

**NATIONAL WINNER
INDIGENOUS HISTORY**



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**DESTRUCTION, DEMONISATION,
DISPOSSESSION.**



"Outsider" (Gordon Bennett, 1988)

Destruction, Demonisation, Dispossession.

Explain the significance of truth-telling about Indigenous peoples' experiences of British colonisation in Australia.

Abstract: The national myth of a peaceful settlement persists today, although effective desecration of Indigenous peoples' history and culture manifests as a lingering trauma that survives in the spirit of current generations. This essay examines the significance of truth-telling about the colonial and contemporary experiences of First Nations peoples by revisiting the sites of their historic erasure and investigating the necessary attitudes for the revision of Indigenous historiography and Australia's reconciliation.

In the spirit of reconciliation, I acknowledge the Traditional Custodians of Country throughout Australia and their connections to land, sea, and community, and pay my respect to their Elders past, present and future.

A warning for Indigenous audiences, references to deceased persons may be included in this essay.

Recognition for the significance of truth-telling about Australian Indigenous peoples' experiences of British colonisation is pivotal for reconciliation as it highlights the importance of erasing the colonial myth of peaceful settlement from public sentiment. Truth-telling is an opportunity for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to 'record evidence about past actions and share their culture, heritage and history with the broader community.'¹ The national narrative of peaceful colonisation persists on the general unawareness of Indigenous struggles, obscuring the destruction of Indigenous life amid the milieu of violent Frontier Wars, massacres, and disease outbreaks. Further, the barbarisation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples with colonial attitudes of negrophobia critically degraded their culture and identities, dehumanising and demonising Indigenous communities. The lateral violence prevalent in contemporary Aboriginal communities can be attributed to the continued influence of colonisation that remains in the form of internalised colonialism. Ultimately, because of removal legislation, the Stolen Generations survivors suffer intergenerational trauma due to the fragmentation and deconstruction of their Indigenous identity. The prolonged 'Great Australian Silence'² on Indigenous colonial experiences has resulted in a sanitised narrative and thus, an examination of the impact of British colonisation on Indigenous peoples' history and culture, reveals the significance of truth-telling for the sake of reconciliation and recognition of forgotten atrocities.

¹ "Joint Select Committee on Constitutional Recognition Relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples: Final Report on truth-telling," *Parliament of Australia*. Accessed 24 August 2021. https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Joint/Former_Committees/Constitutional_Recognition_2018/ConstRecognition/Final_Report

² William Edward Hanley Stanner. "The Great Australian Silence", *The 1968 Boyer Lectures: After The Dreaming*, 1969. (Sydney, ABC Enterprises), pp. 18 – 29.

The arrival of the First Fleet in 1788 began a complex history of bloodshed which had predominantly been erased from the national narrative to preserve the ‘white national imaginary,’³ thereby reinforcing that truth-telling about Frontier conflicts can significantly contribute to the dismantling of a myth of peaceful settlement. For most of the 20th century, the massacres, Frontier Wars and diseases had been largely overlooked in Australian public history, instead highlighting stirring tales that featured pioneer grit and endurance, and the national collective memory of Captain Cook’s arrival.⁴ Reynolds explains that ‘during the first half of the 20th century, the Aborigines (sic) were written out of Australian history,’⁵ with the deletion of the Indigenous perspective providing a convenient narrative which meant that for, ‘generations weaned on this soothing syrup, the new history of the frontier came as an unwelcome revelation and one often stoutly resisted.’⁶ According to Indigenous historian, Larissa Behrendt, ‘Aboriginal people often met the newcomers with hospitality and generosity.’⁷ However, as the threat of violent invasion emerged and Indigenous people were increasingly dispossessed of their lands, denied access to traditional resources, and subject to sexual abuse and slavery at the hands of the colonists, ‘attitudes began to change and conflict was inevitable.’⁸ The colonisation process instigated the mass deaths of over ‘90% of Indigenous peoples,’⁹ as they lacked the natural immunity to combat alien diseases such as smallpox, influenza and tuberculosis, introduced by European contact.¹⁰ Sexual assault and exploitation of Indigenous girls and women also introduced venereal disease to their people

³ Peta Stephenson, “Beyond black and white: Aborigines, Asian-Australians and the national imaginary.” (PhD thesis, Faculty of Arts, The Australian Centre, University of Melbourne. 2003).

