been told were the characteristics of a First-Nations man. People who racially vilified First-Nations peoples would have submitted such features, and I think this is because of comments made by my Mother and an Auntie that demonstrated they had been raised with a certain amount of loathing for First-Nations peoples other than their immediate family.

Unconsciously forgetting the memories and emotions of an individual's identity results from repression. Denial may couple with suppression but be prompted by external incentives such as racism.

Oppression as the internal, subconsciously motivated psychological response to trauma about identity may also spark distortion. Distortion is the reshaping of reality. For example, through repression, a person severely beaten by a parent as a child, as an adult no longer recalls such traumatic events. Instead, they see the parent as a gentle and loving person. The distortion both builds upon and reinforces the repression. I have witnessed members of my family indulge in perversion, to make life seem better than it is; coming to a stage of emotional and social well-being where indulgence in distortion is acknowledged and no longer necessary takes a lot of internal work.

Self-delusion, repression, denial, and distortion are evident in the outcomes of the interviews Grandfather gave to historians who have used only his words to construct their stories of him. For example, an article by The Historical Society of Queensland claims that Grandfather was christened by Reverend Father, later Archbishop Duhig. This is false, as James Duhig arrived as a child in Brisbane in 1885 and did not begin his seminary studies until 1891, being ordained in 1896, thus making Duhig too young to have christened Grandfather sometime between 1880 and 1885. Additional newspaper articles following Duhig in later years also show that he and Grandfather were not in the same locations at a time when Grandfather may have accepted being either christened or confirmed in the Catholic Church.

The same historical society article also claims that Grandfather went to Egypt with the 7th Light Horse and that he was awarded the Military Medal. His military records demonstrate that for reasons not completely apparent, Grandfather was stopped in England from boarding transport to Europe and was returned to Australia before encountering the enemy during WWI. Further, the article goes on to claim that Grandfather served in the Native Police; however, the unit was disbanded in 1900 before Grandfather was released, by the death of Thomas, from service to the Davies.

It has been extremely difficult for me to write these last few paragraphs as they could be read as me denouncing Grandfather as a mere liar, but this is not the case. I write these truths to express my understanding of the damage that was done to him psychologically by being taken to be raised as a child slave and the subsequent repercussions in his life. What happened to Grandfather needs to be known, because Australia and Australians can never become decolonised while such stories remain hidden. Decolonisation requires people to be able to understand the rationale of another person's standpoint, which entails truthful and unrestricted communication about events from our shared history.

Moving forward

For pre-schoolers life is straightforward; there is no need for critical thinking, no need for much more than love and laughter. It was not until I started school that I experienced racism. It was during my youth that I realised that the way I was treated was because my family and I were only marginally accepted by those with whom we interacted and that many did not accept us at all. It has only been within the last decade that I realised that the racism I have and still do experience, is a result of the lingering colonial mindset. Producing a paradigm shift of cataclysmic proportion within the psyche of Australia's First-Nations peoples, the lateral violence that I witnessed and experienced within my family is also a result of invasion and colonisation. The shift is still reverberating through Australian society in the 21st century. It is something that we all must work to overcome.

Foundational reading for anyone who is not a Not-First-Nations person dealing with First- Nations peoples of Australia must be the National Report into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. It should at least be a humanities resource for Australian history, sociology, and psychology. The Report is a comprehensive examination of the complexities of the disadvantage First- Nations peoples of Australia experience because of colonisation. Understanding the content of the National Report into Aboriginal

Deaths in Custody is a foundation for both classroom and national dialogue. If governments of Australia at any level wish to advance better relationships between First-Nations peoples and broader Australian society, this Report is an essential read.

Earlier in my thesis, I have acknowledged Not-First-Nations peoples as including not just the descendants of the colonisers but those who have come as either economic or humanitarian refugees in more recent decades. I have also recognised that I think both First-Nations peoples, as well as Not-First-Nations peoples, need to decolonise our mindsets. It is my firm conviction that grieving gatherings for First-Nations peoples are necessary for them to move towards healing. Further, that Not-First-Nations peoples need to listen to the voices of First- Nations peoples at truth-telling sessions, which could be televised. Following these major cleansing, healing and learning initiatives, there needs to be what Professor Marcia Langton has called a 'genuine intercultural dialogue' (Healy 1997, p. 46).

Possible follow-up

Massacre map

More than 150 Aboriginal massacres that occurred during the spread of pastoral settlement and mining in Australia are now documented in an online digital map. Put online on 5 July 2017, the map of the massacres that took place on Australia's colonial frontier has corroborating evidence for each massacre. Developed by University of Newcastle historian, Professor Lyndall Ryan, a member of the Centre for 21st Century Humanities and the Centre for the History of Violence, the map is a significant step in the recognition of periods of violence in Australia's history and is open to addition. Having found evidence to support the addition of sites in Far North Queensland I will write to Professor Ryan with my evidence and request that the sites I have found, if not already present, be placed on the map.

Writing the full story

Due to the requirements of a thesis, I have had to leave out a lot of information I have found about my Grandfather and about those in whose household he worked. Therefore, I will write another document that will be presented for possible publication and distribution as a tool of public pedagogy. If not accepted as a tool for public pedagogy I will distribute it to First- Nations peoples, that is, both individuals and organisations who have supported the development of my work. Any Not-First-Nations person who demonstrates an interest in the subject of the frontier and the intergenerational trauma that followed may also request a copy.

CHI and grieving

As noted earlier in this document, Wurundjeri Elder Joy Murphy Wandin had spoken to me 2006 of the need for First-Nations peoples of Australia to have gatherings at which we could grieve for what we have lost because of invasion through colonisation. The Kübler-Ross model, commonly known as the five stages of grief, was first introduced by Elisabeth Kübler- Ross in her 1969 book, *On Death and Dying*. Although there are now other models Kubler- Ross's stages of grief are viewed as foundational, as follows:

1. Denial and isolation
2. Anger
3. Bargaining
4. Depression
5. Acceptance.

After my discussion with Auntie Joy and other First-Nations peoples involved in the workshops to develop CHI, I agree that gatherings to grieve are necessary and that First- Nations peoples depend on their personal life experiences at various stages of the grieving process. However, many of us are stuck

in stage 4: depression. It is those people to whom I wish to offer CHI as a first-aid process to support their emotional and social well-being.

Keeping a promise

When being shown country by Djungan Elders, I was asked to contact botanists and tell them about the possibility of a new and unique plant to be found around Ngarrabullgan, also known as Mount Mulligan. Now is the time for me to fulfil that request.

Acknowledgement

I will contact other First-Nations peoples and organisations to canvass support for lobbying the government to acknowledge the massacres that occurred in Queensland and further, to recognize the contribution of First-Nations peoples to the economy of Queensland.

Conclusion

Grandfather lived strategically with his motivation being survival. At one point in his life, he lived with people who like others of their time took him and convinced him he was a family member so that his labouring for them was viewed as a family responsibility. They were Irish Catholics, but when married, Grandfather rejected the Catholic Church, if not the faith. After Thomas Clinton Davies died; Grandfather was sent to make his way in society in the newly created federation of Australia where most of his life was under the control of the Queensland State Government through The Act. So, he was not a son but a slave; he was a soldier but not a citizen; he was a Returned Soldier, but a Ward of the State, and thus ineligible for any Commonwealth administered pension until he gave up being an Aboriginal. For approximately 30 years he lived in a situation, so common that it was almost considered policy, but in fact it was slavery and subterfuge, controlled by different government policies from various levels of government concerning, for example, local council rates, state government land fees, Commonwealth pensions and issues outside his lived experience. It is my understanding that he

played the part of the 'tamed black' for the Protector. When with his close friend and brother Uncle Peter Loder, he was, however, a First- Nations person, thirsty for cultural knowledge denied to him by his disconnect from country and community.

Grandfather is a part of me, and I am a part of him, for in alignment with the Dreaming he and I were, he and I are, and he and I ever after, he and I everywhere, will be and are, the past and the here and now as one (Stanner 2009), for this is the behaviour of Aboriginality. Through kinship more than genetics Aboriginality links disparate and dispersed peoples across place, space, being and non-corporeal being. And I am not the only one within my family who feels this way. Amongst the descendants of Augustus Hodgkinson Davies senior and Esther Evelyn Davies (nee Smith), identifying as a First-Nations person of Australia is strong. Evidence of the strength amongst my extended family of our pride in our Aboriginality is the existence of two FaceBook pages titled Kuku-Yalanji and Deadly Descendants.

The photograph taken by my dawl within weeks of her son's birth shows my grandson and my grandfather—two males who are very significant to me. On the left is my grandson and on the right is my matrilineal grandfather. My grandson, like my children and I, is recipients of Grandfather's legacy of Aboriginality and he will be given the love, respect, and guidance on the way to becoming a responsible First-Nations man by our family, which extends to our community.



