



AUSTRALIA, BUILDING A 'WHITE' NATION

How and why legal sexual relationships of 'white' men and 'mixed blood' Aboriginal women were used for the assimilation of Aboriginal peoples into the 'white' nation state

Information

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Introduction

1.1 Research Question

In 1981 the research paper, written by the historian Peter Read, *'The Stolen Generations: the removal of Aboriginal children in New South Wales 1883 to 1969'* was published.¹ It was about the policy of 'forced removals' of Aboriginal children from their families as part of the assimilation policy regarding Aboriginal peoples in Australia. The paper shocked Australia because this subject had remained taboo in public forums. Many 'white' Australians reacted with disbelief. As historian Inga Clendinnen pointed out in a speech in 1999: *'As for the rest of us – I didn't know anything about the policy'*.²

In response to efforts of key Indigenous agencies, the federal Attorney-General Michael Lavarch instigated in 1995 an inquiry into the forced removals of Aboriginal children from their families.³ The result, the *'Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families'* was published by the Australian Human Rights Commission in April 1997.⁴ This report is commonly referred to as the *'Bringing them Home Report'* and marked a turning point in the controversy that has come to be known as the *Stolen Generations*.⁵

Intrigued by this part of the policy that concerned the 'protection and control' of Aboriginal peoples I researched for my Bachelor thesis the roles of 'white' European women in Australia who had been using the notion of 'proper motherhood' as a motivation for involvement in this policy.⁶ I was puzzled by the fact that no attention had been paid to the actual relationships of the 'white' European men and the Aboriginal women as being the parents of these children. As my Master thesis research at first concentrated on the 'white' fathers of the children involved, it occurred to

¹Peter Read, *The stolen generations: The removal of Aboriginal children in New South Wales 1883 to 1969*. New South Wales Department of Aboriginal Affairs, 2006.

²Anna Haebich, 'Between Knowing and not Knowing', *Public Knowledge of the Stolen Generations, Aboriginal History*, vol.25 (2001) 70

³Australian Human Rights Commission: *The Stolen Children's Report* <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/our-work/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-social-justice/publications/bringing-them-home-stolen> (December 5, 2014)

⁴Australian Human Rights Commission: *The Stolen Children's Report 1997* <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/bringing-them-home-stolen-children-report-1997> (December 5, 2014)

⁵National Sorry Day Committee, , <http://www.nsdcc.org.au/stolen-generations/history-of-the-stolen-generations/the-history-of-the-stolen-generations> (December 9, 2014)

⁶ Aboriginal Act 1911 South Australia <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview/?pi=nla.aus-vn1622047-5x> (February 15, 2016)

me that reflections from these 'white' men were *not* to be found. However, reflections *on* them and on their relationships were widely available and they were marked by severe controversies.

Around 1901, the time of the foundation of the Federation of Australia, a new Australian identity had to be formed. 'Whiteness' became an important part of this new 'national Australian identity'.⁷ In addition, the sturdy Australian bushman had a leading role in this new 'Australianness'. This character, the 'white' European man, altered by difficult pioneering circumstances, had transformed into a man who could and would survive in the harsh climate and outback of Australia; being a 'bushman' had become a role model of 'white;' Australian masculinity.⁸

However, at the same time, several groups of Australian citizens considered these 'bushmen', when having relationships with Aboriginal women and/or being the fathers of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal children, 'low types', 'undesirable whites' and 'bad fathers' for their 'mixed blood' offspring.⁹ These 'white' men were considered immoral and so were their interracial relationships with Aboriginal women.

Though, according to new ideas on the assimilation of Aboriginal peoples into the wider society since the 1930s, Australian government officials seemed to choose just these men as a legal possibility for Aboriginal women to get access to this 'white' civilisation.¹⁰ What actually was the impetus for the Australian Government to use just these ambivalent relations in the policy regarding Aboriginal peoples? And why were these men, who were considered bad fathers for their 'mixed blood' offspring and 'low types' because of their relationships with Aboriginal women important for the new national identity of Australia? Why did Aboriginal women had to get access to the 'white' civilisation? The central question of my research therefore is: Why did the Australian government consider the relationships of 'white' men and Aboriginal women important as part of the White Australia Policy and the construction of the nation state Australia and its new national identity in the period 1901- 1962 and how were these ideas legitimized and implemented?

By analysing the following sub-questions, I will answer my research question. What is the historical context of the Australian policy concerning the protection and control of Aboriginal peoples and the relationships of 'white' European men and Aboriginal women and what were the notions of race? How were these notions of race represented in the White Australia Policy and in popular culture? What were the notions of a national Australian identity and 'white' Australian masculinity during this period? Furthermore, I will research the correspondence of the Protectors of Aborigines in South Australia to analyse their thoughts, objections, practices and policies and their

⁷ Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia*. Basic Books, 2003.

⁸ Australian Government: The Australian bush, <http://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/austn-bush> (March 5, 2016)

⁹ Daisy Bates quoted in Fiona Probyn-Rapsey, *Made to Matter: White Fathers Stolen Generations* (Sydney, 2013) xii, xiii.

¹⁰ Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, 227.

legitimation of these practices and policies and how these were influenced and determined by the then leading discourses.

1.2 Operationalization

1.2.1 Period and terms

The period of my research concerns 1901 until 1962. The reason for choosing this period for my research is twofold. In the first place there was the federation of the colonies into a 'white Australia' in 1901.

In the second place, it was unusual for 'white' fathers to actively claim their 'mixed blood' children at the end of the nineteenth century. However, at the start of the twentieth century nationwide laws were implemented enforcing all 'white' fathers of half-caste children, younger than sixteen years, to contribute to their support.¹¹ These laws opened up a dialogue about 'white' men and the culture of 'white' paternity in the Australian colonial context. Despite World War II, in which Australia was one of the Allies and thus was part of the anti-German coalition, the government policy of cultural assimilation and biological absorption lasted officially until 1969.

However, because I conducted archival research in the State Records of South Australia I will focus on the legislation on Aboriginal peoples that was implemented in this state. Since in 1962 the Aborigines Protection Board in South Australia was the first to abolish all legislation allowing for the removal of Aboriginal children under the policy of 'protection', I will therefore choose this moment as the end of my research period. South Australia was the first state to repeal all legislation allowing for the removal of Aboriginal children under the policy of 'protection'. Other states followed and in 1970 all Australian states had repealed this legislation.

The dominant discourses on race and skin-colour have a central place in my thesis. The terms I employ like 'mixed-blood', 'mixed-descent' and 'half-caste' refer to Aboriginal peoples who not only had Aboriginal ancestors but also Asian or European forbears. I am aware that all these terms have a negative connotation because all Aboriginal peoples with European blood were considered 'more intelligent' and 'fitter' members of the Australian society by the 'white' Australians.¹² However, while I am not able to avoid writing about these people I chose to use the term 'mixed-blood' because this term is most used in academic literature and I consider it the least

¹¹ Shurlee Swain, Australian Catholic University: History of Child Protection Legislation 2014, <https://www.childabuseroyalcommission.gov.au/getattachment/b824cad2-d37c-47b8-906d-41274ac2f4a2/History-of-child-protection-legislation> (February 15, 2016)

¹² Queensland Government: General Information Folio 5, Appropriate Terminology Indigenous Australian Peoples, http://www.ipswich.qld.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0008/10043/appropriate_indigenous_terminology.pdf (March 10, 2016)

derogative. However, to avoid any offense when using this term, I will employ quotation marks.

With respect to terminology, Oxfam Australia published in 2007 extensive cultural protocols concerning writing about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.¹³ They feel that some terms like 'indigenous' and 'Aboriginal' or 'Aboriginals' should be avoided because they can have a negative connotation. Besides this, they form not one homogeneous group since there are more than 200 language groups. Therefore, preference should be given to the term 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander person' (woman/man) or, when speaking of groups, 'peoples'. In my thesis I will thus refer to them as such.

When I use 'white' in connection to European or Australian men and women I mean the men and women whose forebears came from European countries and who settled in Australia from the end of the eighteenth century onwards. Most of them were originally English or Irish, but some came from other European countries. Because the term 'white' is also ideologically charged, I will put it in quotation marks as well. Moreover, certain central debates and concepts were of key importance in my research as I will show in 1.3.

1.3 Historiography and concepts

Until fairly recently historians paid more attention to convict and pioneer history of Australia than to that of the original inhabitants of Australia, the Aboriginal peoples, and the relations between the British colonists and these peoples. However, in 1968 the Australian anthropologist W.E.H. Stanner, coined the term "The Great Australian Silence" in a Boyer lecture entitled "After the Dreaming" wherein he stated that the writing of Australian history was incomplete.¹⁴ He asserted that Australian history had been presented in a very positive light, however, with a total ignorance of the positions of Aboriginal peoples. In reaction, Australian historians have given greater attention to the history of Aboriginal peoples and their relations with the 'white' settlers. During the 1970s and 1980s historians such as Manning Clark and Henry Reynolds published several books wherein they 'corrected' the one-sided history¹⁵. Other historians, like Geoffrey Blainey, mentioned that this view of Australia's history was too negative; it was a 'black armband vision'.¹⁶ The expression 'black armband vision' is used to describe a part of Australian history which is, as critics argue, 'represented as too favourable, too self congratulatory'. These critics consider it as a form of

¹³ Oxfam Australia Cultural Protocols, <http://resources.oxfam.org.au/pages/view.php?ref=223&k=> (March 15, 2016)

¹⁴ Ted Stanner, *After the Dreaming. Black and White Australians: An Anthropologist's View. The Boyer Lectures*, 1968. (1969)

¹⁵ Manning Clark, *Manning Clark's History of Australia* (Melbourne, 1993) and Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia* (Hammondsworth, 1982)

¹⁶ http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/RP9798/98RPO5 (June 23, 2016)

'political correctness that belittles past achievements and encourages a guilt industry'.¹⁷ Other historians claimed the opposite, stating that Australians had no longer the right to close their eyes to their violent past. This vision is (still) called the 'white blindfold vision.'¹⁸ The debates are known in Australia as the 'History Wars'.¹⁹

An important contribution to the History Wars was made in 1981, when the historian Peter Read published a paper about the forced removals of Aboriginal children as part of a policy that was meant to 'protect' and 'civilise' Aboriginal peoples.²⁰ The paper is known as 'The Stolen Generations report.' It took the Australian government 14 years to instigate an inquiry into these 'forced removals' that in 1997 resulted in the 'Bringing Them Home Report.'²¹ The publication of this report led to a large amount of new research into the Australian Aboriginal policy that had been executed from 1883 until 1969. The research was fuel for the fighting parties in the History Wars about Australia's national history, in particular for Keith Windschuttle, an Australian writer and historian, and Robert Manne, an Australian Professor of Politics.

In reaction to the 'Bringing Them Home Report, in 2002 Windschuttle wrote his book "The Fabrication of Aboriginal History" wherein he stated that Aboriginal children were not stolen, but rescued and that the numbers of 'stolen' children were exaggerated, the history was thus 'fabricated' by left-wing historians and politicians'.²² In addition, he stated that the policy of 'breeding out the colour', which I will refer to more in-depth later, was not based on eugenic thinking and had never been an Australian governmental policy. Manne responded in 2003 with his work "Whitewash: On Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Aboriginal History", wherein Manne accused Windschuttle of inaccurate research and racism.²³ Manne stated that the policy of 'breeding out the colour' had indeed been an official policy.²⁴

Apart from the debates on how to perceive the history of Australia and the assimilation policy of Australia, the early academic debates on 'race' that were apparent from the start of the 19th century influenced the thoughts and legitimations of the Australian governmental policy for the Aboriginal peoples. Already in 1836 Charles Darwin considered the Aboriginal peoples a dying race

¹⁷[http://www.aph.gov.au/About Parliament/Parliamentary Departments/Parliamentary Library/pubs/rp/RP9798/98RPO5\(June 23, 2016\)](http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/RP9798/98RPO5(June%2023,%2016))

¹⁸ Carole Ferrier, 'White Blindfolds and Black Armbands: The uses of whiteness theory for reading Australian cultural production', Queensland

¹⁹ Stuart Macintyre, and Anna Clark. *The history wars*. (Melbourne, 2004)

²⁰ Peter Read, *The stolen generations: The removal of Aboriginal children in New South Wales 1883 to 1969*. New South Wales Department of Aboriginal Affairs, 2006.

²¹ Ronald Wilson, 'Bringing them home.' *Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families* (1997).

²² Keith Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History: Volume One, Van Diemen's Land 1803-1847* (Sydney, 2002)

²³ Robert Manne, ed. *Whitewash: on Keith Windschuttle's fabrication of Aboriginal history*. (Melbourne, 2003.)

²⁴ Robert Manne, *In Denial: The Stolen Generations and the Right*, *The Australian Quarterly* Essay, 1, 2001, Schwartz Publishing, Melbourne, p 40. Manne has repeated the same charge several times: 'the architect of the removal policy was the chief protector of Aborigines, A. O. Neville, a man driven by a society cleansed of "half-castes".' See his 'The Colour of Prejudice', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 February 2002, also *The Age*, 1 December 1997

and the German anthropologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840) classified peoples of the world in five different races where the Caucasian race was the sort from which the other types derived by what he called a 'process of degeneration brought about by climate, diet and mode of life.'²⁵ At the start of the twentieth century, the time of federation, there was not only an economic decline in Australia, but also a decline in 'white' birth rates. At this time ideas on eugenics that were already popular in the United States and England, became also popular in Australia and influenced the policy on Aboriginal peoples.²⁶ The trend to solve Australia's social problems with eugenic solutions emerged more forcibly in the 1920s and 1930s.²⁷

In 1931, Stanley Porteus, an Australian psychologist, was convinced of the fact that Aboriginal peoples were perfectly adapted to the Australian environment but would face difficulties when having to adapt to Western 'white' civilization because of their limited intelligence.²⁸ Auber Octavius Neville, a former immigrant officer and appointed Chief Protector of Aborigines in West Australia and Adolphus Peter Elkin, an Australian anthropologist, were at the same time convinced that Aboriginal peoples of full-blood were doomed to become extinct, while the assimilation of 'mixed-blood' Aboriginal peoples could only occur by 'breeding out the colour'.²⁹ This focus on 'race' is central in my thesis as the importance of 'whiteness' seemed entangled with the new to form national identity of Australia.

I am well aware that the concept of 'race' and interrelated discourses strongly influenced the way people were positioned in Australia. Therefore, in my thesis the concepts of race, discourse and identity are important. The concept of race was often used at the end of the eighteenth century, when racial thinking in scientific and political thought became popular. Race theories became more scientifically based during the nineteenth century and the British imperialistic discourse expanded with a race theory in which 'white' supremacy legitimized the colonization of Australia and other countries.³⁰ From the 1880s onwards, the cultural ideology of race became so dominant that racial superiority, and its related notions of 'civilization', took even over from economic gain or Christian missionary work as the main, justifying idea of the empire.³¹ Race became *the* fundamental determinant of human culture and history; in addition, race became the common principle of academic knowledge in the nineteenth century.³² The British anthropologist Edward Burnett Taylor placed Europeans at the top of an evolutionary scale while Aboriginal

²⁵ Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins*, 165.

²⁶ Diana Hardwick Wyndham, "Striving for national fitness: eugenics in Australia 1910s to 1930s." (London, 1996).

²⁷ Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health, and Racial Destiny of Australia* (Durham, 2006), 172.

²⁸ Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, 218.

²⁹ Russell McGregor, "'Breed out the colour' or the importance of being white." *Australian Historical Studies* 33.120 (2002): 286-302.

³⁰ Robert C.J. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Malden 2001), 326.

³¹ Robert C.J. Young, *Colonial Desire Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London, 1995), 92

³² Young, *Colonial Desire*, 93.

peoples were placed at the very bottom of this racial hierarchy.³³ Race was a means of enforcing social order, a lens through which differential opportunity and inequality were structured.³⁴ Race theories were, until the end of the Second World War, not only fundamental to Western Science, they were also fundamental to the Western self-image. Race-theories served to form the national identity. 'Nowadays researchers consider race to be a construction based on a illusionary categorization of 'native' phenotype characteristics such as skin-colour'.³⁵

The concept of discourse has a complex history and has been used by several researchers in different ways. For my thesis I use the notion of discourse as formulated by the French theorist Michel Foucault.

According to Foucault, one of the most productive ways of thinking about discourse is not as a group of signs or as a stretch of text, but as 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak'.³⁶ A discourse therefore cannot be analyzed in isolation, because it is something that produces something else, like for example an effect, or an utterance.³⁷ He stated that 'instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word discourse, I believe I have in fact added to its meanings, treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements'.³⁸ According to Mills, who discusses Foucault in her book 'Discourse', 'a discursive structure can be detected because of the systematicity of the ideas, opinions, concepts, ways of thinking and behaving which are formed within a particular context, and because of these effects of these ways of thinking and behaving'.³⁹ Foucault called these 'the building blocks of discourse'⁴⁰. Knowledge is produced by competing discourses and each discourse is linked to a contestation over power. It is the outcome of this struggle, which will determine the 'truth' of the situation. Truth, power and knowledge directly imply one another, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute power relations.⁴¹

This notion of discourse is not based on the conventional distinction between thought and action, language and practice. According to the Dutch literary scholar Maaïke Meijer, discourse is not only produced through language, but apart from the linguistic, also contains the cultural, the

³³ E.B. Tylor in Gregory D. Smithers [*Science, Sexuality and Race in the United States and Australia 1780s-1890s*](New York, 2009)

³⁴ Audrey Smedley, Brian Smedley, 'Race as biology is fiction, racism as a social problem is real: Anthropological and historical perspectives on the social construction of race', *American Psychologist* 60 (2005) 16-26.

³⁵ Ian F. Haney-López, *Social Construction of Race: Some Observations on Illusion, Fabrication, and Choice*, The, 29 Harv C.R.-C.L.L. Rev.1 (1994), <http://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2815&context=facpubs> (March 15, 2016)

³⁶ Mills, *Discourse*, 15.

³⁷ Mills, *Discourse*, 15.

³⁸ Sara Mills, *Discourse* (London, New York, 1997),6.

³⁹ Mills, *Discourse*, 13.

⁴⁰ Mills, *Discourse*, 145.

⁴¹ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge* (Harvester 1980), 27.

socio-political and the material, which are undivided.⁴²

Mills, when discussing the ways that academics have appropriated 'discourse' as developed by Foucault, states that 'discourses structure both our sense of reality and our notion of our own identity'.⁴³ Yet, even in a particular discipline, there is a great deal of fluidity in the range of references to the term discourse. According to Mills, discourse is like any other term defined by what it is *not*.⁴⁴

According to Stuart Hall, the concept of identity is, just like the concept of discourse, defined by what it is *not*. It is only through the relation with the other, the relation to what is not, that identity can be constructed.⁴⁵ In addition, Hall states that, identities are not fixed, they are always multiply constructed and in a constant ongoing process of change, transformation and re-figuration.

*'...they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally constituted unity- an 'identity' in its traditional meaning.'*⁴⁶

*'identities are never unified and increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions and are constantly in the process of change and transformation.'*⁴⁷

According to Hall, "the 'unities' which identities proclaim are constructed within the play of power and exclusion" and "are constructed *through* difference."⁴⁸ By 'othering', the discursive exclusion and marginalization of persons or groups in a society that differ from the normative ideals in that society, identities are constructed.⁴⁹ I investigate how in Australia multiple identities were constructed in the context of discourses on race, gender, class or culture. I examine how these identity constructions influenced the policy concerning the Aboriginal peoples during the period 1901-1962. Moreover, I give special attention to the role of the 'white' Australian man in his relation to Aboriginal women and as a father of his 'mixed blood' children and the role that Australian 'national identity' had in the reflections upon these men and their relations.

⁴² Maaïke Meijer, "Countering textual violence: On the critique of representation and the importance of teaching its methods." *Women's studies international forum*. Vol. 16. No. 4. Pergamon, 1993.

⁴³ Mills, *Discourse*, 13.

⁴⁴ Mills, *Discourse*, 3.

⁴⁵ Mills, *Discourse*, 17.

⁴⁶ Mills, *Discourse*, 17.

⁴⁷ Stuart Hall, Introduction: Who needs Identity? In *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Stuart Hall & Paul Gay (Sage, 1996), 4.

⁴⁸ Hall, *Questions of Cultural Identity*, 18.

⁴⁹ Claudia Roesch, *Macho Men and Modern Women: Mexican Immigration, Social Experts and Changing Family Values in the 20th Century United States* (Boston, Berlin, 2015), 30.

1.4 Sources and source criticism

While writing my Bachelor thesis, it occurred to me that there was hardly any information about the roles and perspectives of 'white' European fathers of the 'mixed race' children involved. Texts about these men were always detached and often accusing. I even had problems finding a photograph of a 'white' European father with his Aboriginal family, while on the Internet illustrations of Aboriginal mothers with their 'mixed blood' children were easy to find.⁵⁰ While it was apparent that these 'white' European men had relationships with Aboriginal women, information on these relationships from these men themselves was scarce. In addition, information on the interest of the Australian government in these relationships was hardly available.

1.4.1 Secondary sources and source criticism

In search of information on 'white' fathers of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal children I have read Fiona Probyn's 2014 book *Made to Matter: White Fathers, Stolen Generations*.⁵¹ It showed the interest of the Australian government in 'white' European men being used for a specific part of the Aboriginal policy, namely the realization of the ideas of 'breeding out the colour'.⁵² Except for Probyn-Rapsey, no other scholars have written about the 'white' fathers.

For a broad description of the history of the Aboriginal peoples and the Aboriginal Policy I studied Bain Attwoods', *Telling the truth about Aboriginal History*.⁵³ His book is about how to perceive the Australian Aboriginal history; the problem as outlined in the historiography of this thesis. The historian Bainwood explains the Aboriginal 'conflict' and the Aboriginal past in Australia, which today still are subject of intense debates fought out in the Australian parliament, courtrooms, museums, newspapers, cafes and blog sites. Though Bainwoods' political critiques on right wing historians certainly coloured the book, it is written with great insight. In addition, I studied *The original Australians, Story of Aboriginal People*, written in 2006 by the archaeologist Josephine Flood which is about the Australian Aboriginal history and culture from 'the beginning' until the present day.⁵⁴ Though the period is rather broad, when compared to my research period, it gives a good insight in how the lives of Aboriginal peoples were before colonization. In addition, it highlights the

⁵⁰ Australian Human Rights Commission, https://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/social_justice/bth_report/report/images/6_ch9.JPG (March 15, 2016)

⁵¹ Fiona Probyn, *Made to Matter: White Fathers, Stolen Generations* (Sydney, 2013)

⁵² Probyn, *Made to Matter*, 22.

⁵³ Bain Attwood, *Telling the truth about Aboriginal History* (Crows Nest, 2005)

⁵⁴ Josephine Flood, *The Original Australians, Story of the Aboriginal People* (Crows Nest, 2006)

problems Aboriginal peoples experienced in their relations with the British colonizers since their first meetings and how these relations developed. For perspectives on the relations between Indigenous and settler Australians since the middle of the twentieth century I read: *Indifferent Inclusion: Aboriginal people and the Australian Nation* by the historian Russell Mc Gregor (2011)⁵⁵

To learn more about the scientific ideas on race, in particular those that were apparent in Australia, I studied *'The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny'* by Warwick Anderson (2003).⁵⁶ This book goes extensively into the scientific ideas on race that were popular in the Western World and how these ideas effected the colonial discourses and policy in Australia regarding the 'white race' and the 'Aboriginal race'. Although the focus of the book was on public health, Anderson showed that race, nation and national identity were connected. For a better understanding of this 'national identity' in connection to 'white masculinity' and 'Australianess' I read Russell Wards *'Australian Legend'*⁵⁷ Though already published in 1958, this book is still used in comparative research and sheds a light on the importance of certain role models in the forming of the nation state Australia.

On the Aboriginal policies concerning assimilation and mixed-child removal and its lasting effect in Australia, the following secondary sources were useful. *Many voices, reflections on experience of Indigenous child separation*, edited by Doreen Mellor and Anna Haebich (2002), brought together testimonies from of the history of Indigenous child removal in Australia⁵⁸. In this book government officials who carried out the policy of the forced removals, as well as Aboriginal peoples who were removed from their families, reflected on the policy regarding 'The Stolen Generations'. *The Protectors, A journey through whitefella past*, written by Stephen Gray (2011) is about the Protectors of Aborigines carrying out the Aboriginal policy.⁵⁹ Anna Haebich' *Spinning the Dream, Assimilation in Australia 1950-1970* ⁶⁰(2008) showed the lasting effect of assimilation on several generations of Aboriginal Australians while *White Out: How politics is killing white Australia* by Rosemary Neill concerns the complicated political background of Australia in the light of Aboriginal policy.⁶¹

Finally, the books written by Margareth D. Jacobs *'White Mother to a Dark Race, Settler Colonialism: Maternalism and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940'*(2009) and Fiona Paisleys' *'Loving protection? Australian Feminism and*

⁵⁵ Russell McGregor, *Indifferent Inclusion: Aboriginal people and the Australian Nation* (Canberra, 2011)

⁵⁶ Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny* (New York, 2003)

⁵⁷ Russell Ward, *The Australian Legend* (London, Sydney, 1958)

⁵⁸ Doreen Mellor, Anna Haebich. "Many Voices." *National Library*, (Canberra, 2002).

⁵⁹ Stephen Gray, *The Protectors: A journey through whitefella past* (Crows Nest, 2011)

⁶⁰ Anna Haebich, *Spinning the Dream: Assimilation in Australia 1950-1970*. (Fremantle, 2008)

⁶¹ Rosemary Neill, *White Out: How politics is killing white Australia* (Crows Nest, 2002)

Aboriginal Child Removal in the Inter-War years' (2000) gave me insight in the policy of forced child removal and the involvement of 'white' European women in the implementation of this policy.⁶²

1.4.2 Primary sources and source criticism

For information from and on the 'white' European men and fathers of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal children, I decided on the State Records of South Australia, in Adelaide.⁶³ I researched the correspondence of the successive Chief Protectors of Aboriginals and the minutes of the Aboriginal Protection Board of South Australia during the period 1892-1962. Since archives in this theme are kept by each Federal state in Australia and due to the lack of time I have not been able to research all State Records and National Archives of every state in Australia to find information on these men.

According to the 'Guidelines for Ethical research in Australian Indigenous Studies', Aboriginal peoples should benefit from, and not be disadvantaged by the research project.⁶⁴ Access to most of the records concerning Aboriginal peoples was therefore restricted. Before handing the records to me, an official of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation (DAAR) had to scan the records on sensitive information and study all the records himself before he would be able to give his permission for access. (see for this Appendix II, III, IV) The nearly 200 records proved too many for the two months I had allocated for this project in Adelaide.

Therefore, the DAAR made a selection of the correspondence of the Chief Protectors, the so-called Letter Books, which contained all letters of Chief Protectors to the Government, missions, police officers, doctors and Aboriginal peoples living in South Australia, during certain periods. From 1940 onwards the minutes of the weekly meetings of the Aboriginal Protection Board were available, except for the periods 1946-1953 and 1958-1959. Although I was thankful for the friendly cooperation, I would have liked to make the selections myself, especially because the Minutes were brief and did not describe situations as extensive as the Letter Books. Further, it had occurred to me that information could be somewhat 'hidden' in the sources. However, I had gained more academic experience now in searching for the right key-notions and quotes to be able to find useful information in the primary sources available. After the consultation with the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation I decided to confine the study of these primary sources to specific periods.

⁶² Fiona Paisley, *Loving Protection? Australian Feminism and Aboriginal Women's Rights 1919-1939* (Melbourne, 2000)

⁶³note E.P.: South Australia was most convenient since I attended a Winter Course on Indigenous History and Culture at Adelaide University.

⁶⁴ Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies: Guidelines for Ethical Research in Australian Indigenous Studies 2012, <http://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/docs/research-and-guides/ethics/GERAIS.pdf> (March 15, 2016)

The first period was 1892-1908 when Hamilton was Chief Protector of South Australia. The second period, also not restricted anymore, was 1908-1913, when South was Chief Protector of South Australia. Although the period 1892-1901 was beyond the scope of my research, I took the opportunity to investigate the correspondence to see if there had been any changes in discourse before and after the federation of Australia in 1901. Access to the correspondence files of the years 1892-1913 was not restricted anymore because 100 years had passed since then. The third period was 1937-1940 when McLean, respectively Penhall were Chief Protectors. This period is marked by radical changes in the assimilation policy concerning Aboriginal peoples. The fourth and last period is 1940-1962. In 1940 the Aborigines Protection Board was established, it made any member of the Board a Protector. Penhall stayed Chief Protector until 1953. In 1962 all legislation regarding the assimilation of 'mixed blood' Aboriginals was repealed by the Aboriginal Affairs Act 1962.⁶⁵

To my disappointment I hardly found any information on 'white' men in their roles as fathers of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal children in the Letter Books and Minutes. The few letters by 'white' fathers contained too little information to serve as a basis for my research. However, since the notes, remarks and letters from the Chief Protectors concerning the 'white' men, that were available in the archives gave a clear understanding of the existing discourses on Aboriginal peoples and the 'white' Australian men having relationships with them, I decided to adjust my research.

Apart from the Chief Protector's Correspondence and the Minutes, which are most important for my research, I have studied several other primary sources. To learn more about the ideas on race that were popular in Australia during the first half of the twentieth century I studied *'The Psychology of primitive people: A Study of the Australian Aboriginal'* (1931), written by Stanley Porteus.⁶⁶ In addition, I analysed the work of Auber Octavius Neville and Adolphus Peter Elkin, *'Australia's Coloured Minority, Its Place in the Community'* (1947). Although published in 1947, the ideas of Neville and Elkin, both Protectors of Aborigines, were popular during the 1930s and they became well known during the Native Welfare Conference in 1937.

To learn more about the wide-shared reflections on Aboriginal peoples in Australia I read Daisy Bates' *'The Passing of the Aborigines'* (1938), which concerned her life among the Aboriginal peoples and her vast conviction that they were a 'dying race'. Bates was an Irish journalist and self-appointed anthropologist who studied the Aboriginal peoples by living with them in the outback of Australia. She was considered an expert and the Australian government regularly asked her for advise. Besides Bates several other anthropologists and academics shared their ideas and research results with the Australian state governments. Some of these findings were published in the yearly

⁶⁵ Find and Connect, Aboriginal Affairs Act 1962, <http://www.findandconnect.gov.au/ref/sa/objects/SD0000051.htm> (March 15, 2016)

⁶⁶ Stanley David Porteus, *The Psychology of Primitive People: A Study of the Australian Aboriginal* (New York, 1931)

reports of the Protectors of Aborigines while others were published on the internet.

In addition, I researched the Internet for information published in Australian magazines and newspapers and I analyzed the parliamentary and legislative information that had been published on the internet by the Australian government.

For an Aboriginal approach on the colonial history of Australia I focused on '*Survival in our own land: 'Aboriginal' experiences in 'South Australia' since 1836.*' (1988).⁶⁷ The book contains the testimonies of the Nungas and other Aboriginal language groups about the colonial history of South Australia and is edited with the help from the Australian author Christobel Mattingley and the Aboriginal community-leader Ken Hampton. In addition, I examined The Stolen Generations Testimonies. This project recorded on film forty-five personal testimonies of Aboriginal peoples who were the victim of the policy of the forced removals.⁶⁸

1.5 Research method

In my research of the Chief Protectors' Letter Books and the Minutes of the Aboriginal Protection Board, the method of 'reading against the grain' is of great help.⁶⁹ The method enables me to discover the 'layeredness' within a narrative and thus discover the multiple ways in which the Chief Protectors and other government officials speak about the 'white' Australian men having relations with Aboriginal women. The method implies the need to look for alternative meanings represented in texts and it requires extensive knowledge about the context in where these narratives were developed. This research method, taught by Dr. Karin Willemse, maintains that the reading of texts against the grain facilitates an escape from an over-simplified dichotomization of black/white, powerful/powerless and oppressors/oppressed, victim/offender.⁷⁰ In the course 'Text and Context: From Source to Science' Willemse gave me the tools for this research method.

Besides reading against the grain, it is also possible and sometimes necessary to listen and write against the grain.⁷¹ In the course she taught students how seemingly powerless victims negotiate dominant discourses with intertextuality by using focalization, argumentation and agency.⁷² In relation to the case of 'white' European men and Aboriginal women certain stereotypes and discourses were largely present. By being aware of this and using this method I hope to avoid stereotyping. It is like not only listening to the words people say, or like only reading

⁶⁷Christobel Mattingley, Ken Hampton. *Survival in our own land: "Aboriginal" experiences in "South Australia" since 1836.* (Adelaide, 1988)

⁶⁸ The Stolen Generations' Testimonies, <http://www.stolengenerationstestimonies.com> (May 2, 2016)

⁶⁹ Karin Willemse, *One Foot in Heaven*, *Narratives on Gender and Islam in Darfur, West-Sudan* (Leiden, 2001), 20-33.

⁷⁰ Willemse, *One Foot in Heaven*, 20-33.

⁷¹ Willemse, *One Foot in Heaven*, 20-33.

⁷² Willemse, *One Foot in Heaven*, 20-33.

the words that formed the text, but it's also to hear or read implicit messages and hidden scripts and discourses by what and how people speak or write about things. By reading and re-reading a text I can make an analytical distinction between a narrative as a text and its context. This differentiation is an analytical device for reading against the grain.⁷³

Of course there's no proper study of the texts without self-reflexivity. Because I have done former research on Aboriginality, Aboriginal Policy and the forced removals of so called 'half caste' Aboriginal children I constantly had to be aware of my own thoughts and ideas about these subjects. Beyond self-reflexivity it was essential to learn about the context of narration and the discursive context of the time that these persons told their stories, like it was also important to reconsider these elements for the time the Protectors wrote down their thoughts and findings. Without this knowledge it is impossible to make a thorough analysis. To uncover alternative meanings, I looked at the argumentation of the Aboriginal Protectors. Although Aboriginal Protectors restricted themselves to short notes when writing about 'white' European men, by the ways they made their notes, they also negotiated with the leading discourses. The general view behind this is that: "People continuously reflect on dominant discourses even when referring to common sense knowledge, whereby these discourses are not only acknowledged, but often negotiated and even adjusted".⁷⁴The alternative meanings which can shed light on the way identities are constructed, are hidden within the narrative text and are not self-evident.⁷⁵ One has to read between the lines and look for hesitations, contradictions and above all, silences.