⁴ “Busting the Myth of Peaceful Settlement,” *Australians Together*. Accessed 13-18, 21-28 July, 1, 4, 7 August 2021, <https://australianstogether.org.au/discover/australian-history/busting-the-myth-of-peaceful-settlement/>

⁵ Henry Reynolds, *Forgotten War* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2013), 16.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Larissa Behrendt. *Indigenous Australia for Dummies* (Milton: Wiley Publishing Australia PTY LTD, 2012), 251.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ John Harris. "Hiding the Bodies: the myth of the humane colonisation of Australia", *Journal of Aboriginal History* 27 (2003): 79-104

¹⁰ “Smallpox epidemic,” *National Museum of Australia*. Accessed 24 August 2021. <https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/smallpox-epidemic>

in epidemic proportions.¹¹ Frontier Wars and conflicts included the Slaughterhouse/Waterloo Creek Massacre on 26 January 1838. Depicted in an 1852 lithograph named ‘Mounted Police and Blacks,’ it showed the saddled NSW Military Mounted Police loom victorious over Gomeri warriors grasping spears. Only one trooper was injured, while 40-50 Gomeri warriors were slain. Another notable account includes the alleged 1842 Kilcoy Massacre, illustrated by Vincent Serico. Elder describes that the Indigenous men were eliminated with arsenic-laced flour instigated by colonisers, as ‘they jumped around like fish taken out of water until, exhausted from their agony, they fell prostrate on the ground.’¹² In response to colonial, anti-Aboriginal violence, Yagan, a Noongar warrior, led the Aboriginal resistance in the Perth region until he was killed by colonists in 1833. His head was severed, preserved, and sent to England and only in 1997, was his skull finally returned to his people.¹³ There remains a level of ‘dissatisfaction, disinterest and denial of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander history in Australia,’¹⁴ which can only be subverted with truth-telling about past domestic bloodshed, and its potential to provide restorative justice and education for non-Indigenous Australians to attain reconciliation.¹⁵ Thus, the significance of truth-telling about the Frontier Wars is indisputable to restore historiographic memory for the destruction of Indigenous life and dismantle the reverence paid to the squatter and the bushman as national heroes.

There has been limited truth-telling about the pollution of Indigenous image and culture by colonial ideas of negrophobia and social Darwinism, underlining the importance of exposing

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Bruce Elder, *Blood on the wattle: massacres and maltreatment of Aboriginal Australians since 1788*, (New Holland Publishers: 2003), 10

¹³ Larissa Behrendt, *Indigenous Australia for Dummies* (Milton: Wiley Publishing Australia PTY LTD, 2012), 283

¹⁴ Gabrielle Appleby and Megan Davis, “The Uluru Statement and the Promises of Truth,” *Australian Historical Studies*, 49:4, 501-509

¹⁵ Kingsford Legal Centre and Community Legal Centres NSW, Submission 336, p. 9.

the exploitation of First Nations people for the amusement and scrutiny of white Europeans. In the second half of the 19th century, Darwin's theory of evolution was perceived as scientific evidence affirming the inferiority of the black races and their inevitable displacement by the supreme white races. This allowed for the persuasive doctrine of Aboriginal worthlessness which pervaded colonial Australian society. The impact of social Darwinist ideology is demonstrated by Woods' Christian perspective of Indigenous peoples in South Australia as he believed that, 'without a history, they have no past, without a religion they have no hope, without...providence, they can have no future.'¹⁶ As with many others in this time he was, 'convinced of the physical, cultural and intellectual inferiority of the Aborigines (sic),'¹⁷ because it was apparent that, 'the science community came to the unanimous conclusion that evolutionary theory...demanded the Aboriginal race be doomed to extinction.'¹⁸ Social Darwinist ideas then swiftly emerged as a threat to dismantle the genuine Indigenous identity, developing into negrophobic attitudes as exposed in showman Cunningham's 'Australian Aborigines (sic)' circus act.¹⁹ A band of Aboriginal slaves were carted around throughout the U.S. and Europe as 'circus performers' and presented as brutish 'specimens' in various showplaces to be examined and photographed by anthropologists. His show was in response to the circus impresario, Barnum's call for examples of 'all of the uncivilised races in existence.'²⁰ His advertisement poster, 'Male and Female Australian Cannibals' crudely portray Indigenous peoples as 'savages' that feasted on human flesh, notably those of the white men's corpses which were strewn around the bizarre and