Figure 9.2: Where the generations meet

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Appendix A

Obituary of Thomas Clinton Davies

Obituary. DEATH OF MR. T. CLINTON DAVIES.

Still another well-known and popular figure has been removed from our small community by the hand of death during the past week. We refer to Mr. T. C. Davies, for 14 years manager of the local branch of the Q. N. Bank, who died at Brisbane on Thursday morning. Mr. Davies' health for some time past has been causing his friends considerable anxiety, but hopes were held out that an extended holiday would set matters right. Accordingly early in June Mr. Davies was granted a lengthy leave of absence, and accompanied by Mrs. Davies, took rooms in Brisbane. From that time his health has varied considerably, and the favourable reports of one day were often contradicted by the equally unfavourable news of the next. Finally he was removed to the Mater Misericordiae Hospital in a somewhat alarming condition, suffering from a complication of disorders, to which he succumbed, as stated, on Thursday morning. Mr. Davies, who took charge of the Allora branch of the Q. N. Bank in August 1894, was aged 56 years, and it would be hard to find a citizen of our town who took as keen and thorough an interest in the affairs of the community as he did. Military matters were perhaps dearer to his heart than any, and his connection with the old mounted infantry and latterly with the A.L.H., will always be affectionately remembered both by military and ex-military men and by the general public. He was an enthusiast and always succeeded in transmitting much of that enthusiasm to the men under his control. He had attained the rank of Captain when pressure of other duties compelled him to seek the retired list in 1902, but he was always fully recognised in his military capacity. When the H.A.C.B. Society formed a branch in Allora some years ago Mr. Davies was unanimously chosen as president, and he has been an active member in various capacities since the formation. He also did valuable work as vice-president of the Central Downs A. & H. Association, being re-elected to that position year after year. At the time of his death he was president of the Darling Downs Coursing Club, and our readers will remember the general regret which was expressed at his inability to attend the opening of the Club's new plumpton enclosure. He was also connected with the Allora Jockey Club and has several times been elected president of the School of Arts. He was of a progressive turn of mind, and of a kindly and genial nature, a combination which helped to make him a valuable townsman, and one whose place it will be hard to fill. He was an extremely valued officer of the bank, and earned the confidence and esteem of all clients by his trustworthiness and integrity. His private was

widow to mourn his loss, with whom the greatest sympathy is felt, but no family. The body was brought to Allora yesterday, and the funeral will move from the R. C. Church for the Allora cemetery this morning at 10 o'clock.

A MESSAGE OF SYMPATHY.

As notified in another column the annual district meeting of the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society (Hibernian District No. 9) is at present being held in Brisbane, and yesterday afternoon we received the following telegram from the Conference, signed by Mr. P. Scott, District Secretary:—"Deepest sympathy of district executive and delegates assembled at the Hibernian Conference, to Mrs. Davies on the death of her husband, who was a valued and esteemed member of the local branch."

Funeral Notice.

THE Friends of Mr. T. C. DAVIES are respectfully invited to attend his Funeral, which will move from the R. C. Church THIS (SATURDAY) FORENOON, at 10 a.m., to the Allora Cemetery.
H. W. STAY,
Undertaker.

29-8-08

Funeral of Mr. T.-C. Davies.

Never has Allora seen a larger or more representative funeral than that which followed the remains of the late Mr. T. C. Davies to their last resting place on Saturday morning last, all classes, creeds, and interests being represented. Owing to Mr. Davies having some years ago sought the retired list military ceremonial was not allowable, but nevertheless the party of members of the A.L.H. who joined the procession was a large one, and others taking part were the Cadets and a little knot of members of the old Mounted Infantry, including several men who have seen service in the Transvaal war. The late Captain Davies' connection with local military matters at the time of that war, when he was largely responsible for the enlisting of the numbers of Allora men who joined the various contingents, has always been affectionately remembered. The members of the H.A.C.B. Lodge, of which deceased was a past-president, marched before the hearse with draped sashes. The procession moved from the Allora R. C. Church to the local cemetery accompanied by the melancholy tolling of the bell connected with that edifice. The town flags were half-masted, and the business places closed and shuttered as the cortege passed through the streets. The coffin was heaped with beautiful wreaths on which was laid the deceased's H. A. C. B. past-president's sash. Amongst those who sent wreaths were

members of the H. A. C. B. Society, members of C. Y. M. Society (of which deceased was a member), Miss L. Gordon, Mr. and Mrs. G. C. Clark, officers of the local branch of the Q. N. Bank, and the Allora Squadron A.L.H., and others. The Rev. M. Potter officiated at the graveside. Mrs. Davies has been the recipient of a very large number of letters and messages of condolence.

2-9-08

Notice.

SUBSCRIBERS to the Davies Memorial Fund are reminded the adjourned meeting will be held at the Town Hall, Allora, on WEDNESDAY NEXT, the 6th January, at 2 p.m.
Collectors will please bring or send their Lists by that date.
H. LUDGATE,
Secretary.
Allora, 30th Dec., 1908.

2-1-09

Davies Memorial.

THE FUND WOUND UP.

A meeting of the Davies Memorial Committee was held on Wednesday last. The attendance was small. The secretary (Mr. H. Ludgate) announced that the total amount subscribed was £33 13s 6d. One list had not come to hand, but this, it is expected, will not alter the amount mentioned to any appreciable extent. The Mayor, who presided, said that it was quite evident that the lists had been open long enough, and that anything further in the way of collecting would be useless. He asked what action the meeting proposed to take. After some discussion Mr. G. S. Briggs moved that Mrs. T. C. Davies be informed of the amount collected for a memorial to her late husband, and asked to choose a headstone, designs of suitable stones to be submitted, according to Mr. J. E. Harvey and carried. As this proceeding will practically wind up the fund it was resolved to appoint a sub-committee to arrange for the erection of the stone, and any matters of detail that may need attention. The following gentlemen were appointed:—His Worship the Mayor, Rev. M. Potter, and Mr. H. Ludgate.

9-1-09

Davies Memorial Fund.

FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS.

We have been asked to acknowledge the following contributions to the above fund:—Joe Collins, 21s; Mrs. E. Harvey, 21s; M. Geaney, 10s 6d; Martin Phelan, 10s 6d; H. Moly, 10s 6d; Miss Harvey, 10s; Mrs. Hughes, 10s; G. J. O'Neill, 10s; J. Logan, 10s; R. Doyle, 10s; A. O'Neill, 10s; H. Harrison, 5s; G. S. Briggs, 5s; A. Byrne, 5s; P. Bourke, 5s; M. Ryan, 5s; W. J. Clark, 5s; Tom Collins, 5s; A. H. O'Leary, 5s; P. O. W. B. Banks, 5s; J. T. Ted, 5s; W. V. Eames, 5s; John King, 5s; M. J. Phelan, 5s; D. Byrne, 5s; P. Cranitch jun., 5s; Mrs. Cranitch, 5s; M. Collins, 5s; P. J. Gaffney, 5s; J. O'Dea, 5s; P. Surawski, 5s; C. Goswell, 5s; B. Flynn, 5s; T. O'Brien, 5s; A. O'Neill, 5s; E. Fitzgerald, 5s; R. Dwyer, 5s; M. Toohy, 5s; J. McGovern, 5s 6d; John Byrne, 5s 6d; Mrs. J. Barry, 5s 6d; A. Brown, 5s 6d; J. Matheson, 5s 6d (already acknowledged);

Appendix B

Marriage Certificate of My Matrilineal Grandparents

MARRIAGE.

N^o 41082

MARRIAGE Solemnised in the District of BRISBANE in the State of Queensland

Registered by THORNHILL WEEDON, Registrar General

1912

Marginal Notes (if any).	Column.	1	2
	1 Number in Register	12389	
	2 When and where Married	28 October 1912	Brisbane
	3 Names and Surnames of the Parties ..	<i>Bridegroom.</i> Augustus Hodgkinson DAVIES	<i>Bride.</i> Esther Evelyn SMITH known as Esther Evelyn SMITH
	4 Condition of the Parties	Bachelor	Spinster
	5 Birthplace	Port Douglas Queensland	O'Connell Town Stanley Queensland
	6 Rank or Profession	Waiter	Home Duties
	7 Ages	26	21
		Years.	Years.
	8 Usual Place of Residence	Vulture Street South Brisbane	Grey Street South Brisbane
	9 Names (Mother's Maiden Name)	-	William Henry Smith Elizabeth Thompson
	10 Father's Rank or Profession	-	Farmer

Married at the General Registry Office,
Brisbane

According to LAW

Date of Registration 28 October 1912

This Marriage was solemnised between us Augustus H. Davies
Esther E. Smith

In the presence of us Sarah Myers
E. D. Timmins

By (or before) me T. Weedon
Officiating Minister of Registrar.