Intertextuality is the keyword and an important tool of the method of 'Reading against the Grain' for understanding the the correspondence of the Aboriginal Protectors.⁷⁶ When interpreting a text in this way intertextual relations are infinite, but my perspective is not, it is limited and subjective and I have to be aware of that.⁷⁷By numbering each line of the texts and reading it against the grain, I was able to carefully analyze each word, each gap, each contradiction, each position in the narrative, the narrative strategies and the effects they serve.

⁷³ Willemse, *One Foot in Heaven*, 20-33.

⁷⁴ Willemse, *One Foot in Heaven*, 28.

⁷⁵ Willemse, *One Foot in Heaven*, 27.

⁷⁶ Willemse, *One Foot in Heaven*, 19.

⁷⁷ Willemse, *One Foot in Heaven*, 30.

1.6 Structure

My thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter 2 gives an overview of the historical context of the Australian policy concerning the protection and control of Aboriginal peoples by the British colonizers and the relationships of 'white' European men and Aboriginal women. In addition, I will go into the notions of race that were popular at this time. Since these notions of race seemed utterly important for the establishment of the Federation of Australia in 1901, Chapter 3 analyses the ways that notions of race were connected to the new formed nation state and how these resulted in the White Australia Policy. In addition, it gives an overview of the diverse representations of these notions of race and the White Australia Policy in popular culture and in the general public domain. Chapter 4 then relates to the notions of a new national Australian identity that had to be formed in the years around the Federation which was, among other things, shaped by an ambivalent role model of 'white' masculinity. However, central in this Chapter are the Protectors of Aborigines and how the White Australia Policy was legitimated and executed by them in order to solve the so-called 'Aboriginal problem'. I will research their reflections on the relations with Aboriginal peoples and on the assimilation of these Aboriginal peoples into the 'white' society. In addition, I will research the groundbreaking ideas of two Protectors of Aborigines in particular, as well as the reflections on their ideas. In Chapter 5 I will analyze the so-called 'Aboriginal problem' and the ambivalent 'solution' that was sought in the legal relationships of 'white' European men and 'mixed blood' Aboriginal women and I will end with the conclusion of this research.

CHAPTER 2 Historical context

Relations between the British colonists and the Aboriginal peoples since their first encounters in 1788

In this chapter the historical context of the Australian policy concerning the protection and control of Aboriginal peoples will be central. I will explain how the relations of British colonists and the Australian indigenous population, the Aboriginal peoples, developed since 1788. I will analyse why and how the British colonists developed a policy that aimed at a protection and control of the Aboriginal peoples in Australia. In Chapter 2.1 and 2.2 I describe the “first meetings” between the British colonists and the Aboriginal peoples and the diversity in relationships that developed between ‘white’ men and Aboriginal women and girls. In Chapter 2.3 and 2.4 I will research the discourses on race that were popular in the nineteenth century in Australia. I will analyse how these discourses on race and developments concerning the abolition of slavery in the United Kingdom and the British Empire influenced the ideas on protection of the Aboriginal peoples in Australia. In Chapter 2.5 I will go into the establishment of the federation of Australia in 1901.

2.1 Colonization and first contacts of the British colonists and Aboriginal peoples.

In 1787 the First Fleet, containing 11 ships with nearly 586 male convicts, 192 female convicts as well as seamen, marines, servants and officers left Portsmouth, England. On the 18th of January 1788, after a voyage of eight months, the fleet arrived in Botany Bay, close to Sydney, in New South Wales.

In the course of the eighteenth century the agrarian revolution and the enormous population growth in the cities in Great Britain, had resulted in an increase in urban crime. One of the measures to deal with these developments was the transportation of convicts to America. But as the War of Independence ended in 1783, America refused to accept any more convicts, thus Great Britain had to find another solution for this problem.⁷⁸ Naval captain and explorer James Cook had discovered New South Wales in 1770 and had named the place where the fleet would arrive in

⁷⁸ Cathy Dunn, Marion McCreadie, IFHAA Shipping Pages, The Founders of a Nation: Australia’s First Fleet 1788, <http://www.historyaustralia.org.au/ifhaa/ships/1stfleet.htm> (May 24, 2015)

1788 'Botany Bay'.⁷⁹ He considered it a good place for a settlement and reported this to the British Government.⁸⁰

The British government had made no provisions for wives and families to follow the male convicts except for those with life sentences, but for one exception. In 1812, by way of experiment, a group of ten women, who were considered as hardworking and of good character, were sent out to join their convict husbands.⁸¹ Married convicts who were separated more than 7 years from their 'homeland'-spouse received permission to remarry in Australia, which must not have been easy because women were scarce.⁸² As the demand for labour increased in the new colony, convicts were sent to Australia more frequently, with the numbers peaking in 1833. By 1836 around 100,000 convicts had arrived, of whom only 13,000 were female.⁸³

Captain Arthur Philip, a naval officer, was appointed the first Governor of New South Wales. The British wanted good relations with the indigenous population, so Philip's first instructions were to open an interaction and to live in friendship with them.⁸⁴ At the 10th of July 1788, six months after his arrival in Australia, Philip reported to the Secretary of State Lord Sydney that the British taught the Aboriginal peoples how to use the land to make their situation more comfortable. He considered their lives 'inferior to that of the beasts on the field.'⁸⁵

Though the British rulers professed to maintain peace and friendship, early meetings were marked by nervousness on both sides.⁸⁶ The Aboriginal peoples made offers to the British settlers that were often misunderstood. Aboriginal people called the arriving ships '*buruwang*', meaning 'island' because they thought they were floating islands with the sailors climbing up the rigging being devils or possums.⁸⁷ They also described them as huge birds or trees growing in the sea. The first ships created so much terror that a messenger was sent 'to inform the chief of the tribe, who at once declared the man to be insane'.⁸⁸ On closer view 'white' people were considered ancestral spirits returning from the death.⁸⁹ Besides this, the Aboriginal peoples marked the first encounters with horsemen with fear and amazement. Before colonization no one had ridden an animal.⁹⁰ The British had contact with the native people who helped them finding water in the desert. As

⁷⁹ Australian Dictionary of Biography: James Cook (1728-1779), <http://www.biography.com/people/james-cook-21210409#naval-officer-navigator-and-explorer> (May 24, 2015)

⁸⁰ <http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/objectsthroughtime-history/ott1770/> (May 24, 2015)

⁸¹ Arthur Wilberforce Jose, Herbert James Carter, *The Australian Encyclopaedia*, (Sydney, 1925)

⁸² Arthur Wilberforce Jose, Herbert James Carter, *The Australian Encyclopaedia*, (Sydney, 1925)

⁸³ <http://family.jrank.org/pages/136/Australia-'white'-Settlement.html>, (May 24, 2015)

⁸⁴ Flood, *The Original Australians*, 29

⁸⁵ Governor Philip to Lord Sydney, 10 July 1788, HRNSW vol1(2), 179-80.

⁸⁶ Flood, *The Original Australians*, 30.

⁸⁷ Flood, *The Original Australians*, 33.

⁸⁸ Mahroot 1845 'Report from the Select Committee on the Condition of the Aborigines: Evidence of Mahroot, alias the Boatswain' NSW Legislative Council Votes and Proceedings 1845 in K Willey 1979 *When the Sky Fell Down* (Sydney, 1980), 51-2

⁸⁹ Flood, *The Original Australians*, 33.

⁹⁰ Flood, *The Original Australians*, 98.

confidence grew, local Aboriginals were dancing with the newcomers.⁹¹ This was followed by haircuts, which were requested by the Aboriginals. After they trusted the use of scissors, they allowed their beards to be shaved with 'cut-throat' razors by the British.⁹²

When researching these first encounters it is important to be aware of the fact that perspectives of Aboriginal peoples on these first meetings were rarely recorded, all descriptions were given by the British invaders. They considered Aboriginal peoples as curious and the opposite of the 'white' and 'civilised' Brits. To them the Aboriginal peoples were alien, very different from - and 'other' than - their own identity. Race relations during the first years have thus mostly been described from British perspectives in accordance with the then leading colonial discourses on race. Apart from this, though, all British primary sources agree that relations between the settlers and the Aboriginal peoples were fairly good at the beginning.⁹³

The British considered Australia to be *terra nullius*; 'no-man's land.'⁹⁴ They refused to recognize Aboriginal title to the land and therefore did not make any treaties with Aboriginal peoples.⁹⁵ During the period 1788 - 1836 seven colonies were established; New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, that later became known as Tasmania, Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria, Queensland and the Northern Territory.

Even though the British professed to strive at good relations with the Aboriginal peoples, they did not seriously take into account the Aboriginal culture and perspectives. During the 1830s huge tracks of land were occupied by pastoralists. Cattle farms appeared throughout the land. As all Aboriginal peoples regarded native animals as their property, they hunted the sheep. In addition, they resisted the taking of their land. Frontier conflicts between Aboriginal peoples and the British arose all over the continent and caused many deaths.⁹⁶ However, the perspectives of Aboriginal peoples on these relations were rarely recorded.

Apart from the previously mentioned violent encounters, the British colonization meant the introduction of European diseases. In particular, many Aboriginal peoples suffered from venereal disease to which they had no tolerance and which greatly reduced fertility and birth rates.⁹⁷ In addition, Aboriginal peoples had a deep spiritual and cultural connection to the land. As they were forced to move away from their local areas, cultural and spiritual practices necessary to the cohesion and well-being of the group, disappeared. Settlers brought alcohol, opium and tobacco, and substance abuse has remained a chronic problem for Indigenous communities ever since.

⁹¹ Flood, *The Original Australians*, 34.

⁹² Flood, *The Original Australians*, 34.

⁹³ Flood, *The Original Australians*, 34.

⁹⁴ Stuart Banner, 'Why Terra Nullius? Anthropology and property law in early Australia.' *Law and History Review* (2005): 95-131.

⁹⁵ Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother*, 16.

⁹⁶ Bryce Barker, 'Massacre, Frontier Conflict and Australian Archaeology', *Australian Archaeology*, June 2007.

⁹⁷ Neill, *White Out*, 89.

Since these first contacts a diversity of relationships between European men and Aboriginal women was established. In the next chapter I will go into these varied relationships.

2.2 The need for women; sexual relations between 'white' European men and Aboriginal women

The numerical predominance of men on the First Fleet and the ships that arrived after this fleet was from the outset perceived as a social and political problem. Until 1820 there was only one British woman to every four British men.⁹⁸ Authorities believed that without sex it would be impossible to preserve the settlement from gross irregularities and disorders. 'Women were needed as an antidote to sodomy, rape of 'respectable' women, and rebellion.'⁹⁹ It was a matter of urgency to find female sexual partners for the colonists.

Aboriginal women were obvious candidates for this role and Philip, the Governor of New South Wales, hoped that Aboriginal men would '*permit their women to marry and live*' with the convicts.¹⁰⁰ In the short term though, this was not a solution to the problem because at this time liaisons between male convicts and Aboriginal women caused much interracial tension.¹⁰¹

Because of the shortage of women, the authorities decided in 1790 to bring in significant numbers of female British convicts, but this was only partly successful. To achieve an even level in the numbers of men and women, the British authorities had to sentence women on the basis of much less serious offences than those for which men were transported.¹⁰² Even then, the supply of female convicts was not sufficient to keep pace with that of male convicts.¹⁰³ This meant that these women would have to have multiple male partners. In the towns, female convicts, but also Aboriginal women, entered into prostitution to obtain food, alcohol, tobacco, blankets and clothes.¹⁰⁴ Especially in the outback, there was a shortage of women. The absolute scarcity of women there was worse because of the pastoral economy. Small agricultural holdings, mostly run by family groups, were often located far from cities, markets and other 'civilized locations.' When in need for workers, employers preferred unmarried men.

⁹⁸ Jacobs, *White Mother*, 17

⁹⁹ Raelene Frances, 'The History of Female Prostitution in Australia' in Perkins, R., Prestage, G., Sharp, R. & Lovejoy, F. (eds.) *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia* (Sydney 1994) 27-52.

¹⁰⁰ Owen Rutter, cited in Raelene Frances, 'The History of Female Prostitution in Australia' in Perkins, R., Prestage, G., Sharp, R. & Lovejoy, F. (eds.) *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia* (Sydney 1994) 27-52.

¹⁰¹ Reynolds, *The Other side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia*. (Hammondsworth, 1982)

¹⁰² Frances, *Sex Work*, 27-52

¹⁰³ Frances, *Sex Work*, 27-52.

¹⁰⁴ Flood, *The Original Australians*, 42.

The lack of 'white' female companionship had its effect on the behaviours of these 'white' Australian men who saw ready access to Aboriginal women as one of the attractions of 'outback life;' Aboriginal women were forcibly abducted in all parts of Australia, but predominantly in the remote areas.¹⁰⁵ Because 'white' men were of the opinion that Aboriginal women peaked, in looks and sexual maturity, around the age of eighteen, girls seized for this purpose were often between twelve and eighteen years of age, with some as young as nine.¹⁰⁶ As settlements spread, many convicts and shepherds formed liaisons with Aboriginal women. According to the former drover Matt Savage, a system of systemization emerged as white men were enticed to work at cattle stations by the promise of a ready supply of Aboriginal 'stud' women.

Some men found female helpers and many men lived with women as concubines.¹⁰⁷ According to the historian Russell Ward many 'white' men were cohabiting with Aboriginal women whereby he maintains that these women were paid for their services with food, tobacco or liquor.¹⁰⁸ He also states that these 'white' men treated the Aboriginal women badly, especially when these women infected them with smallpox or offended them.¹⁰⁹ Other academics, like the historian Reynolds, also referred to the criminal, brutal and violent attitude of the 'white' settlers towards local women.¹¹⁰ He stated that 'white' women were scarce at the cattle stations and that there was no attempt to hide the extend of sexual relations between 'white' station workers and Aboriginal women.¹¹¹

'White' men on the cattle stations, when speaking of Aboriginal women, often used the term 'gins' and 'lubra's'.¹¹² This statement revealed much of the 'white' European men's social categories that were constructed and imposed on Aboriginal women during the times of colonization. Although Aboriginal women also experienced loving, caring and ongoing relationships with 'white' European men, the use of derogative terms when speaking of Aboriginal women showed that these women were often denigrated and depreciated by 'white' European men.¹¹³

Relationships between European men and Aboriginal women were often abusive and exploitative, especially during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Many children were the

¹⁰⁵Larissa Behrendt, 'Consent in a (Neo)Colonial Society: Aboriginal Women as Sexual and Legal 'Other'', *Australian Feminist Studies* Vol. 15 (2000),353-367

¹⁰⁶ Christine Cheater in *Girlhood: A Global History*, eds Jennifer Helgren, A Colleen A. Vasconcellos (Newark, 2010), 254.

¹⁰⁷ Cheater in *Girlhood: A Global History*, 87.

¹⁰⁸ Cheater in *Girlhood: A Global History*, 91.

¹⁰⁹ Cheater in *Girlhood: A Global History*, 92.

¹¹⁰ Russell Ward, *The Australian Legend*.

¹¹¹ Henry Reynolds, *With the White People* (Charlottesville, 1990), 207.

¹¹² 'Gin' is an archaic word for an Aboriginal female which is considered offensive but curiously still allowed in names of Australian places, like 'Gin-gin Falls'. Urban Dictionary, <http://nl.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=gin> (February 16, 2016) 'lubra' is a term for an Aboriginal female which is considered offensive. Dictionary.com <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/lubra> (February 16, 2016)

¹¹³ Boni Roberston, Catherine Demostenous, Hellene Demostenous, 'Stories of the Aboriginal Women of the Yarning Circle', *Hecate* (2005), 34.

results of rape.¹¹⁴ Sometimes 'white' men forced Aboriginal women to engage in sexual activities and gave them something in exchange, like food or clothes, or they were loaned to other 'white' men. However, it also occurred that Aboriginal women chose to enter a relationship with a 'white' man to gain access to the many attractive possessions of Europeans or to escape from tribal punishment or an undesired marriage.¹¹⁵ More recently, historian Anne McGrath stated that Aboriginal women filled the gap left by the lack of 'white' women on the frontier. The availability of Aboriginal women, their willingness to do heavy jobs and the advantage of using them in the dual roles of sexual partner and worker made them attractive to 'white' men, in particular when safely in the outback, far from the 'eyes' of society.¹¹⁶

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century a 'blurring' of gender relations often took place in the relationships that 'white' European stockmen (cattle farmers) had with Aboriginal women. They often disguised the girls in men's clothing and passed them on as so-called 'drover's boys', making it easier for authorities to ignore the sexual abusive situation.¹¹⁷ However, the cross-dressing of Aboriginal women was associated with different messages; it could be an evidence of companionable relations between men and women working together for a common goal, or an indication that Australian conditions or the Australian men brutalized and defeminized their women by letting them wear male attire.¹¹⁸ In addition, the cross-dressing of Aboriginal women could be part of a discourse that represented Aboriginal women as far more sexually active than 'white' European women.¹¹⁹ According to historian Lucy Sarah Chesser, 'gender blurring' in descriptions of interactions with indigenous people often seemed to have some general relationship or anxieties about violent and immoral behavior of Europeans.¹²⁰ By dressing these Aboriginal girls and women in men's clothes, the putative immorality of European men, living unmarried with Aboriginal girls and women, remained hidden.

However, the British colonists themselves had introduced the wearing of male attire by Aboriginal women. Already in 1788 Philip had stated that Aboriginal peoples should be properly clothed when being in the company of the British. Long frocks and jackets, in this time 'male attire', would be the most convenient attire for both men and women, since most British colonists were male.¹²¹ The colonists at this time could not have known that cross-dressing would also be used to

¹¹⁴Australian Human Rights Commission, *Bringing Them Home Report*, <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/bringing-them-home-chapter-13> (May 24, 2015)

¹¹⁵ Behrendt, *Consent in a (Neo)Colonial Society*, 353-367.

¹¹⁶ A. McGrath, 'Black Velvet: Aboriginal Women and their Relations with 'white' Men in the Northern Territory, 1910-40', in K. Daniels (ed) *So Much Hard Work: Women and Prostitution in Australian History*, Fontana Collins (Sydney 1984), 235

¹¹⁷ Christine Cheater in *Girlhood: A Global History*, 254.

¹¹⁸ Lucy Chesser, *Parting with my sex Cross-dressing, inversion and sexuality in Australian cultural life* (Sydney, 2008), 109.

¹¹⁹ Chesser, *Parting with my sex*, 105.

¹²⁰ Chesser, *Parting with my sex*, 105.

¹²¹ Chesser, *Parting with my sex*, 105.

serve other purposes, like the facilitation of ‘undesirable’ relationships between Aboriginal women and ‘white’ European men.

Once the relationships between ‘white’ European men and Aboriginal women became more public knowledge, from the 1830s on the British government felt it had to protect Aboriginal peoples. Not only needed the Aboriginal women protection from the sexual assault by ‘white’ European men, Aboriginal peoples in general needed protection from the devastating results of the interactions between them and the Europeans. The British concerns about ‘race’ in general and the ‘Aboriginal race’ and the ‘white race’ in particular, were growing, as I will explain in the next chapter.

2.3 Ideas on race in Australia during the nineteenth century; ‘The doomed race theory’

During the nineteenth century white settlement spread in Australia and the implementation of legislation in all colonies was an ongoing process. Western scientists researched the historical and biological origins of ‘race’ and developed new ideas that became popular in the Western world. They attempted to classify people according to ‘race’ and stated that each ‘race’ embodied certain characteristics, personalities and mental abilities.¹²² In this chapter I will describe the concerns of Australian politicians and citizens for the ‘white’ race that suffered in the harsh climate of Australia and the conviction of the ‘white’ Australians that the Aboriginal race would eventually die out. I will further explain how these ideas were fuelled by the then popular thoughts on race that Western scientists developed and why and how they intertwined with the forming of the nation-state Australia.

In Australia concerns about the ‘white race’ and the Aboriginal ‘race’ were growing. From the middle of the nineteenth century the death rate of ‘white’ children in Australia had risen to excessive highs. Dr. William McKenna observed in 1858 that: *‘..nature presents herself under aspects most remarkably distinct from what she does in our own native land.*¹²³ Without physical and behavioural adjustment to the harsh Australian climate ‘white’ families were considered to be in danger. British immigrants had to learn about the difficult weather conditions in Australia. Physicians warned for racial limitations to acclimatization. According to them, the body was considered to work as a sensitive system of intake and excretion, of give and take with its changing

¹²² Ivan Hannaford, *RACE: The History of an Idea in the West* (Baltimore, 1996), 235.

¹²³ Peter J. Dowling, *A Great Deal of Sickness: Introduced Diseases among the Aboriginal People of Colonial Southeast Australia 1788-1900* (January 1997), 12 A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Australian National University, Canberra, https://digitalcollections.anu.edu.au/bitstream/.../02Whole_Dowling.pdf (March 15, 2016)

environment.¹²⁴ The perception of several British physicians was that 'white' British bodies might very well become destabilized in Australia. Colonial doctors feared that 'the old white race', as they chauvinistically called it, would become increasingly diseased and disordered and eventually would die out in Australia.¹²⁵ At the end of the nineteenth century, social and behavioral explanations of disease causation displaced environmental and climatic circumstances.¹²⁶ In particular the conduct of others, especially other classes and races, became the concern of Western physicians. Environmental and climatic conditions were replaced by social circumstances like poverty, overcrowding, stress and friction in closely populated areas.¹²⁷ White civilization was believed to be in danger when in contact with coloured germ plasma and coloured germs.

However, 'white' Australians were not only concerned about the survival of their own race. They were convinced that Aboriginal peoples eventually were doomed to extinction. It was not just considered possible, or probable, or contingent upon certain courses of action, neither was it merely that Aboriginal numbers were observed to be declining.¹²⁸ Extinction was regarded as inescapable.

These ideas seemed justified due to the fact that epidemic diseases introduced during the first stage of European contacts and chronic endemic diseases during the settlement phase had caused a rapid population decline of the Aboriginal peoples.¹²⁹ The ideas were encouraged and strengthened by the British Charles Robert Darwin (1809-1882). He was one of the scientists whose ideas on evolution, known as Darwinism, caused an increasing emphasis on biological definitions on race in Europe, as well as in Australia. In his theory on evolution he expressed the notion of 'natural selection, popularly known as 'survival of the fittest'.¹³⁰ The belief in the stronger always destroying the weaker, whether animal or human, was expounded in Darwin's books, in particular in *The Descent of Man*.¹³¹ When Charles Darwin visited Australia in 1836, he was pessimistic about the future of the Aboriginal peoples as he concluded that their population was rapidly decreasing due to the influence of the 'white' Europeans.¹³² Darwin was not only concerned about the European diseases causing the Aboriginal population decline, but also about the alcohol which was brought by the Europeans and the taking of Aboriginal lands which had resulted in starvation because Aboriginal peoples had lost their hunting grounds.¹³³

¹²⁴Dowling, *A Great Deal of Sickness*, 13.

¹²⁵ Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, 14.

¹²⁶ Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, 42.

¹²⁷ Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, 42.

¹²⁸ Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, 196.

¹²⁹ Flood, *The Original Australians*, 131.

¹³⁰ Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*, Vol.1 (London, 1871)

¹³¹ Darwin, *The Descent of Man*.

¹³² Charles Darwin (1839), 'Charles Darwin: The Voyage of the Beagle, 1809-14, vol.29, ch.XIX entries for January 1836, 6 March 1836 in *The Original Australians, Story of the Aboriginal peoples*.(London 1871)912-913.

¹³³ Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle*.

The belief of the Aboriginal peoples being a dying race, is known as 'The Doomed Race Theory'¹³⁴. Although already popular in the 1830s, several historians stated that it is no coincidence that the 'Doomed Race Theory' was at its height at the years around the establishment of the federation.¹³⁵ At this time, Aboriginal peoples were not only considered a 'dying race' because of their low uncivilized standards', but they were also supposed to spread contagious and venereal diseases. Considering them as such 'It safely placed Aboriginal peoples in the pre-historical past and they became a temporal remnant with no place in the historicised national present and future of Australia.'¹³⁶In 1896 the British scholar Charles H. Pearson declared Australia to be a great continent that was there to be civilised by the 'white' Europeans. He considered the Aboriginal peoples to have died out already, thus for the 'higher civilisation' 'white' Europeans could live and increase freely in Australia.¹³⁷These words of Pearson made clear that there were no doubts about the extinction of Aboriginal peoples, in fact they were already considered to have died out, while still living. Australia was meant to be for the 'white' Australians, for 'higher civilization'.

In 1836, at the same time that Darwin visited Australia and uttered his concerns about the pre-existence of the 'Aboriginal race', several groups of British citizens also turned their attention to the Aboriginal peoples in Australia. Their focus was the result of other developments in the wider Western world as I will show in the next chapter.

2.4 The need for protection of the Aboriginal peoples

Since the end of the eighteenth century 'anti-slavery' organisations were founded in the United Kingdom, consisting of diverse groups of British citizens. These organisations were part of a wider abolition movement that aimed at the abolition of slavery in the United Kingdom, the British Empire and worldwide. The 1831 inquiry of the British Parliament into a large-scale slave revolt in Jamaica that had cost a lot of lives, was the impetus for the instigation of the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833.¹³⁸ After the implementation of this Act, in 1837 many prominent 'philanthropists'- 'a diverse group consisting of Quakers, evangelicals and non-conformists, who campaigned against slavery and supported missionary endeavour'- turned their attention to the Aboriginal peoples in

¹³⁴ Russell McGregor, *Imagined Destinies: Aboriginal Australians and the Doomed Race Theory 1880-1939* (Melbourne, 1997)

¹³⁵ McGregor, *Imagined Destinies*.

¹³⁶ McGregor, *Imagined Destinies*.

¹³⁷ Charles Pearson, *National Life and Character: A Forecast* (London, New York, 1893)

https://archive.org/stream/nationallifeandc015071mbp/nationallifeandc015071mbp_djvu.txt (March 15, 2016)

¹³⁸ Slavery Abolition Act 1833, <http://www.saylor.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Slavery-Abolition-Act-1833.pdf> (22-6-2016)

Australia.¹³⁹ They had become conscious of the general mistreatment of Aboriginal peoples by the 'white' European settlers and the diminishing Aboriginal population and stated that a more effective regulation of pastoral labour was needed.¹⁴⁰ In accordance, in 1837 they established the Aborigines' Protection Society (APS) in the British Empire and convinced the House of Commons to establish a 'Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements)'.¹⁴¹

In the same year this Parliamentary Select Committee advocated a policy that stated that the morals of the Aboriginal peoples had been deteriorated, that numbers of them had become addicted to alcohol, that they suffered from European diseases and that their women had been treated badly, due to (the contacts with) the Europeans.¹⁴² The Committee concluded that the European influences on the Aboriginal peoples had proved to be devastating as their populations declined rapidly; these peoples needed to be protected. The APS was to implement this policy of protection of the Aboriginal peoples.¹⁴³

The Committee proposed several solutions for protection, including the metropolitan oversight of settler relations with indigenous peoples. However, according to historian Elizabeth Elbourne, the Committee was more concerned with sin and salvation, than with liberal ideas on the abolition of slavery and the protection of Aboriginal peoples.¹⁴⁴

In 1837, the Committee's report also stipulated that there should be missionaries for Aboriginal peoples, protectors for their defence and special codes of law to protect them.¹⁴⁵ As a result of these propositions, in New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia, the government immediately appointed Aboriginal Protectors who were supposed to protect the Aboriginal peoples from abuses and to provide the populations around towns with rations, blankets and medicine.¹⁴⁶ The Protectors had limited formal powers and therefore they were not very successful in protecting the Aboriginal peoples. Therefore, by the midst of the nineteenth century their tasks were often performed by local police-officers. In the last decades of the nineteenth century more 'formal' and extensive policies of protection were implemented.

¹³⁹ James Hearfield, *The Aborigines' Protection Society: Humanitarian Imperialism in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Canada, South Africa and the Congo 1836-1909* (Sydney, 2011)

: Edited by Shino Konishi. *Aboriginal History Volume 36*, 2012'.

¹⁴⁰ Hearfield, *The Aborigines Protection Society*.

¹⁴¹ 1837 Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements)

<https://archive.org/details/reportparliamen00britgoog> (November 18, 2015)

¹⁴² 1837 Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements)

<https://archive.org/details/reportparliamen00britgoog> (November 18, 2015)

¹⁴³ <http://www.proquest.com/products-services/Aborigines-Protection-Society.html> (June 22, 2016)

¹⁴⁴ Elizabeth Elbourne, *The Sin of the Settler The 1835-36 Select Committee on Aboriginals and Debates over Virtue and Conquest in the Early Nineteenth-Century British 'white' Settler Empire*, *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* (2003)

¹⁴⁵ Australian Government, Australian Law Reform Commission: 'Aboriginal Societies: The Experience of Contact'.

<http://www.alrc.gov.au/publications/3.%20Aboriginal%20Societies%3A%20The%20Experience%20of%20Contact/changin-g-policies-towards-aboriginal> (March 15, 2016)

¹⁴⁶ Charles Dunford Rowley, *A Matter of Justice*, (Canberra, 1978) 55-63, 66-8, 75-7, 83-4

Victoria, Western Australia and Queensland were the first colonies to adopt an official policy of protection by implementing so-called 'Protection Acts'. In 1869 the *Aboriginal Protection Act* in Victoria was enacted, followed in 1886 by the *Aborigines Protection Act* in West-Australia and in 1897 by the *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act* in Queensland.¹⁴⁷

The Queensland Act controlled the lives of the Aboriginal peoples in this area throughout much of the twentieth century and was an extraordinary law because it was twofold. It was designed to make provisions for the better protection of the Aboriginal peoples in Queensland and it had to regulate and improve the restrictions upon the sale and distribution of opium by Chinese immigrants because the consumption of this drug had caused widespread injury to Aboriginal peoples and other inhabitants of Queensland.¹⁴⁸ The Queensland Act thus clearly expressed the anxieties about the presence of Chinese labourers in Australia, through pejorative views about the 'moral vice' of opium. It not only controlled the Aboriginal peoples living in Queensland, but also the Chinese immigrants and their supposed opium trade.¹⁴⁹ In the 1820s the immigration of Chinese labourers was seen as a solution to the labour shortage in the Australian colonies, especially in the gold fields. However, at this time, the growing Chinese immigration was considered a threat for the Australian living standards.¹⁵⁰

In addition, the Act prescribed the establishment of reserves- geographically isolated enclaves- in which Aboriginal peoples could be forced to live by Aboriginal Protectors, civil servants, the police and missionaries. The aim of this policy was to isolate and segregate full-blood Aboriginals in these reserves and to restrict the contact and the interbreeding between them and outsiders. At the same time 'half-caste' Aboriginals were encouraged to assimilate into the 'white' society. The Queensland Act also gave a definition of 'an Aboriginal'. It stated:

*'(a) Every person who is 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 shall be deemed to be an Aboriginal within the meaning of this Act'.¹⁵¹*

¹⁴⁷ Australian Government Founding Docs, http://www.foundingdocs.gov.au/resources/transcripts/qld5_doc_1897.pdf (March 15, 2016)

¹⁴⁸ Australian Government Founding Docs, http://www.foundingdocs.gov.au/resources/transcripts/qld5_doc_1897.pdf (March 15, 2016)

¹⁴⁹ Australian Government Founding Docs, http://www.foundingdocs.gov.au/resources/transcripts/qld5_doc_1897.pdf (March 15, 2016)

¹⁵⁰ Benjamin L. Sievwright, 'Nationalism and Federation: Creating the Commonwealth of Australia.' *History in the Making* 1.2 (2012): 75-82.

¹⁵¹ Australian Government Founding Docs, http://www.foundingdocs.gov.au/resources/transcripts/qld5_doc_1897.pdf (March 15, 2016)

The 1897 Queensland Act would be the model for similar protective and restrictive legislation that was later implemented in all other colonies.

2.5 The formation of the Federation of Australia

Due to times of economic hardship in the 1870s - 1890s the idea of separate colonies coming together to form one nation in the British Empire was vigorously debated in all colonies. The idea was that nationhood would make the whole country stronger and would have benefits for all colonies. In addition, the Australian Federation was fuelled by a virulent racial nationalism, born out of fear of an invasion from Japan and the growing immigration of Chinese labourers. The ideas on federation were fostered in the public imagination partially by nationalistic literature, art and the growth and establishment of patriotic bodies.¹⁵²

The Australian colonies would be states in a federation whereby the federal government had legislative power regarding taxation, defence, foreign affairs and postal and communications service, while the states retained legislative power over all other matters that occurred within their borders, including police, hospitals, education and public transport. Each state would have its own constitution and its own elected prime minister.¹⁵³ On January 1, 1901 Australia became an independent nation when the British Parliament passed legislation allowing the Australian colonies to self-govern in their own right as part of the Commonwealth of Australia.¹⁵⁴

In 1901 Edmund Barton was the first Prime Minister of Australia. During the Parliamentary Debates on the 12th of September 1901, Deakin, appointed Attorney General, stated that for the unity of Australia it was important to create a 'white' Australia.¹⁵⁵ Barton agreed as he confirmed the ideas of Deakin, thereby considering the ideas on racial equality as an impossibility. Barton maintained that, compared to the 'white race', the 'Aboriginal race' was unequal and inferior.¹⁵⁶ Alfred Deakin succeeded Barton on the 16th of December 1903 and became Australia's second Prime Minister. He was a barrister and a journalist and is often referred to as 'the constructor' and

¹⁵² Sievwright, Nationalism and Federation, 75-82.