¹⁶ James Dominick Woods, *The Native tribes of South Australia*, (Adelaide: E.S. Wigg and Son, 1879), 38 in John Harris, *One: Two hundred years of Aboriginal encounter with Christianity*, (Brentford Square: Concilia LTD, 2013), 26

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ James Dominick Woods, op. cit., 26

¹⁹ R.A. Cunningham (not the artist), *Australian Aborigines (sic)*, late 20th century

²⁰ Phineas Taylor Barnum to several hundred American consulates and other agencies throughout the world, August 9, 1882

inaccurate scene.²¹ Aboriginal peoples were dehumanised and demonised with a contemptuous depiction of their culture.²² The barbarisation of Indigenous peoples had a penetrating influence on future generations who still experience this degradation in contemporary society, as exhibited by Indigenous artist, Gordon Bennett's 1988 painting, 'The Outsider'. Inspired by the colonial injustices towards Indigenous peoples in Australia, he utilised grotesque symbolism that instilled emotions of dread and hatred, reminding the audience of a time once filled with harsh, inhumane actions.²³ Within, the two marble-like heads, each with their eyes closed, are symbols representing Western culture which the artist included to portray the ignorance of white Europeans towards Indigenous traditions. Thus, social Darwinism and negrophobia obscured the true nature of Indigenous culture, exemplifying the significance of truth-telling in resolving the fabrication of the Aboriginal man as, 'brutish, faithless, vicious.'²⁴

The lack of truth-telling in discussions surrounding the degradation of Indigenous identity through destruction of traditional structure and roles in their communities, have embedded practices of lateral violence which have mimicked those of their colonisers. In the interest of power and control, the colonising powers enforced the inferiority of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, ignoring their basic humanity as well as depriving cultural identity, existing power structures, traditions, and customs.²⁵ Thus, 95% of bullying occurs laterally among Aboriginal people themselves.²⁶ Freire asserts that lateral violence, also recognised as

²¹ Hannah Worrall, "Exposing the Fallacy of Circus Showmen"

<https://www.sydneyoperahouse.com/backstage/first-nations/exposing-the-fallacy-of-circus-showmen.html>

²² Roslyn Poignant, *Professional Savages – Captive Lives and Western Spectacle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004)

²³ National Gallery of Victoria, "A Strategy of Intervention and Disturbance"

https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/school_resource/gordon-bennett/

²⁴ Western Australian Advocate, in *The Golden West*, (February 1906), 6 in John Harris, *One Blood: Two hundred years of Aboriginal encounter with Christianity*, (Brentford Square: Concilia LTD, 2013), 28

²⁵ Richard Frankland and Peter Lewis, "Social Justice Report 2011", *Australian Human Rights Commission* (14 March 2011)