T. Weedon
Registrar.

L. TIMOTHY FRANCIS DE SALES SCOTT, Deputy Registrar-General, do hereby certify that the above is a true copy of an entry in a Register of Marriages kept in the General Registry Office, Brisbane, and I further certify that I am a person duly authorised by law to issue such certificate.

Extracted this 26th day of February 1946

Examined by J. J. Scott
Deputy Registrar-General.

CAUTION—Whoever shall unlawfully alter any Certified Copy of an Entry in any Register of Birth, Marriages, or Deaths, whether by erasure, obliteration, or otherwise, is guilty of a CRIME and liable to the punishment by law provided in that behalf. (Vide Sections 485 and 488 of the "Criminal Code.")

Price, Two Shillings.

Appendix C

Chronologically Ordered Items from Grandfather's QLD Government File

32/5428 Applics Misc
awdy

-1 AUG. 1932

Bald Hills
Soldiers Settlement
July 29th 1923

~~Obote~~

To
Mr Bleakely

Sir

I received the parcel
with thanks & Mrs Davies was
pleased with them & I got them on
Wednesday evening I thank you very
much & Oblige

I Remain
yours Faithfully
A H Davies
Gus

2303
32/A Applications Misc.

18/PA

14th March, 1932.

Dear Gus,

Since receiving your letter I have seen the Lands Department and find that you are behind in your house rent nearly £20.

I have arranged to pay them £2 on your account to hold things in abeyance for a few weeks until after Easter to see if you can get on your feet again.

I cannot do anything else at present but you need have no fear that they will put you out of the house.

I will look into it again after Easter.

The little girl's funeral has been paid for by this office. You need not worry about that.

Yours faithfully,

Chief Protector of Aborigines.

Handwritten initials and date: 14/3/32

I am returning 6d in stamps.

Handwritten notes: Advertiser Ho. Cheque 14/3/32

Handwritten scribble or initials

NOTE.

12th May, 1932.

Chief Protector of Aboriginals.

BRISBANE.

The Lands Department rang to remind you that there is an amount of £20: -: - owing in House Rent, by Gus. Davis, and that you promised that you might be able to reduce this a little.

Will you kindly advise if any action on the matter is desired.

*Write to AN Davis
Bald stills asking if he
is able to pay anything off
this amount now
J.D.
12/5/32*

[Signature]
D.C.P.A.

D.C.P.A.

Gus Davis called in to-day and states he forwarded on the 11th instant to the Administration Board, Lands Department the sum of 10/- on account of rent owing.

He has been in hospital for two weeks suffering from pneumonia, pleurisy and rheumatics.

Since his return on the 25th ultimo he has only done one week's relief work and finds it very difficult to clothe and feed a large family. He considers the rent of the small cottage @ 10/- per week very high and he would be pleased if the Lands Dept were approached with a view to having some reduction made.

As the boat season is now commencing he says he may be able to meet some of the rent due, but would like assistance in the purchase of two pairs of paddles, which he could obtain for about 14/- per pair locally if he had the ready money.

If this assistance is given he promises to refund the 28/- loaned as early as possible.

[Signature]
16/5/32.

*Did he get the
J.D.
17/5/32*

*and some of the
shell repairs
these paddles
J.D.
17/5/32*

Soldiers Settlements

Bald Hills

N.C Line

July 25th 1933

To the Aboriginal Protector
Mr Bleakley

Dear Sir,

I don't think poor old Gus Davies can put his case to you, in as good a light as it deserves. Apparently the Lands office have had an offer for the land, as they have taken the trouble to survey it again. I believe a man who has the next block 222, St. Edwards has been casting envious eyes at his trade, you know Davies is rather popular, & a lot of people know him & would rather take a leaky boat from him than go somewhere else & get a good one, & as he is the first on the road this man is unscrupulous as to what means he takes to do him out of his trade, he doesn't think that by ^{stop to} stepping in, & using any influence he has with Mr Parker of the Lands department, he is depriving a family of children of their bread & butter, & for an Aboriginal this family jobs, are not too easy to get as you know Mr Bleakley! no one better. just because they

TF/VH.

IN FURTHER REFERENCE PLEASE QUOTE—

34/1359 Relief.



Office of Chief Protector of Aborigines.

Brisbane. 9th July, 1934.

Sir:

Gus Davies, an aboriginal Returned Soldier, is the occupier of an area described as Informal Lease No. 1236, Nundah, situated near the Pine River at the Soldiers' Settlement near Bald Hills. Although this lease is very close to the river it actually has no river frontage and the Lands Department has agreed to amend the boundaries of the leases in this vicinity so that this area will have a river frontage.

For some time past Gus Davies' chief occupation has been the hiring of fishing boats and for this purpose he has been allowed to use portion of the river frontage of the adjoining lease undisturbed. It is desired, if possible, to have the frontage at present used by Davies included in his lease.

The attached plan shows particulars of the boundaries of Davies' lease and those adjoining it.

It is pointed out, however, that it is possible to alter the boundaries only of the lease held by Mr. Johnson, that on the up stream side of Davies' holding.

I shall be pleased if you will arrange to have Davies interviewed on his property, and indicate on this map the frontage which would be of most service to him.

For your information I would add that in conversation in this Office, Davies intimated that a frontage of about 100 yds. would serve this purpose.

Yours faithfully,

*cp Police
Sanagute
For attention
and report. Map
forwarded under
separate cover*

G. O'Leary
(G. O'LEARY)
Deputy Chief Protector of Aborigines.

Munn
Inspector O'Hara,
Police Depot,
PETRIE TERRACE.

*Comd O'Brien
for attention
Report
Alender
at foot
12/7/34
map herewith*

COPY

Soldiers' Settlements,
Bald Hills,
N. C. Line,
25th July, 1935.

To The Aboriginal Protector,

Mr. Bleakley.

Dear Sir,

I don't think poor old Gus Davies can put his case to you, in as good a light as it deserves. Apparently the Lands Office have had an offer for the land, as they have taken the trouble to survey it again. I believe a man who has the next block 222, H. Edwards has been casting envious eyes at his trade, you know Davies is rather popular, and a lot of people know him and would rather take a leaky boat from him than go somewhere else and get a good one, and as he, Davies, is the first on the road, this man is unscrupulous as to what means he takes to do him out of his trade, he doesn't stop to think that by stepping in and using any influence he has with Mr. Parker of the Lands Department, he is depriving a family of children of their bread and butter, and for an aboriginal and his family jobs are not too easy to get, as you know, Mr. Bleakley! no one better. Just because they are black he thinks they should be consigned to the outback, and not have a piece of land a white man covets, black or not, they have the same feelings as us white people. I have known these kiddies for fourteen years and am very fond of them, they compare very favourably, I might tell you Mr. Bleakley, with white children, well mannered and intelligent, and it would be a monstrous shame to allow their father to lose this little bit of Australia, he has done his bit for us all, by going to the war, if this other man had done his duty half so well as this poor blackfellow it would have been more to his credit, instead of stopping in Australia in safety, and then going behind his back trying to take his bit of land off him. Candidly speaking, Edwards does not want Davies land for putting under crops (he has about 2 or 3 acres now under cultivation, as much or more than he can manage) and if he says so, he is telling a deliberate lie, he has just thrown up ten acres, five of which have been cleared and ploughed lots of times, but it is not on the river frontage and that is what he wants to extend his boat trade, to Davies detriment. He is putting in boats every week, and has a fleet of 12 or more, and consequently his frontage won't be big enough, although he has roughly 9 acres. He has said openly, if he got the land he (magnanimously) would allow Gus to stop there as he only has 3 or 4 boats, but he wouldn't allow him to build any more (meaning that as soon as they were done, Davies would be non est as far as opposition went) he would lay down so many rules and regulations, that he would break the poor old man's heart and you know he hasn't too many years to live. So I earnestly ask you, to use what influence you have, to stop any action in this direction and let him remain in peace for the remainder of his days. I would also like to protest against any office knowledge being given to Edwards by Mr. Parker, as he always seems to know about letters and business which should only be known to the Lands Office and the person concerned.

Yours very faithfully,

Sgd. (Mrs.) Clare Carvell.

~~I would like to state that quite half of his land is the high tides~~

CK/FA

35/1963 Other Depts.

Gus Davies

30th July, 1935.

Mrs. Clare Garvell,
Soldiers' Settlements,
BALD HILLS.

Madam,

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 25th instant with regard to the lease at Bald Hills held by Gus Davies and wish to inform you that you may rest assured that Davies' interests will be fully protected by this office.