¹⁵³ <http://www.australia.gov.au/about-government/how-government-works/federation> (March 15, 2016)

¹⁵⁴ Australian Government, About Government: 'Federation' <http://www.australia.gov.au/about-government/how-government-works/federation> (March 15, 2016)

¹⁵⁵ Commonwealth of Australia, Parliamentary Debates, Immigrant Restriction Bill, Second reading, 12 September 1901[0022] http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/genpdf/hansard80/hansard80/1901-09-12/0022/hansard_frag.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf

¹⁵⁶ Commonwealth of Australia, Parliamentary Debates, Immigrant Restriction Bill http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BN/2012-2013/ImmigrationDebate#_Toc332188602

'the finest speaker in the Australian parliament's first century'.¹⁵⁷

The parliamentary debates resulted in the Immigrant Restriction Act 1901 which reduced the rights of non-Europeans and contained discriminatory statutes relating to Aboriginal peoples in state and federal jurisdictions.¹⁵⁸ This legislation became known as 'The White Australia Policy' in which the exclusion of other races was born out of concern with the number of 'coloured' immigrants that sought their fortune in the new-formed nation-state Australia.¹⁵⁹ The Act was in particular directed to Chinese labourers coming to Australia. They were seen as an economic threat for 'white' employment. The policy consisted of immigration restrictions and quarantine measures for 'coloured' people and was not unique for Australia at this time. Several Western countries had used the same tools for the inspection and restriction of 'non-white' people in their countries. However, what was unique was the connection of racial exclusions with the moment of nation-building that took place in Australia at this time. In Chapter 3 I will go deeper into this so-called White Australia Policy and its connection to the founding of the Australian nation state.

In the same year an amendment to the Queensland *Aboriginal Peoples Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act* was made.¹⁶⁰ Despite the title, nothing changed in the 1897 regulations on the use and distribution of opium. Instead, the Act regulated the employment and interactions between Aboriginal peoples and 'white' Europeans. Surprisingly enough, the amendment made arrangements for European fathers of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal children who, from this moment, had to financially support the children they had with Aboriginal mothers.¹⁶¹ Thus, since 1901, in Queensland, all 'white' fathers of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal children, younger than sixteen years, had to contribute to their support.¹⁶² The curious amendment of a law that was supposed to regulate the distribution and sale of opium, opened up the dialogue among white men and about the culture of 'white paternity' in this colonial context.¹⁶³

In the following years New South Wales (1909), the Northern Territory (1910) and South Australia(1911) enacted protective and restrictive legislation concerning Aboriginal peoples, thereby using the Queensland Act as a model.¹⁶⁴ All Australian states now had their own

¹⁵⁷ National Archives of Australia: Australia's Prime Ministers, Alfred Deakin' <http://primeministers.naa.gov.au/primeministers/deakin/index.aspx> (March 15, 2016)

¹⁵⁸ National Archives of Australia: Australia's Prime Ministers, Alfred Deakin' <http://primeministers.naa.gov.au/primeministers/deakin/index.aspx> (March 15, 2016)

¹⁵⁹ Objects Through Time, Migration Heritage, The 1901 Immigration Restriction Act. <http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/objectsthroughtime/immigration-restriction-act/> (March 15, 2016)

¹⁶⁰ Amendment Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act, Queensland 1901, <http://www.foundingdocs.gov.au/item-sdid-54.html> (February 15, 2016)

¹⁶¹ Find & Connect, <http://www.findandconnect.gov.au/ref/qld/biogs/QE00983b.htm> (March 29, 2016)

¹⁶² Find & Connect, <http://www.findandconnect.gov.au/ref/qld/biogs/QE00983b.htm> (March 29, 2016)

¹⁶³ Fiona Probyn-Rapsey, *Made to Matter*, 2.

¹⁶⁴ Creative Spirits, Aboriginal History Timeline 1900-1969, <http://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/history/aboriginal-history-timeline-1900-1969#axzz42xu2W9Q8> (March 15, 2016)

'protective' laws. The White Australia Policy and the amendment to the Queensland Act not only aimed at racial restrictions, but also seemed to be designed out of economic motives. The increase of industrious Chinese immigrants and the growing 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population was an economic threat and a financial burden to the new founded Federation and legislation had to limit economical damage as I will explain in Chapter 3 which concerns the White Australia Policy and its connection to the foundation of the Federation in 1901.

Conclusion Chapter 2

The relations between the British colonists and the Aboriginal peoples and the thoughts on 'race' that arose and developed in time were central to the Australian policy concerning the protection and control of Aboriginal peoples. In the relations between the British colonists and the Aboriginal peoples, the numerical predominance of 'white' European men was from the outset perceived as a social and political problem. The arrival of female British convicts was only partly successful because of the limited numbers of female convicts available. So while settlements spread, 'white' European men formed liaisons with Aboriginal women. These relationships often had an abusive character and besides this, venereal diseases and viruses were transmitted to which Aboriginal peoples had no tolerance. This resulted in reduced fertility and birth rates among Aboriginal peoples and a decrease of the Aboriginal population.

Around the 1830s the British became aware of the reduced Aboriginal population and their maltreatment and in accordance they designed protective legislation. Not only was maltreatment considered an important cause for the Aboriginal population decline, so were the then leading thoughts on race; Aboriginal peoples were considered a 'dying race' and their protection was needed.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century scientific thought on 'race' took another form. Not only Aboriginal peoples were considered a 'dying race', there was also a growing fear that the 'white race' would not survive the harsh climatological circumstances in Australia. At the 1870s and 1880s the environment was the decisive factor in the pre-existence of the 'white race'. Around the 1890s notions of disease causation changed, instead of *environmental circumstances*, medical doctors and public health officers increasingly identified *human bodies* as reservoirs of the recently identified 'germs'.¹⁶⁵ In particular the bodies of poor people and other races were considered unhygienic and thus a risk for disease causation and a danger to the 'white race'.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, 55.

¹⁶⁶ Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, 55.

At the same time the 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population seemed to reproduce faster than the 'white' population. Fears grew that eventually the 'white race' would be destroyed by this growing 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population. So, there was not only a fear that the Aboriginal 'race' and other races were a threat to the 'white race' because of their supposed unhygienic characteristics, there was also the fear that the 'white' population would be 'overrun' by the 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population. For these reasons, the preservation of the 'white race' became utterly important for the establishment of the new nation and the foundation of the federation of Australia.

However, the preservation of the 'white race' seemed not to be the only concern for the Australian government as financial motives also seemed to play a role in the new legislation concerning Asian immigrants and Aboriginal peoples. The establishment of an economically strong nation, the preservation of the 'white race' and the establishment of a new to form national identity, were reflected in the White Australia Policy which, among other things, aimed at a restriction of the immigration of 'other races' to Australia.

CHAPTER 3 The making of a 'white' Australia

In Chapter 2 I explained how, since the first encounters of the British colonists and the Aboriginal peoples, ideas about the protection and control of Aboriginal peoples developed over time. These ideas were based on the then leading discourses on race and were fuelled by a fear that the 'white' race would ultimately disappear. Not only this 'white race' was considered vulnerable, so was the new formed nation state Australia. In this chapter I research the notions of race that were popular in Australia before and during the time of federation in the context of the so-called 'White Australia Policy.' I will analyse the ways that discourses on Aboriginal peoples, racial purity, 'whiteness' and the White Australia Policy became subject of popular culture, such as songs, plays, games and advertisements. In Chapter 3.1 I will study the White Australia Policy whereby I, among other things, analyse several statements of Australian government officials concerning the White Australia Policy. Several different forms of visual representations of the White Australia Policy I will study in Chapter 3.2, while Chapter 3.3 is about the popular advertisements that expressed the 'need' of a cordon sanitaire around the time of the Federation.

3.1 The White Australia Policy

When preparations were made for the coming Federation, it became already clear that Australia had to be destined for the 'white' race and that, although not always openly spoken about, coloured races were not welcome. At the Federation Convention in 1898, John Forrest, the later Minister of Defence, stated:

*'[It is] of no use to shut our eyes to the fact that there is a great feeling all over Australia against the introduction of coloured persons. It goes without saying that we do not like to talk about it, but it is so.'*¹⁶⁷

During the first year of the Federation in 1901 it became clear that the Australian government considered the unity of race absolutely essential for the unity and the future of Australia. During the parliamentary debates on the Immigration Restriction Act on 12 September 1901, Prime Minister

¹⁶⁷ Museum Victoria Collections: Our Federation Journey [Http://collections.museumvictoria.com.au/articles/13327](http://collections.museumvictoria.com.au/articles/13327) (April 8, 2016)

Edmund Barton stated:

*'I do not think either that the doctrine of the equality of man was really ever intended to include racial equality. There is no racial equality. There is that basic inequality. These races are, in comparison with white races—I think no one wants convincing of this fact—unequal and inferior.'*¹⁶⁸

Barton here emphasized the inequality as well as the inferiority of other races than the 'white race'. He in fact reacted to the proposition of Attorney-General Deakin stated:

*'The unity of Australia is nothing, if that does not imply a united race'... 'that the unity of Australia must be secured on this question if not on any other; that we stand shoulder to shoulder with practically an inconsiderable minority against us, so small as to be scarcely discoverable. At the very first instant of our national career we are as one for a white Australia.'*¹⁶⁹

Deakin here focused on the importance of a united 'white' race for Australia as a nation. He called the Aboriginal peoples and other non-white peoples a 'inconsiderable minority' thereby illustrating the supposed power and importance of the 'white' race. At the same time, the fact that he did refer to this 'inconsiderable minority', meant that he deemed it important enough to mention the existence of these non-white Australians. Why this is so, becomes clear when he adds:

*'In another century the probability is that Australia will be a 'white' continent with not a black or even a dark skin among its inhabitants. The Aboriginal race has died out in the South and is dying fast in the North and West even where most gently treated. Other races are to be excluded by legislation if they are tinted to any degree. The yellow, the brown, and the copper-coloured are to be forbidden to land anywhere.'*¹⁷⁰

Although the leading discourse on Aboriginal peoples was that they were doomed to die out, Deakin in fact called for legislation that excluded 'non-whites' from getting access to Australia at all. His words would form the basis for the new 'White Australia Policy' that was realized by the implementation of the 1901 Immigration Restriction Act on 23 December 1901.¹⁷¹

Racial hygiene, national hygiene and the constitution of a 'white' Australia were related. At first the Immigration Act was intended to prevent Chinese workers from coming to Australia; they

¹⁶⁸ Commonwealth of Australia, Parliamentary Debates, Immigrant Restriction Bill http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BN/2012-2013/ImmigrationDebate#_Toc332188602

¹⁶⁹ Commonwealth of Australia, Parliamentary Debates, Immigrant Restriction Bill, Second reading, 12 September 1901[0022] http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/genpdf/hansard80/hansardr80/1901-09-12/0022/hansard_frag.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf (March 15, 2016)

¹⁷⁰ Commonwealth of Australia, Parliamentary Debates, Immigrant Restriction Bill, Second reading, 12 September 1901[0022] http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/genpdf/hansard80/hansardr80/1901-09-12/0022/hansard_frag.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf (March 15, 2016)

¹⁷¹ Objects Through Time, Migration Heritage, The 1901 Immigration Restriction Act. <http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/objectsthroughtime/immigration-restriction-act/> (March 15, 2016)

were seen as an economic threat to 'white' employment. 'White' was not only a qualification of 'race', it also stood for purity, hygiene and cleanliness at this time.¹⁷²

According to the historian Myra Willard there have been four distant stages in developing this 'white' Australian Policy since 1901. During the first three stages measures concerned only the Chinese immigration. But the fourth stage, which was the implementation of the Immigration Restriction Act in 1901 by the Commonwealth, included 'all peoples whose civilisation and standards of life at that time differed fundamentally from those of Australians'.¹⁷³ Most Australian citizens shared the opinion that the White Australia Policy was essential for Australia's national identity. It was part of the founding of this new nation. Australianness meant that the British character had been modified and toughened by 'colonial levelling'.¹⁷⁴

Three main elements were important in the White Australia Policy: A belief that all non-European immigrants should be excluded from coming to Australia, that suitable 'white' colonists should be encouraged to settle and that so called 'mixed-blood' Aboriginal peoples should be absorbed into the 'white' population.¹⁷⁵ This last point was of essential importance for Aboriginal peoples.

In 1906, Queensland Chief Protector Richard Howard explained how he saw the future of Australia. According to him, Aboriginal children with so-called 'mixed-blood' should be brought up like 'whites' and legislation had to be focused on the 'uplift' of these children to 'white' standards. Another way to reach 'uplifting' would be the encouragement of marriages between 'mixed-breed' Aboriginal persons, especially between 'mixed-breed' Aboriginal women and 'white' European men.¹⁷⁶

When interpreting these ideas, it must be stated that Howard probably aimed at marriages between Aboriginal women and 'white' Australian men. At this time, it was unthinkable that a 'white' woman would marry an Aboriginal man, because these men were considered unsuitable marriage partners for these 'white' women. Aboriginal men were not only undesirable marriage partners; they were at the bottom of the racial scale, as I will explain in Chapter 3.¹⁷⁷ Although the ideas of Hamilton on mixed marriages were not widely shared at this time, his ideas on 'whiteness' were.

By 1911, ten years after the federation, all Australian state governments had implemented measures to 'protect' and assimilate the Aboriginal peoples into the 'white' society. All states had

¹⁷² Alison Bashford, *Imperial hygiene: a critical history of colonialism, nationalism and public health* (New York, 2004), 3.

¹⁷³ Myra Willard, *White Australia Policy to 1920*, (London, 1967), 121.

¹⁷⁴ Willard, *White Australia Policy to 1920*, 121.

¹⁷⁵ Flood, *The Original Australians*, 223.

¹⁷⁶ Richard Howard, Annual Report for the Protector of Aboriginal Peoples for 1906, in Fiona Probyn, *Made to Matter: White Father, s Stolen Generations*, 22.

¹⁷⁷ Katherine Ellinghaus, *Taking Assimilation to Heart, Marriages of White Women & Indigenous Men in the United States & Australia, 1887-1937* (Nebraska, 2006), 149.

their Aboriginal protection laws and so-called Protectors of Aborigines. In the following decades legislation was expanded extensively, whereby the focus still was on the fear for 'the rising tide of colour'.

Inspired by the ideas of influential anthropologists like Adolphus Elkin and Daisy Bates, Protectors of Aborigines had a laissez-faire approach towards Aboriginal people of 'full blood' in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Living on reserves, they were to die out through a process of natural elimination. This process became well known by the 'famous' words of Daisy Bates who mentioned this as 'to smooth the pillow of a dying race'.¹⁷⁸ At the same time Aboriginal people with 'mixed blood' were to assimilate into the wider society, whereby the focus was on the 'civilization' of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal children. A very radical part of the policy was the forced removal from 'mixed blood' Aboriginal children from their families, aimed at their 'civilization' in missions and institutions.

For the unity and the future of Australia all Australian citizens had to be convinced of the importance of this 'White Australia Policy' as I will show in the next chapter.

3.2 Visual representations of the White Australia Policy

To create a new national Australian consciousness among the 'white' population wherein the focus was on a 'white' Australia, the White Australia Policy was propagated fiercely in the first decades of the twentieth century. The concerned policy and the ideas of the Australian government were explained to an English readership in 1904. In their book '*A White Australia: What it means*', the authors Oswald P. Law and W.T. Gill stated that Australia should be established on the base of a unity of race¹⁷⁹, whereby the future Australian race would blend British elements but should resist the degeneration that would inevitably follow if crossed with coloured people¹⁸⁰ of low morality and social development.¹⁸¹ Law and Gill emphasized that the White Australia Policy embodied the noble desire to preserve the British stock on Australian soil. In addition, they pointed at the vulnerability of the new formed Federation of Australia. According to Law and Gill the danger of an Asian invasion was apparent.¹⁸² However, the ideas of the White Australia Policy were in particular expressed in all kinds of forms of popular culture in Australia.

¹⁷⁸ Bates, *The Passing of the Aborigines*.

¹⁷⁹ note E.P.: thereby aiming at the 'white' race.

¹⁸⁰ note E.P.: like Aboriginal peoples and/or Asian immigrants

¹⁸¹ Oswald P. Law, W.T. Gill, 'A White Australia: What it means' *Nineteenth Century after* (1904), 146-154

¹⁸² Law, Gill, *Nineteenth Century After*.



This cartoon, first published in the English weekly magazine *Punch* or the *London Charivari* in 1888 and later published in Australian versions of the magazine, shows 'Mrs. Australia' accompanied by Australia's national symbol 'the kangaroo', closing the door for 'John Chinaman' who wants to enter Australia.¹⁸³ On the 'Australian side' of the door is a box visible with 'product' (s?) written on it. The emphasis here was on *Australian* products. 'I've had quite enough of you/no admittance, not even on business.' Here the kangaroo is used to express 'Australia.' The 'white' woman, Mrs. Australia, shows a similarity with 'Lady Justice,' probably to emphasize the justice of the legislation of the White Australia Policy which restricted the immigration of 'coloured races.' In addition, it must be stated that virtues always have been represented as females.

At first sight it seems that this cartoon expresses the condemnation of Asian immigrants as workers in Australia. However, at the end of the nineteenth century an anti-Chinese feeling was also apparent because of the spread of contagious diseases like the plague and small-pox for which the Chinese were blamed by the 'white' Australians.¹⁸⁴



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The fear for Chinese and Pacific Islander workers was expressed in this 1910 advertisement for 'white Australian' pineapples. No others, -especially no 'coloured' others-, then 'white' Australian

¹⁸³ Multicultural Curriculum SOSE Government Policies: White Australia- Then..., <http://multiculturalcurriculum.weebly.com/lesson-three4.html> (March 15, 2016)

¹⁸⁴ <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/epidemics> (June 23, 2016)

¹⁸⁵ White Australian Pineapples is presented on the Migration Heritage Centre website and the Making Multicultural Australia for the 21st Century website. It is also available at the National Museum of Australia. Mimmo Cozzolino and Fysh Rutherford's *Symbols of Australia* (Penguin, Melbourne, 1980) includes a range of early nineteenth century advertisements which champion white Australia and promote products which are deemed to help whiten the nation.

workers, should be involved in the harvest of Australian pineapples. ¹⁸⁶ The buying of 'white' products was part of a so-called 'Buy White' campaign that would help keep Australia 'white'. ¹⁸⁷



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This cartoon, first published in *The Bulletin*, 22 Augustus 1891 shows a 'white' worker being chased away by a (cheap labor) 'coloured' worker. This poster expressed the fear for the 'coloured' laborer as being an 'economic' threat for 'white' employment and was meant as propaganda for the White Australia Policy.

¹⁸⁶ Objects Through Time, Migration Heritage, Pineapples

<http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/objectsthroughtime/white-australia-game/> (March 15, 2016)

¹⁸⁷http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/APF/monographs/Within_Chinas_Orbit/Chapterone (June 23, 2016)

¹⁸⁸ Bell's Inequality, White Australia Policy <https://bellsinequality.wordpress.com/tag/white-australia-policy/>, (Kay Saunders, *Workers in Bondage: The origins and bases of Unfree labour in Queensland 1824-1916*, 178.) (March 15, 2016)



To create a national 'white' consciousness, songs, games and plays were designed to emphasize the importance of 'whiteness'- without a mixture from other races - for the new formed nation state. This King's theatre playbill poster from 1909, promotes the play '*White Australia or the Empty North*' written by Randolph Bedford. The play illustrated the role 'race' played in creating a national Australian identity¹⁹⁰ and was part of 'invasion-scare' literary works written around the turn of the twentieth century.¹⁹¹ The fear that Chinese immigrants would eventually invade Australia was apparent in several books and plays at this time. At this poster Chinese 'invaders' are visible.

¹⁸⁹ Russell McGregor, *Environment, Race, and Nationhood in Australia: Revisiting the Empty North*, 12.

¹⁹⁰ La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria

¹⁹¹ McGregor, *Environment, Race and Nationhood*, 12.



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This picture shows the sheet music of *'The Great National Policy Song'*, composed by W.E. Naunton and H.J.W. Gyles. This music is an example of the nationalistic propaganda of Australia; the popular promotion of the 'white' Australia sentiment, which dominated Australian immigration policy before and after the establishment of the Federation.¹⁹³ The song was performed at the Australian Natives National Fete, 31 January 1910. The lyrics are printed in the center of the poster:

*'Australia, Australia,
Sunny south of old Britannia's sons,
Australia the 'white' man's land
Defended by the 'white' man's guns
God bless and help us to protect our glorious land Australia.'*

Australia was a part of England and therefore the property of its 'sons', white English men.

Australia was explicitly a land for the 'white race', not for other 'races' like Aboriginal peoples and Asian immigrants.

Defended by its 'owners'; white English men.

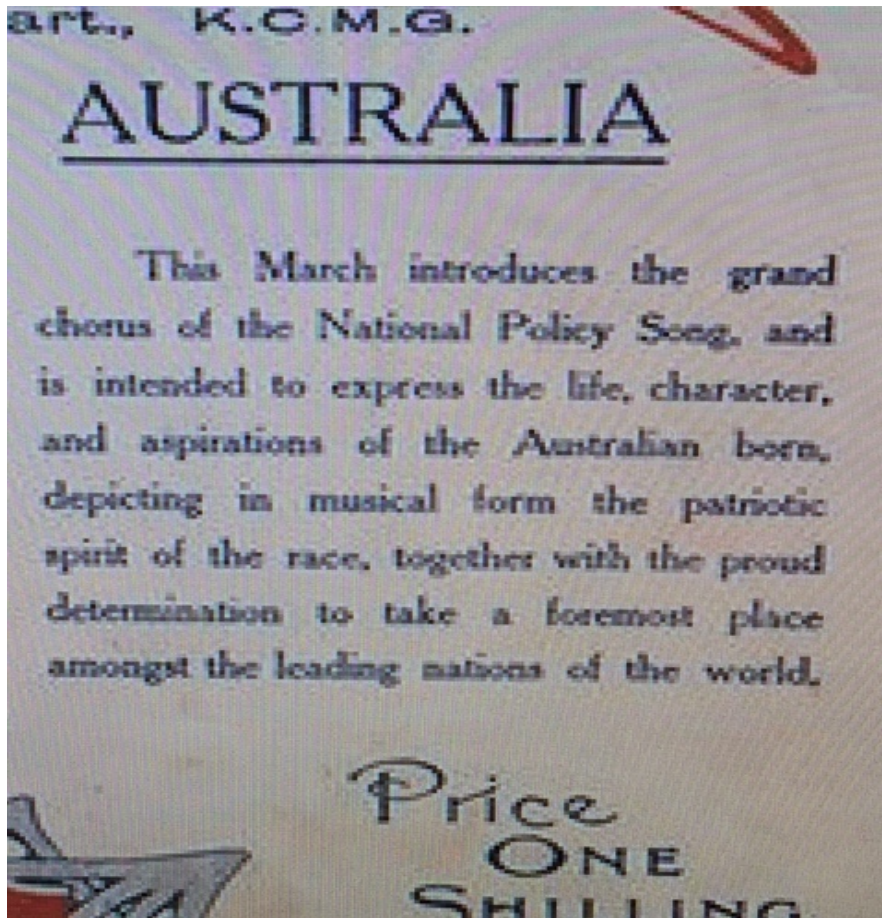
It was 'their' glorious land, not that of other 'races' (like the Chinese)

The emphasis in this picture of the sheet music is clearly on the protection of Australia from other 'races'. This land belonged to 'white' men and is defended by 'white' men'. Motifs on the sheet music include a 'white' map of Australia; the lyrics of the song are printed within the map.

¹⁹² <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/pocketdocs/asiatic-labour-australian-furniture-racist-history/7297052> (June 23, 2016)

¹⁹³ Jccsocietyandenvironment, *The White Australia Policy*, [http://jccsocietyandenvironment.pbworks.com/w/page/85681015/White%20Australia%20\(Tenieka\)](http://jccsocietyandenvironment.pbworks.com/w/page/85681015/White%20Australia%20(Tenieka)) (March 15, 2016)

Underneath the map, the composer Naunton is pictured. He wrote many songs about Australian nationalism and other subjects.¹⁹⁴ The other images are of Sir T. Gibson-Carmichael, State Governor of Victoria and His Excellency the Earl of Dudley, Governor-General of the Commonwealth.¹⁹⁵ I



On the right side of the illustration is stated that 'the grand chorus of the march expressed the life, character, aspirations and the patriotic spirit of the Australian born and their determination to belong to the leading nations.' The song is written to honor 'a White Australia' and is presented as 'the national song'.

¹⁹⁴ <http://collections.museumvictoria.com.au/items/1326028> (September 20, 2015)

¹⁹⁵ <http://collections.museumvictoria.com.au/items/1326028> (September 20, 2015)



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In the same year a 'White Australia Medal' was commissioned by the Australian Natives' Association in an expression of support for the White Australia Policy.¹⁹⁷ The medal employed the metal aluminium to visually proclaim that Australia should be white.

Four years later, in 1914, a new game was designed, called the 'White Australia Game'. The game sold for sixpence, included two extra puzzles, and was advertised as 'A New Australian Game for New and Old Australian People'. It was registered by a Francis James Shaw from Coburg in Victoria and was granted speedy copyright approval.¹⁹⁸ In this game the 'whitening' as part of the White Australia Policy of Australia became performed and embodied in recreational activity as players attempted to 'Get the Coloured Men Out and the 'white' Men In'.¹⁹⁹ Just like the song, the game emphasized that Australia was meant for the 'white race'. 'Coloured men' needed to be

¹⁹⁶ Museum Victoria Australia for Australians Medal circa 1910 <https://museumvictoria.com.au/learning-federation/white-australia/medal--australia-for-australians/> (June 23, 2016)

¹⁹⁷ note E.P.: an organisation of Australian men, born in Australia and from European descent who were active at the time of the establishment of the federation of Australia

¹⁹⁸ Australian Broadcasting Cooperation <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-07-15/'white'-australia-game/5588280>

¹⁹⁹ The 'white' Australia Game 1914, National Archives of Australia: A 1336, 3368

removed while the 'white' men needed to get into Australia. The play, the song, the medal, as well as the game, pointed at the official White Australia Policy.



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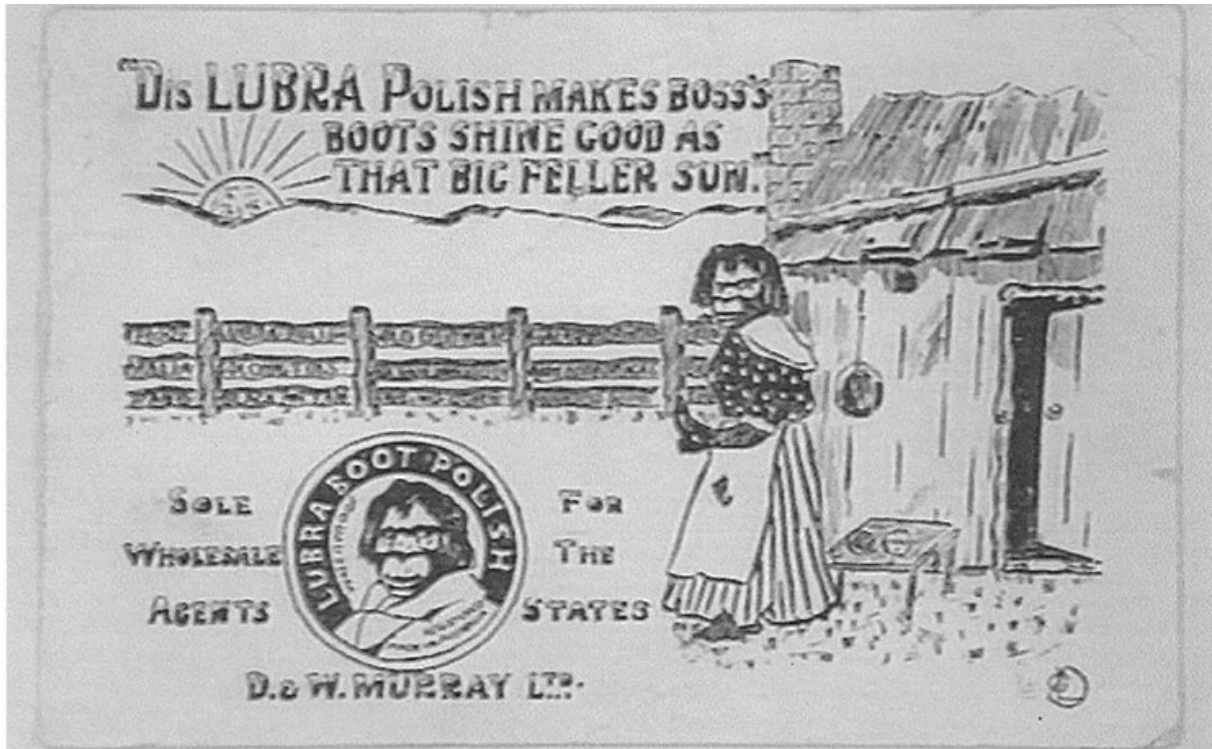
3.3 Advertisements; White as being clean and pure, the 'cordon sanitaire'

In 1901 a *cordon sanitaire* was implemented through the White Australia Policy. 'Whiteness' was not only important as skin-colour and for the unity of Australia. Since the end of the nineteenth century it was also connected with cleanliness and purity, while 'coloured' races were associated with the spread of germs and contagious diseases and were thus considered 'dirty'. The next

²⁰⁰Australian Broadcasting Cooperation <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-07-15/'white'-australia-game/5588280>

²⁰¹ The 'white' Australia Game 1914, National Archives of Australia: A 1336, 3368 (June 23, 2016)

advertisements use 'white' as being clean, thereby picturing in particular elder Aboriginal women in connection with 'being dirty.'²⁰²



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The 'boot polish' advertisement is written in an Australian dialect whereby the word 'lubra' is a derogative term for 'Aboriginal woman'.²⁰⁴ 'Dis LUBRA Polish makes boss's boots shine good as that big feller (fellow) sun.' The Aboriginal woman in this picture is portrayed as a servant, cleaning a 'white' man's boot and her physiognomy seems to be pronounced extraordinarily, making her seem animalistic.

²⁰² note E.P.: younger Aboriginal women were often pictured as sexually attractive, while elder Aboriginal women were pictured as ugly and dirty.

²⁰³ Trove national Library of

Australia <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/167673522?redirectedFrom=12682604&q&versionId=182760320> (June 23, 2016)

²⁰⁴ Newmatilda.com For Men's Eyes Only: A Black History Of How We Depict Aboriginal Women

<https://newmatilda.com/2016/03/17/for-mens-eyes-only-a-black-history-of-how-we-depict-aboriginal-women/> (June 23, 2016)

NULLA-NULLA

“AUSTRALIA’S WHITE HOPE,
THE BEST HOUSEHOLD SOAP”



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This (rather grievous) soap advertisement shows a combination of a ‘white’ skin colour (‘race purity’) associated with hygiene (household soap) and ‘black’ as being dirty. The picture shows again an elder Aboriginal woman knocked on her head with a ‘nulla-nulla’ (by a white hand) which is an Aboriginal weapon. The woman is also wearing a sign with ‘dirt’ on it. In the text above the picture is stated: ‘Australia’s ‘white’ hope, the best household soap.’ This advertisement was one of the soap-advertisements which was aimed at the imperial hygiene in the first two decades of the twentieth century in Australia. ‘White’ was thus not only a racial qualification at this period, it thus also signified purity, hygiene and cleanliness.’²⁰⁶ Above all, ‘white’ Australian women valued ‘cleanness’ – of women’s bodies and homes, so the soap advertisements were mainly meant to attract their attention.

²⁰⁵ Jonathan Bollen, Adrian Kiernander, and Bruce Parr. *Men at play: Masculinities in Australian theatre since the 1950s*. (Amsterdam, New York, 2008), 71.

²⁰⁶ Jacobs, *White Mother*, 115



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This picture shows another soap advertisement from 1901. An Aboriginal woman washes her children 'white' because Prime Minister Barton had stated that he wanted a White Australia.²⁰⁸ The 'whitewashed' Aboriginal boy seems happy compared to the 'dirty' Aboriginal children.

Conclusion Chapter 3

Notions on race had an important role in the formation of a federal Australia in 1901. During the years around the foundation of the federation of Australia a new national identity had to be defined. According to Hall, identity is defined by what it is not and this was also the case for the Australian national identity which could to be everything except coloured.²⁰⁹ To be 'white' was considered important for this new national identity, as it would unify Australia. Coloured people like the Asians and Pacific Islanders were considered an economic threat for Australia and their access to Australia was restricted by the White Australia Policy. Representations of this policy were widespread as games, theatre plays, advertisements, medals, flags and songs were designed which emphasized the importance of a 'white' Australia and aimed at a new national Australian sentiment that was featured by a 'white' unitedness.

²⁰⁷ National Film and Sound Archive: Edmund Barton and the velvet soap advertisement, <http://dl.nfsa.gov.au/module/1204/> (June 23, 2016)

²⁰⁸ Stamp Community, http://www.stampcommunity.org/topic.asp?TOPIC_ID=8589 (May 2, 2016)

²⁰⁹ Hall, *Who Needs Identity*, 18.

Not only were 'coloured' people considered an economic threat, they were also considered dangerous and dirty because they were supposed to spread germs and contagious diseases. The need of a cordon sanitaire was widely advertised in popular advertisements of all kinds of cleaning materials, meant for a readers' public of 'white' Australian house wives. In these advertisements Aboriginal peoples, in particular elderly Aboriginal women, were used as role models of 'uncleanness.' Their dirt must be 'knocked on the head', as one grieving advertisement text stated.

Apart from the fear of coloured races entering Australia, at the end of the 1920s another fear arose among 'white' Australians. Australia's own coloured population, the Aboriginal peoples, seemed to form a problem to 'white' Australia that could not easily be solved by the legislation that was designed to protect and control them. The 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population grew much more rapidly than the 'white' population and the 'danger' that the 'white' Australian population would be overrun by the 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population had become very real. This growth of the Aboriginal 'mixed blood' population had to be stopped.

This fear of the 'white' Australians for peoples who were 'other' is an example of the so-called 'othering'.²¹⁰ The term 'othering' is any action by which an individual or a group becomes mentally classified as 'not one of us'. The 'white' Australians classified the Aboriginal peoples, but also the Chinese immigrants, as 'Other'. This meant that the colonizing Australians considered these groups as 'not fully human' and 'savage', while they considered themselves (the Self) as the embodiment of 'proper self'.²¹¹ By creating the 'Other', so-called 'weaknesses' of these groups were highlighted, while the Self had the task to educate, assimilate and civilise the Other.²¹² This process of 'othering' culturally justified the subordination, the 'protection' and the exclusion of these people by the 'white' Australians.