²⁶ "Expert warns over bullying," *Koori Mail* 475, 38

internalised colonialism, is ‘deflected aggression,’ as being subjected to oppression created the anger, hurt and frustration that manifested into violence not ‘vertically’ towards the colonisers responsible for oppression, but ‘laterally’ towards their own community.²⁷ Fanon supports his notion that colonised groups internalise the values and behaviours of their oppressors which leads to violence that ‘frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction.’²⁸ The overwhelming position of power held by colonisers, combined with internalised negative beliefs, foster the sense that directing anger and violence toward the colonisers was too risky or fruitless. Hence, dysfunction in Aboriginal communities emerged from the view that it is safer and more acceptable to attack their peers who do not represent the potent threat of colonisers. Moreover, the contest over the ‘authenticity’ of Indigenous identity perpetuates a form of symbolic political violence born from the Australian settler-colonial regime.²⁹ While the Native Title Act 1983 itself recognises the rights and interests of Traditional Owners in Country, the process of attaining recognition of Native Title has inherently generated lateral violence because of its provoking questions about Indigenous power and identity.³⁰ Disputes of authentic Indigeneity are powerful weapons in lateral violence as they divide the Aboriginal community, highlighted in an anonymous testimony: ‘so you get it from the whitefellas, that you can't talk good English, and then these blackfellas: Why are you acting white, talking white?’³¹ Truth-telling about this vexed issue within Indigenous communities is critical as a means of promoting solidarity for all Indigenous identities. Evidently, discussions incited by truth-telling are significant in

²⁷ Paulo Freire in Cecilia Fire Thunder, “Returning to Being Good Relatives: Addressing Lateral Oppression and Violence” (lecture, October 21, 2015) <https://s3.amazonaws.com/fwvcorp/wp-content/uploads/20160121115408/Lateral-Oppression-and-Violence-Presentation-Slides-PDF.pdf>

²⁸ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (Martinique: Grove Press [US], 1963 ed)

²⁹ Sarah Maddison, “Indigenous identity, ‘authenticity’ and the structural violence of settler colonialism,” *Identities* 20 (2013): 288-303

³⁰ Australian Human Rights Commission, “Lateral violence in native title: our relationships over lands, territories and resources,” *Native Title Report 2011* (Sydney: 2011), 2.

³¹ Larrakia Nation Aboriginal Corporation and the University of Tasmania, *Telling It Like It Is: Aboriginal Perspectives on Race and Race Relations*, (2016)

addressing historical government actions during the colonial jurisdiction premised on discriminatory notions of racial superiority that diminished Indigenous roles and traditions, providing the conditions that sowed tensions within Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

Truth-telling for the nation to understand past and ongoing suffering is of paramount significance, as Stolen Generations survivors endure intergenerational trauma due to the fragmentation and deconstruction of their Indigenous identity through forced removals. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, colonisers envisioned the assimilation of Indigenous peoples through cultural assimilation; the erasure of cultural teachings and history, and biological assimilation; eradicating ‘Indigenous’ features and ultimately, the group of people themselves.³² Under the 1868 Victorian Aboriginal Protection Board, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children were removed and assimilated into institutionalised care. The removal policy accounts for the ‘fractured identity of so many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders,’ as acknowledged by former Prime Minister, Paul Keating in his 1992 Redfern Address.³³ In Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures, children are considered sacred and established kinship systems ensured intimate familial relations. Therefore, this forced separation and extreme physical, psychological, and sexual abuse experienced by children under state care had a devastating impact on all Indigenous communities that culminated into intergenerational grief and trauma. The truth of Australian history needs to be told, but it also needs to be heard. Alongside truth-telling, *daddirri* or deep-listening, from Ngan'gikurunggurr and Ngen'giwumirri languages, must be employed by non-Indigenous Australians to understand the longevity of colonial ramifications such as

³² Katherine Ellinghaus, “Absorbing the ‘Aboriginal Problem’: controlling interracial marriage in Australia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries,” *Aboriginal History* 27 (2003): 1

³³ Paul Keating, “Redfern Speech (Year for the World's Indigenous People),” (speech, Redfern Park, 10 December, 1992), https://antar.org.au/sites/default/files/paul_keating_speech_transcript.pdf

the Stolen Generations.³⁴ Testimonies such as Audrey Melaney's, echo the perpetual damage dealt across generations of Indigenous Australians; 'My mum got removed, she became displaced... We're sort of really a lost generation too... The effects of all that really affects me, my kids, my grandkids.'³⁵ In 1788, prior to British colonisation, there were 350-750 Indigenous, ethnic groups in Australia. Each ethnic tribe spoke their own languages and dialects, of which only 150 survive today.³⁶ Alfred Calma's testimony sheds light on his experience of "the trauma and losing everything, the language, the culture, the lot ... I'm in the middle. I'm neither white nor black."³⁷ As suggested in his perspective, the removal of generations of children disrupted the transfer of knowledge and oral culture between generations. Moreover, the question of sanitised genocide remains contested, although the United Nations Genocide Convention, article II section e) states that a genocidal act is constituted by the forcible removal of children of one group to another; in the context of the Stolen Generations, the anglicisation of Indigenous children and the doctrine of denying them their Indigenous heritage, culture, and identity.³⁸ Hence, the severance of connection to kin and Country, and children's forced adoption of a new culture has denied survivors access to exercise their culture and heritage, supported by Professor Helen Milroy who said that, 'a lot of our own communities don't understand our own histories.'³⁹ Thus, truth-telling and