I shall be glad to know if you have any objection to your letter being referred to the Department of Public Lands for that Department's information.

Yours faithfully,

J.W. Bleakley
(J.W. Bleakley).
Chief Protector of Aborigines.

See 9-8-35

35/1963 Other Depts.

GUS DAVIES

CK/FH 35/1963 Other Depts.

Soldiers Settlement

Bald Hills

R. C. Line

Thursday Aug 1st/65

To the Chief Protector of Aborigines
Mr. Bleakley

Sir

Your letter of the 30th ult. to hand.
In reply, may I say that I shall be pleased
if you will use my letter in any way you
may think fit. Thanking you for your
reply

Yours faithfully
(Gus) Clare Carvell



CK/VH.



IN FURTHER REFERENCE PLEASE QUOTE-

35/3249 Complaints.

Office of Chief Protector of Aboriginals

Brisbane, 28th August, 1935.

MEMORANDUM:

A halfcaste ward of this Department named Gus Davies who has a small block of land at the Soldiers' Settlement, Bald Hills, has complained to this Office to the effect that he was assaulted by his brother-in-law on Tuesday last.

Davies who is an elderly man resides in a small house with his wife and family and for some years has allowed his brother-in-law, Ernie Smith, to live in a small hut on the property. Smith runs boats for hire in competition with Davies and also engages in fishing. Smith has paid no rent for the privilege of occupying this property and recently the Department intervened and informed him that unless he were prepared to pay a reasonable rental and also limit the number of his boats for hire, the Department would require him to leave the property. He undertook to sell his boats and leave the place within a month but he has not kept his agreement.

I shall be glad if you could have one of your Officers interview him and impress upon him that unless he immediately vacates the property the Department will have recourse to proceedings.

It is desired also that Davies' complaint of being assaulted be investigated.

Your early attention to this matter will be appreciated.

Constable Rigney,
Chermside,
For attention.

[Signature]
Sub-Inspector.
29.8.35.

[Signature]
Chief Protector of Aboriginals.

The O/C Police,
Sandgate.
Your Division for favor of attention please.
[Signature]
Constable 2534,
30/8/35.

*Comm Jones
on attention of Rigney
Alexander
1/9/35*

Sub-Inspector Bock,
Protector of Aboriginals,
POLICE STATION, FORT. VALLEY.

Deepwater Bend.
Bald Hills
2nd Sept 1938

Statement

My name is Ernest Henry Smith, I am 34 years of age, ^{high} I live in a small hut with my father William Henry Smith who is an old age Pensioner, I have lived in the hut about six years, I built the hut which is of two rooms, with other bush shacks, when I first came on the property the land was at that time held on lease by a Mr Charles Jensen, a farmer in the District, He gave me permission to build the hut on the property for \$1. per year, which amount I paid to him for a few years, either December 1934 or January 1935 Mr Jensen surrendered the land back to The Lands Department, Brisbane, Since then the Lands Department did not ask me for any rent and I have not paid rent to anyone between 6 weeks to 2 months ago, I learned that the land on which my hut is built had become the property of The Aboriginal Department, I went to their office in Brisbane and discussed terms of rental to remain on the property, I offered them of 2/- per week rent providing they would grant me a private entrance to the property from Wyampa Rd, but the Department refused to grant me this privilege, I informed them that if the entrance to my hut and boats had to be through Davis yard, that I would consider about 2/- per week rent as sufficient, this was refused by the Dept. During the last two months

6 SEP. 1935

FORTITUDE VALLEY DISTRICT
SANDGATE STATION.

4th September 1935.

1029/35.

Gas Davies

Subs-Inspects Office No. 95.M.13.

Relative to:- Complaint of an Aboriginal named GUS DAVIES, of Deepwater Bend, Bald Hills, that his brother-in-law is competing against him with boats for hire and fishing, also alleging that his brother-in-law ERNEST HENRY SMITH, had assaulted him, vide attached memorandum from the office of The Chief Protector of Aborigines, Brisbane.



Sir/

The Chief Protector of Aborigines, Brisbane. Forwarded for your information. Davies now states that he was not assaulted by Smith, but that Smith threatened to assault him on one occasion. Apparently Davies has very little if any cause for complaint. However, Smith has been instructed to vacate the property on or before the 9th instant, and he intends to call at your office to obtain permission to remove the structures erected there by him, and I recommend that he be granted this permission.

I beg to report having made inquiries at Deepwater bend in connection with the complaint above referred to. I interviewed ERNEST HENRY SMITH, who is 34 years of age, he is a cripple in his right leg, he is not in receipt of a pension and he has no other means of support than that which he makes from hiring his boats at week ends (weather permitting).

I obtained a statement from SMITH in which he covers the period of which he has lived on the property in question, his father WILLIAM HENRY SMITH lives in the hut with him, who is in receipt of an old age pension, they have lived in the hut about six years. He built the hut himself which consists of two rooms. He has also built a number of other shade shacks which is used by the visitors and when he first went on the property, he informed me that a Mr CHARLES JENSEN, a farmer in the district held a lease on it, and JENSEN was the person who gave him permission to erect the hut and buildings on the property, for which he paid JENSEN the sum of £1. per annum as rent in either December 1934. or January 1935. JENSEN, surrendered the land to the Lands Department, Brisbane, since when he informed me that he has not paid any rent for occupation of the land. About two months ago, he states that he became aware that the land was under the control of the Aboriginal Department. He informed me that he visited that office in Brisbane and discussed terms of rental of the land and offered 5/- per week rent providing he could have a private entrance from the main road as he does not wish to pass through "the property occupied by DAVIES, which would prevent any quarrells between himself and DAVIES regarding customers wishing to hire boats, on the other hand if all the motor traffic bringing visitors at week ends had to pass through the property occupied by Davies, it would not be worth more than 2/- per week to him, as it is, he informed me that he has only averaged from 10/- to 15/- shillings per week for some considerable time from the boats, he has caught fish for his own personal use for food..

[Signature]
Protector.
5/9/35.

Handwritten notes:
Kings...
...
...

"SMITH" denies having quarrelled with or assaulted "GUS DAVIES" although he admits that about five weeks ago an Invalid Pensioner named ALBERT LACEY, who is crippled in one of his feet who was a boarder at GUS DAVIES HOUSE, had been put out by DAVIES and that DAVIES had severely assaulted him (LACEY) about the face, as a result of this assault "SMITH" who was in the City at the time of the assault on his return to his hut saw LACEY, who informed him what had happened and when he next saw DAVIES, he told DAVIES that if he had have been present when LACEY was assaulted that he "SMITH" would assault him DAVIES, but never at any time made any attempt to do so. When DAVIES put LACEY out of his house SMITH gave LACEY shelter in his hut for awhile but he has since left and gone else-where.

OVER

32/3249 Complaints

18 SEP. 1935

Gus Davies

5 Anchors 25/- Irons cross ones

Batch Hills

17th Sept 1935

A Note

To
Mr Keen

Just a line or two to tell you how things are getting on. Well I came up to see after coming out from the Hospital & giving the rent in for the week & to tell you about the Boats are built nearly finished only for the anchors & rope & two size packet of nails & paint about 22 gallons will paint them all. Mrs Davies was telling me that you would try & get me a pension do you think you could & the children on the state. The Doctor has told me not to work on heavy work & I had to stand down for a week & go on Rations so that is all thank you & oblige

Yours truly
Gus Davies

I Remain
Yours Faithfully
Gus H. Davies

TF/VH.

36/1195 Relief D-L.

Gus Davies. Away

FILED

26th March, 1936.

Sir:

I regret to advise that Gus Davies referred to in your communication of the 13th December last, ref. I.L.1250, recently met with an accident and is now under medical treatment. He will bring his payments up to-date as soon as he is able.

Yours faithfully,

[Signature]
Chief Protector of Aborigines.

2. received from Davies having sent. 11/11/36
Access to 631/1 Davies for open site. Exemption from rates. 19/4/36

Gus Davies furnished submitted notice from City Council claiming rates on his property from 31/8/35 to 30/8/36 @ £1/11 pa. - 18/3 has no Dept advice re, as occupier, is liable for such rates

The Secretary,
Land Administration Board,
BRISBANE.