²¹⁰ Said, Edward (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Patheon Books Said 1978

²¹¹ Gallaher, Carolyn, et al. *Key concepts in political geography*. (Sage, 2009),328.

²¹² Said, Edward (1978). *Orientalism*.

Chapter 4 Building Australia; National identity, 'white' masculinity and the Aboriginal problem

In Chapter 3 I have looked at the period leading up to the White Australia Policy and the way that the imagery of whiteness and racial purity at the start of the 20th century became part of the national identity and popular culture of Australia, such as songs, plays, games and advertisements. In this chapter I will depart from a more general level of the construction of a dominant discourse on racial purity and the construction of a national identity, to the domain of policy in which notions of race and national identity took shape in the relationships between the government, the white Australians and the Aboriginal peoples.

Protectors of Aborigines were appointed in every state to protect and control the Aboriginal peoples and to regulate the contacts between them and white Australians. The questions that are central in this chapter are how these contacts were regulated, what the effects were of this policy 'on the ground' and how these relationships, in particular those of 'white' men and Aboriginal women were reflected upon in public opinion. I will do so by analysing a number of primary sources, like for example, letters, notes, speeches, statements, photographs, songs etcetera in order to give insight in the existing and changing notions on race, 'white' masculinity and national identity that had a role before, during and after the forming of the new nation state of Australia in 1901. I will hereby give special attention to the personification of 'white' masculinity; the Australian (and former European) bushman and the ambivalence about this role model of 'white' masculinity when having relationships with Aboriginal women.

In the period after the foundation of the Federation and the implementation of the White Australia Policy, the new formed Federation needed new legislation which resulted in a 'jungle' of newly implemented Acts and amendments. Before the Federation came into being Acts differed per state, except for the federal legislation. Special attention was given to the laws regarding Aboriginal peoples. In the same year that the Immigration Restriction Act was implemented, the amendment of the Queensland *Aboriginal Peoples Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act* was made.²¹³ This law would be the format for all states' Aboriginal Acts that would be implemented until 1911. Interestingly enough, the prohibition of selling opium, especially by the Chinese, was in this Act coupled to a regulation about the upkeep of so-called 'mixed-blood' Aboriginal children. It

²¹³ Amendment Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act , Queensland 1901, <http://www.foundingdocs.gov.au/item-sdid-54.html> (February 15, 2016)

was the first law that held 'white' European fathers financially responsible for the children they had with Aboriginal women.

Since the arrival of the first British colonists there had been contact with the local Aboriginal population as I have pointed out in Chapter 2. In due course, relationships between immigrant European men 'at the frontier', often referred to as bushmen or drovers, and Aboriginal women, were established in the 19th century. These relationships, and the 'white' men that were part of these, were looked down upon. They were often referred to with pejorative terms like gin-jockey, gin-burglar, degenerate, isolate, black sheep or combo.²¹⁴

Interracial relationships occurred frequently and caused a growing number of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal peoples. This was considered a problem; to be more precise, this was known as 'the Aboriginal problem' and had to be solved. The Protectors of Aborigines had an important role in the solution of this problem. In Chapter 4 I will research the roles of the Protectors of Aborigines, the legislation that was implemented to control and to protect the Aboriginal peoples and the Aboriginal problem and the solutions that were designed to solve this problem.

Instrumental in the enactment of the White Australia Policy were thus the Protectors of Aborigines which I will introduce in Chapter 4.1. whereas in Chapter 4.1.1 I will in particular highlight the history of Aboriginal legislation and the successive Protectors of Aborigines in South Australia where I performed my archival research.

In order to analyse the change in the discourses on relationships and its effects for those involved, I have opted for studying the correspondence of the Protectors of Aborigines of South Australia of two consecutive periods. I will start by looking into the policy that was developed since 1837 until the foundation of the Federation and the implementation of the White Australia Policy in 1901. Next comes the period from 1901 until 1962, however, in particular the period 1930-1940 is important because this period was featured by extensive and new legislation that served to solve the 'Aboriginal problem.' The period ends in 1962 because all legislation regarding Aboriginal peoples was by then abolished in South Australia.

Chapter 4.2 researches the reflections of the Protectors of Aborigines in South Australia on the sexual relationships of 'white' European men and Aboriginal women and the ways these relationships were reflected upon in popular culture before and around the time of Federation whereas Chapter 4.3 researches the reflections on the role models of 'white' masculinity; the 'bushmen' before and around the time of Federation. Then Chapter 4.4 goes into the problem that was the result of sexual relationships between 'white' European men and Aboriginal women; the growing number of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal peoples. In particular, two Protectors of Aborigines

²¹⁴ Probyn-Rapsey, *Made to Matter*, 46.

developed a groundbreaking 'solution' to this problem, known as 'breeding out the colour' whereas Chapter 4.5 and 4.6 give the reflections by academics and government officials, respectively the Australian women's organizations on this 'breeding out the colour'. In addition, 4.6 also researches the reflections on this 'solution' in the public domain. Chapter 4.7 and 4.8 analyze the reflections of the Protectors of Aborigines of South Australia on the 'Aboriginal problem' and the legitimation of the new solution; the certificate of exemption from the Aborigines Act.

4.1 The roles of Protectors of Aborigines and legislation concerning Aboriginal peoples in general

As a result of the recommendations of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements) which had advocated a protection policy for the Aboriginal peoples, government officials, called 'Protectors of Aborigines' were installed in 1837. These Protectors were required to learn the Aboriginal language and their duties were to watch over the rights of Aboriginal peoples, to guard against encroachment on their property and to protect them against cruel acts, oppression and injustice.²¹⁵ At the end of the nineteenth century each state was in the process of formulating formal and extensive policies of protection that were aimed at the isolation and segregation of 'full blood' Aboriginal peoples on reserves and at restricting the contact between these 'full blood' people and outsiders, while attempting to assimilate 'mixed blood' Aboriginal people and in particular their mixed blood' children. By 1911 all Australian states had their own Aboriginal Protection Acts.

In each state Protectors had extensive powers to make laws for the care, custody and education of Aboriginal children. One of the regulations made under the protective laws was that any Aboriginal child that was neglected or left unprotected by its parents was allowed to be removed from its family and to be placed in an institution or a mission by the Board.²¹⁶

At first, Aboriginal Protection Boards had to prove in Court that Aboriginal children were neglected, before they could be forcibly removed from their families. Several Boards were not satisfied with the consent they had to seek from Court. They claimed that it was sometimes hard to prove whether an Aboriginal child was neglected. In addition, the parents of the children often objected fiercely against the forced removals. Seeking the consent of Court was slowing down the process.²¹⁷ Legislation differed per state, but in 1905 Western Australia was the first state that

²¹⁵ Aplin, Graeme, S.G. Foster and Michael McKernan (eds), ed. (1987). *Australians: Events and Places*. (Fairfax, 1987) 47–8

²¹⁶ Australian Government, Sorry Day and the Stolen Generations

[Http://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/sorry-day-stolen-generations](http://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/sorry-day-stolen-generations)

(March 15, 2016)

removed the legal guardianship of Aboriginal parents so that the process of forced removal was made easier.²¹⁸ In his 1912 yearly report, the Protector of New South Wales Board stated that it would be an injustice to the Aboriginal children to allow them to remain in the reserves. In addition the Protector of the New South Wales Board stated that it would be a 'positive menace' for the State.²¹⁹ His opinion was widely shared by other Protectors and throughout Australia all states tightened their legislation by amending their Aboriginal Acts to give Protectors of Aborigines total power to separate the Aboriginal children from their families.²²⁰ The Protector became the legal guardian of all Aboriginal children under the age of 21 years.

According to the protection of Aboriginal peoples, Government officials paid special attention to Aboriginal women and girls and their relationships with 'white' European men. The forced removal of Aboriginal girls was considered more urgent than the removal of boys for they were considered more at risk because of concerns of sexual intercourse and reproduction.²²¹

Legislation according relationships between Aboriginal women and 'white' European men not only differed per state, but also changed over time. The implementation of the 1901 amendment of the Queensland Act had made 'white' European fathers financially responsible for their 'mixed blood' offspring. The purpose of this law was not only to relieve the state of Queensland of its financial burden, but it also aimed at reducing the birth of illegitimate 'mixed blood' children fathered by 'white' men.²²² Some states, like Western Australia were strict in their attempts to prohibit the relationships between Aboriginal women and 'white' European men and in all states Protectors of Aborigines had to give permission for the marriages of an Aboriginal woman with any person other than an Aboriginal.²²³

Until 1969 the Governors of the diverse Australian states regularly amended the Protection Acts. In all states the amendments, which were implemented at different moments in time, aimed at an increase in the Chief Protectors' power. The amendments did not only increase the influence on and the control of the Aboriginal Protectors of the lives of Aboriginal peoples, the places such as where they could live, the persons whom they could marry and the upbringing and education of their children. In due course, the amendments also defined more and more precise *who* was to be considered an Aboriginal, a definition that became more complicated in time.²²⁴

²¹⁸ Western Australia Aborigines Act 1905.

²¹⁹ <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/bringing-them-home-chapter-3> (March 15, 2016)

²²⁰ State Children Amendment Act 1915 <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/ref/wa/biogs/WE01507b.htm> (June 23, 2016)

²²¹ Creative Spirits, 'A Guide to Australia's Stolen Generations' <http://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/politics/a-guide-to-australias-stolen-generations#axzz42xu2W9Q8> (March 15, 2016)

²²² Katherine Ellinghaus, 'Absorbing the Aboriginal problem': controlling interracial marriage in Australia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.' *Aboriginal History* (2003): 183-207.

²²³ Ellinghaus, Absorbing the Aboriginal Problem, 183-207.

²²⁴ State Children Amendment Act 1915 <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/ref/wa/biogs/WE01507b.htm> (June 23, 2016)

4.1.1 South Australia (SA), a brief overview of its history, its Protectors of Aborigines and its legislation regarding Aboriginal peoples (1839-1962)

Because I conducted my archival research in the State Records of South Australia, where I studied the correspondence of the Protectors of Aborigines of this state, my focus will be on South Australia, one of Australia's states. The colonisation of South Australia in 1836 differed severely from the other colonies in Australia. Before analysing the South Australian sources in this chapter I will give a short historical overview of its history and some specific information on the Aboriginal Protectors that served in South Australia. The colonisation of South Australia was based on the ideals of the Enlightenment and was intended as an 'experiment' in social development in which the Aboriginals would be treated with courtesy and respect.²²⁵ The government's policy was to 'protect and civilise' the Aboriginals and to extend to them the benefits of European culture, Christianity and British law.²²⁶ Unlike the older colonies there were no convicts in South Australia, and 'the commitment to 'free settlement' was fiercely maintained.'²²⁷

Following the report of the British Select Committee into the condition of all 'natives' in British colonies, the British government had recommended the appointment of so called 'Protectors of Aboriginals' in Australia. These Protectors would be required to learn the Aboriginal language and their duties would be to watch over the rights of Aboriginals. In 1839 Matthew Moorhouse, medical practitioner, civil servant and pastoralist was appointed the first full-time Protector of Aboriginals in South Australia.²²⁸ The Governor directed Moorhouse to instruct the Aboriginals in reading, writing, the building of houses, the making of cloths, agriculture and other 'ordinary acts of civilization.' He also had to teach them the truths of Christianity.²²⁹

Moorhouse reported regularly to the government and he concluded that in the more 'settled' areas of South Australia concerns were growing about the increasing number of 'half-caste' children and the deplorable circumstances they were brought up in. More active intervention by the government was needed.²³⁰ After Moorhouses' retirement in 1856 there were several periods without Protectors. Clerks then handled the routine works. During the period 1873 – 1908 Edward Lee Hamilton filled the role of Chief Protector in South Australia.²³¹ He had a *laissez-faire approach* because he was convinced of the fact that the Aboriginals were a 'dying race', doomed to

²²⁵ <http://www.decd.sa.gov.au/docs/documents/1/theremovalofmanyaborigina.pdf> (16-9-2015)

²²⁶ <http://www.decd.sa.gov.au/docs/documents/1/theremovalofmanyaborigina.pdf>(16-9-2015)

²²⁷ <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/historical-background.html> (22-9-2015)

²²⁸ Rob Amery, *Warrabarna Kauna Reclaiming an Australian Language* (Lisse, 2000), 80.

²²⁹ Mary Thomas, *Founding Mother: The Life and Times of a South Australia Pioneer* (Duncan, 2007),131.

²³⁰ <http://www.decd.sa.gov.au/docs/documents/1/theremovalofmanyaborigina.pdf>

²³¹ http://www.firstsources.info/uploads/3/2/4/6/3246279/7_protectors_letter-books_1892-1906.pdf (16-9-2015)

extinction.²³² In this period concerns about the wellbeing of Aboriginal children with mixed blood were still growing. The State Children's Council had agreed to take charge of children of mixed descent found wandering or camping with Aboriginal people and legal precedents had been established. Still, it was considered necessary to strengthen the protection and control provisions for these children which resulted in the 1911 Aboriginals Protection Act.²³³

The successor of Hamilton was William Garnett South (1908-1923). He had some specific concerns regarding Aboriginals because his idea was that they were to dependent on the Australian government and its institutions. He wanted to remove Aboriginal children with 'mixed blood' from the Aboriginal camps, to disperse the mixed populations living at Mission Stations into the general community and, eventually, to dismantle the Mission Stations.²³⁴ Francis Garnett succeeded South and was Chief Protector during 1923-1930. There are not many publications on Garnett; he retired because he reached the age of 65 years and was succeeded on October 10th 1930 by M.T. McLean who served until 1939. McLean favoured the ideas of biological assimilation, the breeding out the colour', but he also had ideas about social integration of the Aboriginals with mixed blood. He wanted to enforce the reliability, independence and ability to maintain themselves, especially of the people of mixed race who had been raised in institutions.²³⁵ William Richard Penhall who had been the Superintendent of Point McLeay from 1927, secretary of the Aboriginals Protection Board and finally became Chief Protector in 1939 until 1953, succeeded McLean. He seemed to have had a hard punitive personality and removed many Aboriginal children with 'mixed blood' from their parents.²³⁶In 1962 all legislation regarding Aboriginal peoples in South Australia was repealed. All other Australian states had repealed this legislation by 1969.

The 1911 South Australia Aborigines Act stated that Aboriginal peoples did not have freedom of movement. Protectors of Aborigines and other government officials had to keep Aboriginal peoples within the boundaries of any reserve or institution. If Aboriginal peoples wanted to move, or had to be 'removed', the Protector had to give his permission. Following the 1897 Queensland Act, only marriages of Aboriginal women and 'white' European men were allowed after a given permission by the Protector of Aborigines. An extraordinary provision of the 1911 South Australia Aborigines Act was section 34:

'If any female aboriginal or female half-caste is found dressed in male attire and in the company of

²³² Robert Foster, 'Endless trouble and agitation': Aboriginal Activism in the Protectionist Era,' *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* 28(2000) 15-27.

²³³ <http://australianmuseum.net.au/indigenous-australia-timeline-1901-to-1969> (August 31, 2015)

²³⁴ <http://australianmuseum.net.au/indigenous-australia-timeline-1901-to-1969> (August 31, 2015)

²³⁵ John Chesterman, Heather Douglas, 'Their ultimate absorption Assimilation in 1930s' Australia, *Journal of Australian Studies* (2004) 47-58.

²³⁶ Australian History, Last Protector www.australianhistory.com.au/lastprotector.htm (August 31, 2015)

*any male person other than an aboriginal or half-caste, she and the person in whose company she is so found shall each be guilty of an offence against this Act.*²³⁷

Though the dressing of Aboriginal women in male attire was in the past prescribed by the British, at this time legislation against it showed the anxiety of the South Australian state government about the sexual relationships between Aboriginal women and 'white' European men.²³⁸ The historian Heather Goodall argues that Aboriginal women's sexuality was widely seen as a threat because of its potential to destroy the purity of the 'white' race through miscegenation.²³⁹ This section of the 1911 Act was meant to stop these sexual relationships.²⁴⁰

In 1923, a new South Australia Aborigines Act was passed, called the Aborigines (Training of Children) Act 1923.²⁴¹ This law concerned the forced removal of Aboriginal children from their families and expanded the definitions of Aboriginality.²⁴² While the 1934 South Australia Aborigines Act combined the laws of 1911 and 1923 it did not make any new provisions or changes in the existing legislation.²⁴³ The Aborigines Act Amendment Act 1939 of South Australia was assented to on 22 November 1939 and commenced on 1 February 1940.²⁴⁴ The South Australian state government expanded Section 34 with section 34a which stated the following:

Any male person, other than an aborigine²⁴⁵, who, not being lawfully married to the female aborigine (proof whereof shall lie upon the person charged)

(a) habitually consorts with a female aborigine; or

(b) keeps a female aborigine as his mistress; or

(c) has carnal knowledge of a female aborigine,

²³⁷ The Aborigines Act 1911, Find and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/ref/sa/biogs/SE01457b.htm> (March 15, 2016)

²³⁸ Chesser, *Parting with my sex*, 110.

²³⁹ Chesser, *Parting with my sex*, 110.

²⁴⁰ Chesser, *Parting with my sex*, 110.

²⁴¹ The Aborigines (Training of Children) Act 1923, Find and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/sa/SE00265> (March 15, 2016)

²⁴² The Aborigines (Training of Children) Act 1923, Find and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/sa/SE00265> (March 15, 2016)

²⁴³ The Aborigine Act 1934, Find and Connect, <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/sa/SE00268> (March 15, 2016)

²⁴⁴ The Aborigines Act Amendment Act 1939, Find and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/sa/SE00268> (March 15, 2016)

²⁴⁵ Note E.P. "aborigine" derives from the Latin, meaning 'original inhabitants'. Today, when writing about these original inhabitants of Australia we write 'Aborigine' or 'Aboriginal'.

*shall be guilty of an offence against this Act.*²⁴⁶

By expanding section 34 it seemed that the state's government concern for the sexual relationships between Aboriginal women and 'white' European men had grown and needed better regulation. Sexual relationships between Aboriginal women and 'white' European men were from the 1st of February 1940 officially prohibited. The only way these relationships were allowed was within a marriage.²⁴⁷ Comparable laws were made and amended in other states.

Ground-breaking in the amendment was the establishment of a system of exemptions from the jurisdiction of the Aborigines Act in South Australia. Aboriginal persons with a 'good character, and a right standard of intelligence and development' could be exempted from the provisions of the Aborigines Act.²⁴⁸ The exemptions could be conditional and revocable for three years or unconditional and irrevocable.²⁴⁹ If a condition had been unconditional, the Act stated that the 'unconditional declaration' was also valid for the descendants of the person who had received the declaration. These were not considered 'Aboriginal'.²⁵⁰

The amendment changed regulations regarding relationships between Aboriginal women and 'white' European men. In addition, the position of Chief Protector was replaced by all members of the Aborigines Protection Board. Each member of the Board now was a Protector of Aborigines.²⁵¹

The Aborigines Protection Board decided who could be exempted from the provisions of the Act and would therefore receive a 'certificate of exemption from the provisions of the Aborigines Act'.²⁵² If an unconditional exemption was given, the offspring of the person who had received the certificate of exemption was also exempted.²⁵³

During my research into the legislation concerning Aboriginal peoples, it occurred to me that several states, like for example Queensland, already in their first protective legislation in 1897 stated the possibilities for receiving a certificate of exemption from the Aboriginal Act. Whether

²⁴⁶ The Aborigines Act Amendment Act 1939, Flnd and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/sa/SE00268> (March 15, 2016)

²⁴⁷ The Aborigines Act Amendment Act 1939, Flnd and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/sa/SE00268> (March 15, 2016)

²⁴⁸ The Aborigines Act Amendment Act 1939, Flnd and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/sa/SE00268> (March 15, 2016)

²⁴⁹ The Aborigines Act Amendment Act 1939, Flnd and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/sa/SE00268> (March 15, 2016)

²⁵⁰ The Aborigines Act Amendment Act 1939, Flnd and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/sa/SE00268> (March 15, 2016)

²⁵¹ The Aborigines Act Amendment Act 1939, Flnd and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/sa/SE00268> (March 15, 2016)

²⁵² The Aborigines Act Amendment Act 1939, Flnd and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/sa/SE00268> (March 15, 2016)

²⁵³ The Aborigines Act Amendment Act 1939, Flnd and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/sa/SE00268> (March 15, 2016)

these certificates were already that early requested and handed out by the Queensland Chief-Protector indeed, remained unclear to me. Other states, like New South Wales provided the certificates only in 1943. The differences in legislation and its implementation might be due to the problems that Protectors faced with the Aboriginal peoples in their district and the (relative) numbers of Aboriginal peoples that lived and worked in their area. For example Queensland, the Northern Territory and Western Australia had large Aboriginal populations, while South Australia and New South Wales had much smaller Aboriginal populations.²⁵⁴

Passed in 1962, on the 28th of February 1963 the Aboriginals Affairs Act formally commenced.²⁵⁵ The Act repealed the Aborigines Act of 1934-1939 and promoted the welfare and advancement of Aboriginal peoples in South Australia. Its purpose was to abolish all restrictions and restraints on Aboriginal peoples. It was no longer the state's responsibility to provide for Aboriginal children and therefore all forced removals of Aboriginal children had ended in South Australia. All Aboriginal peoples retained 'freedom of movement' and it was no longer an offence for a non-Aboriginal man 'to habitually consort with' an Aboriginal woman. The system of certificates of exemption from the Aborigines Act was repealed and the Aborigines Protection Board was replaced by the Aboriginal Affairs Board.²⁵⁶ Other states followed and by 1969 all states had repealed legislation according to the forced removal of 'mixed-blood' Aboriginal children.

4.2 Reflections on relations of Aboriginal women and European men during the years around the Federation in 1901

Just before the establishment of the Federation, in 1898, Protector of Aborigines Hamilton of SA wrote a letter to medical doctor Shand about the costs for medical attendance for an Aboriginal woman that was living with a European man. In this letter Hamilton refused to pay these costs because he considered the European man 'Godfrey' responsible.

414a

1898

H. M. Shand Esq, M.D.
Middleton

'Sir,

²⁵⁴ Australian Government Director of National Parks Aboriginal Population Estimates

<http://learnline.cdu.edu.au/tourism/uluru/downloads/Aboriginal%20population%20statistics.pdf> (March 15, 2016)

²⁵⁵ Aboriginal Affairs Act 1962, Find and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/ref/sa/objects/SD0000051.htm> (March 15, 2016)

²⁵⁶ Mattingley, Hampton, *Survival in Our Own Land*, 54 and Aboriginal Affairs Board, Find and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/ref/sa/biogs/SE01104b>. (April 8, 2016)

*In reply to your note of (not dated) with reference to medical attendance on Aboriginal woman Agnes Sumner, I do not think under the circumstances stated to you, that you are required under your agreement with this office, to supply medical attendance to this woman, who now appears to be living with the European Godfrey **as if she was his wife**, and who, I presume, is in **a position to pay** for any medical expense incurred herein’.*

*Hamilton*²⁵⁷

Apart from the fact that the relationships between Aboriginal women and ‘white’ European men were considered a problem of immorality, the financial burden of the protection and control of Aboriginal peoples and the ‘mixed blood’ children that were the result of relationships between ‘white’ European men and Aboriginal women seemed also to be a concern for Hamilton and Protectors of Aborigines of other states. After the foundation of the Federation in 1901 state governments implemented Aboriginal Acts which held European men financially responsible for the upkeep of their ‘mixed blood’ Aboriginal families.

A few years later, just after the Federation had taken place, Hamilton complained about the behavior of a European man who had ‘abducted’ an Aboriginal woman.

567

1901 M.C. Uppington Murray Bridge

Sir,

*In reply to your letter of the., reporting the case of the abduction of Aboriginal **Ethel Beck** by a ‘white’ man named Henry Graety, I have seen the Crown Solicitor today on the subject, but the result is not very satisfactory, as it appears the Law will not allow of any proceedings against the man for his immorality.*

*Hamilton*²⁵⁸

Hamilton was disappointed that nothing could be done to prevent the ‘immoral behavior’ of this ‘white’ European man. In SA there was no legislation yet to prevent these kinds of relationships because the SA Aborigines Act was only implemented in 1911.

904

Thomas Clode Esq Sub-Protector of Aborigines Port Augusta

²⁵⁷ GRG52/1898/ Letter from Protector Hamilton to Medical Doctor Shand found on First Sources Info, <http://www.firstsources.info/protectors-letters-c.html> (December 14, 2015)

²⁵⁸ GRG52/7/1901/567 Letter Protector of Aborigines to M.C.Uppington found on First Sources info. http://www.firstsources.info/uploads/3/4/5/4/34544232/7_protectors_letter-books_1892-1906.pdf (December 14, 2015)

'Sir,

Referring to your report to the Commissioner of Police, dated 10/12/04, respecting the Native girl brought to Port Augusta who had been with a man named Clenor for some months, dressed in boy's clothes,

I have the honour to request that you will be good enough to inform me whether it is possible to place this girl with a respectable European family about Port Augusta, who would be willing to supply her with food and clothes for her services.

Failing this arrangement, she will have to go to a Mission Station, either Point Macleay or Point Pierce.'

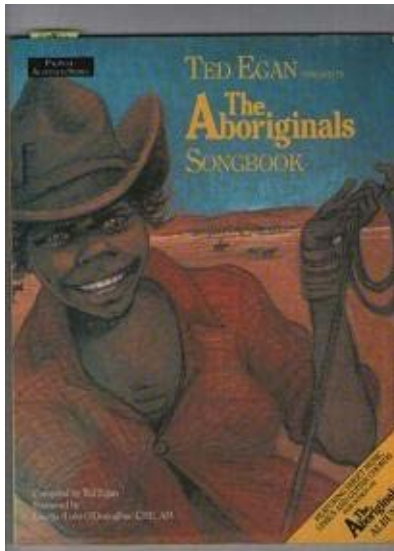
*Hamilton*²⁵⁹

According to Hamilton's 1904 correspondence, a letter to Thomas Clode being the Sub Protector of Port Augusta, cross-dressing for Aboriginal girls and women was common practice in South Australia. Hamilton was concerned about an Aboriginal girl dressed like a boy and wanted her to be taken to a mission or to be adopted by a European family. Hamilton surely condemned the relationship of this girl with a man, named 'Clenor.' Relationships of Aboriginal women with Aboriginal men were common practice. However, these relationships were often secretive and hidden from the outside world because of the disapproval of 'white' Australian citizens and state governments. Therefore, it is most likely that the man was European, because the cross dressing often occurred in relationships of Aboriginal women and girls with 'white' European men. Although disapproved, it was a public secret in the outback that these relationships existed and the Aboriginal women who were dressed this way were called 'drover's boys. This cross-dressing was well-known and was since 1911 prohibited by legislation in SA as I have showed in Chapter 4.1.1.

Aboriginal women often worked at cattle stations. Besides the domestic work, they worked as 'stockmen' as they called themselves. Some worked as 'drovers', taking cattle on long trips interstate.

Ted Egan, an Australian folk musician, wrote many songs about bush life that became popular in Australia. He wrote a book and a song about a relationship between a European drover and a Aboriginal woman who was his drover's boy in the 1920s.

²⁵⁹ GRG52/12/1904 Letter Protector of Aborigines to Sub-Protector Thomas Clode found on First Sources info. http://www.firstsources.info/uploads/3/4/5/4/34544232/7_protectors_letter-books_1892-1906.pdf (December 14, 2015)



260

The Drover's Boy

*They couldn't understand why the drover cried
As they buried the drover's boy
The drover had always seemed so hard
To the men in his employ*

*And they couldn't understand why the drover cut
A lock of the dead boy's hair
And put it in the band of his battered old hat
As they watched him standing there*

*And he told of the massacre in the west,
Barest details, guess the rest,
Shoot the bucks, grab a gin, cut her hair
Break her in, call her a boy, the drover's boy
Call her a boy, the drover's boy.*

*So when they build that stockman's hall of fame
And they talk about the droving game
Remember the girl who was bed mate and died,
Rode with the drover, side by side,
Watched the bullocks, flayed the hide
Faithful wife but never a bride,
Bred his sons for the cattle run,
Don't weep for the drover's boy,
Don't mourn for the drover's boy –
But don't forget the drover's boy.²⁶¹*

When reading this poem/song it becomes clear that this relationship was ambivalent. When the

²⁶⁰ Drover's boy' by the Australian artist Elisabeth Durack used as the jacket of a songbook of the singer Ted Egan

²⁶¹ Australian Government: Australian Folklore, <http://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/austn-folklore> (March 15, 2016)

drover spoke about a *massacre in the west*, he told a 'tough story' about spending money and making an Aboriginal virgin girl his drover's boy by cutting her hair and having sexual intercourse with her.²⁶² The audience were probably his fellow drovers. Nobody understood why the drover cried when his 'help' died. Only he knew that it was his lover that passed away.

She was *his faithful wife, but never a bride*, as relationships between European men and Aboriginal women were prohibited in all states by the newly implemented Aboriginal Acts. A marriage only could take place in exceptional circumstances and had to be approved by the Protector of Aborigines. Because the cross dressing of Aboriginal women, a way to defy the Aboriginal Acts, was also prohibited, the European man could not be open about the relationship, even after the death of the drover's boy. Relationships between European men and Aboriginal women were diverse; sometimes loving, but often exploitative and abusive as the story, as told by the European man to his audience, about his drover's boy illustrated.²⁶³

4.3 Reflections on Australian masculinity during the years around the Federation in 1901

Around the time around the Federation, drovers and bushmen became the center of a romantic representation of the 'real Australian man'. 'White' men making a living in the outback of Australia were the subject of writers, photographers and painters. The photographs on the next page are examples of the many visual representations of these so-called 'bushmen', the 'white' Australian men, living in the outback. By analysing the photographs it is obvious that these men posed for a photographer. The first photograph shows a bushman in the company of an Aboriginal man whereby the Aboriginal man leans against the 'white' man.

²⁶² note E.P.: "break her in" means: having sexual intercourse with a virgin girl.

²⁶³ Website Ted Egan, <http://www.tedegan.com.au/bio.htm> (March 15, 2016)



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Below, a bushmen's camp in 1901. These men were the role models for a 'white' Australia.



265

The wandering 'white' Australian man, completed the image of a new formed Australia. According to the historian Russell Ward, a typical Australian was:

²⁶⁴ UNSW Newsroom <http://newsroom.unsw.edu.au/news/art-design/photograph-and-australia-curator-and-exhibition> (June 23, 2016)

²⁶⁵ Bushmen's camp 1901, http://historyinphotos.blogspot.nl/2015_04_01_archive.html (March 15, 2016)

*'a practical man, rough and ready in his manners.' He (the legendary Australian was characteristically masculine) was pragmatic, stoic, 'taciturn rather than talkative,' and skeptical of pretension and authority. He was a restless, drinking, swearing, irreligious gambler, capable of great energy and resourcefulness but habitually inclined to laxity. And though hospitable by nature, he was implacably distrustful of outsiders and 'new chums.'*²⁶⁶

Until the second half of the twentieth century these characteristics were constructed as part of the ideal typical Australian male. The bushman, with his specific characteristics, was considered to be a romantic and admirable figure colonizing the empty lands of Australia. To live in the bush men had to be adventurous, capable and strong, but most of all persevere against all odds.²⁶⁷ Mateship and physical toughness were promoted by the characteristics of 'the bush' or 'the outback'. According to Ward 'the traditional belief was that the 'true' or 'typical' Australians were these men of the outback, for it was there that, relatively spoken, most men were to be found.'²⁶⁸ In literature and music, he was a popular subject as we will see in the following poems and illustrations.

The verses of the poem underneath had the intention of contrasting the toughness of the outback of Australia to the relatively easy urban life. The poem is written in 1901 by Henry Lawson on the occasion of the Royal visit to Australia.²⁶⁹

*In the shearers' hut the slush lamp shows a haggard, stern-faced man
They are drafting future histories of states!*

*Dragged behind the crawling sheep-flock on the hot and dusty plain,
They must make a cheque to feed the wife and kids —
Riding night-watch round the cattle in the pelting, freezing rain,
While world-weariness is pressing down the lids.
And away on far out-stations, seldom touched by Heaven's breath,
In a loneliness that smothers love and hate —
Where they never take white women — there they live the living death
With a half-caste or a black-gin for a mate.*

These shearers, drovers and bushmen were the men who had to establish the future of the new

²⁶⁶ Russell Ward, *The Australian Legend*, 1.

²⁶⁷ Sandie Penn, 'The Looking Glass, New Perspectives on Children's Literature', 'The Influence of the Bush on European-Australian Identity in Australian children's literature', *Emerging Voices*, Vol.11 No 3 2007.
<https://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/ojs/index.php/tlg/article/view/9/9> (March 15, 2016)

²⁶⁸ Sandie Penn, 'The Looking Glass, New Perspectives on Children's Literature', 'The Influence of the Bush on European-Australian Identity in Australian children's literature', *Emerging Voices*, Vol.11 No 3 2007.
<https://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/ojs/index.php/tlg/article/view/9/9>, 68 (March 15, 2016)

²⁶⁹ Making History at Macquarie, The Cult of Masculinity,
<https://makinghistoryatmacquarie.wordpress.com/2012/11/21/the-cult-of-masculinity/> (March 15, 2016)

nation state. They had a hard life under difficult circumstances, far away from the civilized world where white women would not survive. Instead, these men had Aboriginal girls and women to keep them company. This song, performed at a Royal visit in 1901 seems to emphasize the tough character of 'white' Australian men who were talking about Australia's future. However, although considered immoral, it seems that relationships between these men and Aboriginal women were part of their lives. Thus although Aborigine Protection Acts prohibited these relations and Aboriginal women cross dressed to maintain these relationships hidden, in this song the author is quite open about these relationships, which is surprising when you consider the Royal audience.

However, not all Australian citizens considered these 'white' men respectable, romantic and poetic, especially not when having relationships with Aboriginal women. Chief Protectors of Aborigines considered them sexually immoral. These men seemed to have been two role models at the same time; the stereotype of 'white' masculinity representing the new national Australian identity and the sexual immorality that was in severe conflict with 'white' civilization.

