

Index

- Aboriginal Christianity, 118–19
- Aboriginal economy: destruction of in Victoria, 123
- Aboriginal graphic tradition, 20; and writing, 2
- Aboriginal languages: early colonial interest in, 53; translations into, 37–8; words for ‘book’ in, 214; *see also* Awabakal people and language; Ben Lomond people and language; Big River people and language; Bruny Island people and language; Diyari people and language; Northern people and language; Wangkumara people and language; Western Bundjalung people and language; Western people and language; Wiradjuri people and language
- Aboriginal nationalism: beginnings of, 117, 118
- Aboriginal Protection Act 1869* (Vic.): 1886 amendments to people of mixed descent, 149–50, 181, 191
- Aboriginal resistance, 173; consequences of, 156, 158; dangerous wanderers and, 164–5, 169
- Aboriginal women: authorial agency of, 201; colonialism and, 6, 176; letters by *see under* letters; literacy and language skills of, 177; translators of speeches by men, 116, 117, 176; between two patriarchies, 178; Woiworung, 127; writing by *see* writing by Aboriginal women
- Aboriginality: black–white authorial collaborations and, 219; as commodity, 218, 228; literacy and, 18
- ‘Aboriginals’ Narrative’, 159–62, 163–4
- The Aborigines of Victoria (R. Brough Smyth), 32
- Account of the English colony in New South Wales* (David Collins): portrait of Bennelong in, 69
- Acheron Reserve, 123–4, 147
- Albert, Henry, 170
- Albert, Herbert, 157–8
- alphabet: assimilation of to customary law, 225
- alphabetic literacy: at Coranderrk Reserve, 6, 129; and ideological contexts, 13–14; and ‘oral’ societies, 3–4; traditionally based Indigenous practices of, 11; *see also* non-alphabetic graphic systems
- alphabetic script: Aboriginal non-phonographic use of, 74–9, 91, 92, 211, 227; Aboriginal uses of on borderland between cultures, 73–4, 92; and books, 207, 211; and entanglement of orality and literacy, 140; variety of, 74–5; on variety of sign carriers, 211
- Arabadoo, 57
- archival research: and silences of archives, 173
- Arrente people, 214, 227
- Arthur, Governor Sir George: and observance of Sabbath, 101–2; and translation of Bible into Aboriginal

- languages, 100–1, 117; and war against Aboriginal people of Van Dieman's Land, 95–6
- Arthur, Mary Anne (*nee* Cochrane): and emerging culture of Pallawah literacy, 178–9; letter of to Queen Victoria re Dr Henry Jeanneret on behalf of whole Coranderrk community, 178–9, 179
- Arthur, Walter George, 114, 204, 218; authority of, 105, 106, 130, 149; and black–white authorial collaboration, 121, 122, 228; Robert Clark and, 108, 121, 122; and colonial authority, 104–5, 106; and etiquette of written communication, 228; formulaic repetition in writings and sermons of, 108–9; and institutional conditions of Indigenous literacy, 228; and mediation of Bible in assimilationist ways, 101; and observance of Sabbath, 102–3; and petition against reinstatement of Dr Henry Jeanneret, 119, 121, 177–8; George Augustus Robinson and, 104, 111–12, 130; and use of Bible for political instruction, 107; use of personal pronouns in and ambiguity of social positioning and audience in writings and sermons of, 111–12; writings and sermons of, 104, 106, 107–8, 110, 118
- assimilation: amendments to *Aboriginal Protection Act 1869* (Vic.) re people of mixed descent and, 150; Bible and, 95, 100, 101, 102, 103; literacy and, 12–13, 18; and removal of children, 15; *see also* hegemonic control
- Attwood, Bain: on Bessie Cameron (*nee* Flower), 193
- Auntie Rita* (Rita Huggins and Jackie Huggins), 219–20
- Austin, Lena: letter by, 198–200
- Australian Aborigines* (James Dawson), 84
- Australian reminiscences and papers* (Lancelot Threlkeld), 43, 46
- authorial practices: denial of authorship to Aboriginal people, 208, 218; European and Aboriginal, 217–18; of Jackie Huggins, 220; of Rita Huggins, 220
- authority structures *see* Indigenous land-based and kin-based authority structures
- autonomous model of literacy, 8–9, 11–12, 23; and government policy, 12–13
- Awabakal people and language, 4, 39; literacy in language of, 40; translations into, 40
- Baiami, 38–9; *see also* Milbrodale Baiami
- Bains, Robert, 140
- Bakhtin, Mikhail, 97; on monologic and dialogic reading practices, 94
- Bamfield, Betsy: as scribe, 179, 181
- Bamfield, Thomas, 127, 143, 146, 147, 149, 151, 181
- Barak, William, 123, 128, 134, 147, 204, 225; authority of, 105, 149, 227; and Coranderrk Reserve, 124, 127; and John Batman's treaty, 82, 84, 123, 143; as *ngurungaeta*, 125, 130, 146; as painter, 133; and petitions, 130, 131–2, 134, 140, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146, 179, 181; and scribes, 133–4, 134, 179, 181; and traditional Indigenous law, 126; and written 'loyal address' to Queen Victoria re land for Coranderrk Reserve, 125
- Barker, James [Jemmy], 139
- Barwick, Diane, 126, 127
- Batman, John *see* Batman treaty with Woiworung people
- Batman treating with the Blacks* (engraving by GR Ashton), 84, 85, 86
- Batman treaty with Woiworung people, 5, 82, 92, 123, 124; declared void, 91; as forgery, 83, 84, 87, 90–1; signatures on, 83, 84, 86–9; use of non-writing and, 91; versions of, 82–3, 85–6
- Bell, Dr Andrew: educational method of, 112
- Ben Lomond people and language, 104, 105, 177; translation of Bible into language of, 100; translations into, 100
- Bennelong, 4–5, 14, 19; adoption of Governor Arthur Phillip into kinship network, 59–61, 62, 63; and black–white authorial collaboration, 228; in