[Signature]
19/4/36

377 788 1111

FILED

[Handwritten signature]

Gus Davies

Bald Hills
Soldiers Settlement
1st June 1937

- A Note -

To
Mr Keen
Dear Sir

Just a few lines to put before a little happening yesterday afternoon. While I was up in town a young man Eric Johnson came down to collect some of the Golden Casket money that I won for a cousin of his a Mrs messenger & it was the second time he called & because he did not see me he started bullying Mrs Davies & said I was home & she would not let me out to see him & then the two boys had a few words with him & he says the first night he catches him up in Bald Hills his is going to introduce his bootmaker to his tailor. So the boys told him to get before ~~any~~ ^{something} happens. After all that he drives up the road to Bald Hills & he meets me on the road going home & then he pulls up & tells me that he got into hot water. But I told that the money was in your office (but it is not) I told him that because he got

I could not find a copy of the
 of the 1st of June 1837
 near the
 of the
 1st of June 1837
 of the 1st of June 1837

quiet hostile with me & got real wild so I said
 I had not got it & I will give him the amount by
 the end of the week If he did not believe I might have
 got him to drive me home & I would have gave him
 it so if you get a ring from him you can tell
 him to wait till I come & give him it after all that
 poor eburn had to be carried to bed her nerves
 went but she is O. K. again the House was up
 side down see you again on Thursday

I Remain
 yours Faithfully
 Geo. Davis

Recd 29/11/37
 11-8-37

SB/EJ

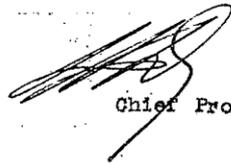
37/755 Relief D-L.

9th December, 1937.

Mr. A. H. Davies,
Soldiers' Settlement,
BALD HILLS.

I wish to advise that your daughter, Rubena, who is in the employ of Mrs. Street, has contributed £2 (Two pounds) towards the rent due by you to the Lands Department, and that the sum of 15/- has been received from your son, Henry Davies, also towards your rent. These amounts, totalling £2.15.0, have been paid to the Land Administration Board, and the receipts will be held in this office.

The amount now owing is £1.14.6, which, in all probability, will be paid by contributions made by your son.



Chief Protector of Aboriginals.

I could not find a copy of the
 book you mentioned in the
 library near the
 10/10/37
 I am sure it is
 somewhere in the
 library

quiet hostile with me & got real wild so I said
 I had not got it & I will give him the amount by
 the end of the week If he did not believe I might have
 got him to drive me home & I would have gave him
 it so if you get a ring from him you can tell
 him to wait till I come & give him it after all that
 poor ebun had to be carried to bed her nerves
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I Remain
 yours Faithfully
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Recd 29/10/37
 11-8-37

SB/EJ

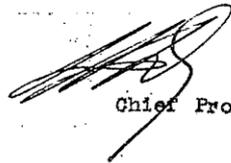
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The amount now owing is £1.14.6, which, in all probability, will be paid by contributions made by your son.



Chief Protector of Aboriginals.

COPY/EJ

Augustus H. Davies, abo. full
blood, lives on Pine River at Bald Hills.

Ex-soldier.

Keeps boats.

B/C Chief Protector.

The Minister would like this case
to be investigated to see whether anything can be done
to assist Davies.

(Sgd) J.E.T.
E. Secy.
18/11/38.

TP/EJ

39/973 Pensions & Allowances.

GUS DAVIES

24th March, 1939.

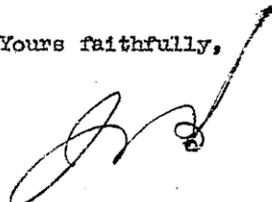
Sir:

Re Informal Lease No. 1850 - A.H. Davies.

It is understood from Gus Davies, in whose favour the above lease is held, that the rent is considerably in arrears.

As Davies is regarded as a ward of this Department, the Honourable the Home Secretary has approved that this Department accept liability for the rental on his lease, and consequently, I shall be glad to receive from you a statement showing rent due to the 30th June next.

Yours faithfully,



Chief Protector of Aboriginals.

C.P.A.

I think it inadvisable to advise Davies of this arrangement, as it may have some effect on the contributions at present being made by his son towards the rental due on his lease. As the son is residing with his parents, it is considered that he should not be freed of his obligation in this respect. He could be given to understand, however, that in future official receipts will be issued by this Department for the payment of instalments on the rent.

*My liability ready - Rebel
C.P.A. 19/4/39
L. Agrey
J.R.
19/4/39*

29. 3. 39.

The Secretary,
Land Administration Board. BRISBANE.

2nd August, 1940.

Sir:

This Department has for some years been assisting a very decent old aboriginal named Gus Davies who resides with his wife and family in a Soldier's Settlement Home at Bald Hills.

Davies is married to a white woman but by reason of his breed is a ward of this Department.

He fought through the Great War in the 9th Battalion, and since his return from Active Service has been doing his best to maintain himself and family, but has been handicapped by bad health.

Advice has now been received from him that the tank upon which he and his family depend for their water supply has decayed completely, and owing to his poor circumstances he cannot afford to pay for a new one.

It has occurred to this Office that your Department may have a second-hand tank available for which you have no further use, and if you could see your way clear to do so, it would be much appreciated if you would make a gift of it to this Office to be handed over to Davies.

His present tank was the usual 1,000 gallon galvanized iron type.

Yours faithfully,

[Signature]
Director of Native Affairs.

The Under Secretary,
Department of Public Works,
B R I S B A N E.

*13/10/40
10/11/40
2/12/40
Munic. Council kept.
completion 1/1/41.*

8th April, 1941.

Sir,

Mr A.H. Davies residing on the Wyampa Crown Land Settlement at Bald Hills has called at this office regarding Rate Notice 6510 for Kedron, the amount assessed with arrears being \$7.16. 7.

Davies as far as is known is a fullblood aboriginal who served in the last War and is now a member of the Garrison Battalion. He is married to a white woman and because of this peculiar circumstance cannot be assisted by this Department in so far as removing to an institution where he and his family could be given the necessary care and attention.

Since his return from the last War he has resided at the above-mentioned Settlement and has earned a precarious living by taking up odd jobs and hiring punts on the Pine River. He has been assisted financially at various times by this Department but you will understand that such assistance cannot be of any great extent owing to the many calls on the available funds. His wife is in ill-health and the eldest son only receives casual employment and cannot assist to any extent. Another son who is married, is at present abroad with the Second A.I.F.

It is impossible for Davies to meet the abovementioned claim for Rates or any subsequent claim and it would be appreciated if assistance could be given him by waiving any such claims.

Your advice in due course is looked forward to.

Yours faithfully,

Director of Native Affairs.

Handwritten: 2/9/41, 10/5/41

The Town Clerk,
Brisbane City Council,

Handwritten note: An officer of the Council called & stated that there was no provision to allow the Council to remit rates owing by a member of the Garrison Battalion. He advised however that the Council would not press for the payment of the amount owing but would be done unless the Council advised concerning the collection of the amount.

BRISBANE.

Handwritten: 9/5/41

stamp put
allowance
identification
is required
Order No...
Articles

Appendix D

Photographs of Uncle Peter Loder and Grandfather



Appendix E

Section about Grandfather from Bleakley, J 1961, *The aborigines of Australia: their history, their habits, their assimilation*, Jacaranda Press, Brisbane.

Aboriginals Protection Department from selected full-blood men, usually from the Settlements.

A limited number of these selected men were recruited from Queensland for the Police Departments of Southern States. Frequently men of tried tracking ability have been lent by the Queensland Police to other States for some urgent special service.

Great skill and wonderful powers of deduction have often been displayed by them in following the tracks of wanted or lost persons over difficult country. They seemed to be able to read prints and signs that were quite indistinguishable to the white person.

Facilities for the use of motor conveyances with their greater speed have reduced the need for horse patrols, but the State still employs about twenty-five of these useful men in its outback work. Many of these trackers have a record of years of faithful service.

One notable character was Snowy Fraser, 1912-1953, a full-blood with nineteen years' service to his credit. He was promoted to Corporal in 1943. He died while still in the Force in 1953 and was accorded a full Police funeral.

AUGUSTUS HODGKINSON DAVIES (An Aboriginal Gentleman).

A convincing proof of the educability of the Australian aboriginal can be found in the case of "Gus Davies," a full-blood aboriginal, brought up from infancy by a white family.

His mother was a full-blood woman of the Hodgkinson tribe, North Queensland, in the employ of Mr. Thomas Clinton Davies, pro-accountant of the Queensland National Bank, Port Douglas. Gus was born about January, 1883, his mother dying three weeks later.

The employer adopted him, had him baptised Augustus Hodgkinson Davies by the Revd. Father Duhig (now Archbishop) and educated at various State Schools, in the North and at Allora on the Downs up to Class VI standard.

He afterwards worked on cattle stations and served in the Native Police.

He married a white woman, a native of Scotland, and reared a large family. He was well-known in the Brisbane district and greatly respected because of his exemplary character and gentlemanly conduct and manner. He was never known to either drink or smoke.

from
J.W. BLEAKLEY
Aborigines of Aust.
Jacaranda Press
1961

Appendix F

Chronologically Ordered Reports from Amateur Historians about Grandfather



AUGUSTUS HODGKINSON DAVIES

From a painting by C. Filliers Jordison.