In general, during the first decades of the twentieth century attitudes towards the so-called bushmen were changing, and therefore were ambivalent. Where at first people considered the bushman the stereotype of the Australian male, he had now somewhat lost his romantic appeal.

However, for some people the bushman remained the role model of Australian masculinity and identity. They were often influenced by the then popular Australian academic thought regarding the biological effects on city-life; several academics feared the effects of urbanization and opposed the ideas of 'sophisticated' town-dwellers'. According to them, living in the cities and the growing immigration in these cities could lead to urban degeneration which would ultimately result in the degeneration of the 'white' race.²⁷⁰ 'Slum life' in particular, would breed an 'unfit' population.²⁷¹ Rural life had no such dangers and aimed at the opposite.

Several academics challenged the romanticised stereotype of the Australian bushman as symbol of masculinity. The historian Cameron White stated that 'middle-class masculinity' adhered to strict codes that were the antithesis of the bush ideal: decorum, domesticity, restraint and sobriety (in drinking and in (sexual) behaviour).²⁷² This concept of respectability was very apparent and lower-class men were considered 'unrespectable' and 'unmanly' ²⁷³ However, Martin Crotty states that middle-class masculinity in Australia was largely ignored in favour of the bushman, the convict and the working man. He stated that aspects of the nationalist 'bush-legend' were appropriated by the middle-class after 1900, constituting a 'respectable' interpretation of this

²⁷⁰ Murphy, *Fears and Fantasies*, 52.

²⁷¹ Murphy, *Fears and Fantasies*, 52.

²⁷²C. White, 'Promenading and Picnicking: The Performance of Middle-Class Masculinity in Nineteenth-Century Sydney', *Journal of Australian Studies*, No. 89, 2006, .27-40.

²⁷³ White, *Promenading and Picnicking*, 27-40.

'bush-legend.'²⁷⁴

Though the opinions on the symbol of 'white' Australian masculinity, the Australian bushman, seemed diverse and marked by ambivalence, in particular two Protectors of Aborigines stated in 1933 that just these men were the solution to the problem of the growing 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population. These men, loved and disguised, in particular when having relationships with Aboriginal women, seemed to be the solution to a problem they had caused themselves, as I will describe in 4.4.

4.4 Breeding out the colour; 'white' men as the solution to the Aboriginal problem, 1933- 1939

After the First World War a new trend was signalled among the Aboriginal population; people of 'mixed blood' were reproducing faster than 'white' Australians. This trend emphasized the importance of being 'white' in Australia. In addition, in 1927 the demographer Jens Lyng observed that *'the idea of the 'white' Australia ideal eventually being shattered from within cannot be dismissed as altogether absurd.'*²⁷⁵ With this observation it seemed that not only so-called 'full-blood' Aboriginals were doomed to die out, but there also was a fear that the 'white race', without interfering, would not survive 'the rising tide of colour'. These growing 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population was more and more considered a problem; the so-called 'Aboriginal problem.'

At the start of the 1930s state governments became more and more aware of this growing 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population and in order to solve this 'problem', a shift in policy seemed inevitable. Several anthropologists, doctors, archaeologists and Protectors of Aborigines developed new ideas on the assimilation of Aboriginal peoples. However, assimilation had no single meaning and in Australia it was used in relation to two distinct forms of integration of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal peoples.²⁷⁶ The first could be called 'biological absorption', or the desired removal of all physical Aboriginal characteristics, while the second could be called 'cultural assimilation', whereby cultural and social Aboriginal practices would transform in 'white' European cultural and social practices. In Australia there was no distinction between these two forms. The Aboriginal population with mixed blood had to be assimilated into the 'white' Australian society, whether by biological absorption or by cultural assimilation.

²⁷⁴Kate Murphy, *Fears and Fantasies: Modernity, Gender and the Rural-Urban Divide* (New York, 2010),46, 47.

²⁷⁵ McGregor, *Indifferent Inclusion*, 1.

²⁷⁶ John Chesterman, Heather Douglas, 'Their ultimate absorption Assimilation in 1930s' Australia, *Journal of Australian Studies* (2004) 42.

Until the 1930s the policy in all Australian states had been to isolate the 'full blood' Aboriginal peoples on reserves in the conviction that they were a 'dying race'. However, 'mixed blood' Aboriginal peoples created administrative difficulties, who was to be considered Aboriginal and who was not? Protectors of Aborigines and other government officials resorted to determinations based on skin colour as an indication of biological descent, as well as on social associations to determine the Aboriginality of these people.²⁷⁷ The division was needed for administrative and ideological reasons. In the first place it was necessary to decide who would be subject to the 'protection legislation' in the various jurisdictions and in the second place the division between colonized and colonizer had to be clear.²⁷⁸

When in the 1930s Australian state governments realized that the increasing 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population became a problem, they realized that their approaches to this problem had to be adapted. At the same time there was a growing scientific acceptance that the Aboriginal race was not a 'doomed race' at all. The best available evidence that thinking about an effective policy was changing in the 1930s comes from the report of the Native Welfare Conference, held in 1937 in Canberra.²⁷⁹ It was the first time that Protectors of Aborigines from all over Australia deliberated over the 'Aboriginal problem'. The most ground-breaking ideas came from the Protectors of Aborigines from the Northern Territory and West Australia, Dr. Cecil Cook and Aubert O. Neville.

Cook considered the imbalance in numbers of European men and women in the Northern Territory as a problem that could be solved by a plan he had developed. By elevating 'mixed blood' Aboriginal girls and women to 'white' standards, Cook aimed to create a supply of females of a quality suitable for a marriage to 'white' European men. Cook purposed to reduce the 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population by satisfying the sexual needs of 'white' European men, however, in this case within marriages. He also planned to reduce the number of 'alien-mixed blood hybrids' by providing suitable 'white' European husbands for 'mixed blood' Aboriginal women. In this way they needed not to marry the Asian and Pacific Islander men which Cook considered 'impure' because of the supposed inability to be 'bred out' within a few generations.

Extraordinary was that influential anthropologists considered Aboriginal peoples as similar or part of the Caucasian race and they were therefore considered 'purer' than Asian and Pacific Islander people. Sir John Burton Cleland (1878-1971), pathologist and naturalist, stated that 'mixed blood' Aboriginals were 'tantalizingly absorbable' because they were considered fundamentally and

²⁷⁷ Chesterman, Douglas, *Their ultimate Absorption*, 49.

²⁷⁸ Chesterman, Douglas, *Their ultimate Absorption*, 50.

²⁷⁹ Australian Government, *Aboriginal Societies The Experience of Contact*
<http://www.alrc.gov.au/publications/3.%20Aboriginal%20Societies%3A%20The%20Experience%20of%20Contact/changin-g-policies-towards-aboriginal> (April 8, 2016)

homogeneously genetically Caucasian, in fact, they already were part white.²⁸⁰ There would be no 'throwbacks' to a dark type.²⁸¹ In addition, Cook thus aimed at solving the 'Aboriginal problem' by 'breeding out the 'blacks'.'²⁸² He expressed his ideas on the future of Australia in 1933 in a report for the Federal Government:

*'Every endeavour is being made to breed out the colour by elevating female half-casts to 'white' standards with a view to their absorption by mating into the 'white' population. The adoption of a similar policy throughout the Commonwealth is, in my opinion, a matter of vital importance.'*²⁸³

At the same time, Auber O. Neville, the Chief Protector of Aboriginals in Western Australia, had a three-point plan in order to achieve a forced assimilation of the Aboriginal peoples with 'mixed blood' that was quite similar to the ideas of Hamilton in 1906 and at least at one point similar to Cook's plan. The plan stated that the so called 'full-bloods' were assumed to die out; that the so called 'half-castes' should be removed from their mothers; and that there should be controlled marriages of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal women with 'white' European men.²⁸⁴ He sought to prevent marriages and cohabitation between 'white' men and 'full-blood' Aboriginal women but actively promoted such liaisons between 'white' men and 'mixed blood' Aboriginal women.²⁸⁵

In 1937 Cook, Neville and their colleagues of other states gathered in Canberra, New South Wales, to discuss the Aboriginal destiny at the *Native Welfare Conference*.²⁸⁶ They agreed that the best hope for the 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population would be their ultimate absorption into the 'white' Australian society.²⁸⁷ The conference formally adopted a policy of absorption and contemporary administrators, anthropologists, doctors and scientists regarded this 1937 policy of biological absorption as 'progressive' in relation to the prevailing racism of the times.²⁸⁸ Neville spoke the following words at the Native Welfare Conference in 1937:

*'We have power under the Act to take any child from its mother at any stage of its life... Are we going to have a population of one million blacks in the Commonwealth or are we going to merge them into our 'white' community and eventually forget that there were ever any Aboriginals in Australia?'*²⁸⁹

²⁸⁰ Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, 227.

²⁸¹ Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, 227.

²⁸² The Herald, 'Half-cast problem in Northern Territory Infiltration of Alien Blood', 5 July 1934.

²⁸³ The Herald, 'Half-cast problem in Northern Territory Infiltration of Alien Blood', 5 July 1934.

²⁸⁴ Carl Skutsch, *Encyclopedia of the World's Minorities*, (New York, 2005)146.

²⁸⁵ Jacobs, *White Mother*, 70.

²⁸⁶ Australian Government, Australian Law Reform Commission: 'Aboriginal Societies: The Experience of Contact'.

<http://www.alrc.gov.au/publications/3.%20Aboriginal%20Societies%3A%20The%20Experience%20of%20Contact/changing-policies-towards-aboriginal> (March 15, 2016)

²⁸⁷ Anderson, *Cultivation of Whiteness*, 246.

²⁸⁸ Flood, *Original Australians*, 224.

²⁸⁹ A.O. Neville, *Native Welfare Conference*, 1937.

Auber O. Neville, Chief Protector of Western Australia and the Northern Territory Chief Protector Cecil Cook thus made the 'half-caste problem' their highest priority. The solution for breeding out the colour was seen in marital unions of two persons of mixed descent and in marital unions of persons of mixed descent with 'white' people, so that after several generations of interbreeding all outward signs of Aboriginal ancestry would disappear.²⁹⁰ The goal was to systemize this absorption policy in Australia. In Western Australia and in the Northern Territory this policy was surely official during the 1930s.

Below a few photographs of 'breeding out the colour' as it was meant to be, according to A. O. Neville. The photos were published in his book *'Australia's Coloured Minority: Its Place in the Community'* which was published in 1947 and contained the ideas Neville had spread during the 1937 Native Welfare Conference.²⁹¹



THREE GENERATIONS
(Reading from Right to Left)

1. Half-blood—(Irish-Australian father, full-blood Aboriginal mother).
2. Quadroon Daughter—(Father Australian born of Scottish parents; Mother No. 1).
3. Octoroon Grandson—(Father Australian of Irish descent; Mother No. 2).

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Illustration 1 has the following description:

*'Subject to this process [of breeding out the colour, note E.P.] a half-blood mother is unmistakable as to origin, her quarter caste or quadroon offspring almost like a 'white', and an octoroon entirely indistinguishable from one. A quadroon child may become a little darker by the time adolescence is reached, but even then would pass as a Southern European.'*²⁹³

In the above quote Neville seemed to consider the idea of 'whiteness' as desirable and a form of progress by stating that the quadroon offspring was 'almost like 'white' while an octoroon was 'indistinguishable' from one.²⁹⁴ Apparently, when not being completely 'white' already, Neville considered it better to look like a 'South-European' than to look like an Aboriginal Australian.

To understand the racial terms Neville used I give a short explanation. Quadroon and the

²⁹⁰ McGregor, *Indifferent Inclusion*, 1.

²⁹¹ A.O.Neville, *Australia's Coloured Minority: Its Place in the World* (Currawong, 1947)

²⁹² Neville, *Australia's Coloured Minority*

²⁹³ Neville, *Australia's Coloured Minority*, 59

²⁹⁴ Richard Dyer, *White*, (London, 1997) 20.

associated word octoroon are terms that were applied to define the ancestry of people of mixed race. In Australia it concerned people of European and Aboriginal ancestry. Quadroon was used in Australia to designate a person of one-quarter Aboriginal ancestry, that is one biracial parent (Aboriginal and Caucasian/European) and one 'white' or European parent; in other words, one Aboriginal grandparent and three 'white' or European grandparents. The term octoroon referred to a person with one-eighth Aboriginal ancestry, that is, someone with family heritage of one biracial grandparent; in other words, one Aboriginal great-grandparent and seven European great-grandparents. As with the use of quadroon, this word was applied to a limited extent in Australia.²⁹⁵ The terms were given legal effect by the Aboriginal Acts that were implemented around the start of the 20th century.

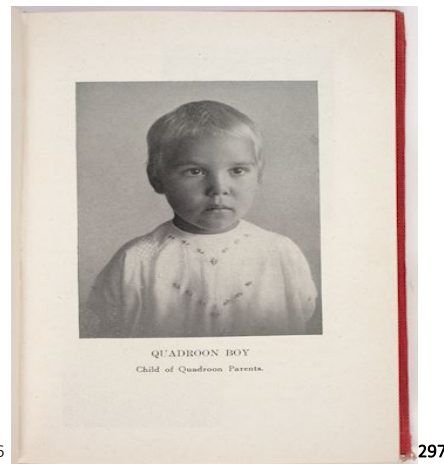


Illustration 2 shows three quadroon sisters. Underneath the picture Neville stated: *'Father half-blood (first cross) Mother Australian-'white'. The large freckles on the face of the centre figure are the only trace of colour apparent.'* Again, the phrase of *'the only trace of colour apparent'* emphasized the importance of a 'white' skin colour. This example is extraordinary because marriages between 'white' Australian women and Aboriginal men were scarce. The reason for this was that Aboriginal men were considered absolutely unsuitable as marriage partners for 'white' Australian women because they were considered very low on the social and racial scale, even if they were of 'mixed blood'. *Illustration 3* shows a quadroon child. (boy/girl?)

²⁹⁵ Find and Connect, Quadroon, <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/ref/wa/biogs/WE01375b.htm> (March 15, 2016)

²⁹⁶ Find and Connect, Quadroon, <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/ref/wa/biogs/WE01375b.htm> (March 15, 2016)

²⁹⁷ Find and Connect, Quadroon, <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/ref/wa/biogs/WE01375b.htm> (March 15, 2016)



Illustration 4 'Three near-'white' girls'. Chinese - Aboriginal partnerships could create children that carry the 'good qualities' of the Chinese among these: 'industriousness.'²⁹⁸

Obvious in this picture is that the middle girl has Asian features. According to Neville some mixtures with Aboriginal blood were 'better' than others, however, anthropologists like Cleland stated that Asians were less suitable for 'breeding out the colour', thus opinions on this differed.

²⁹⁸ Neville, *Australia's Coloured Minority*.



FIRST CROSS

Half-blood mother with
her quadroon child.

HALF-BLOOD GIRL

Father—Offspring of
two half-bloods of
the first cross.

Mother—Offspring of a
full-blood mother and
a white father.



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Both the 'white' Australia Policy and the 'three-point plan' of Neville, containing the policy of 'Breeding out the Colour' were perceived in different ways. Neville's book opened with a statement that the publisher did not necessarily endorse the view of the author. These words seemed to be

²⁹⁹ Neville, *Australia's Coloured Minority*.

illustrative for the diverse opinions on the topic of 'breeding out the colour and the policy of intermarriage in Australia as I will analyze in 4.5.³⁰⁰

4.5 Reflections on 'Breeding out the Colour' by academics and several state government officials

Several Australian scientists were enthusiastic about the policy as is clear from a newspaper article in the South Australian newspaper *The Advertiser* of March 29th, 1934, which stated: "*Breeding out Black Blood; Scientists Views on Perth Doctor's Suggestion, Inter Marriage Question.*"³⁰¹ The article was about the interest of the members of the Board for Anthropological Research at the University of Adelaide in the statement of Dr. Cyril Brian from Western Australia. Bryan maintained that in order to reduce the half caste population, the State should intervene by scientifically breeding out the black blood by encouraging marriages of these people and people with 'white' blood. Academics stated that the Aboriginal blood was far more easy to breed out than the 'negro' blood, since Aboriginal blood was like 'white' blood.³⁰²

After a survey in South Australia, an important contribution came from the well-known anthropologist and archaeologist Norman Barnett Tindale.³⁰³ This research confirmed that a complete merging of the Aboriginal people with 'mixed blood' into the 'white' society was possible because 'the Aboriginal' was recognized as being a forerunner of the Caucasian race. In addition, Tindale stated that 'miscegenation with the Asian race was not acceptable because the absorption of 'different types' would disturb the biological balance'.³⁰⁴

How official was this policy in the rest of Australia? According to the Australian historian Russell McGregor 'breeding out the colour' was not in all states an official government policy, but rather an unofficial policy that was executed by senior members of the bureaucracy and thus, depended on the ideas and opinions of Protectors of Aborigines and other government officials in these states.³⁰⁵ Robert Manne, an Australian professor of politics, states that it *was* an official policy because of the statements and memorandums of several government officials in these days.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁰ Catriona Elder, What is the white in White Australia? A reading of A.O.Neville, *Australia's Coloured Minority*, https://www.academia.edu/476490/What_is_the_white_in_white_Australia_A_reading_of_A._O._Neville_s_Australia_s_Coloured_Minority (March 15, 2016)

³⁰¹ Breeding out Black Blood; Scientists View on Perth Docotor's Sugggestion, Inter Marriage Question, *The Advertiser*, March 29, 1934

³⁰² Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, 227.

³⁰³ Breeding out Black Blood; Scientists View on Perth Docotor's Sugggestion, Inter Marriage Question, *The Advertiser*, March 29, 1934

³⁰⁴ Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, 240.

³⁰⁵ McGregor, *Indifferent Inclusion*, 3.

³⁰⁶ Robert Manne, *Making Trouble: Essays Against the New Australian Complacency* (Collingwood, 2011)

In 1933, after Cook had informed the federal Government about his plans, Bleakley, Protector of Aborigines of Queensland had expressed his disagreement with Cook's plans to the press, which resulted in an article in the British newspaper 'The Daily Telegraph' on the 8th of June 1933. '*Bonus offered for marrying half-castes: Australia's plan to breed out the black strain*' was the title of the article.³⁰⁷ It seemed that Bleakley spread the rumour that 'white' European men would receive a bonus for marrying 'mixed blood' Aboriginal women to influence the opinion at the Premier's Conference that was held from the 9th until the 14th of June 1933 against Cook's proposal for a national agreement on the policy.³⁰⁸ Australian Prime Minister Joseph Lyons responded immediately by stating that mentions of payment of bonuses to 'white' European men had not been raised or suggested.³⁰⁹ With this statement Lyons denied the payments, but not the policy.

J.A Carrodus, in 1933 acting Administrator of the Northern Territory until 1934, referred to the 'breeding out the colour policy' already and as a official Commonwealth Government policy in his memorandum '*Intermarriage of other races with Aborigines*' of 25 May 1933.³¹⁰ Apart from Prime Minister Lyons and Carrodus, Minister of the Interior J.A. Perkins also mentioned the policy as an official Federal government policy in the cabinet discussion paper of the 31st of July 1933.

In December 1938, in response to a South African question about the 'mixed marriages' in Australia, Carrodus explained that 'half-caste girls are encouraged to marry 'white' men approved by the Chief-Protector'.³¹¹ Carrodus sent a copy of Cook's plans to Pretoria.³¹² Considering all this, it seemed that the policy was perceived as an official policy approved by the federal government. However, was it implemented and executed by the government officials in the diverse states?

Apart from Western Australia and the Northern Territory where Neville and Cook were Protectors of Aborigines, how were the responses of other states about the policy of 'breeding out the colo

r'? In 1938 the South Australian state parliament spoke about the ideas and argued:

*'Many well known ethnologists have advocated the assimilation of our Australian natives into the white race. Some people hold up their hands in horror at the thought of the black race mingling with the white, but ethnologists have advocated and archeologists have agreed that it is a logical solution of this vexed problem. The Australian aboriginal is different from the negroid races of other countries, as she does not throw back.'*³¹³

³⁰⁷ Bonus offered for marrying half-castes: Australia's plan to breed out the black strain, *The Daily Telegraph*, June 8, 1933.

³⁰⁸ A. Dirk Moses, *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History* (Oxford, New York 2004), 242.

³⁰⁹ Stolen Generations Info Government Policy versus bureaucratic opinion, http://www.stolengenerations.info/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=187&Itemid=111 (March 15, 2016)

³¹⁰ NAA ACT CRS A461/7 A300/1, pt1.

³¹¹ Robert Manne, *Making Trouble*, 377.

³¹² Manne, *Making Trouble*, 377.

³¹³ South Australian Parliamentary Debates 1938, 845.

Although it seems that the South Australian parliament did not disagree with the policy it also used other forms of assimilation. South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales differed from the other states because Aboriginal populations in these states were relatively small, thus the anxieties about the growth of these populations were less apparent. Rather than controlling the parenting of mixed-descent children, politicians tried to separate the Aboriginal populations by physically dividing Aboriginal people from one another. They removed families and individuals from the reserves and children from their families.³¹⁴ By physically spreading the Aboriginal peoples in these states, state governments aimed at the 'disappearance' of their relatively small Aboriginal populations, in this way they would assimilate into the wider society gradually. Unlike the northern and western states, they did not enact legislation that officially controlled interracial marriages.³¹⁵ However, it might very well have been that government officials in these states 'unofficially' controlled the marriages.

In Queensland, Aboriginal Protector John W. Bleakley, showed the same anxieties about the problem of a growing mixed-descent population. However, he certainly was not in agreement with Neville and Cook about the way these people had to be absorbed into the 'white' population. After his spreading of rumours to the press, in 1936 he again expressed his disagreement with the policy:

*'Considerable interest in the case of the half-caste has been awakened by suggestions of different quarters, resulting in a side controversy, that the solution of the problem of their future lay in their absorption into the 'white' race by marriage of young women to 'white' men. Unfortunately, such a proposal, although suitable in some special cases of quadroon and lighter types with definite European characteristics, overlooks the many complexities of this difficult problem. Not every half-cast is the product of European breeding – quite a large proportion are of alien blood more akin to the aboriginal race itself, such as Pacific Island, African, Malay, and others of Asiatic origin.'*³¹⁶

Queensland 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population was especially the result of sexual intercourse between Asian and Pacific Islander men and 'Aboriginal women. These Asian and Pacific Islander 'races' were seen as 'impure' and not Caucasian which seemed to make the 'breeding out the colour' impossible.³¹⁷ The 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population in Queensland was much larger than in the other states. Apparently the 'white' population in Queensland was not so confident of being able to absorb such a large Indigenous community in Queensland.³¹⁸ It seemed that Bleakley's

³¹⁴ South Australian Parliamentary Debates 1938, 845.

³¹⁵ South Australian Parliamentary Debates 1938, 845.

³¹⁶ Aboriginal Department Report, 1936, 10 in Katherine Ellinghaus, Controlling Interracial Marriage in Australia, *Aboriginal History 2003, vol 27.*

³¹⁷ Aboriginal Department Report, 1936, 10 in Katherine Ellinghaus, Controlling Interracial Marriage in Australia, *Aboriginal History 2003, vol 27.*

³¹⁸ Aboriginal Department Report, 1936, 10 in Katherine Ellinghaus, Controlling Interracial Marriage in Australia, *Aboriginal History 2003, vol 27.*

personal opinion, his belief that absorption was more 'complex' in Queensland, was the reason for not implementing the 'breeding out the colour' policy in this state.

According to McGregor, on the whole, the official status of the policy of intermarriage has been disputed because it was not initiated by a parliament or any minister, but rather by senior members of the bureaucracy; Aboriginal Protectors.³¹⁹ However, it is still not clear what the official status of this policy was, when I take the federal government statements and memorandums, pointed at by Manne, into account. It might have been that the ideas of intermarriage were to controversial to be established by legislation. How these ideas were reflected upon in the public domain and by the politically influential women's reformers I will research in 4.6.

4.6 Reflections on 'Breeding out the Colour' by Australian Women's Organizations and in the public domain

Reflections in Australia on Cecil Cook's plans were diverse as I will show, I will however focus on the 'white' women's reformers whose networks emerged in Australia at this time and who became gradually increasingly influential.³²⁰

The World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WTCU) had its origins in the United States of America and was, after an alliance with the British Women's Temperance Association, introduced in all Australian colonies at the end of the nineteenth century.³²¹ Suffrage campaigns were central to their program. In addition, much attention was paid to the control of the use of alcohol, the decrease of the abuse of women and children as a result of male drunkenness and the politics of sexuality. These 'white' women's reformers focused on prostitution, venereal diseases and the double standard of sexual morality. They emphasized women's rights to political citizenship as a means to both protect women's homes and bring women and the moral values they represented as mothers into the public arena³²². 'White' women had a special role in the first decades after the foundation of the federation as reproduction was generally seen as inextricable from racial and imperial politics.³²³ They did not just have babies, they reproduced the 'white' race' and were therefore considered the symbolic 'mother of the (white) race'. Not only were they considered 'mother of the (white) race', they were in addition considered mother of the nation-state of Australia whereby they had to take care of the 'white' civilization in all its aspects.

³¹⁹ McGregor, *Indifferent Inclusion*, 3.

³²⁰ Jacobs, *White Mother*, 103.

³²¹ WTCU Australia, <http://www.wctu.com.au/pages/history.html> (March 24, 2016)

³²² WTCU Australia, <http://www.wctu.com.au/pages/history.html> (March 24, 2016)

³²³ Jacobs, *White Mother*, 87

Born in London in 1881, Mary Montgomery Benett grew up partly in Australia and in England. Already active as a reformer, she strengthened the connections with local Australian women's organizations. Her focus was on the sexual slavery of women.³²⁴ She was concerned about the sexual exploitation of Aboriginal women by 'white' men.³²⁵ She stated:

*'Wherever there's a 'white' man's camp there is a need for protection of these girls, it is the average ordinary 'white' man who is to blame for this trouble.'*³²⁶

Benett considered the ordinary 'white' European man as a sexually uncontrollable subject, causing trouble by seducing harmless Aboriginal women. It seems that Benett saw these men as a threat for white civilisation and for the new national identity of Australia. These men themselves had to be protected and civilised. Olive Pink, an anthropologist, agreed with Benett and Annie Lock. Lock was also active as a women's reformer. She stated that ['white'] male licentiousness was responsible for the fact that there was a native problem at all. *'Were there no 'white' males there would be no 'native problem'.*³²⁷

The image of the white man as a sexual predator let women's reformers emphasize the 'civilization' of white men and the protection of Aboriginal women and girls.³²⁸ They considered themselves the 'civilizers' of 'white' men.³²⁹ At this time 'white' Australian women used the traditional association with 'motherhood' to justify their participation in the politics of the emerging nation. They argued that they were just extending their natural role as potential mothers and had the right skills and values to help building the nation.³³⁰ Thus, in this British colonial context 'white' women as 'mothers of the 'white race' and as mothers of the nation assumed they had a special responsibility concerning 'civilization' of white men in particular. They considered themselves the custodians of the ('white') race. Representations of 'white' motherhood were used in pamphlets and other visual representations as is visible in the illustration below where the symbol of 'motherhood' was used to ask attention for women's votes rights in Australia.

³²⁴ Jacobs, *White Mother*, 87.

³²⁵The Encyclopedia of Women and Leadership in twentieth Century Australia <http://www.womenaustralia.info/leaders/biogs/WLE0187b.htm> (2-6-2015)

³²⁶ Mary Benett, cited in Margaret Jacobs' *White Mother*, 380.

³²⁷ Olive Pink in Margaret Jacobs' *White Mother*, 142

³²⁸ Barry, A., Cruickshank, J., & Brown-May, A. *Evangelists of Empire? Missionaries in Colonial History* (Melbourne, 2010), 231.

³²⁹ Jacobs, *White Mother*, 91.

³³⁰ Jacobs, *White Mother*, 91.



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Miscegenation was considered a threat in several respects. For example, Emily Curtis, Secretary of the Woman's Section of the United Country Party stated in her speech to the Secretary of the Department of the Interior in 1934:

*'The Women's' Organisations of Australia [should] be urged, that for the race heritage that we hold in trust for the generations to come, for the sanctity of our old age traditions, and for the protection of our growing boys, to combat with all their power this insidious attempt to mingle with the community, women of illegitimate birth, tainted with aboriginal blood, the offspring of men of the lowest human types...'*³³²

Thus these 'white' women did not only worry about the behaviour of 'white' men, they were also concerned for their sons to copy these 'uncivilized' manners and above all, they were against

³³¹ Dora Meeson Women's suffrage banner: Trust the women...(1908) Dora MEESON (1869 - 1955)http://www.aph.gov.au/Visit_Parliament/VisitAPH/Committee_Room_Foyer/Dora_Meeson (March 15, 2016)

³³² Emily Curtis, Secretary of the Woman's Section of the United Country Party to Secretary, Department of the Interior 19 August 1934, CRS A452, 52/420NAA quoted in Russell McGregor, *Imagined Destinies*, 174

miscegenation and considered the children born out of mixed relations 'the offspring of the lowest human types', aiming at the Aboriginal women as well as at the 'white' European men.³³³

In 1933 Ernestine Hill, an Australian writer and journalist wrote about the marriage policy of Dr. Cecil Cook in the *Northern Standard*:

'Following a definite policy of concentrating the half-castes in the towns, breeding him- or rather her- with the 'whites' to every possible extent.' 'Dr. Cook had aroused much contention in the Far North. On account of the lamentable scarcity of 'white' women, settlers, fettlers and bushmen in the [Northern] Territory are encouraged to marry half caste and quadroon women. They are allowed, under strict supervision, to select a girl who appeals to them from the training-schools of the Darwin Compound and the mission stations, and, provided that they are in a position adequately to maintain her and the children, to marry her.'³³⁴

Hill here stated that the people living in the Northern Territory did not all agree with Cook's plans of the encouragement of marriages between 'white' men and 'mixed blood' Aboriginal women. Opinions on this policy were diverse as I will show by the next letter that was sent to the same newspaper, a week later. Someone who called herself / himself 'Mother of all 'whites' stated:

*'Just because the settlers out back, railway fettlers, and bushmen generally, have a hard and oft-times lonely life, are they a lower order of beings than the officials of Darwin, that they should be picked upon to do the uplift?... If intermarriage with the half-caste is such a desirable state of matrimony let Dr. Cook bring it nearer home; if he had a son of marriageable age would he encourage him to marry a half-caste or will he encourage and advise the best refined and highest polished single men of his social standing in Darwin to take the initiative and start the uplift of the dear half-caste ladies, marry them as he says, make them wife, not concubine; perhaps the colour would breed out in the first generation with such high-class goods to work from.'*³³⁵

Some thus criticized the plans of Cooke to allow the marriages between 'white' European men and Aboriginal women, mentioning that these were meant for a special 'lower' group of 'white' men; the fettlers, stockmen and bushmen and not for the 'white' elites. She/he sarcastically added that when 'high class goods 'would be used, meaning the elite 'white' men, the 'breeding out the colour' would already be attained in the first generation because their racial features would probably be

³³³ Emily Curtis, Secretary of the Woman's Section of the United Country Party to Secretary, Department of the Interior 19 August 1934, CRS A452, 52/420NAA quoted in Russell McGregor, *Imagined Destinies*, 174

³³⁴ Letter from Ernestine Hill in the *Northern Standard*, 13 June 1933.

³³⁵ 'Mother all whites' in the *Northern Standard* 20 June 1933, quoted in Fiona Probyn-Rapsey *White Fathers*, 27.

of a better quality than these of the 'lower' groups of men. A little bit further: '...and if some of the finances used to support the half-caste concubines were used to give young 'white' men a financial start to establish a home (with a 'white' girl) that would be a credit to himself and the country.'³³⁶ Hereby she/he protested against the money that was spent on education and civilization of the mixed blood Aboriginal women instead of on the future of 'white' couples. In addition to the objections against miscegenation, some people seemed to object against the financial expenses regarding the Aboriginal peoples.

Australian women's reformers considered the interracial sex, in- or outside a marriage however a problem because they stated it would lead to the deterioration of the 'white' race. In addition, these women condemned the uncivilized, uncontrolled sexual behavior of 'white' European men. There might also be other reasons for the condemnation of these relationships and marriages between 'white' European men and Aboriginal women, by 'white' Australian women as the in Australia well known Central Australian drover Matt Savage pointed out in 1971. He stated that the condemnation of these relationships was sexually and class based as the 'white' women hated the Aboriginal women at the cattle stations and treated them like animals.³³⁷ Not only Matt Savage mentioned that 'white' European men preferred the Aboriginal women on the cattle stations, which made 'white' women jealous. Since the 1970s also historians mentioned the 'sexual jealousy' thesis – the idea that white women were jealous of Aboriginal women and saw them as sexual rivals for white men - to explain or argue for colonial white women's hostility to Aboriginal women, and by implication racial discord in general.³³⁸

On the other hand, 'white' women also tried to 'civilise' and 'protect' Aboriginal women, in particular their sexuality. Young Aboriginal girls were considered 'pure' and 'clean,' while Aboriginal women who had sexual relationships with 'white' European men were considered 'impure.'³³⁹ By reproducing 'white' babies and thereby reproducing the 'white' race these white women were positioned as *mothers of the race* while Aboriginal women were considered *mothers of race*.³⁴⁰ White women used their ability to produce white babies to maximise their own status within the nation state Australia. To emphasize this status, the condemnation of the sexual behaviour of 'white' European men and in addition, the sexual behaviour of Aboriginal women, in particular in these 'mixed-race' relationships, was self-evident and obvious.

³³⁶ 'Mother all whites' in the Northern Standard 20 June 1933, quoted in Fiona Probyn-Rapsey *White Fathers*, 27.

³³⁷ Probyn-Rapsey, *Made To Matter*, 146.

³³⁸ See Miriam Dixon, *The Real Matilda: women and identity in Australia, 1788 to 1975* Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1976, p. 198. See also Lyn Riddett, 'Watch the White Women Fade', *Hecate* vol. 19, no. 1, 1993, pp. 73, 87, 90; Bobbi Sykes, 'Black Women in Australia: A History', Jan Mercer ed., *The Other Half: women in Australian society* Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1975, pp. 313-321.