³⁴ Miriam-Rose Ungunmerr, "To be listened to in her teaching: Dadirri: Inner Deep Listening and Quiet Still Awareness." *EarthSong Journal: Perspectives in Ecology, Spirituality and Education*, Vol. 3, No. 4, Autumn 2017: 14-15.

³⁵ Audrey Melaney in Jonny Weeks, "You're not given any love': the stories of Australia's stolen generations – photo essay," *The Guardian*, February 12, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/ng-interactive/2016/feb/12/youre-not-given-any-love-the-stories-of-australias-stolen-generations-photo-essay>

³⁶ "Australia's 'sanitized' genocide against Aborigines (sic) in the 21st century," *Khamenei*, December 12, 2016

³⁷ Alfred Calma in Jonny Weeks, "You're not given any love': the stories of Australia's stolen generations – photo essay," *The Guardian*, February 12, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/ng-interactive/2016/feb/12/youre-not-given-any-love-the-stories-of-australias-stolen-generations-photo-essay>

³⁸ UN General Assembly, "Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide," 9 December 1948, United Nations, *Treaty Series* 78: 277, available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3ac0.html>. Accessed 4 August 2021.

³⁹ Professor Helen Milroy in Reconciliation Australia, *Truth Telling Symposium Report* (2018)

dadirri are pivotal for the recognition that colonisation rendered Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders' cultures skeletons of identity, and is crucial for national reconciliation.

Undeniably, truth-telling about Indigenous experiences of British colonisation is immensely significant as it candidly observes an enduring national tragedy, with ramifications that still reverberate in contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. Australia's traditional historical narrative rebranded paternalistic and assimilationist ideologies as colonial saviour truths, ultimately positioning First Nations peoples in a historical camp between the 'civilised white' and the 'primitive black.'⁴⁰ The national myth of peaceful settlement demonstrates how significant events and periods, can eclipse another significant epoch in history; the desecration of Indigenous history and culture through the impacts of destruction, demonisation and dispossession. History and its ability to reveal the significance of past atrocities and failures is pivotal in a nation's reconciliation and advancement, especially historiography and its resurrection of the memory of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander struggles. Truth-telling about Indigenous experiences and engagement in *dadirri* are pivotal in confronting the past and escaping the 'cult of forgetfulness.'⁴¹

Acknowledgment of Indigenous histories and repudiation of a sanitised narrative through significant truth-telling dialogue, constitutes the pillars of national reconciliation. History has a fundamental role as the constructor of national identity and narrative; hence, Indigenous experiences must be presented in a less selective light. In the words of Mutthi Mutthi and Wamba Wamba assembly member Jason Kelly, while 'we can't change history, we certainly can change the way it is viewed.'⁴²

⁴⁰ Tony Birch. "History is never bloodless: getting it wrong after one hundred years of federation", *Australian Historical Studies*, 2002. vol. 33, no. 118, pp. 42 – 53.

⁴¹ William Edward Hanley Stanner. "The Great Australian Silence", *The 1968 Boyer Lectures: After The Dreaming*, 1969. (Sydney, ABC Enterprises), pp. 18 – 29.