Gus, a full-blooded Aboriginal, was adopted by bank-manager and Mrs. Davies at the age of three weeks; passed through all classes of the State School; awarded a military medal in World War I; lifelong non-drinker, non-smoker; a respected and useful member of the community; a good example of the possibility of the Australian native in suitable environment.

taken from
Journal of the Royal Historical Society
Vol 16 No 5 Dec 1952

The Sandgate and district Historical Society & Museum

Augustus Hodgkinson Davies

1883 - 1955

In the year of 1883 at one of Queensland's most northerly towns (Port Douglas) an aboriginal woman in the employ of Mr. Thomas Clinton Davies, pro + accountant of the Queensland National Bank, gave birth to a male child. Three weeks later the unfortunate Mother was to pass away.

On the death of his Mother the baby was then adopted into the family of Mr. and Mrs. Davies. The names chosen for the baby by the Davies family, were Augustus Hodgkinson Davies. The origin of his first name is unknown but the second name was no doubt given to him by Mr. Davies in memory of his Mother's people.

The people living in the Port Douglas Area before the coming of the white man were known as the 'Koko' 'Kulungur Tribe. As some of these aboriginal names were too long for the white people to pronounce the settlers took the easy way out by giving the people easier names to identify with, such as the locality or area within which the people lived or that which was named after a white man.

In the naming of these people it was done to denote the area from which they came. There are several geographical features inland from Port Douglas all with the name Hodgkinson, for instance the Hodgkinson River, Hodgkinson Valley and the Hodgkinson Gold Mine. These were all named after William Oswald Hodgkinson, a colourful figure in the early history of Queensland.

As a baby, Gus. the name he was always to

(2)

be affectionately called by those who knew him, was christened in the Roman Catholic faith. His schooling was done at various schools in the north and at Allora on the Downs where he attained class six standard. While attending school Gus. was always interested in sport and was seldom or ever beaten in the 100 yard sprint. This interest in sport was to be shared by some of his family in later years.

After leaving school, Gus., being a person not afraid of hard work decided to make progress through life in the best way possible. He took work where ever he could get it, working on cattle stations and also at one stage becoming a trooper in the Native Police.

These years of hard work matured Gus. Davies and with the obstacles he had to overcome formed his character, one of modesty, unassuming pride and charity to those less fortunate around him. These virtues he carried with him throughout his life.

As the years passed by and Gus. reached manhood and decided like most people, to make a home of his own he was to find a lass of scottish descent. The young lady was the daughter of Mr. W. Smith, who had a farm at Bracken Ridge. The young couple married and went to live at Bald Hill. There the family was to increase by the birth of their first two children, Augustus (junior) and Henry before Gus. decided to enlist and joined the A.I.F. in World War I.

On the 25th. May 1917 Gus. Davies enlisted and became a member of the 41st. Battalion. As the War overseas was not going well for Britain his stay in Australia was of brief duration and on the 14th. June his unit embarked in Sydney and left for overseas. There he was to serve his country faithfully. On his first leave in England he was to pay a visit to his Wife's people in Scotland where he received a really warm welcome.

(3)

After returning from the War Gus. Davies set up home at Wyampa Road Soldiers Settlement Bald Hills. There his family was to be further increased by the birth of four daughters, Rubena, Eileen, Peggy and Betty.

He was a man respected by all that knew him as he neither drank alcohol, smoked, or resorted to foul language. Gus went about the task of earning a living for his family. This he managed in various ways. At various times he had a Dairy farm, sold fish from the back of his cart, and worked on the Brisbane City Council. He was best known for his business as a hirer of boats at Deepwater Bend on the Pine River. The city Anglers were directed from Bald Hills to his boat ramp by signs nailed to the trees which read " Hire your boat from Digger Davies ".

As his children grew up two of them had the same interest in sport as he had himself. Henry often fought at the Brisbane Stadium as a boxer in the lightweight division and at one time was a member of the Sandgate Baptist Church cricket team. His daughter Eileen belonged to the Sandgate Athletic Club. It was only this month she returned from the Central Australian Masters Athletic competitions the winner of five Gold Medals from six field events. These two children also followed in their fathers military footsteps. Henry enlisted in the second A.I.F. and was a member of the 2/13 Infantry Battalion, he was to see action in the Middle East as one of the famous Rats of Tobruk and then later in the islands. Eileen enlisted in the A.A.M.W.S. and at one time was attached to the 116th. Army General Hospital which was attending to the sick and wounded returning from New Guinea. The hospital was stationed at Chartes Towers.

On the 10th. June 1940 Gus. Davies once again enlisted in the Army, as Australia was then at war with

(4)

Germany again. His age then being over fifty seven years he was no longer suitable for overseas active service so he spent the next four years in the Ist. Garrison Battalion at Gaythorne. These duties he carried out most faithfully until his discharge on the 11th. October 1944 on medical grounds.

Once again after discharge Gus. returned from the Army which he had served in honourably and faithfully , having done his part in serving the nation during two World Wars. He rejoined his wife and family in their home on the banks of the river where he had spent so much of his life.

When Gus. was not serving his country in the Army he found life around him interesting in many ways. Beside sport, he had a keen interest in the things of nature about him, that is ,trees, flowers, animals etc. and with a desire to learn more about them he was to often visit the Queensland Museum and talk with Mr. H.A.Longman the then Director of the Museum.

Another man with whom he was to visit and become friends was Mr. J.W.Bleakley. Mr. Bleakley has written a book "Aborigines of Australia" and included in the book is an interesting section on Gus. Davies himself.

The time spent in the Army was something Gus. was rightly proud of and each Anzac Day he could be seen marching with his old Mates in both the Brisbane and Sandgate Parades.

On the 20th. of August 1955 the life of Augustus Hodgkinson Davies came to a tragic end. He had been in indifferent health for some time and on the evening of this day while walking near the river he suffered a heart attack, fell in and was drowned.

(5)

It was the morning of August the 2nd. 1955 around 10.15 a.m. that Gus. Davies was laid to rest in the Lutwyche Cemetry. His passing from this life was felt by many people both in the Sandgate and Bald Hills areas. By his family it was one of grief at the loss of a devoted and loving husband and father. For his friends and those that knew him it was one of respect and admiration. To his Comrades in Arms and those that marched with him it was the loss of a good mate. On Ann c Days his memory and spirit shall march with them.

In compiling this short history on the life of Augustus Hodgkinson Davies there are many I have to thank for their Assistance. Most of all I would like to thank his daughter Eileen now Mrs. Dave Woods.

Arch. Buckley
Arch. Buckley.
Brighton
28.II.88

Acknowledgements :

Family History; Mrs. Dave Woods
Tribal Name; James Cook University
Townsville(N.B.Tindale map)
Newspaper Cuttings;Mrs. G. Beecher (The
Sunday Mail, Courier Mail).
Military; C.A.R.O.

P2062

GUS DAVIES.

Augustus Hodgkinson Davies, Wyampa Rd, Bald Hills, near Brisbane, Queensland was born at Port Douglas, North Queensland, during the period 15.12.1882 to 9.2.1883. Gus's mother, a full-blooded member of the Hodgkinson Aboriginal tribe, died while in the employ of Mr and Mrs Thomas Clinton Davies at Port Douglas during the period of appointment as pro-accountant on the staff of the Queensland National Bank Ltd from December 15 1882 to February 9th 1883. Gus's mother died leaving a three weeks old full blooded aboriginal child. Mr and Mrs Davies adopted the child and brought him up as their own child, and had him christened Augustus Hodgkinson Davies by the Rev. Father now Archbishop Duhig. Gus moved with his foster parents in turn to Coocktown, Maytown, Palmer Goldfields, Boonah, Albion and Brisbane, attending school at these places and working up to class VI.

Gus was a well known person in the district. In world war I. he went to Egypt with the 7th Light Horse and volunteered for France in the 41st Battalion, he was awarded the Military Medal.

On returning from the War he hired boats to fishermen on the Pine River

He also worked on cattle stations and served in the Native Police.

He married a Scottish woman in Queensland and reared a respectable family.