³³⁹ Jacobs, *White Mother*, 95.

³⁴⁰ Karen Hagemann, Michel, S., & Budde, G. *Civil society and gender justice: historical and comparative perspectives* (Oxford, New York, 2013), 281

However, there was more to the condemnation of these relationships than an emphasize of status and a sexual jealousy. The 'white' European man in his role as a father of 'mixed blood' children was also subject to criticism. In the first decades of the twentieth century Western 'white' fathers were supposed to provide for their families, but they also had a role as moral teachers and disciplinarians.³⁴¹ During the 1930s they became more and more sex role models for their sons.³⁴² According to white women's reformers, 'white' Australian men having sexual relationships with Aboriginal women and being the fathers of their 'mixed blood' offspring did not meet these requirements. These men were not only considered 'men of the lowest human types', they were also considered 'bad fathers' for their 'mixed blood' children. 'White' European women represented 'white' Australian men as two role models at the same time. As role models of 'white' Australian masculinity and as marauding 'white' men who systematically abused Aboriginal women and were bad fathers for their 'mixed blood' children.³⁴³ This view was in 1958 shared by the historians Ward and in 2002 Reynolds who have written extensively about white masculinity in the context of Australian history.³⁴⁴ According to the historian Marilyn Lake, 'white' European women considered 'white' men's lusts – their primitive sexual urges' – not only a threat to the sanctity of women's bodies, but also for the 'white' civilization itself.³⁴⁵

Although the solution to the Aboriginal problem that Neville and Cook had developed was condemned by numbers of 'white' Australian women in general and by the 'white' women's reformers in particular, the 'problem' needed to be solved. Protectors of Aborigines had growing concerns about who was to be considered an Aboriginal now that the 'mixed blood' population had increased proportionately.

Already at the start of the twentieth century when the Federation was established and Aborigine Acts were implemented, several Protectors of Aborigines were aware of the Aboriginal problem and actively tried to 'solve' it, as I will show in 4.7 wherein I will research how the Protectors of Aborigines in South Australia executed the first South Australia Aborigines Act, which was implemented in 1911.

³⁴¹ Historical Perspectives on Fatherhood, United Nations <http://www.un.org/en/events/parentsday/background.shtml> (May 2, 2016)

³⁴² Michael Lamb, ed. *The role of the father in child development*. John Wiley & Sons, (Richmond, 2004), 5.

³⁴³ Michael Lamb, ed. *The role of the father in child development*. John Wiley & Sons, (Richmond, 2004), 5.

³⁴⁴ Russell Ward, *The Australian Legend* (London, Sydney, 1958), Russell McGregor, "'Breed Out the Colour", or the Importance of Being White', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol.33, no.120, October, 2002, pp.286-302 and Marilyn Lake, and Henry Reynolds. *Drawing the global colour line: white men's countries and the international challenge of racial equality*. (Cambridge, 2008)

³⁴⁵ Marilyn Lake, 'Colonised and Colonising: the 'white' Australian Feminist Subject', *Women's History Review*, Volume 2, Number 3(1993)384.

4.7. Protectors of Aborigines and the 'Aboriginal problem' in South Australia

Although opinions on intermarriage and breeding out the colour differed, Protectors of Aborigines, were already concerned about the problem of the growing 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population since the end of the nineteenth century. In 1911 the South Australia Aborigines Act was implemented which made the Protector of Aborigines the legal guardian of every Aboriginal child younger than 21 years. The correspondence of Protector of Aborigines South in South Australia shows the attention that was being paid to the cultural assimilation of young girls. In addition, it shows the importance of having a light skin colour and resembling a 'white' person. These 'white' features seemed to have been an 'advantage' for civilization.

*August 1st 1911
Mr T. H. Paxton
Stuart's Creek*

*Dear Sir,
Yours of 22nd July to hand for which I thank you.
As you will be away from home for some time I decided not to go up at present and to let the Police Officer at Hergott go for the girl.
Later on I hope to be able to pay you a visit.
But if you know of any other half-caste girls under 12 years of age whom you consider are not under proper care and control, I shall be grateful if you will let me know as I consider half cast girls should not be left to acquire the habits and customs of the Aborigines, but should be **brought up like 'white' children**, clean away from neighbourhood where they are found.
If this had been done years ago and continued we should not now have hundreds of practically 'white' people to **maintain**, who are living the life like ordinary blacks.³⁴⁶*

[W.G. South]

South condemned the habits and customs of the Aboriginal peoples, he wanted the 'mixed blood' girls to be raised like 'white' children. He criticized his predecessor Hamilton who had had had a 'laissez-faire' policy because he was convinced of the fact that the Aboriginal peoples were a dying race and therefore only needed protection. Now that the 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population was increasing rapidly, the focus was not anymore on the 'full bloods' dying out, but on merging the 'mixed bloods' into the wider society by civilizing them to 'white' standards, thus by 'cultural assimilation.' South's focus in particular was on the 'saving and civilizing of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal girls. In addition, he wanted to end the dependency of the Aboriginal peoples on the state governments because this made them 'idle' and was a financial burden for the state. The maintenance of all these 'mixed blood' Aboriginal peoples seemed to bother him. The 'mixed blood'

³⁴⁶ GRG52/8/1911 Letter Protector South to Mr. Paxton found on First Sources Info, <http://www.firstsources.info/protectors-letters-c.html> (December 14, 2015)

Aboriginal children should be brought up like 'white' children so that the state did not have to support them financially anymore. His actions coincided with the implementation of the first SA Aborigines Act in 1911.

In his letter to Mrs. Matthews, responsible for a ration depot where food and blankets were supplied to Aboriginal peoples, South emphasized that the depots had been a mistake; it made, especially the young, Aboriginal peoples idle and it was a financial burden to the state. Aboriginal peoples had to find a decent job and earn their money with 'honest' labour. If not, the state would interfere. As for the children growing up in the camps; they should be removed otherwise they would also develop 'idleness'. In the letter below, leading discourses on Aboriginal peoples are clearly present. They were idle and the life of the Aboriginal children in the camps was useless. This was a legitimation to remove them from the camps to be 'civilized'. What is also apparent is the total control of the Protector and other government officials if people would 'fail' to maintain their selves with honest labour, the State would 'step in and compel them.' Again, the financial support of Aboriginal seemed to bother South.

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August 5th 1911

Mrs. Matthews

Manunka

Dear Mrs. Matthews,

Your letter of yesterday to hand & I am very glad to hear that you agree with the proposal **to close the ration** depot at Manunka.

I was a bit afraid that you would not take it kindly, but you can rest assured that it is done in no antagonism to you,

as I quite recognize your and your daughter's self-sacrifice in trying to do good for the Natives; but I have long felt that the Depot was a mistake, **as it encouraged the Natives in idleness**

& that the old and deserving ones could be maintained much more economically at Point McLeay.

Manunka cost the department last year £250. 0.0, which if spent at Point McLeay would more than have maintained those few old people who live at Manunka, in comfort.

I think the old Natives should be well provided for but the young people should be encouraged in every way to maintain themselves by honest labour & to bring their children up to do likewise.

If they fail to do this, the State should step in & compel them.

No children in the settled districts should now be allowed to grow up **in idleness** in Blacks camps, or they will most certainly **develop into useless people.**

With regard to the supply of rations I have ordered for you a last supply.

I think it will be well to husband them for the benefit of the old natives, letting the able-bodied commence to get away, a few at a time, to find work.

I advise you to be firm with them right from the start.³⁴⁷

[W.G. South]

³⁴⁷ Letter from Protector South to Mrs Matthews found on First Sources Info. <http://www.firstsources.info/protectors-letters-c.html> (December 14, 2015)

In a letter to the Secretary of Public Works, two days later, South again emphasised his concerns about the 'mixed blood' Aboriginal children in the camps, growing up 'useless' and 'idle'. In addition, South also considered it a problem that these 'mixed blood' children could not be separated from the 'full blood' Aboriginal peoples, the 'blacks'. He considered the 'mixed blood' Aboriginal people as 'practically white' while the full blood people were 'black'. These nearly whites had to be educated to 'white' standards so that they would be able to merge into the wider society. Again his special attention was on Aboriginal girls with 'mixed blood'. The 'Aboriginal problem' had to be dealt with.

August 7, 1911

Sir,

*I have the honor to report for the information of the Hon. the Chief Secretary: There are now over 800 half casts and quadroons in this State. Until my appointment as Protector of Aboriginals **nothing had been done to rescue them from the cruel surroundings of the blacks' camp**, excepting a few taken on the Mission stations, where, unfortunately, they cannot be separated from the blacks, consequently **they grow up useless, idle dependents**; looking to the Government, & Missions for subsistence.*

*In my opinion, all half cast children, especially girls, should be considered wards of the State, and should not be left in the blacks' camps after they reach the age of four years, but should be placed in an **industrial school, educated & taught trades or other occupations & kept to constant work** until they are old enough to take care of themselves, after which they should be compelled to find their own living, and **should no longer be considered nor treated as Aboriginals**. It seems to me ridiculous to bring up a lot of **practically 'white' people** in blacks' camps & on Mission Stations in idleness, actually (if unintentionally) making them, & their children, **dependents** on the State and private charity.*

People brought up like this are hard to deal with.

Recently a woman – the daughter of a half cast & a 'white' woman – who is married to a white man herself now considered she was hardly dealt with because I would not recommend her application for a free grant of land.

*If **the system** of treating old Aboriginals is continued with the half casts and quadroons much longer the Aboriginal problem will become difficult to deal with.³⁴⁸*

[W.G. South]

In 1913, South again reported to the Secretary of Public Works. He stated that the half-caste and quadroon children had to be removed immediately from the camps. Already in earlier letters South had mentioned that he considered the children 'practically white'. However, in this letter he actually described the 'white' features of these children. South considered it important that the children would be useful for Australia. They had to learn a profession and should not be dependent on the State. South wanted to abolish the system that gave Aboriginal peoples blankets and rations.

³⁴⁸ Letter from Protector South to the Secretary of the Commissioner of Public Works found on First Sources Info, <http://www.firstsources.info/protectors-letters-c.html> (December 14, 2015)

He apparently wanted to decrease the financial expenses on Aboriginal peoples.

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May 13th 1913

To: Secretary, Commissioner of Public Works.

*I have the honour to inform you that I visited the Native camps at Bordertown on the 10th instant, but owing to the short time I could remain there, I was not able to get full particulars of the names, ages and circumstances of two families of half-caste and quadroon children living in the camps, but what I saw leads me to think that the children should be at once removed and placed under the State Children's Department. **Two of the children are white, with blue eyes, and one has auburn hair.** I would respectfully request that the Police Officer there be moved for a report, giving names and ages of the children, and names and circumstances of the parents.*³⁴⁹

[W.G. South]

South and other Protectors of Aborigines were obsessed with skin colour and this is clearly visible in their correspondence. From being 'almost white' to 'white' had to be achieved through a decent education and civilization according to 'white' standards.

Although plans on 'breeding out the colour' were only seriously developed in the 1930s in Australia and terms as 'quadroon' and 'octoroon' were part of these plans, South used these terms already in 1911. It seemed that ideas on eugenics, the improvement of the race, were already popular by several Australian government officials, like South. A further proof of this is the fact that the First International Eugenics Congress, held in London in 1912, was attended by several Australian government officials.³⁵⁰ It is unknown if South attended the congress.

At the time of the introduction of the plans 'to breed out the colour' the Aboriginal problem was considered more severe than ever. The new Superintendent of the Koonibba mission in South Australia reported in 1937 to Chief Protector of Aborigines McLean his concerns about the growing 'mixed blood' population on his mission. Before he had settled in Australia, the Superintendent had lived in New Zealand and negotiating with the then leading discourse on Aboriginal peoples, they seemed to be more intelligent than he had originally considered them to be.

'Coming from New Zealand where one often hears the comparison made between the Maori and the Australian aboriginal much to the depreciation of the latter, I must say that I was agreeably surprised at the intelligence and ability of most of our natives.

³⁴⁹ Letter from Protector South to the Secretary of the Commissioner of Public Works found on First Sources Info, <http://www.firstsources.info/protectors-letters-c.htm> (December 14, 2015)

³⁵⁰ GRG52/1/1937/48 Annual report for year ending 30/6/37 State Records South Australia

*The half-caste problem is of great interest to me, as the birth rate of legitimate half-castes is in a very healthy condition at Koonibba at present. Making a comparison with the congregations of our church the percentage of births is better here than among Europeans. Half-castes will continue to increase. What is to become of this additional population in these sparsely settled areas? At present they are absorbed by farmers and others, but the labour market is already full.*³⁵¹

The Superintendent was concerned about the numbers of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal peoples living in the remote areas because of economic reasons. The 1938 yearly report of the Chief Protector of South Australia stated of the situations in the missions and settlements of South Australia when writing about a new reverend for the Mission Ernabella:

*'and I think the influence of this mission and the interest of its superintendent and staff in the survival of the aboriginal as a pure race will go a long way towards arresting the drift which has set in through **the immoral association of white men** with the aboriginals.'*³⁵²
*It is very doubtful whether there are any aboriginals in this area who have not come into contact with white men. **This possibility of obtaining from them flour, sugar, tea, and other attractive articles is more than the native can withstand.** It is therefore essential for the well-being of these aboriginals that the contact shall be with **men of strict moral character and integrity**, whose actions and ideas can be copied by the aboriginals without fear of jeopardizing their existence.'*³⁵³

McLean stated that a preservation of the 'full blood' Aboriginal peoples on his reserves was impossible because of the immoral behaviours of 'white' European men. Because these men exchanged food and other articles with the Aboriginal peoples it was hard for them to withstand these 'immoral' men. Aboriginal peoples seemed to be economically dependent on these men. McLean realised that he could not prevent relations between 'white' men and Aboriginal peoples in general and sexual relationships between Aboriginal women and 'white' men in particular, and therefore he considered it essential that the 'white' men, who would be the sexual partners of these women, would be of strict moral character and integrity. Their ideas could then be copied by the Aboriginal peoples and a sound assimilation could take place.

*'as most of the white doggers have native women living in their camps the immoral effect on the primitive aboriginal may be well imagined.'*³⁵⁴

These 'doggers' were 'white' men who traded in dog skulls. The dogs (dingo's) were a real nuisance in the outback and the Australian state governments offered bonuses for these skulls as a proof of the amount of killed dogs. The doggers travelled through the outback and often had relationships with Aboriginal women. Government officials, like Protectors of Aborigines thought them to be

³⁵¹ GRG52/1/1938/43 Annual report for year ending 30/6/38 State Records South Australia

³⁵² GRG52/1/1938/43 Annual report for year ending 30/6/38 State Records South Australia

³⁵³ GRG52/1/1938/43 Annual report for year ending 30/6/38 State Records South Australia

³⁵⁴ GRG52/1/1938/43 Annual report for year ending 30/6/38 State Records South Australia

immoral because of their way of living and their trading of food and liquor with the Aboriginal peoples which made these people dependent on them. In addition, they condemned their sexual relationships with Aboriginal women.

Apparent is that Protectors of Aborigines did certainly not consider these 'bushmen,' living in the Australian outback and having sexual relationships with Aboriginal women, as role models of 'white' civilization. They were not the men 'of strict moral character and integrity' that McLean was talking about in his yearly report. However, according to Neville and Cook, these were the men that had to be encouraged to marry 'mixed blood' Aboriginal women to 'breed out the colour.'

In 1938 the ideas of the 'racial crossing' of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal women and 'white' European men was subject to research in South Australia as the Government provided funds to anthropologists to further research the 'racial crossing', as Penhall stated in April 1938.

'In April last the Government made a grant of £500 available to the Board for Anthropological Research to enable Mr. N.B. Tindale, of the Adelaide Museum staff, to join Doctor J.B. Birdsell, of the Harvard University, in an investigation of the racial crossing of the Australian Aboriginal and the white and foreign people in Australia.'

Signed by W.R. Penhall, Acting Chief Protector of Aborigines.³⁵⁵

Hereby it becomes clear that 'breeding out the colour' was at this moment not an official policy in South Australia. In addition, it seemed that it neither was an unofficial policy as I consider the opinion of the Protector of Aborigines and other officials on the 'white' men having relationships with Aboriginal women.

When researching the correspondence of the Protectors of Aborigines, it is apparent that they were in particular concerned about the economical dependence of a growing population of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal peoples on the Australian government.

Even the testimonies of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal children who had 'white' fathers and were forcibly removed from their Aboriginal families by Protectors of Aborigines typified their white fathers as 'good fathers' when they economically took care of them. It seemed that by this remarkable way of classifying these men as 'good fathers' it was not a rule that these men accepted the financial responsibility for their 'mixed blood offspring.

Eileen Moseley, born in Finke, Northern Territory in 1949 and removed from her family at a young, but unknown age, when speaking about her biological 'white' father:

*'My biological father was from – he was a fettler at Finke, which is a railway worker. Apparently he was a **very kind man**. Mum, when we came to Alice Springs, if they **had no***

³⁵⁵ GRG52/1/1938/43 Annual report for year ending 30/6/38 State Records South Australia

*food, they'd go and see my natural father and he used to get big boxes, crates of food and get a new dress and even brought my mum, an old man's shirt and trousers. And I thought, oh, well, he was a kind man.*³⁵⁶

Clara Johnson, born in Northern Territory in 1929 and removed from her family at the age of five, had an Irish father. She made the same classification as Eileen. He was a good father because he took economically care.

*My father used to go into Oodnadatta and get food and bring back materials and the women sat down and soon made themselves busy making dresses and skirts and long tailed shirts for the kids and pretty dresses for the girls and that.*³⁵⁷

These are only two statements about 'good fathers'; 'white' men who took financially care of their 'mixed blood' families. There must have been more, however not all 'white' fathers economically looked after their children, which left the problem for the Australian government to solve. In the mean time it became more problematic to define 'who was an Aboriginal?' How this issue was dealt with I will explain in 4.8

4.8 A new solution to the Aboriginal problem in South Australia: the certificate of exemption from the provisions of the Aborigines Act, 1939

In September 1938 Chief Protector Penhall of South Australia described his problems of dealing with the 1934 Aborigines Act for South Australia.

..' Perhaps the most difficult part of the Aborigines Act No.2154 of 1934 is the notion of dealing with definitions. Obviously this is the crux of the whole Act. The provisions of the Act apply only to Aboriginal Peoples and half-castes. There are large numbers of people classed as Aboriginal Peoples who are not Aboriginal Peoples in the meaning of the Act- who then are Aborigines?'³⁵⁸

In time it had become more difficult for Protectors of Aborigines to determine who was Aboriginal and who was not, as the racial mixing of 'white' European men and Aboriginal women had increased and the mixed blood Aboriginal population was reproducing fast. Penhall needed to know for administrative reasons who was subject to the protection legislation. Thus, who was to be considered Aboriginal and who was not?

³⁵⁶ <http://www.stolengenerationstestimonies.com>, Eileen Moseley (June 23, 2016)

³⁵⁷ <http://www.stolengenerationstestimonies.com>, Clara Johnson (June 23, 2016)

³⁵⁸ GRG52/1/1938/43 Annual report for year ending 30/6/38 State Records South Australia

In order to solve this problem, the Aborigines Act Amendment Act 1939 of South Australia was assented to on 22 November 1939 and commenced on 1 February 1940.³⁵⁹ About defining who was to be considered Aboriginal it stated:

4. (1) *Every person-*

(a) *who is of the full blood descended from the original inhabitants of Australia; or*

(b) *who being of less than the full blood is descended from the original inhabitants of Australia,*

shall, unless exempted pursuant to section 11a, be deemed to be an aborigine within the meaning of this Act.

(2) *In this Act "aboriginal" means appertaining or relating to an aborigine.*³⁶⁰

The terms 'A(a)original and A(a)origine are both used and are interchangeable.

Thus, since the implementation of this amendment, all Aboriginal peoples, regardless if they were so called 'full bloods' or 'mixed bloods' were considered 'Aboriginal.' In fact, every person that descended from an Aboriginal was considered Aboriginal. The problem of who was to be called 'Aboriginal' was to be solved by this section.

However, this is not in line with the general assimilation policy that aimed at merging 'mixed blood' Aboriginal peoples into the wider society. In particular, it contradicts with the ideas of 'breeding out the colour' that were meant to 'whiten' mixed blood Aboriginal peoples.

In addition, the Act made it an *offence* for non-Aboriginal males to have sexual relationships with Aboriginal women, while not being married to them:

'Any male person, other than an Aboriginal, who, not being lawfully married to the female Aboriginal (proof whereof shall be upon the person charged)

a) habitually consorts with a female Aboriginal; or

b) keeps a female Aboriginal as his mistress; or

*c) has carnal knowledge of a female Aboriginal, shall be guilty of an offence against the Act.'*³⁶¹

Since the implementation of this 1939 Act, the South Australian Government could officially prohibit relationships between 'white' European men and Aboriginal women if not being married. Chief Protectors now had legislation against the supposed immorality of 'white' European men

³⁵⁹ The Aborigines Act Amendment Act 1939, Flnd and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/sa/SE00268> (March 15, 2016)

³⁶⁰ The Aborigines Act Amendment Act 1939, Flnd and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/sa/SE00268> (March 15, 2016)

³⁶¹ The Aborigines Act Amendment Act 1939, Flnd and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/sa/SE00268> (March 15, 2016)

having unmarried relationships with Aboriginal women. Only within a marriage, 'mixed' relationships were allowed in South Australia.

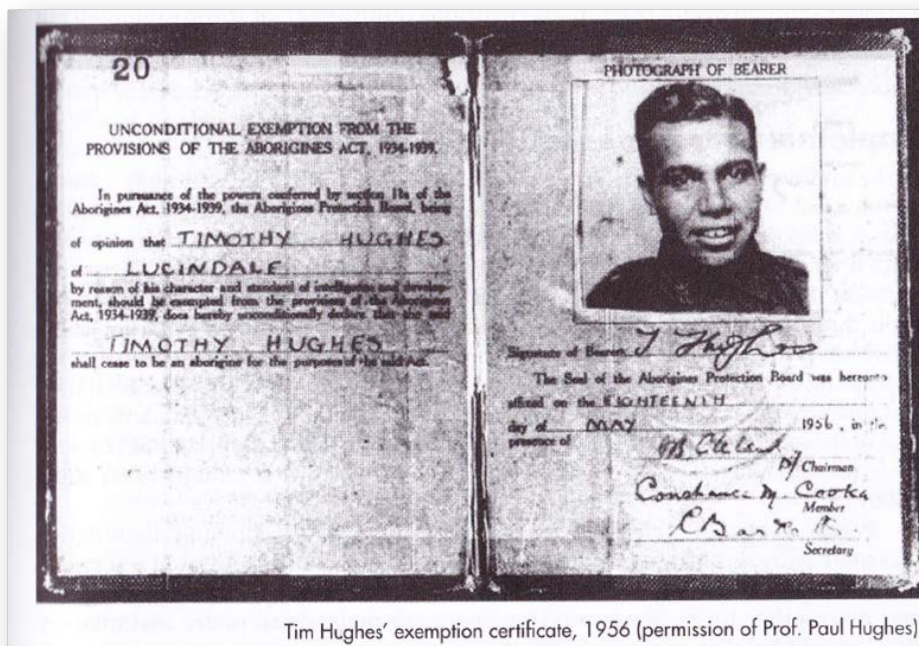
However, the most particularly remarkable feature of the 1939 Aborigines Amendment Act was the establishment of a ground breaking system of exemptions from the jurisdiction of the Aborigines Act in South Australia as I will show. With the implementation of this system Aboriginal peoples could be exempted from the provisions of the Act:

*(1) In any case where the board is of opinion that any aborigine by reason of his character and standard of intelligence and development should be exempted from the provisions of this Act, the board may, by notice in writing, declare that the aborigine shall cease to be an aborigine for the purposes of this Act. Any such declaration may be made by the board **whether or not** an application is made by the person to whom the declaration refers.*³⁶²

Aboriginal peoples who met the 'white' civilized standards of character, intelligence and development received the possibility to be exempted from the provisions of the Aborigines Act. The Aboriginal Protection Board, could, with or without a request from an Aboriginal person to be exempted, supply a so called 'certificate of exemption of the provisions of the Aborigines Act'. In South Australia it was general practice that the Protector of Aborigines supplied such certificates. However, an Aboriginal person who had received a certificate of exemption from the provisions of the Aborigines Act, had to behave well, because the certificate could be revoked by the Protector of Aborigines. Descendants of these 'ex' Aboriginal persons were also considered to be exempted.

This exemption prescribed Aboriginal peoples to behave like 'white' citizens. This meant that they were not allowed to speak their Aboriginal language or to engage in Aboriginal dance, rituals or native customs. In addition, the association with other Aboriginal peoples, including family, was not allowed. Exempted Aboriginals were supposed to assimilate into the wider community and if all conditions were met with and satisfactorily upheld, 'ex' Aboriginal peoples could live in town, unsupervised by government officials, in strictly segregated housing areas. Below a certificate of exemption, supplied by the Aborigines Protection Board of South Australia to Timothy Hughes.

³⁶² The Aborigines Act Amendment Act 1939, Find and Connect <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/sa/SE00268> (March 15, 2016)



Tim Hughes' exemption certificate, 1956 (permission of Prof. Paul Hughes).

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The certificate above is signed by John Burton Cleland, Professor of Pathology at the University of Adelaide, Constance Mary Ternent Cooke, member of the Women's Non-Party Association (South Australia) and active in lobbying for the rights of Aboriginal peoples and C.J. Bartlett, secretary.

Several months after the implementation of the 1939 Aborigines Amendment Act, the Protector of Aborigines was not the only person anymore who could protect and control the Aboriginal peoples because, in the mean time an Aboriginal Protection Board was established which gave all members the same powers as the Protector of Aborigines. All members were practical and experienced in the interaction with Aboriginal peoples.³⁶⁴

The certificate above is signed by John Burton Cleland, Professor of Pathology at the University of Adelaide, Constance Mary Ternent Cooke, member of the Women's Non-Party Association (South Australia) and active in lobbying for the rights of Aboriginal peoples and C.J. Bartlett, secretary.

Next page shows an example of a certificate of exemption of one of Australia's other states. The lay-out of the certificates could differ, but legislation was the same in every state. Aboriginal peoples who had a certificate, also called a 'dog tag' by the Aboriginal peoples themselves, could now 'move freely', but had to behave like 'whites'.

³⁶³ Auntie Rita Weebly.com, http://auntierita.weebly.com/uploads/6/9/9/5/6995221/2535719_orig.png (May 2, 2016)


³⁶⁴ Margaret Macilwain, PhD thesis Politics Adelaide University 2006, South Australian Aborigine cProtection Board (1939-1962) and governance through scientific expertise: a genealogy of protection and assimilation. <http://hdl.handle.net/2440/61981> (June 23, 2016)

No. 705

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA
Aborigines Protection Act 1909-1943, Section 18c.

General Certificate of Exemption

Photograph of



This document entitles the bearer JOSEPH EDWARDS to:

Leave the reservation or mission at which they live -
to go to work.

Additional benefits include:

Walk freely through town without being arrested
(Note: Curfews apply)

Enter a shop or hotel (You may or may not be served
- at proprietor's discretion)

Special conditions apply. In order to gain this Exemption Certificate, the following must be strictly adhered to:

Speaking in native language - Prohibited

Engaging in dance, rituals, native customs - Prohibited

Associating with fellow indigenous people (including family) - Prohibited


Assimilate into the wider community.
If all conditions are met with and satisfactorily upheld, you may also be eligible to live in town unsupervised.

Note: Strictly segregated housing areas.

This is your chance to be free of the Aborigines Protection Act and live like a white man.

Dated the 10th day of March, 19 51.

Issued by E. B. Meagher
Chairman of the Aborigines Welfare Board



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The Aborigines Welfare Board (names for Boards differed per state) allowed Joseph Edwards to 'leave the reservation or mission at which he lived, to go to work.' He could now 'walk freely through town without being arrested' and he was allowed to 'enter a shop or hotel'. However, it was possible that Joseph was not being served because the proprietor of the shop/hotel was to decide on this. The most significant statement on the certificate was: *'This is your chance to be free of the Aborigines Protection Act and live like a white man.'*

In the years after the implementation of the Amendment Act 1939 Protector of Aborigines Penhall received more and more requests for certificates of exemption by Aboriginal men and women. Very often was a marriage of an Aboriginal woman to a white man the 'reason' for this request. If Penhall or other Board members had any doubts about Aboriginal people's behaviour, a certificate 'on probation' was issued. Until 1953, when Penhall's time as a Protector ended, he very

³⁶⁵ <https://www.colouribus.com/adsarchive/prints/first-australians-exemption-certificate-12471655/> (June 23, 2016)

regularly supplied these certificates to Aboriginal peoples. During the following years, until the abolition of the South Australian Aboriginals Protection Board in 1962, more and more certificates of exemption were supplied, making Australia 'whiter' every year. During the 1950s and the start of the 1960s, the growing numbers of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal children were still considered a problem by the Board. The South Australia Aboriginal Affairs Act 1962 repealed the Aborigines Act of 1934-1939 and, in particular, abrogated the Aborigines Protection Board's powers to remove Aboriginal children from their families. The Act also abolished most restrictions on Aboriginal people, particularly the power to move them to reserves. The administrative capacity was upgraded and special assistance was established to help Aboriginal peoples to assimilate into the wider community. The powerful Protection Board was replaced with an Aboriginal Affairs Advisory Board. In the years after 1962 a growing awareness about the importance of an own Aboriginal identity became apparent.³⁶⁶

Thus Aboriginal peoples who behaved 'well', according to the opinion of the Aborigines Welfare Board, could receive a certificate. The consequences of receiving a certificate were far-reaching as all ties with 'Aboriginality' had to be broken. However, Aboriginal peoples saw these certificates as an escape from the control of Chief Protectors and the Aboriginal Welfare Board. From 1939, Protector Penhall and the Aboriginal Welfare Board of South Australia, regularly handed out certificates of exemption to 'well-behaving' Aboriginals. Every demand and every conferment or denial of a certificate was noted in the correspondence of the Protector of Aborigines I researched.

Still telling is the fact that it is still unclear whether 'breeding out the colour' was an official government policy. Even today, historians' opinions differ on this matter, the ambivalence about this policy therefor still exists.

Although the state government of South Australia did not openly reject the 'policy' of intermarriage of Aboriginal women and 'white' European men, it seemed that Protectors of Aborigines in South Australia did not actively promote these marriages like the Protectors in the Northern Territory and Western Australia did.

However, it occurred to me that the Protector and the Board readily granted certificates of exemption to 'mixed blood' Aboriginal women who married 'white' European men. When Aboriginal women married a white man, or at least had plans to do so, Protector of Aborigines Penhall supplied them a certificate. When describing the request and the supply of the certificate, it was noted whether the woman was a 'half-caste' or a 'quadroon'. Were these features noted to emphasize their light skin colour and their being already 'almost white' which would make a cultural

³⁶⁶ Creative Spirits, Aboriginal Timeline, <http://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/history/aboriginal-history-timeline-1900-1969#axzz4A3YTO1R9> (May 2, 2016)

assimilation more easy? Or were these features noted because they were a condition for breeding out the colour? Or did they serve both, cultural assimilation and biological absorption?

By complying with the law in this way, it seems that the Protector and the Board could serve both cases without being open about it. Public opinions on 'mixed marriages' of Aboriginal 'mixed blood' women to 'white' European men were diverse, but in general they were not supported as we consider the reflections on the policy by women's reformers and the diverse, often anonymous, reactions of Australian citizens published in the Australian newspapers. Based on the then leading discourses on race, numbers of Australian citizens condemned the miscegenation, in particular 'white' Australian women. Active promotion of these marriages by the Protector and the Board in South Australia might have caused a public indignation as it did in the Northern Territory and Western Australia.

Conclusion Chapter 4

In this chapter the building of the nation state Australia was central. At the start of the Federation in 1901 a new national identity had to be formed wherein the 'white' Australian man seemed to have a romantic, though ambivalent role. The new nation state Australia had to face several serious 'problems'. As I explained in Chapter 3 the Chinese immigrants seemed to form a serious economic threat and the White Australia Policy that also fulfilled the desire to be one race, formed the solution to this. However, at the same time, the Aboriginal peoples were also seen as a problem as the 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population grew extensively due to the sexual relationships of 'white' European men with Aboriginal women and were also made subject of the White Australia Policy. Fears that this population eventually would become larger than the white population were abound. This 'Aboriginal problem' had to be solved.

During the first eleven years of the Federation state governments had implemented protective legislation concerning the Aboriginal peoples. This legislation not only aimed at protection, but also at control and assimilation. The new laws were executed by the Protectors of Aborigines.

Apart from the cultural assimilation, realized by forced removals of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal children from their families so that they could be educated and 'civilised' in institutions, two Protectors of Aborigines developed in the 1930s additional plans that were based on eugenic thought and that aimed at a biological absorption of the 'mixed blood' Aboriginal people. The black colour of the Aboriginal had to be bred out and the way to do this was to encourage marriages between 'white' European men and 'mixed blood' Aboriginal women. Presented at the Native Welfare Conference in 1937 reactions on these ideas were diverse.

Important opponents however were the politically influential 'white' Australian women's reformers who condemned the policy of interracial marriages for several reasons. Although it seems that the policy never had an official status in Australia, opinions on this status are still diverse, even today. Protectors of Aborigines in South Australia used since 1939 convenient ways to get around the deprecated marriages with the goal of 'breeding out the colour,' by supplying certificates of exemption from the Aborigines Act to Aboriginal women who had planned to marry a 'white' European man.

The provision of these certificates increased year by year and ended in 1962 in South Australia because all legislation regarding the assimilation of Aboriginal peoples was abolished then in this state. When I researched the correspondence of the Protectors of Aborigines, the 'Aboriginal problem' was not only a matter of skin colour. Discourses on race certainly played a role in the fear of being 'shattered from within by a growing 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population' but economic reasons seemed to have the lead.³⁶⁷ When analysing the correspondence of the Protectors of Aborigines in South Australia and the several testimonies of the Aboriginal children with 'mixed blood', the supply of goods seemed to be of major importance. Already in 1901 state governments made 'white' European fathers responsible for their 'mixed blood' children by holding them financially responsible for their upkeep. In the correspondence of Protectors of Aborigines during the years after the Federation, but also in the 1930s the financial burden of seemed to be high for the state as Protectors regularly emphasized that 'mixed blood' Aboriginal people were idle and dependent on the state and this was to change.