⁴² Jason Kelly in Maggie Coggan, "The fight to tell Australia's truth." *Pro Bono News Australia*. 22 July 2020. Accessed 24 August 2021. <https://probonoaustralia.com.au/news/2020/07/the-fight-to-tell-australias-truth/>

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Australian Human Rights Commission, "Lateral violence in native title: our relationships over lands, territories and resources," *Native Title Report 2011 (Sydney: 2011), 2.*

This report was presented and developed by the Hon Robert McClelland MP and the Australian Human Rights Commission in accordance with section 209 of the Native Title Act 1993. The 2010-11 report examines how the Native Title process can instigate lateral violence within Indigenous communities because of its provoking questions on power and identity. This source relies on observed behaviours of Indigenous communities and correlating evidence, thus proving its reliability. The only limitation it had was the limited presence of testimonies to support the ideas presented in the report. Otherwise, the report was a highly useful resource to discover how notions of Indigenous identity can divide communities and promote violence not 'vertically' towards colonisers, but 'laterally.'

Australians Together. "Busting the Myth of Peaceful Settlement." Accessed 13-18, 21-28 July, 1, 4, 7 August 2021, <https://australiantogether.org.au/discover/australian-history/busting-the-myth-of-peaceful-settlement/>

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Kingsford Legal Centre and Community Legal Centres NSW, Submission 336, p. 9.

Larrakia Nation Aboriginal Corporation and the University of Tasmania, *Telling It Like It Is: Aboriginal Perspectives on Race and Race Relations*, (2016)

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Parliament of Australia. "Joint Select Committee on Constitutional Recognition Relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples: Final Report on truth-telling," Accessed 24 August 2021. https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Joint/Former_Committees/Constitutional_Recognition_2018/ConstRecognition/Final_Report

Poignant, Roslyn. *Professional Savages – Captive Lives and Western Spectacle*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Reynolds, Henry. *Forgotten War*. Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2013.

Henry Reynolds is an historian whose primary work centralises on the frontier conflict between European settlers in Australia and Indigenous Australians. His book focuses on the grand forgetting of the brutal conflicts between the two parties and deconstructs the myth of peaceful settlement. The academic writing's reliability can be judged by his research and fieldwork on the forgotten frontier wars. This in-depth book was highly valuable as the historian's perspective supported by historical evidence, confirms the erasure of Indigenous history from colonial teachings. However, as the source is very adamant on its stance, it limits discussion on this national myth. This limitation serves little concern to my essay; thus, his perspective and ideas provided enough information for my argument because they were compelling and straightforward.

Stanner, William Edward Hanley. "The Great Australian Silence", The 1968 Boyer Lectures: After The Dreaming, 1969. (Sydney, ABC Enterprises), pp. 18 – 29.

Stephenson, Peta. "Beyond black and white: Aborigines, Asian-Australians and the national imaginary." PhD thesis, Faculty of Arts, The Australian Centre, University of Melbourne. 2003.

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Western Australian Advocate, in *The Golden West*, (February 1906), 6 in John Harris, *One Blood: Two hundred years of Aboriginal encounter with Christianity*, (Brentford Square: Concilia LTD, 2013)

Woods, James Dominick. *The Native tribes of South Australia*. Adelaide: E.S. Wigg and Son, 1879, in Harris, John. *One: Two hundred years of Aboriginal encounter with Christianity*. Brentford Square: Concilia LTD, 2013.

James Dominick Woods was a South Australian journalist and author of the first official history of South Australia and a history of the colony's first Royal Visit. His perspective of Indigenous Australians revealed in this source was extremely helpful as supporting evidence of the demeaning, social Darwinist views of Indigenous Australians. The reliability of this source can be judged by other supporting evidence that correlates with his view. His Christian/religious perspective did limit the source's value slightly, for I am not doing an essay about religion, although it was interesting to learn his Christian reasoning for why he believed 'blacks' are low races, and the primary religion back then was also Christian. Overall, his perspective was truly useful, insightful, and summarised the general attitude of that time, towards Indigenous Australians.

APPENDIX

Mounted Police and Blacks (Godfrey Charles Mundy Walton, W.L Bentley, Richard Hullmandel & Walton, 1852 lithograph on paper), <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/ART50023>



Kilcoy Massacre 1 (Vincent Serico, 1993)



Australian Aborigines (sic) [R.A. Cunningham (not the artist), late 20th century]



Outsider (Gordon Bennett, 1988)