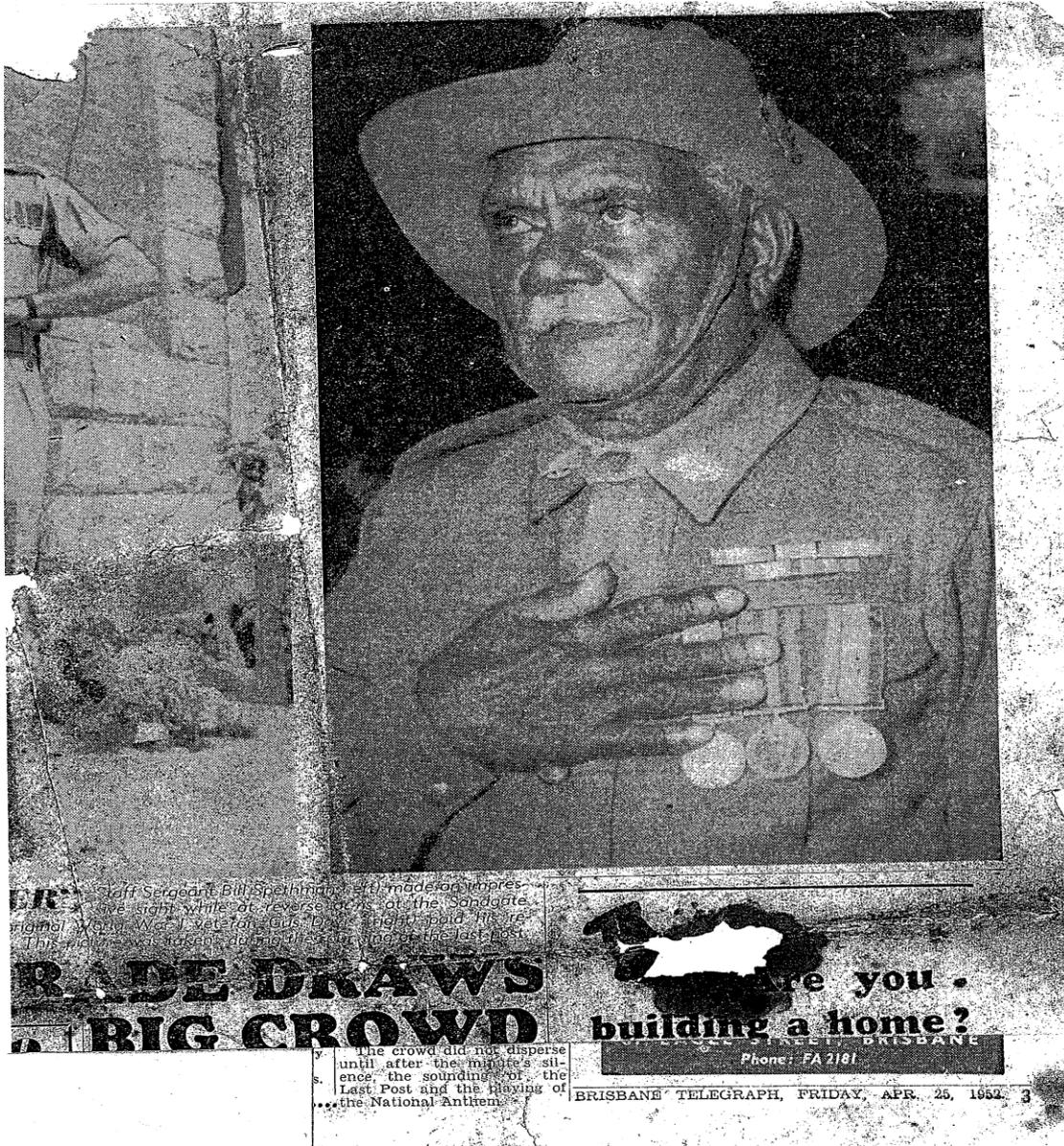
Year after year he was a noticeable figure in the Anzac Day Procession. His word was his bond: when a boy he promised his adopted mother, and kept that promise, that he would never drink or smoke. He was a good example of the possibility of the Australian Native in suitable environment.

At the latter part of his life he had much sickness, and on 20th August 1955 he was accidentally drowned in the Pine River near his home. His age was about 72 years.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF QUEENSLAND

Appendix G

Chronologically Ordered Newspaper Clippings about Grandfather



GUS DAVIES WAS M.M. WINNER

He was a "white" black man was the general tribute paid to "Old Gus" Davies who was drowned when he collapsed and fell into the Pine River at Bald Hills on Friday night, August 19. Gus was a Military Medal winner in the First World War.

He was last seen alive when he walked from his home on the river bank near Wyampa Road, Bald Hills, to throw rubbish into the river.

Constables R. O'Conner and A. Zillman, later reinforced by Constable D. Jones, searched for his body from just after midnight until they brought it up from 30 feet of water about 10 o'clock on the Saturday morning.

Augustus Hodgkinson Davies was believed to be 74 years of age.

The Secretary of the Historical Society of Queensland, Mr. A. Morrison, said that Gus Davies' English was good and his manners perfect. He said that Gus occasionally called on him for a talk and during one of these talks gave him his life story.

And this is the story given to Mr. Morrison.

Gus was born at Port Douglas, his mother being a full-blooded aborigine who worked for the wife of Mr. Thomas Clinton Davies, manager of the Queensland National Bank at Port Douglas.

His mother died when he was three weeks old and Mr. and Mrs. Davies adopted him. He was christened by the Reverend Father James Duhig, now Archbishop Duhig. Gus promised, and kept his promise, that he would never drink or smoke.

He lived with his adopted parents at various places and attended school at Cooktown, Maytown,

Palmer Goldfield, Boonah, Allora, and Brisbane. He worked up to the top class, which was then sixth class.

Schooldays behind him, Gus worked on cattle stations and served in the native police force.

He went to Egypt with the 7th Light Horse in World War I, and volunteered for France in the 41st Battalion. He was awarded the Military Medal. On returning from the war he marched proudly in the Anzac Day parades.

Mr. Morrison said that Gus married after his return from the war. He hired boats at Deep Water Bend, near Wyampa Road. He was on garrison duty during the last war.

He had been sick for some time and had been in hospital several times.

Mr. Matthew P. Ryan, of Wyllie Street, Redcliffe, who did benevolent work in the Sandgate area for over 30 years, wrote to "The Echo":

"I knew Gus Davies for over 30 years, and always found him a man. He was highly respected and will be greatly missed by his comrades in the Park and at the 'Tree of Knowledge'.

"Gus was a soldier and was well liked by his comrades. When I first met him 30 years ago he was a first class horseman and all-round athlete. I and all his comrades in the Park express our sympathy to his wife and grown-up family".

Bracken Ridge ward news...

A new park in Kyeema Crescent Bald Hills has been named Gus Davies Park. Gus Davies was born in 1883 in north Queensland and died in 1955.

He lived on a farm at Bald Hills prior to enlisting and joining the AIF in WWI. Upon return from the war, he set up home at Wyalapa Road soldiers settlement in Bald Hills.

He was a man who was respected by all who knew him as he neither drank nor smoked.

He earned a living for his family of five in various ways. Throughout his life he had a dairy farm and sold fish from the back of his cart. He also worked for the Brisbane City Council.

He was best known for his business as a hire of boats at Deepwater Bend on the Pine

River. The city anglers were directed from Bald Hills to his boat ramp by signs nailed to trees which read 'hire your boat from Digger Davies'.

On June 10, 1940 he again enlisted in the army and went to fight in Europe.

When discharged from the army he rejoined this wife and family at their home on the banks of the river where he had spent so much of his life.

He died tragically in 1955 when he was walking along the bank of the river and suffered a heart attack, fell in and drowned.

It is fitting that Gus Davies, who spent such a long period of his life in the area and enlisted in both world wars should have a park named in his honour. -Cr Keith Murray

PH. 2690233



The Life of an Outstanding Australian Augustus Davis

KNOWN as 'Gus', he was born in Port Douglas in 1883 to parents of Aboriginal descent from the 'Koko' Kulungar tribe. His mother died when he was three and Gus was adopted by a Bank employee and his wife, Mr and Mrs Thomas Davis. Gus was christened into the Catholic religion and educated in various schools throughout Queensland where he excelled at sports, seldom ever beaten in a 100yd sprint and maintained a love of cricket all his life.

On leaving school, Gus worked with the Mounted Police at Oxley for some time and throughout his life took on whatever type of work he could find, such as helping to build the road from Petrie to Redcliffe and for many years worked with the cattle at the Royal National Show in Brisbane. Gus developed a fine character, kind, gentle and compassionate.

Gus married a lady of Scottish descent from Bracken Ridge and they eventually had two sons and three daughters. At the outbreak of the 1st World War Gus enlisted on the 25th May 1917 serving with the 41st Battalion A.I.F. and again he enlisted in the 2nd World War. While on leave in England during the 1st War, Gus was able to visit his wife's people in Scotland.

After discharge Gus was given a grant of land on the banks of the Pine River, at a place known as Deep Water Bend, this land to stay with the family while ever there was a descendant lived there. It was here that Gus built a home for his family and created a business to help their support. Gus built up a successful Boat Hire business and also sold fresh fish and crabs from the back of his

One of his favourite sayings was, "if you can't do a person a good turn, never do him a bad turn" and he lived out this philosophy in his life, especially during the Depression years by helping out many people down on their luck, giving them food and temporary shelter.