By the fact that 'mixed blood' children reflected on their 'white' fathers as 'good fathers' when they economically took care of their families and by their remarks on the many 'white' fathers who did not, the problem is made even clearer. The 'solutions' of 'mixed blood' child removal, 'breeding out the colour' and the certificates of exemption from the Aborigine Acts seemed to have been solutions that were fuelled by a fear that was twofold.; it was racial and economic. These were based on a racial fear to be 'shattered from within' and on a fear of an economic decline in the just founded Federation of Australia.

³⁶⁷ McGregor, *Indifferent Inclusion*, 1.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

Due to the fact that colonial governments had restricted the emigration of European women to Australia, in 1901, at the time of the founding of the Federation of Australia, imbalanced sex ratios were the status quo. According to Stoler “rough living and a scarcity of amenities had become conditions of the past.”³⁶⁸ As a result of the scarcity of ‘white’ European women, ‘white’ European men maintained relationships with Aboriginal women. As sexual contacts with these women were not subject to the same morality codes as sexual contacts with ‘white’ European women, these relationships reinforced the racial domination.³⁶⁹ In addition, these relationships resulted in growing numbers of ‘mixed blood’ Aboriginal peoples in Australia.

In 1901 the ambition to build a progressive, young and new nation was featured by popular discourses on race. The notion of ‘white’ prestige, based on discourses of racial purity, cultural superiority and moral integrity was considered important and was to be part of the new national Australian identity.³⁷⁰ For the unity of Australia, the unity of a ‘white’ race was not only important, it was considered essential.

According to Hall, identities are not the result of a identical constituted unity, but are constructed *through* difference.”³⁷¹ By ‘othering’, the discursive exclusion and marginalization of the Chinese immigrants and in addition, the original inhabitants, the Aboriginal peoples, the state governments of the new founded Federation of Australia constructed a new ‘white’ national Australian identity whereby the Chinese immigrants were restricted to enter Australia. This was expressed by the Immigration Restriction Act in 1901, that was part of the so-called White Australia Policy.

The ‘white’ nation was represented as being threatened with extinction, and as such, the legislation restricting the immigration of Chinese immigrants was considered a matter of life and death to the purity of the race and the future of Australia.³⁷²

However, not only Chinese immigrants were subject to this policy. Based on leading discourses on race, the Aboriginal peoples were considered to be ‘a doomed race’ due to their backwardness and the devastating European influences that had decreased their population. At the same time though, state governments were alarmed by growing ‘mixed blood’ Aboriginal populations that were the result of relationships of ‘white’ European men and Aboriginal women.

³⁶⁸ Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal knowledge and imperial power: Race and the intimate in colonial rule*. (Univ of California Press, 2002), 52.

³⁶⁹ Carina Ray, "Interracial Sex and the Making of Empire." *A Companion to Diaspora and Transnationalism* (2013), 194.

³⁷⁰ Carina Ray, "Interracial Sex and the Making of Empire, 204.

³⁷¹ Hall, *Questions of Cultural Identity*, 18.

³⁷² William McMillan, 'Immigration Restriction Bill', House of Representatives, Debates, 6 September 1901, p. 4629.

http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/APF/monographs/Within_Chinas_Orbit/Chapterone (June 23, 2016)

During the first eleven years of the Federation of Australia Aborigines Acts were implemented in all states. These aimed at a protection of the so-called 'full blood' Aboriginal peoples by housing them in reserves, while the 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population had to be assimilated into the wider society. Creating a national consciousness, the White Australia Policy was strongly represented in popular culture, like songs, plays and games. In addition, discourses on race and on the national hygiene were expressed in the public domain by soap advertisements and cartoons. According to McClintock the cult of domesticity was at this time central to the British imperial identity that coincided with the new Australian identity.³⁷³ This commodity racism "marketed evolutionary racism and imperial power".³⁷⁴

Part of the new national identity of Australia was the role model of romanticized 'white' Australian masculinity, the bushman. The Aboriginal peoples were the natural inhabitants of the bush, however, the 'white' Australian man had to conquer it. For this, special characteristics were needed as Ward extensively described in his book "*The Australian Legend*".³⁷⁵

However, not all Australian citizens considered these sturdy and loyal 'white' males as role models of Australian 'white' masculinity. Australian elites and Protectors of Aborigines considered them immoral and so did 'white' women's reformers when these men maintained sexual relationships with Aboriginal women, which was common practice. In addition, these women's reformers considered these men, when having relationships with Aboriginal women, a threat for 'white' civilization.

Reflections on these men, as well as on their interracial relationships, were thus ambivalent; elites believed that these relationships would lower the 'white' Australian men in the eyes of the Aboriginal people and indeed, 'white' European men who maintained sexual relationships with Aboriginal women were looked down upon, although in particular by 'white' Australian citizens who considered them 'low types' and bad fathers for their 'mixed blood' children.³⁷⁶ 'White' women might have been insecure and jealous of the sexual relationships that 'white' men maintained with Aboriginal women.³⁷⁷ However, according to Stoler, it is more likely that they condemned these relationships because of the double standards for 'white' men.³⁷⁸

'White' European women had a special role in the building of the nation state as they were held responsible for "breeding a virile race of empire-builders" and they had to "control the health

³⁷³ Anne McClintock, *Imperial leather: Race, gender, and sexuality in the colonial contest* (New York, 1995), 34

³⁷⁴ McClintock, *Imperial leather*, 35,36.

³⁷⁵ Russell Ward, *The Australian Legend* (London, Sydney, 1958)

³⁷⁶ Daisy Bates quoted in Fiona Probyn-Rapsey, *Made to Matter: White Fathers Stolen Generations* (Sydney, 2013) xii, xiii.

³⁷⁷ Ann Stoler, "Making empire respectable: The politics of race and sexual morality in 20th-century colonial cultures." *American ethnologist* (1989), 640.

³⁷⁸ Stoler, *Making empire respectable*, 641.

and the wealth of the male imperial body politic".³⁷⁹ Their duty was to breed the imperial stock and to control 'uncivilised' white men.³⁸⁰

During the first three decades of the new formed Federation the population of the 'mixed blood' Aboriginals grew much faster than the 'white' population. Racial fears that the 'white' race would ultimately be 'overrun' by the mixed blood Aboriginal population were widely apparent. Protectors of Aborigines, executed the Aborigine Acts that aimed at an assimilation of the 'mixed blood' Aboriginals. At first, this considered a cultural assimilation as 'mixed blood' Aboriginal children were forcibly removed from their families to be educated and civilised in special institutions. Considered idle and dependent on the state, they had to be useful for the Federation of Australia. Full blood Aboriginals were assumed to die out and were 'kept' on reserves.

As the numbers of Aboriginal peoples with mixed blood increased, Protectors of Aborigines became more and more concerned. By analysing the correspondence of these state government officials it became clear to me that these Protectors considered the 'mixed blood' Aboriginal population to put enormous pressure on the Australian economy. These people did not only form a 'racial' threat, they mainly were considered an economic threat. The opinions of the Protectors of Aborigines were not only expressed by quotes in their correspondence, but also in the ideas that two Protectors on Aborigines, Neville and Cook, developed in 1933. They were determined to solve this 'Aboriginal problem' by 'breeding out the colour' and presented their ideas at the Native Welfare Conference in Canberra in 1937. At this conference all Protectors of Aborigines of Australia were gathered. It was stated that the Conference believed that the 'mixed blood' Aboriginal peoples had to be absorbed by the people of the Commonwealth and all efforts should be directed at that absorption.³⁸¹

Interracial marriages between 'white' Australian men and Aboriginal 'mixed blood' women were thus encouraged. The goal of these marriages was to 'breed out' the 'black' colour of the Aboriginal peoples. These peoples had to become part of the wider 'white' society. Reflections on this policy were very diverse in Australia. Discourses on race influenced these reflections as 'racial mixture' was considered undesirable by diverse Australian citizens. Others protested against the fact that 'white' Australian men had to take care for the 'uplift' of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal women.

Bleakley, Protector of Aborigines of Queensland, condemned the 'breeding out the colour' for other reasons. The 'mixed blood' population in this state was much larger than in the other states and 'breeding out the colour' would not be enough. In addition, Bleakley stated that Queensland's mixed population consisted also of Chinese blood. Since the Chinese were not

³⁷⁹ McClintock, *Imperial leather*, 47.

³⁸⁰ McClintock, *Imperial leather*, 47.

³⁸¹ <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/bringing-them-home-chapter-2> (June 23, 2016)

considered to belong to the Caucasian race, contrary to the Aboriginal people, they were not suitable for this solution.

The ideas of Neville and Cook caused so much controversy that still today it is not clear whether the 'breeding out the colour' has been an official policy in Australia. It is also still unclear if all state governments agreed on the 'breeding out the colour' and if it was executed in all states. In my research of the correspondence of the Protectors of Aborigines of South Australia I did not find proof of this.

Although not legitimated by legislation, it is probable that diverse Protectors of Aborigines executed the 'policy', in particular in the Northern Territory where Cook was the Protector of Aborigines and in Western Australia where Neville was Protector of Aborigines. The overall aim of the encouragement of marriages between 'white' men and Aboriginal women with 'mixed blood' was to make their offspring not only 'white' but in particular 'economically white' in order to decrease the financial burden for the state. In fact, 'mixed blood' Aboriginals had to be 'de-Aboriginalized.'

By the implementation of an amendment of the South Australia Aborigines Act in 1939, another solution to the 'Aboriginal problem' was established. Protectors of Aborigines could now hand out certificates of exemption from the provisions of Aboriginal Act to Aboriginal peoples that were suitable to be merged into the wider society. Until 1962 these certificates were handed out more and more frequently in order to make all suitable 'mixed blood' Aboriginals 'economically white'. 'White' Australians were and would not be 'idle dependents' on the state.

During my research into the correspondence of the Protectors of Aborigines in South Australia I did not find proof of the execution of this the policy of 'breeding out the colour.' I would like to perform research in the State Records of other Australian states to research if this policy was executed and if, for how long. In addition, I would like to research if there were any Protectors of Aborigines in the other Australian states, except for the Northern Territory, Western Australia and Queensland, who sympathised with the policy by analysing their correspondence. Because a large amount of 'mixed blood' Aboriginal people lived in institutions and mission stations, I would like to research their administrations on interracial marriages since 1933, when the ideas were expressed by Neville and Cook.

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Appendix I

Short overview of the Protectors of Aborigines in South Australia

The colonisation of South Australia in 1836 differed severely from the other colonies in Australia. Before analysing the South Australian sources in Chapter 4 I will give a short historical overview of its history and some specific information on the Aboriginal Protectors that served in South Australia. The colonisation of South Australia was based on the ideals of the Enlightenment and was intended as an 'experiment' in social development in which the Aborigines would be treated with courtesy and respect.³⁸² The government's policy was to 'protect and civilise' the Aborigines and to extend to them the benefits of European culture, Christianity and British law.³⁸³ Unlike the older colonies there were no convicts in South Australia, and 'the commitment to 'free settlement' was fiercely maintained.'³⁸⁴

Following the report of the British Select Committee into the condition of all 'natives' in British colonies, the British government recommended the appointment of so called 'Protectors of Aborigines' in Australia. These Protectors would be required to learn the Aboriginal language and their duties would be to watch over the rights of Aborigines. In 1839 Matthew Moorhouse, medical practitioner, civil servant and pastoralist was appointed the first full-time Protector of Aborigines in South Australia.³⁸⁵ The Governor directed Moorhouse to instruct the Aborigines in reading, writing, the building of houses, the making of cloths, agriculture and other 'ordinary acts of civilization.' He also had to teach them the truths of Christianity.³⁸⁶

Moorhouse reported regularly to the government and he concluded that in the more 'settled' areas of South Australia concerns were growing about the increasing number of 'half-caste' children and the deplorable circumstances they were brought up in. More active intervention by the government was needed.³⁸⁷ After Moorhouses' retirement in 1856 there were several periods without Protectors. Clerks then handled the routine works. During the period 1873 – 1908 Edward Lee Hamilton filled the role of Chief Protector in South Australia.³⁸⁸ He had a *laissez-faire approach* because he was convinced of the fact that the Aborigines were a dying race, doomed to extinction.³⁸⁹ In this period concerns about the wellbeing of Aboriginal children with mixed blood

³⁸² <http://www.decd.sa.gov.au/docs/documents/1/theremovalofmanyaborigina.pdf>

³⁸³ *Ibidem*.

³⁸⁴ <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/historical-background.html> (22-9-2015)

³⁸⁵ Rob Amery, *Warrabarna Kauna Reclaiming an Australian Language* (Lisse, 2000), 80.

³⁸⁶ Mary Thomas, *Founding Mother: The Life and Times of a South Australia Pioneer* (Duncan, 2007), 131.

³⁸⁷ <http://www.decd.sa.gov.au/docs/documents/1/theremovalofmanyaborigina.pdf>

³⁸⁸ http://www.firstsources.info/uploads/3/2/4/6/3246279/7_protectors_letter-books_1892-1906.pdf (16-9-32015)

³⁸⁹ Robert Foster, 'Endless trouble and agitation': Aboriginal Activism in the Protectionist Era,' *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* 28(2000) 15-27.

were still growing. The State Children's Council had agreed to take charge of children of mixed descent found wandering or camping with Aboriginal people and legal precedents had been established. Still, it was considered necessary to strengthen the protection and control provisions for these children which resulted in the 1911 Aboriginals Protection Act.³⁹⁰

The successor of Hamilton was William Garnett South (1908-1923). He had some specific concerns regarding Aboriginals because his idea was that they were to dependent on the Australian government and its institutions. He wanted to remove Aboriginal children with 'mixed blood' from the Aboriginal camps, to disperse the mixed populations living at Mission Stations into the general community and, eventually, to dismantle the Mission Stations.³⁹¹ Francis Garnett succeeded South and was Chief Protector during 1923-1930. There are not many publications on Garnett; he retired because he reached the age of 65 years and was succeeded on October 10th 1930 by M.T. McLean who served until 1939. McLean favoured the ideas of biological assimilation; of 'the breeding out the colour', but he also had ideas about social integration of the Aboriginals with mixed blood. He wanted to enforce the reliability, independence and ability to maintain themselves, especially of the people of mixed race who had been raised in institutions.³⁹² William Richard Penhall who had been the Superintendent of Point McLeay from 1927, secretary of the Aboriginals Protection Board and finally became Chief Protector in 1939 until 1953, succeeded McLean. He seemed to have had a hard punitive personality and removed many Aboriginal children with 'mixed blood' from their parents.³⁹³In 1962 all legislation regarding Aboriginal peoples in South Australia was repealed. All other Australian states had repealed this legislation by 1969.

³⁹⁰ <http://australianmuseum.net.au/indigenous-australia-timeline-1901-to-1969> (31-8-2015)

³⁹¹ *Ibidem*

³⁹² John Chesterman, Heather Douglas, 'Their ultimate absorption Assimilation in 1930s' Australia, *Journal of Australian Studies* (2004) 47-58.

³⁹³ www.australianhistory.com.au/lastprotector.htm

Appendix II

Approval to access Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation records

Attachment 2
File No. DSD-AAR16/0021
Physical Id. DSD-AAR16D0008

ACCESS TO RECORDS

DECLARATION

Approval to access Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation records is given on the acceptance of stated conditions and signing of this document.

NAME: Ms Els Priester-Tinkhof

- Information contained in the series GRG52/1 and GRG52/2
- No documents are to be removed from the files or volumes that you wish to access nor can they be removed from the State Records Access Room. You can however request copies of the relevant documents that you wish to access for your own use.
- No information will be used for publication without further approval from the Executive Director, Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation, Department of State Development.
- The publication of images of official documents either in their entirety or in part is not permitted without further approval from the Executive Director, Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation, Department of State Development.
- Identification of other people, names and places is not permitted and is subject to additional approval from the Executive Director, Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation, Department of State Development.
- Access is limited to the files and the documents that are detailed on the attached sheet and for the period stated. Any further documentation or extensions to this access approval will be subject to further approval from the Executive Director, Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation, Department of State Development.
- Any documents that may contain information deemed as legal and professional privilege will not be published or communicated to another party.
- This signed declaration covers access to listed documents for the period from 21 July 2015 until 21 January 2016.

Signed: 

Executive Director
Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation,
Department of State Development.

I, Els Tinkhof agree to abide by the above Conditions.
(Please use block letters)

Signed  Date: 22 July 2015

State Records - Office Use Only

- Copy of signed declaration forwarded to Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation.
- Copy of signed declaration and document listing to be held at State Records for future reference.
- Original declaration returned to *client*.
- Signed

Appendix III

Approval to access and copy the DSD-AAR records

File No. DSD-AAR15/0021
Physical Id. DSD-AAR15D00008



Private and Confidential

Ms Els Priester-Tinkhof
c/- elsp@xs4all.nl

Dear Ms Priester-Tinkhof

I refer to your correspondence dated 7 July 2015, in which you seek permission to access Department of State Development, Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation (DSD-AAR) files, held at State Records of South Australia (SRSA).

In this regard, approval is hereby given to access and copy the records that are detailed in the enclosed document (*Attachment 1*) and is given on the condition that the information is for your use only and not for publication. You should be aware that some of the documents may contain names and information associated with other Aboriginal people and any intention to use this information in a manner contrary to this approval is subject to gaining further approval from DSD-AAR.

Please sign and return the enclosed access to records declaration form (*Attachment 2*) to DSD-AAR and provide the original copy to SRSA.

It is suggested that you contact Senior Aboriginal Access Officer, SRSA, Andrew Wilson, on 08 8204 8767 a few days before you intend to visit SRSA, to allow sufficient time to retrieve the files (24 files and 2 volumes).

If you require further information regarding this matter please do not hesitate to contact Mr Tom Rich on 08 8226 8940.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Nerida Saunders'.

Nerida Saunders
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND RECONCILIATION

2/ July 2015

Attachments:

1. Access results of files requested
2. Declaration form

Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation
Level 7, 11 Waymouth Street | GPO Box 320 Adelaide SA 5001
Tel (+61) 08 8226 8900 | Fax (+61) 08 8226 8999 | www.statedevelopment.sa.gov.au | ABN 83 524 915 929



Appendix IV

Files to be researched in the State Records of South Australia

REQUEST TO ACCESS ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND RECONCILIATION DIVISION FILES

Name: Ms Els PRIESTER-TINKHOF

Organisation: Student

Attachment 1

Box / Vol No	Reference	File	Name	Access Result
45	GRG52/1	1937/1	Superintendent Point Pierce (Pearce) Station Typhoid Fever	Not approved - beyond scope of research
		1937/2	R.M. Wanganen - Application for assistance to commence business as a rabbit dealer Sister May M Lennon -	Not approved - beyond scope of research
		1937/3	Registration as Nursing Sister at Point McLeay and appointment of a successor	Not approved - beyond scope of research
		1937/4	Police Officer, Port Germain - Reporting birth of illegitimate child of xxx	Not approved - beyond scope of research (both parents Aboriginal)
		1937/5	M.T. McLean - Chief Protector of Aboriginals - Allowance for use of a private motor car Chief Protector of Aboriginals -	Not approved - beyond scope of research
		1937/6	Medical Officer for Point McLeay, Taillem Bend, Wellington & Meningie Purchase and cartage of superphosphates for the seeding	Not approved - beyond scope of research
		1937/7	H.A. Bray, Store & Bookkeeper Point McLeay Station. Dismissal from Public Service	Not approved - beyond scope of research
		1937/8		Not approved - beyond scope of research
		1937/9	Storage of 6 small pigs	Not approved - beyond scope of research

1 of 17

File No. DSD-AAR15/0021
Physical Id. DSD-AAR15D00005

Appendix V

Report research State Records South Australia 2015 (in Dutch)

Els Tinkhof
347770
elsp@xs4all.nl

Onderzoeksverslag State Records, Adelaide, South Australia gedurende de periode 26 juni tot en met 31 juli 2015.

Wat voorafging aan mijn onderzoek

Mijn thesis heeft betrekking op de het Australië gedurende de periode 1901 tot en met 1969 gevoerde assimilatiebeleid ten aanzien van de inheemse bevolking van Australië, de '*Aborigine peoples*' en de relaties die er waren tussen blanke Europese mannen, *Aborigine* vrouwen en hun gezamenlijke kinderen. Onderstaand volgt een overzicht van het verloop van mijn onderzoek, aangevuld met informatie over de historische achtergrond van het onderwerp van mijn thesis.

Alvorens ik een verslag geef van mijn onderzoek en de door mij bestudeerde bronnen en de informatie die ik daarin heb gevonden, geef ik een beknopt historisch overzicht van de problematiek ten aanzien van de *Aborigine peoples* in Australië. Mijn onderzoek vond plaats in *South Australia* (SA). De ontstaansgeschiedenis van deze staat is anders dan die van de andere staten in Australië, SA ontstond voornamelijk uit '*free settlers*' en niet uit '*convicts*'. Dit had zijn weerslag op de relaties tussen de kolonisten en de inheemse bewoners. Er waren minder conflicten, de verhouding mannen/vrouwen was meer in evenwicht en kolonisten vestigden zich relatief 'laat' in dit deel van Australië. Derhalve geef ik ook een summier overzicht van de ontstaansgeschiedenis van deze staat.

In Nederland had ik al geconstateerd dat veel dossiers die betrekking hebben op Aborigines aangelegd zijn door de *Aborigines Office*, de *Aborigines Department* en de *Department of Aboriginal Affairs*. De referentie in de *State Records* voor alle dossiers die zijn aangelegd door deze instanties is GRG52. Op 6 maart 2015 zond ik derhalve een e-mail naar de coördinator van de *State Records* in Adelaide, de heer Andrew Wilson. In mijn e-mail beschreef ik mijn onderzoek en vroeg ik hem welke bronnen ik het beste zou kunnen raadplegen als het ging om informatie over de 'blanke' Europese vaders van Aboriginal kinderen met 'gemengd bloed'. Op dit moment was het nog onzeker of ik daadwerkelijk naar Adelaide zou kunnen reizen. In afwachting van de berichten van de fondsen die ik aangeschreven had voor de financiering van mijn *Winter School* bij de *University of Adelaide*, berichten van deze universiteit en de examencommissie van de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam had ik daartoe nog geen concrete stappen genomen.

Op 11 maart ontving ik van de heer Wilson een e-mail met daarin vermeld een aantal catalogi die ik zou kunnen bestellen. Deze bevatten de dossiernummers die ik eventueel bij de *State Records* zou kunnen opvragen. De kosten voor deze catalogi waren hoog en de dossiers waren niet gedigitaliseerd, ik zou er beslist een fysiek bezoek aan de State Records voor moeten brengen om ze in te kunnen zien. Na dit bericht besloot ik af te wachten totdat ik zeker wist dat ik aangenomen zou worden op de universiteit en totdat ik zeker wist dat ik de beschikking had over voldoende financiële middelen en de toestemming van de examencommissie.

Op 7 april ontving ik bericht van het A.A. van Beekfonds inzake een financiële bijdrage van € 1200. Op 20 april ontving ik bericht van de examencommissie van de EUR dat zij akkoord ging met het voorgestelde *Honours Degree* Programma. Op 6 juni ontving ik een bericht van de *University of Adelaide* dat ik was geaccepteerd voor deelname aan de cursus *Indigenous Culture and History*. Op 8 juni ontving ik vervolgens een bericht van de Van Beek-Donnerstichting inzake een financiële bijdrage van € 1000. Ik plande mijn vertrek naar Adelaide op woensdag 24 juni zodat ik voor het weekend zou arriveren en mijn zaken op de *University of Adelaide* zou kunnen regelen. De cursus *Indigenous Culture and History*, gegeven door Jenni Caruso, zou op maandag 29 juni starten. Ik moest voor die tijd een studentenkaart aanvragen, mijn studenten e-mail regelen en toegang tot de universiteitsbibliotheek en de print-apparatuur krijgen. Mijn toegang tot de dossiers in de *State Records* zou ik regelen zodra ik in Adelaide gearriveerd was.

Na mijn aankomst in Adelaide op vrijdag 26 juni regelde ik mijn zaken op de universiteit en bereidde ik mij voor op mijn eerste college dat op maandag 29 juni plaatsvond. Opvallend was dat de literatuur voor dit eerste college bestond uit een aantal gedragsregels met betrekking tot het onderzoek naar de inheemse bewoners van Australië, de *Aboriginal Peoples*. Het betrof hier de '*Guidelines for Ethical Research in Australian Indigenous Studies*', uitgegeven door AIATSIS (*Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies*) en de *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Protocols*, uitgegeven door Oxfam.³⁹⁴ De richtlijnen die vermeld zijn in deze literatuur zijn veelomvattend en bleken voor mijn onderzoek van groot belang.

Zo bleek de benamingen '*Aboriginals*' en '*Aborigines*' feitelijk onvolledig te zijn en daardoor minder gewenst. Omdat er 200 tot 300 taalgroepen zijn is het beter te spreken over '*Aboriginal Peoples*' of, als er ook personen van de *Torres Strait Islands* bij betrokken zijn, van de '*Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples*'. Het is derhalve onjuist om deze personen als één homogene culturele groep te beschouwen en hen als zodanig te benoemen. Dit gegeven dien ik dus zeker te verwerken in mijn thesis.

³⁹⁴<http://www.reconciliation.org.au/raphub/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Respect-Aboriginal-and-Torres-Strait-Islander-protocols-Oxfam-Australia.pdf> <http://aiatsis.gov.au/research/ethical-research/guidelines-ethical-research-australian-indigenous-studies> (2-7-2015)

Daarnaast dient een onderzoek relevant zijn, het moet een zeker 'nut' hebben voor de inheemse bevolking. Deze regel is ingevoerd omdat de inheemse bevolking reeds eeuwenlang onderwerp van onderzoek is, maar hier - volgens de woordvoerders - zelf nooit enig voordeel van heeft ondervonden. Als onderzoeker in Australië dien je dus duidelijk het belang van je onderzoek te kunnen aantonen. Voor sommige zaken is toestemming vereist van de vertegenwoordigers van de taalgroepen en voor het aanspreken of aanschrijven van deze vertegenwoordigers gelden ook regels. Zo spreek je als vrouw beter een vrouw aan en vice versa. Een besluit kan vervolgens erg lang op zich laten wachten. Soms moeten namelijk de '*Elders*', de wijze, oudere leden van een taalgroep, geraadpleegd worden. Daarbij dient vermeld te worden dat het begrip 'tijd' als een afgebakend lineair begrip, bij Aborigines niet bestaat. Geduld is hierbij dus onontbeerlijk.

Onder de titel van de protocollen van Oxfam is het volgende vermeld:

*" Warning: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander readers should be aware that this document may contain images or names of people who have been passed away".*³⁹⁵

Deze waarschuwing is vermeld omdat *Aborigine Peoples* gedurende lange tijd niet spreken over personen die gestorven zijn. De namen van de overledenen mogen niet worden genoemd. Hoe lang deze namen niet mogen worden genoemd is sterk afhankelijk van de taalgroep en de status van de overleden persoon. 'Respect' is het sleutelwoord als het gaat om het spreken en schrijven over Aborigines.

Met al deze informatie in gedachten, bracht ik op donderdag 2 juli een bezoek aan de *State Records* gevestigd in de *State Library* te *North Terrace* in Adelaide en zette ik mijn onderzoeksvraag uiteen. Ook vertelde ik dat mijn tijd in Adelaide beperkt was en dat ik in een eerder stadium contact had gehad met Andrew Wilson, de coördinator. Prompt zocht men de catalogi op waarin ik de relevante bronnen zou kunnen vinden. Andrew zou mij, indien nodig, in de komende week assisteren omdat een deel van de bronnen '*restricted*' was. Nadat ik een selectie had gemaakt, waarbij ik nauwkeurig mijn periodisering in acht heb genomen, bleek inderdaad dat een groot deel van de bronnen die ik wilde bestuderen niet vrij toegankelijk was. Fotoboeken die beschikbaar waren ter inzage werden voor mij opgezocht en een ander deel dat wel vrij toegankelijk was, lag vrijdagmiddag 3 juli om 14.00 uur voor mij klaar.

Hoewel de fotoboeken prachtig waren, verschaften ze mij niet de informatie waar ik naar op zoek was. Veelal waren het afbeeldingen van *Aborigine* kinderen in de instituten, gekleed naar Westerse maatstaven. Omdat het grootste gedeelte van de bronnen gevoelig materiaal zou kunnen

³⁹⁵ <http://www.reconciliation.org.au/raphub/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Respect-Aboriginal-and-Torres-Strait-Islander-protocols-Oxfam-Australia.pdf> (2-7-2015)

bevatten, moest het *Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation* toestemming geven voor inzage. Dit was een tegenvaller, ik was hier niet van op de hoogte. De informatie over deze beperkte toegang was namelijk vermeld in de catalogi die ik niet besteld had. Nu ik tijdens mijn eerste college had geleerd dat 'tijd' een niet afgebakend begrip was bij *Aborigine peoples*, vreesde ik het ergste. Gelukkig bracht Andrew Wilson, hij bleek ook de 'Aboriginal Access Officer' te zijn, mij op 7 juli in contact met Nerida Saunders en Tom Rich van het *Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation*. Ik zond Nerida Saunders op 7 juli een e-mail:

Dear Ms. Saunders,

I am a female MA student History of Society, Honours Programme, at the Erasmus University, Rotterdam, Netherlands, Europe. (Age: 52)

Intrigued by the roles that white women played in the policy of "mixed-child" removal in Australia during the period 1902-1939, I wrote my BA -thesis on this subject. It occurred to me that there was ample information about the "white" fathers involved. In some parts of Australia relations and even marriages between these men and Aborigine women were encouraged to "breed out the colour". What was the role of these white fathers? How many of them did marry Aborigine women? Did these fathers look after their children or were they indifferent about the fact that their children were often placed in institutions? Did they accept these children or did they neglect them? I realize that there must be many possible answers to all my questions. To give more depth to my MA thesis 'White European fathers and the Aboriginal Policy in Australia (1902-1969): race, gender, and the construction of the nation-state of Australia', I am currently for a short period in Adelaide. I was lucky to receive two Dutch scholarships for attending a Winter School "Indigenous Culture and History" and I am currently doing research at the State Records.

The Aboriginal Access Officer of the State Archives, Andrew Wilson, has advised me to e-mail you because the access of the records I need for my research is restricted and permission is needed from the Department for Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation. It concerns GRG 52/1 and GRG 52/2 the Correspondence files -Aborigine Office and successors and the Register of correspondence.

Would you, concerning the importance of my research and the limited time I will be able to stay in Adelaide, give me the permission to access, if possible on short term?

I would be most thankful,

Yours sincerely,

*Els Tinkhof
0497987018*

Vanaf dit moment ontstond er een levendige correspondentie met de zaakwaarnemer van Nerida Saunders, de heer Tom Rich. Deze laatste legde mij uit dat hij alle door mij opgevraagde dossiers persoonlijk zou moeten inzien bij de *State Records* om te beoordelen of de informatie die in de dossiers stond niet te persoonlijk of te gevoelig zou zijn. Dit was onbegonnen werk, daarvoor was

het aantal door mij opgevraagde dossiers veel te groot. Omdat ik had aangegeven met name geïnteresseerd te zijn in de vermeldingen over blanke Europese vaders vanaf 1937, (De *Native Welfare Conference* vond toen plaats; lancering van het plan van Protector A.O.Neville om blanke Europese mannen te laten huwen met 'half-caste' Aboriginal vrouwen "for breeding out the colour.") stuurde Tom mij de volgende e-mail:

Hi Els,

I've done some thinking – and further investigation – and have a proposal for you. I'm happy to discuss it, but it's straightforward enough for me to summarize in this short email.

Given that your request covers 183 boxes and 3 volumes, we obviously need to narrow the search. I also appreciate that you're only here for a short time and therefore you can't afford to lose any time. Noting that you indicated that documents from 1937 and shortly thereafter might be of particular interest, I suggest we start there.

If you agree, I'll review the contents of 5 boxes initially, which probably means about 50 files. Specifically, these would be GRG52/1 box 45 (start of 1937) to box 49 (end of 1939). I will also look at GRG52/2, which only comprises 3 volumes (correspondence registers). In fact volume 1 is now unrestricted, as the required 100 years has past, and so I only need to check the remaining two.

This approach will enable you to get a good idea of the type of material contained in the files, which should help in deciding how relevant it is to your research and which files we should look at next.

If you're happy with this approach then I should be able to give you clearance to view the first batch of approved files (noting that the final decision rests with my Executive Director) in about a week's time.

Please let me know if you would like to proceed in this way.

Regards

Tom

Het weergeven van een gedeelte van deze correspondentie heeft tot doel te laten zien tegen welke problemen een onderzoeker aanloopt als het gaat om onderzoek naar de geschiedenis van Australië met betrekking tot de inheemse bewoners van het land. In het geval van mijn onderzoek werd er niet getwijfeld aan het nut of de relevantie daarvan, sterker nog, alle betrokkenen spraken hun waardering uit en verleenden enthousiast hun medewerking en de communicatie verliep vlot en was informeel. Tijdrovend was het echter wel. Ook voelde ik een beperking, ik had graag de beschikbare bronnen willen raadplegen zonder een voorafgaande selectie. Hoe werd bepaald wat gevoelig of geheim was en welke zoektermen gebruikte Tom Rich bij het doornemen van de bronnen? Omdat mijn tijd beperkt was en Tom zijn absolute en snelle medewerking verleende, heb

ik hier niet naar gevraagd. Ik was bang dat dit de gang van zaken zou vertragen. Alle vrij toegankelijke dossiers had ik inmiddels uitvoerig bestudeerd en gedocumenteerd.