Gus made a promise to his mother that he would never drink alcohol or smoke, a promise he kept for life and his family never knew the trauma that alcohol can bring into a home. Each Sunday Gus would go with his family to the Salvation Army Church at Sandgate.

Hard work and hard times, along with numerous obstacles formed in Gus a great character, one of modesty, unassuming pride and charity to all his fellow men, in particular those less fortunate than himself. He had a special love and care for children and there always seemed to be children around him ... and this was the Gus I knew as a child of 12 years when I lived at Bald Hills.

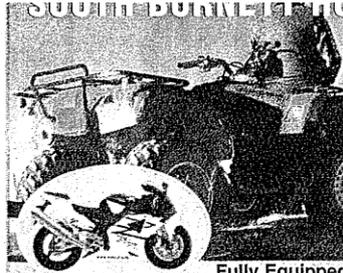
I lived a real 'Huckleberry Finn' existence, complete with torn pants and bare footed. I roamed the banks of Pine River and Gus would lend me a boat without charge and direct me to the best fishing spots. I remember so well the time he gave me a cooked crab claw to go with my thick slices of bread and butter I had for my lunch.

At this time, the radio station 4BH had a children's programme where this Aboriginal fellow would send birthday greetings and presents to children. He would direct the 'High Cock Alurim' bird to hide the presents in the child's room (by mothers' previous arrangements) and sure enough, it would be there. At a 4BH Christmas party my Mother took me to see, we discovered the Aboriginal in charge of the bird to be our good friend Gus!

One evening, after returning home from work on the 20th August, 1955, Gus was not feeling well and after the evening meal, went for a quiet stroll on the banks of his beloved Pine River. When he didn't return, the family went to search for him. His daughter, Eileen found his body in the river. He had suffered a heart attack and had fallen into the water.

Gus was laid to rest in the Lutwyche Cemetery at 10.15am on the morning of the 23rd August, 1955. The story of this remarkable man has now been recorded in Historical records, several writings in Queensland and because Gus was so well thought of by so many people, a park at Bald Hills was named in his honour, the 'Gus Davis Park'.

Written by Colin Lee



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THE GREAT E

HOW IT ALL

THE GREAT ENDEAVOUR is a major fundraiser South West Area, supporting people with an

The Great Endeavour first started in 1988 at Allan Lawson. Thirty seven cars participated Kooralbyn Valley via Birdsville, approximately

Due to the huge success of this one off event on an annual basis and the 1989 event travel via the Gulf with 80 entrants participating.

1990 saw 110 vehicles travel from Toowoomba with all 110 vehicles being transported by bus. 100 Vehicles travelled the course in 1991 from '3 Deserts'. 1991 also saw the introduction of

held every 4 years. The inaugural Super Endeavour the Gold Coast via Darwin with 25 cars part

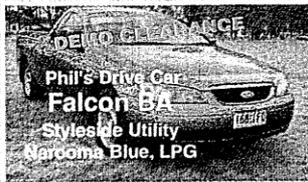
The 1992 Great Endeavour travelled Toowoomba 'The Sea' with 84 starters and the 1993 rally 'The Back 'o' Burke' with 114 entries completed

1994 saw over 120 entries in the Great Endeavour to South Bank via The Whitsundays with 1 Island.

1995 saw the running of the second Super Endeavour Point Danger to Toowoomba via Cape York. Completed from the Sunshine Coast to Toowoomba at Mareeba for the journey home.

The Great Endeavour has been held annually fundraiser for the Endeavour Foundation. The registered vehicle. It has been said that the Great Endeavour and never will be, therefore those that wish to experience road conditions that you would ne

More info? Contact Jennie on (07) 4161



Phil's Drive Car
Falcon BA
Styleside Utility
Narooma Blue, LPG
Rec Retail \$31,548
SALE PRICE \$26,765 + on road costs



DEMO CLEARANCE
Narooma Blue
FORD Falcon XR6
Sports Shift Sequential, No
Cruise Control
Only 5,000km
Rec Retail \$38,273
SALE PRICE \$32,100 + on road costs



Jennie's Drive Car
Hatchback Silver
FOCUS Hatchback
DEMO CLEARANCE
Rec Retail \$32,345
SALE PRICE \$28,000 + on road costs

"Banyule Street" 26th August, 2009

Memories of indigenous soldier

THE CELEBRATION of Black History Month has prompted Sandgate Historical Society researcher Grace Beecher to recall an indigenous soldier who served in World War I.

"When I lived in Nashville (1937-61) I often saw Gus Davies in full army uniform, walking from his property at Deep Water Bend to Sandgate to march in the ANZAC Day Parade," she said.

"His mother had passed away after his birth in 1883 and he was adopted by her employer, accountant Thomas Clinton Davies. Gus was educated in Queensland schools, worked on cattle stations and served in the native police.

"Gus married a Scotswoman and settled at Deep Water Bend, Bald Hills, where the couple raised a large family.

"At the onset of World War I, he enlisted

in the 7th Light Horse and it's likely that he could have been the first indigenous person accepted into the AIF.

He served in France and was awarded the military medal.

"After the war he made a living hiring boats to anglers.

"In 1945, I used to catch the bus to work in Brisbane from outside Duddington's store at Nashville and Gus often caught the same bus. Usually he carried a port.

"Later in life, I asked a Society member who was a friend of the Davies family what Gus had in that port, and Archie Buckley told me it was usually a snake.

"Apparently he took snakes into Brisbane's museum to be identified. I'm glad I was unaware of this at the time.

"A park in Bald Hills was named in honour of Gus Davies," Mrs Beecher said.

Appendix H

Chronologically Ordered Letters that are examples of responses to my 1970s inquiries



**The National Bank
of Australasia Limited**



308-322 Queen Street
Brisbane Queensland Australia

Telephone 221 2922
PO box 1422 Qld. 4001

Cable address 'Natbank'
Telex 40289

15th December 1978.

Ms D.B. Woods,
271 Wyampa Road,
BALD HILLS. 4036.

Dear Ms Woods,

Your letter of the 13th December. Unfortunately the early staff records I hdd are patchy and incomplete. I am unable to confirm that Thomas Clinton Davies was at Port Douglas branch at the time you mention. Being a short period it is possible he was relieving there. In an old customers signature book the initials "T.C.D" appear twice on the 22nd Dec. 1882.

Thomas C. Davies joined the Q.N. Bank on the 15th September 1876. He was twentyfour years of age at that date and commenced on a salary of Seventyfive pounds p.a. and an allowance of five shillings per day. The latter would indicate that he commenced at some fairly remote branc

He was at Thornborough branch in 1880, first as a Clerk and then on 9th Dec. 1880 as Relieving pro Accountant. He next appears as Acting Accountant at Beenleigh in May 1883. In March 1885 he became Acting Manager of Maytown branch. He was confirmed in the post in 1886. In 1889 he appears as Manager, Dugandan (now Boonah). Allora followed in 1894, and he remained here until his death was reported in the latte half of 1908.

I trust this information is of value to you. I would be interested to learn the source of your information regarding Mr Davies service at Port Douglas.

Yours faithfully,

Arthur O'Neill
Archivist.

717-415 (4/75)



AUSTRALIAN ARMY

Telephone : ~~607 1111~~ 600261
Extension : ~~XXXXXX~~ 289
Telax : 33464

Correspondence : GPO Box 1932R
Melbourne, Vic. 3001

CENTRAL ARMY RECORDS OFFICE
366 St Kilda Road
Melbourne, Vic.

In reply quote

Info Svc/Q187467

8 March 1979

M's D.B. Woods
271 Wyampa Road
BALD HILLS QLD 4036

Dear Madam,

1. I refer to your letter of the 13 December 1978.
2. According to records held at this Office, the information you have requested is:

3282 AUGUSTUS HODGKINSON DAVIES

Enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force on the
25 May 1917.

Embarked from Sydney with the 8th reinforcements of the
41st Battalion per H.T. "Hororata" on the 14 June 1917.

Admitted to hospital while at Sea.

Disembarked at Liverpool, England on the 26 August 1917.

Transferred to the 11th Training Battalion, Weymouth
England on the 27 August 1917.

Embarked for return to Australia on the 15 January 1918.

Discharged in Brisbane on the 27 May 1918.

Q187467 AUGUSTUS HODGKINSON DAVIES

Enlisted in the Australian Military Forces on the
10 June 1940.

Transferred to No 1 Garrison Battalion on the
10 June 1940.

Served in the Brisbane and Gaythorne areas of
Queensland during World War II.

Discharged from the Australian Military Forces
on the 11 October 1944.

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