Historische context in algemene zin

In 1788 werd Australië gekoloniseerd door de Britten. Veroordeelde gevangenen vormden het grootste gedeelte van de eerste groep kolonisten. Later volgden ook 'vrije kolonisten'. De Britten beschouwden het land als '*terra nullius*'.³⁹⁶ Het land werd echter reeds 40.000 tot 100.000 jaar bewoond door 200 tot 300 verschillende groepen Aborigines, met elk hun eigen taal en gebruiken.

In de loop der tijd werden zes verschillende kolonies gesticht, namelijk *New South Wales*, *Northern Territory*, *Queensland*, *Victoria*, *West Australia* en *South Australia*. De Britse kolonisatie was van grote invloed op deze inheemse bewoners. Grote aantallen *Aborigines* stierven als gevolg van de door de Britten meegebrachte 'Europese' ziektes. Vuurwapens, tabak en alcohol werden bij hen geïntroduceerd. De Britten maakten gebruik van het land voor het weiden van hun vee en de jacht op het aanwezige wild. Hierdoor werd de natuurlijke omgeving van de inheemse bewoners ingrijpend verstoord en ontstonden er voedseltekorten voor hen. Mede als gevolg van deze omstandigheden stierven steeds meer *Aborigines* en traden er in toenemende mate gewapende conflicten op tussen de *Aborigines* en de Britten.

De sterfte onder de populatie van *Aborigines* en een groeiend bewustzijn bij de Britten met betrekking tot de slechte behandeling van deze inheemse bevolkingsgroepen, gecombineerd met de noodzaak tot een betere regulering van de werkzaamheden in de gebieden die gebruikt werden voor veeteelt, resulteerden in een aantal veranderingen in het beleid ten aanzien van de *Aborigines*. De *House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines* had in 1837 een rapport uitgebracht met een aantal aanbevelingen; Er dienden missionarissen aangesteld te worden om de *Aborigines* te bekeren tot het Christendom en daarnaast dienden *Aboriginal Protectors* benoemd te worden die de taal van de in hun gebied aanwezige *Aborigines* dienden te leren en verantwoordelijk waren voor de waarborging van hun rechten. Voorts dienden deze *Protectors* te waken over de eigendommen van de *Aborigines* en moesten zij voorkomen dat zij het slachtoffer werden van wreedheden, onderdrukking en onrecht.³⁹⁷

In *New South Wales*, *Western Australia* en *South Australia* werden *Protectors* aangesteld. In mijn onderzoek in de *State Records* beperkte ik mij, noodgedwongen, tot *South Australia*. De eerste *Aboriginal Protector* die hier in 1839 werd benoemd was Matthew Moorhouse. Hij probeerde de verstandhouding tussen de Britse kolonisten en de *Aborigines* te verbeteren, leerde hen een aantal

³⁹⁶ http://www.nfsa.gov.au/digitallearning/mabo/tn_01.shtml (24-8-2015)

³⁹⁷ <https://archive.org/details/reportparliamen00britgoog> (24-8-2015)

Westerse ‘beschaafde’ gebruiken, zoals lezen, en het bouwen van huizen.³⁹⁸ In hetzelfde jaar werd een verbod op het geven van alcohol aan *Aborigines* uitgevaardigd. Veelal Duitse, missionarissen maakten een begin met de verspreiding van het christendom onder de *Aborigines* in South Australia en ‘*ration stations*’ werden opgericht om de inheemse bevolking van voedsel te voorzien. *Aborigines* werd verplicht te wonen in speciale ‘*town camps*’ en de toegang tot cafés, hotels, theaters, ziekenhuizen etc. werd hen door overheidsmaatregelen ontzegd.

Omdat de macht van de *Aboriginal Protectors* zeer beperkt was, hadden zij weinig succes in het bereiken van hun doelen. Gedurende de jaren 50 van de negentiende eeuw hadden de meeste *Protectors* hun taken neergelegd en werden deze waargenomen door de *Commissioners of Crown Lands*. (“*ex officio Commissioner of Crown Lands*”) Deze functionarissen waren te vergelijken met politieofficieren, zij genoten een beperkte rechterlijke macht als het ging om grondgebied of reisdocumenten etc. Dit was ook het geval in *South Australia* waar gedurende de perioden 1856 tot 1861 en 1868 tot 1888, bij gebrek aan een *Protector*, de *Commissioner of Crown Lands* verantwoordelijk was. Niet veel later werd meer formele en uitgebreidere wetgeving uitgevaardigd met betrekking tot de bescherming van *Aborigines*. Deze wetgeving had tot doel de ‘volbloed’ *Aborigines* te isoleren en te segregeren door hen in reservaten te plaatsen. Contact tussen ‘volbloed’ *Aborigines* en anderen, zoals blanken en *Aborigines* met zogenaamd ‘gemengd bloed’ was vanaf dat moment verboden. De *Aborigines* werden door de Britten beschouwd als een uitstervend ras en er kon niet veel meer voor hen worden gedaan dan ‘*to smooth the pillow of a dying race*’ om de woorden van de invloedrijke zelfbenoemde antropoloog en ontdekkingsreiziger Daisy Bates te gebruiken.³⁹⁹ Op hetzelfde moment poogden de Britten de *Aborigines* met ‘gemengd bloed’ te assimileren met de blanke bevolking. Hierbij hadden zij specifieke aandacht voor de *Aborigine* kinderen met ‘gemengd bloed’. De *Aboriginal Protectors* kregen door de nieuwe wetgeving veel meer macht en kregen op een zeker moment zelfs de absolute voogdij over alle *Aborigine* kinderen met gemengd bloed. Onderdeel van het beleid was om deze kinderen weg te halen bij hun ouders en hen onder te brengen in instituten en missieposten waar zij beschaafd zouden kunnen worden naar Westerse normen en zo gelijk gemaakt zouden worden aan de blanke burgers van Australië.

Ter bevordering van deze assimilatie ontwierp A.O.Neville, Chief-Protector van West – Australia in de jaren 30 van de twintigste eeuw een plan “*for breeding out the colour*”.⁴⁰⁰ Het belangrijkste onderdeel van dit plan was om huwelijken tussen blanke Europese mannen met

³⁹⁸ <http://adelaide.sa.gov.au/people/matthew-moorhouse> (24-8-2015)

³⁹⁹ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/australasia/the-great-white-queen-of-the-nevernever-790488.html> (24-8-2015)

⁴⁰⁰ A.O Neville, *Australia's Coloured Minority: It's Place in the Community* (Currawoong 1947)

Aboriginal vrouwen met 'gemengd bloed' te stimuleren. Dit plan werd beleid na de *Native Welfare Conference* in 1937.

Relaties tussen blanke Europese mannen en *Aborigine* vrouwen vonden plaats vanaf het moment van de kolonisatie van Australië. Deze relaties hadden verscheidene vormen. In veel gevallen sprake van misbruik en seksueel geweld, maar er waren ook relaties waar economische motieven en/of liefde een rol speelden. De beschermende maatregelen die vanaf de eerste decennia van de negentiende eeuw werden ontworpen hadden vaak tot doel de *Aborigine* vrouwen te beschermen tegen het seksuele geweld van de blanke Europese mannen. Een eeuw later werden relaties van blanke Europese mannen met deze vrouwen juist aangemoedigd.

Meer specifiek, South Australia



South Australia, afgekort als SA, is een staat in het zuidelijke, centrale deel van Australië. Het

beslaat één van de meest droge gebieden van dit continent. Met een totale oppervlakte van 983,482 vierkante kilometer is het de op vier na grootste staat/ beheersgebied van Australië. South Australia grenst aan alle andere staten. In het noorden aan de *Northern Territory*, in het westen aan *Western Australia*, in het noordoosten aan *Queensland*, in het oosten aan *New South Wales*, in het zuidoosten aan *Victoria*. SA heeft meer dan 1.6 miljoen inwoners, dit is minder dan 8% van de totale bevolking van Australië. Het grootste deel van de populatie woont in Adelaide, de hoofdstad van SA. De rest van de bevolking woont in de vruchtbare gebieden aan de zuidoostkust en in de omgeving van de Murray River.⁴⁰¹

South Australia is vaak beschreven als een ‘geplande nederzetting’. Sommigen hebben het een ‘sociaal laboratorium’ genoemd, een poging om een ‘verbeterde kolonie’ te stichten naar de maatstaven die golden in de negentiende eeuw. Het doel was een kolonie te stichten die het centrum moest worden van beschaving, met burgerlijke vrijheden en vrijheid van godsdienst. Zo was er ruimte voor vrije kolonisten en de overtuiging dat land moest worden gekocht en niet geschonken. Er werden fondsen in het leven geroepen om nieuwe kolonisten financieel te ondersteunen bij hun emigratie naar South Australia waarbij er een sterke voorkeur bestond voor jonge, gezonde gezinnen om de balans tussen mannen en vrouwen in de nieuwe kolonie in evenwicht te houden. Adelaide werd in 1836 gesticht, het is een stad omgeven door parken.⁴⁰² South Australia is de *enige* staat in Australië die niet gesticht is met behulp van ‘*convicts*’ maar met ‘*free settlers*’. Dit betekent dat de problemen die in andere staten ontstonden tussen de *Aborigines* en de ‘*convicts*’ hier in mindere mate een rol speelden. Ook de verhouding tussen mannen en vrouwen was hier meer in evenwicht, zodat verhoudingsgewijs in *South Australia* mogelijk minder relaties ontstonden tussen blanke Europese mannen en *Aborigine* vrouwen.

Thesis

Er is de afgelopen 26 jaar, na het spraakmakende rapport *Bringing them Home*, veel geschreven over de in Australië gevoerde assimilatiepolitiek ten aanzien van de *Aborigines*.⁴⁰³ Ook is er veel aandacht geweest, en nog, voor de kinderen die weggehaald werden bij hun families en hun moeders. De kinderen zijn bekend geworden als de ‘*Stolen Generations*’. Veel *Aborigine* belangenorganisaties doen inmiddels alle mogelijke moeite om kinderen te herenigen met hun moeders en hun taalgroep. Hartverscheurende verhalen zijn opgetekend over het bij deze

⁴⁰¹ <http://www.movingtoaustralia.co.nz/real-estate/moving-to-south-australia.html> (25-8-2015)

⁴⁰² <http://www.exploringaustralia.com.au/history.php?s=adel> (25-8-2015)

⁴⁰³ <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/our-work/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-social-justice/publications/bringing-them-home-stolen> (23-8-2015)

betrokkenen veroorzaakte verdriet. Maar wat is er bekend over de blanke Europese vaders van deze kinderen?

Voor mijn thesis had ik de beschikking over een aantal primaire en secundaire bronnen. Deze bronnen gaven inzicht in de rol die deze blanke Europese mannen hadden in het leven van de moeders en kinderen. Ik was echter benieuwd naar de 'stemmen' van de vaders zelf. Waren zij betrokken bij de opvoeding van de kinderen of waren zij slechts aanwezig bij de bevruchting van hun moeders? Protesteerden zij als hun kinderen geplaatst werden in instituten? Woonden zij samen met hun gezin? Om dit te onderzoeken raadpleegde ik de *State Records* in Adelaide. In deze archieven zijn alle aanwezige jaarverslagen van de *Aboriginal Protectors* van *South-Australia* bewaard. Ook de zogenaamde '*letterbooks*' en verslagen met betrekking tot de missieposten in *South-Australia* zijn aanwezig. Indien ouders van Aborigine kinderen met gemengd bloed hun stem wilden laten horen, was er één persoon van groot belang, de *Aboriginal Protector*. De correspondentie tussen ouders en missieposten en *Protectors* zou, indien aanwezig, hierin te vinden moeten zijn.

Tijdens mijn onderzoek bleek dat een gedegen kennis van alle politieke maatregelen met betrekking tot de protectie en controle van Aborigines noodzakelijk is, mijn globale kennis gaf niet voldoende inzicht. Derhalve heb ik de wetgeving die hierover is gemaakt tijdens mijn verblijf beter bestudeerd. Mijn opgedane kennis zal ik verwerken in mijn thesis.

Het onderzoek

Nadat ik een verklaring had ondertekend om inzage te verkrijgen in de *Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation* dossiers en een lijst had ontvangen met beschikbare bronnen, bracht ik ieder vrij moment door in de besloten leeszaal van de *State Records*. Uit de lijst die ik had ontvangen, bleek dat ik voor de inzage van een groot aantal bronnen geen toestemming had ontvangen. De reden die hiervoor werd gegeven was dat de informatie geen betrekking had op mijn onderwerp van onderzoek. Alhoewel uit de beschrijving van de bronnen in de meeste gevallen wel bleek dat dit gerechtvaardigd was, vroeg ik me bij andere wel af wat nu de selectiecriteria waren geweest. Zo was het mij duidelijk dat 1937/11 *Tuberculosis among cows and pigs at Point McLeay* niets te maken had met de blanke vaders, maar 1938/46 *Aboriginals xxxx charged with murder of xxxx at Granite Downs* had mogelijk van belang kunnen zijn als het om de moord op een blanke man ging. Gelukkig had ik ook toestemming om een groot aantal bronnen in te zien die weliswaar niet direct betrekking hadden op de 'blanke vaders,' maar wellicht context zouden kunnen verschaffen. Ik kreeg toestemming om de dossiers één voor één te bekijken en te fotograferen. Dit mocht slechts met mijn eigen apparatuur om de vorming van digitale sporen in de apparatuur van het archief te

voorkomen. Hieruit bleek de grote zorgvuldigheid die de *State Records* betrachten zodra het om *Aborigine* zaken gaat.

Bevindingen

In dit werkstuk is, ter illustratie, een zeer klein gedeelte van het overzicht opgenomen van de door mij bestudeerde bronnen. Uit dit overzicht blijkt ook welke bronnen voor mij beschikbaar waren en welke niet. Ondanks dat, vooral om praktische redenen, officieel alleen inzage werd verleend in de correspondentie over de periode 1937 tot en met 1939, ontving ik ook inzagerecht in de correspondentie over de perioden 1940-1945, 1954-1957 en 1960-1962.

Omdat een uitgebreide opsomming van de in de bronnen gevonden informatie te veelomvattend is voor dit verslag, licht ik enkele zaken uit.

periode 1937 - 1939

-Gedurende de jaren 1937 tot en met 1939 werd regelmatig melding gemaakt van zwangerschappen bij ongehuwde Aboriginal vrouwen met gemengd bloed. In alle gevallen werd een onderzoek ingesteld om de identiteit van de vader te achterhalen zodat deze aansprakelijk gesteld kon worden voor het levensonderhoud van de kinderen.

-Voor alle huwelijken was toestemming vereist van de Aboriginal Protector. Deze huwelijken en de toestemming hiervoor werden genoteerd. Bij een huwelijk van een Aborigine persoon met een blanke vroeg de Aborigine persoon een zogenaamd '*certifate of exemption from the Aborigine Act*' aan. Dit certificaat maakte het mogelijk dat een persoon niet meer onder deze wet viel en zodoende niet meer aan de verplichtingen van deze wet viel. Aborigines die onder deze wet vielen, dat waren alle Aborigines die niet in het bezit waren van een certificaat, mochten o.a. niet vrij reizen en moesten voor een groot aantal zaken verantwoording afleggen aan de Protector. Zij hadden recht op voedselrantsoenen, indien nodig. Het schijnt dat deze certificaten felbegeerd waren, mogelijk waren zij in enkele gevallen de reden voor een huwelijk. Waar het in bijna alle gevallen huwelijken tussen blanke mannen en Aboriginal vrouwen betrof, stuitte ik ook op twee huwelijken tussen twee Aboriginal mannen en blanke vrouwen. Dit was voor deze tijd zeer uitzonderlijk. Ook deze mannen vroegen een certificaat aan, zij ontvingen in dit geval een '*certificate on probation*' omdat er twijfels waren over hun gedrag.

Ook ontvingen Aborigines die "leefden als blanken" soms een certificaat. Omdat deze certificaten een belangrijke rol leken te hebben in de administratie van de Protector, heb ik besloten dit fenomeen beter te bestuderen.

-Regelmatig werd melding gemaakt van blanke mannen die zich ophielden in de Aborigine nederzettingen om daar immorele relaties te hebben met Aboriginal vrouwen. Er bleek geen wetgeving te zijn om dit tegen te gaan. (1938)

"camps are visited by undesirable whites who supply the natives with wine and use the women for immoral purposes"

"White men trespassing on the reserve fort rade in dog scalps.. they have immoral intercourse... there's no legislation to prevent this."

Uit de bronnen bleek ook dat in sommige gevallen waarin blanke mannen en Aboriginal vrouwen ongehuwd samenleefden, de Protector ingreep. Hij verzocht de mannen een huwelijk te sluiten:

Uit een politierapport uit Oodnadatta bleek dat drie blanke mannen onwettig samenleefden met Aborigine vrouwen. Deze mannen moesten worden aangemoedigd te huwen met deze vrouwen. "*In such cases prosecution is not desired.*" (4-12-1940)

periode 1940-1945

Aborigines Protection Board werd *Aborigines Welfare Board*. De naamsverandering hield geen functieverandering in.

-In de periode 1940-1945 trof ik onder meer een verzoek aan van een blanke vader die de Protector vroeg zijn twee minderjarige zonen te plaatsen in Colebrook House. De jongens zouden daar gehuisvest kunnen worden en scholing ontvangen. Er werd toestemming verleend, de vader diende dit echter zelf te betalen. (hij viel als blanke niet onder de Aborigines Act en kreeg derhalve geen vergoeding)

-Er waren veel verzoeken tot verstrekking van '*certificates of exemption*.'

-Er werd regelmatig toestemming verleend voor een huwelijk tussen een Aborigine vrouw met gemengd bloed en een blanke man.

-Er was sprake van een zwangerschap bij een ongehuwde Aborigine vrouw met gemengd bloed, haar blanke werkgever was de vader. In dit geval was het opvallend dat de Protector hier geen werk van maakte. In geval van een zwangerschap bij een ongehuwde vrouw werd alle mogelijke moeite gedaan de vader te achterhalen zodat hij verantwoordelijk gesteld kon worden voor het onderhoud

van het kind. In dit geval ontbreekt verdere correspondentie hieromtrent.

periode 1954 -1957

-De hantering van het begrip " Aborigine" werd steeds problematischer. Wie was nu Aborigine en wie niet? De term werd beter gedefinieerd.

-Er waren ook in deze periode veel verzoeken om in aanmerking te komen voor een "*certificate of exemption.*"

Er werd regelmatig melding gemaakt van problemen ten gevolge van alcoholmisbruik.

Regelmatig werden Aborigines verbannen uit de reservaten. Dit gebeurde voornamelijk als zij zich hadden misdragen.

De administratie leek in deze periode steeds minder gedetailleerd te worden.

periode 1960- 1962

-Veel vaders werd verplicht hun kinderen, verwekt bij ongehuwde Aborigine moeders te onderhouden. (zie bijlage)

-Melding van bezorgdheid omdat de 'Elders' jongere Aborigines niet onder controle hadden en er veel misdrijven plaatsvonden.

-Aanstelling van vrouwelijke '*welfare officers.*'

-Adopties van Aboriginal kinderen met gemengd bloed in blanke gezinnen vonden steeds meer plaats. (waar deze kinderen voorheen geplaatst werden in instituten)

Omdat de periode 1901 tot en met 1913 inmiddels vrij toegankelijk was wegens het verstrijken van de termijn van 100 jaar, heb ik ook de correspondentie over deze periode bestudeerd. Opvallend is dat gedurende deze periode veel aandacht werd besteed aan het verwijderen van Aboriginal kinderen met gemengd bloed bij hun ouders. Een meer gedetailleerde studie over deze periode volgt de komende weken, deze gegevens zijn te vinden op het internet.⁴⁰⁴

De boeken over de periode 1946 tot en met 1953 ontbreken in de *State Records*. Bij het bestuderen

⁴⁰⁴ <http://www.firstsources.info> (25-8-2015)

van het boek *'Survival in our own land* van Christobel Mattingley en Ken Hampton worden deze bronnen wel genoemd.⁴⁰⁵ Waarschijnlijk bevinden deze zich bij AIATSIS. De State Records zijn hier, vreemd genoeg, niet van op de hoogte.

De periode die door mij **niet** is bestudeerd, is 1914 – 1936.

Mij bleek dat de rapportage in de periode 1937 tot en met 1945 zeer gedetailleerd was. De Protector had de uiteindelijke totale controle over het leven van de *Aborigine peoples* in de reservaten, instituten en missieposten. Geen geboorte, huwelijk of sterfgeval bleef onopgemerkt. Er was veel aandacht voor de huidskleur van de kinderen, hoe blanker, hoe beter. Uit de administratie blijkt dat de Protectors van *South Australia* geheel in lijn handelden met het ontworpen beleid van "*breeding out the colour.*" Voor wat betreft het in de praktijk brengen van de maatregel om huwelijken tussen blanke mannen en *Aborigine* vrouwen te bevorderen, heb ik geen bewijs kunnen vinden. Een eerste voorzichtige conclusie is dat blanke mannen zich soms wel en soms niet bekommerden om hun kinderen met gemengd bloed, iets dat ook in de lijn der verwachting lag. Ook lijkt het erop dat er bij *Aborigine* vrouwen met gemengd bloed in sommige gevallen wellicht sprake was van *agency*, als er een huwelijk gesloten werd met een blanke man. Of dit ook gold voor de Aboriginal mannen die een huwelijk sloten met blanke vrouwen, is mij niet duidelijk. Deze huwelijken boden een ontsnapping aan een gecontroleerd leven dat in veel gevallen gekenmerkt werd door armoede. In mijn thesis zal ik mijn bevindingen over deze periode meer uitgebreid vermelden.

De rapportage gedurende de perioden na 1945 was belangrijk minder gedetailleerd. Werd tot 1945 nog melding gemaakt van ieder huwelijk, na 1945 werd geen melding meer gemaakt van verleende toestemming voor een huwelijk. Ook werd geen melding meer gemaakt van blanke mannen die onwettig samenleefden met *Aborigine* vrouwen. Wel werden met grote regelmaat '*certificates from exemption*' verstrekt.

Onderstaande afbeelding is een gedeelte uit een overzicht dat de situatie van Aborigines per staat in 1962 weergeeft. Let op het aspect "*restrictions relating to sexual relations with non-Aborigines*", relaties tussen *Aborigine* vrouwen en niet-*Aborigine* mannen buiten het huwelijk waren in 1962 verboden.

⁴⁰⁵ Christobel Mattingley, Ken Hampton, *Survival in Our Own Land*. (Adelaide 1988)

	NORTHERN TERRITORY	QUEENSLAND	WESTERN AUSTRALIA	S. AUSTRALIA	N.S.W.	VIC.
Are Aborigines free to marry?	Section 67 (2) of Wards Ordinance states that "A person shall not marry a ward without the consent of the Director". There are heavy penalties for anyone celebrating such a marriage without written permission.	No. Aborigines controlled by the Act must have written permission from the Director or from a protector. (Section 19).	Yes, except in the case of minors where the Director has the authority usually possessed by parents.	Yes, except in the case of minors where the rights usually possessed by parents are vested in the Board.	Yes.	Yes.
Do Aborigines have control of their own children?	No. The Director is the guardian of all wards including children.	No. Section 18 states "The Director shall be the legal guardian of every aboriginal child in the state while such child is under the age of 21 years."	No. The Commissioner and Native Welfare officers have total power over Aboriginal children until they are 21.	No. "The Board is the legal guardian of every Aboriginal child in the state".	Yes.	Yes.
Can Aborigines mix freely with non-Aborigines?	No. Many sections in the Ordinance restrict this. It is an offence for other persons to be within 5 chains of where an Aborigine is camped (Sec. 51). Men who are not wards are not allowed to be in the company of female wards.	No. Many restrictions in the Act make normal friendly intercourse impossible. It is an offence to be "within or upon any place where aboriginals are camped" (Section 30). Aboriginal camps may be moved away from towns, etc.	Considerable social discrimination exists in many parts of the state. Aborigines are often not welcome in cafe's and places of entertainment, guest houses, etc.	Yes, except that some restrictions "Aboriginal camps & prohibited places", etc. interfere with normal friendly relations.	In some parts of the state. Some sections of Act, 38 & 109. Residents if enforced could be a barrier. Considerable discrimination still exists in into their some country out towns, e.g. Moree.	Yes, in some parts of the state. Residents if enforced could be a barrier. Considerable discrimination still exists in into their some country out towns, e.g. Moree.
Are there any restrictions relating to sexual relations with non-Aborigines?	Yes. Section 64(d) forbids sexual relations between "a male person other than a ward" and "a ward to whom he is not married".	Yes. Section 29 declares sexual relations between "any male person, other than an aboriginal" and a female Aborigine to be an offence unless they are married.	No.	Yes. Section 44a extra-marital forbids sexual relations between female Aborigines and non-Aboriginal males.	No.	No.
Do Aborigines have full rights in a court of law including the right to plead?	No, cannot make a plea of guilty unless so advised by a Welfare Officer.	No. Aborigines cannot plead guilty nor make confessions unless done in the presence of a protector. This does not apply in the special Aboriginal courts.	Yes, but a Protector may appear in court on behalf of Aborigines when directed by the Commissioner.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Are there any special Aboriginal courts or procedures which do not adhere to the usual principles of British law?	No special courts. Persons, including both Aborigines and non-Aborigines can be arrested without a warrant if suspected of committing an offence against the Wards Ordinance. Aborigines can be taken into custody any time by the Director. (Sections 81 & 17).	Yes. Special courts can be set up on any settlement or mission by the Director, Superintendent or protector. The officials in charge of this court may, in fact, be the accusers. There is no right to a defence lawyer and no appeal. These institutions have their own look-ups or gaols.	No special courts.	No special courts. Section 48 gives judges, etc. authority to decide whether person is an Aborigine solely by inspection.	No special courts. Police enter homes without warrants.	Police enter Aboriginal homes without warrants.
Can Aborigines vote?	Voting rights for Federal Parliament and M.A. Legislative Council granted in 1962.	Voting rights for Federal Parl. granted 1962. Still no vote for State Parliament.	Federal vote granted 1962. No vote for state Government.	Yes. Voting rights for both state and Federal houses.	Yes. Voting rights for both state & Federal Parliaments.	Yes. Voting rights for both Federal and state.
Is there any censorship of mail to Aborigines?	No regulations relating to this.	Regulation 32 authorises the protector or superintendent to order mail to or from Aborigines on the reserve under his control to be delivered to him and read by him.	Yes. All mail to inmates of Aborigine institutions to pass through the hands of the superintendent who can withhold them. (Reg. 39)	Not mentioned in regulations.	Not mentioned in regulations.	Not mentioned in regulations.

Onderstaand een voorbeeld van een aangeleverd dossier voorzien van de term "restricted" en mijn naam. Daaronder een afbeelding van de verklaring die ik heb moeten ondertekenen en die ik bij ieder bezoek moest overleggen.



ACCESS TO RECORDS

DECLARATION

Approval to access Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation records is given on the acceptance of stated conditions and signing of this document.

NAME: Ms Els Priester-Tinkhof

- Information contained in the series GRG52/1 and GRG52/2
- No documents are to be removed from the files or volumes that you wish to access nor can they be removed from the State Records Access Room. You can however request copies of the relevant documents that you wish to access for your own use.
- No information will be used for publication without further approval from the Executive Director, Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation, Department of State Development.
- The publication of images of official documents either in their entirety or in part is not permitted without further approval from the Executive Director, Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation, Department of State Development.
- Identification of other people, names and places is not permitted and is subject to additional approval from the Executive Director, Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation, Department of State Development.
- Access is limited to the files and the documents that are detailed on the attached sheet and for the period stated. Any further documentation or extensions to this access approval will be subject to further approval from the Executive Director, Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation, Department of State Development.
- Any documents that may contain information deemed as legal and professional privilege will not be published or communicated to another party.
- This signed declaration covers access to listed documents for the period from
21 July 2015 until 21 January 2016.

Signed: 

**Executive Director
Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation,
Department of State Development.**

I agree to abide by the above Conditions.
(Please use block letters)

Signed Date.....

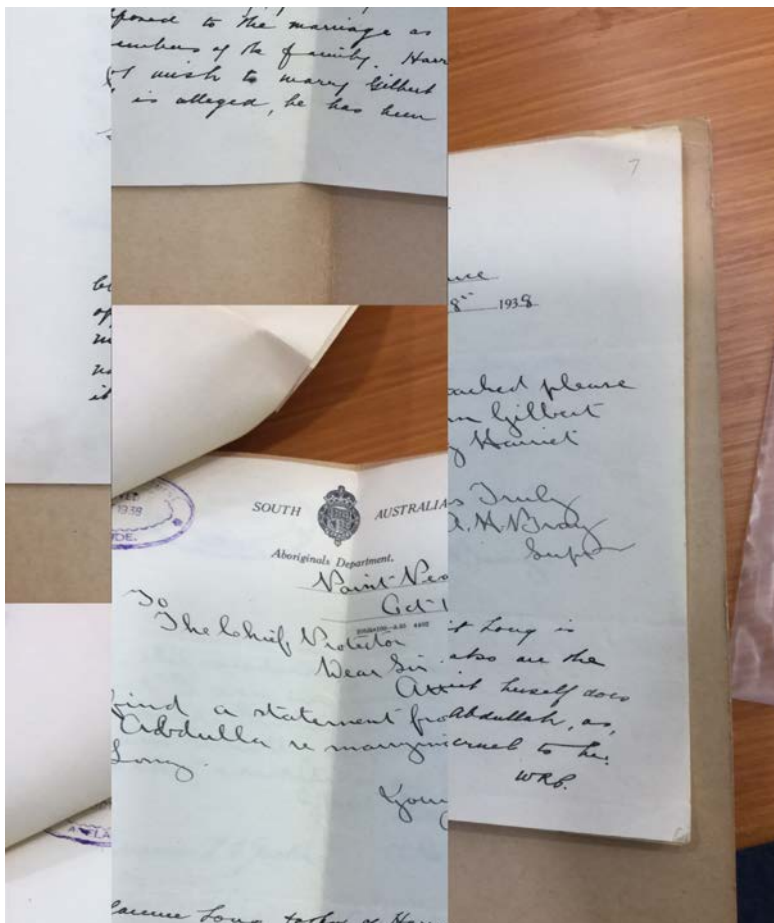
State Records - Office Use Only

- Copy of signed declaration forwarded to Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation.
- Copy of signed declaration and document listing to be held at State Records for future reference.
- Original declaration returned to *client*.

- Signed

Enkele bronnen:

Onderstaand een gedeelte van de correspondentie tussen de Protector en zijn ambtenaren. Harriet, een ongehuwd Aborigine meisje is zwanger geraakt van Gilbert Abdullah. Een ambtenaar heeft Gilbert Abdulla bereid gevonden Harriet Long te huwen. Het was gebruikelijk de vader van het ongeboren kind te achterhalen en aan te spreken op zijn gedrag. Kwam het niet tot een huwelijk, dan werd de vader in ieder geval geacht zijn kind te onderhouden. Abdulla is een zogenoemde "Afghaan." De zogenaamde "Afghanen" waren niet afkomstig uit Afghanistan, maar uit India. Zij kwamen als kamelendrijvers naar Australië en hadden vrije toegang tot het land vanwege het feit dat India tot de *Commonwealth* behoorde. De vader van Harriet was tegen het huwelijk, evenals de rest van de familie. Harriet zelf wilde Abdulla ook niet huwen, hij had zich gemeen gedragen tegenover haar.



Onderstaand een afbeelding van een bladzijde uit het brievenboek van de Protector. Deze bladzijde betreft de "politezaken". Zo is vermeld dat drank werd verschaft aan Aborigines, dit was een

strafbaar feit. Ook was er een klacht tegen ene Haarsma, een leidinggevende (van Nederlandse afkomst) van één van de "stations".

Police Department		Subject.
Date of Receipt.	Name of Writer.	
1-22	Inspr. Opie	Refle & Ammunition taken from Abgl
12-22	Central Division	Blode Aboriginals found dead at Mlaren vale
12-22	Central Division	Taitem head to be proclaimed a township under the
7-25	Western Division	Application from Dabaklava District Council for the townships
4-27	Far Northern Division	Women Police for bodnadatta construction camps
6-27	Central Division	Taitem Bend Aboriginal camp & Prohibited area disturbance at
7-23	S.P. Aboriginals	Aboriginals under Police escort in far Far Northern Division, houses
27	S.P. Aboriginals	Liquor being supplied to Aboriginals at Thivenard/Aboriginal Bay
27	Commissioner of Police	Trouble caused by natives in the vicinity of Kullarbor Station
7	Western Division	Aboriginal woman named Mary arrested as an ill
North Western Division		Aboriginal named "Pompey" alleged murdered by b.
		Crown law opinion as to whether crime could be proved
Dept. Licensed Premises		Breach of Sec. 200 of Licensing Act by the Kluy, Blare, Gattle &
D. A. Campbell (Aborigine)		Complaint against M. G. Haarsma C.
North-Western Division		Firearms illegally confiscated by M. G. Butcher,
both Western Division		Precedence of lodging complaints in cases of Indent Assault on

18100-8.11.20

Charles

Aborigines claimed under

Camp together

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L. F. (from Aboriginal go

Klein gedeelte van het document waarin vermeld werd welke bronnen toegankelijk waren en welke niet. Het originele document besloeg 17 pagina's.

REQUEST TO ACCESS ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND RECONCILIATION DIVISION FILES

Attachment 1

Name: Ms Els PRIESTER-TINKHOF
 Organisation: Student

Box / Vol No	Reference	File	Name	Access Result
		1939/26	Appt of Accounting Officer in Aboriginals Dept	Not approved - beyond scope of research
		1939/27	Disposal of estate of Matthew Sumner	Not approved - beyond scope of research
		1939/28	Report of audit of records at Pt Pearce & Pt McLeay Stations	Not approved - beyond scope of research
		1939/29	Appt of accountant and clerk	Not approved - beyond scope of research
		1939/30	Grade Tests - application for examination	Not approved - beyond scope of research
Vol 2	GRG52/2	-	Correspondence Register 1901- 1921	Approved
Vol 3	GRG52/2	-	Correspondence Register 1921- 1940	Approved - relevant items mentioned, e.g. p73 item 48

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File No. DSD-4AR150021
 Physical Id. DSD-4AR1500008