- England, 61, 62, 69; as exotic exhibit, 69; letter of *see* Bennelong's letter; and letters as means of asking for things, 67–8; and letters as tradable objects, 56, 67, 70; as mimic, 5, 56, 57, 64; and Governor Arthur Phillip, 5, 14, 56–8; and Mr and Mrs Phillips, 61, 62, 64, 67, 69–70; and scribe, 54, 227, 228; and trade, 5, 66–7, 70
- Bennelong's letter, 4, 5, 53, 54–5, 61–2, 64, 65, 69–70, 217; and etiquette of written communication, 55–6, 227; and genres of colonial bureaucratic writing, 56; as intercultural entanglement, 54, 56; and patterns of gift exchange, 56, 62–3, 67–8; Governor Arthur Phillip's correspondence as models for, 5, 58–9
- Berry, Graham, 181
- Bhabha, Homi: on potential ambivalence of the book, 97
- Bible: in Aboriginal ritual and Christian liturgy, 5; and assimilation, 95, 100, 101, 102, 103; and 'civilisation', 23; in colonial contexts, 93–4; decolonisation of, 95; as 'Holy Book', 214; interpretation of, 22; monologic and dialogic reading practices and, 94–5; monologic reading of, 99; older men's rearticulation of, 115–18; Roman Catholic and Protestant readings of, 93; teaching of from direct knowledge, 110; teaching of only in English, 99, 101, 117; translation of *see* translation of Bible; and use of for political instruction, 107; George Van Dieman's assimilation of to recent historical experience of Aboriginal people, 100; Wiradjuri assimilation of to traditional understanding of universe, 38
- Big River people and language, 104, 116
- Bigge, JT, 29–30
- Billibillary, 123
- Billie Blue, 40
- Biraban, 4, 14, 19, 22, 42–3; as author, 44–6; as Awabakal clan-head, 43; and biblical translation and linguistic work with Lancelot Threlkeld, 39, 42, 43–6, 48; dream of, 47–8; and Eaglehawk, 42, 43, 46; and Milbrodale Baiami, 48–52; spiritual leadership of, 47
- black–white authorial collaborations, 122, 218–19; and Aboriginality, 219; Walter George Arthur and Robert Clark, 121, 122, 228; Bennelong and scribe, 54, 227, 228; Biraban and Lancelot Threlkeld, 44–5, 47–8
- black–white textual collaborations, 219–22
- Blot, Richard *see* Collins, James, and Richard Blot
- Blows, Johanna M: on Eaglehawk and Crow, 33
- Board for the Protection of Aborigines (BPA), 155; and struggles over Coranderk Reserve, 127–8, 133; *see also* Page, Captain
- Boaz, Franz, 208
- Bon, Ann, 128, 147, 149, 175
- Bonwick, James: on Mary Anne Arthur, 178
- the book and books: Aboriginal words for 'book', 214; authored by Aboriginal people, 218; connotations of word 'book' for Aboriginal people, 213–15; and cultural evolution, 207, 209, 223; defined Eurocentrically, 206–7, 208, 210; and entanglement between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australian cultures, 210; as function, 208; Indigenous oral cultural traditions and, 215; as instruments of power, 213–16; and message-sticks, 209; and non-European sign-carriers, 209–10; parts of used in ritual, 68, 96–9, 211; physical form of, 207; potential ambivalence of, 97; production of by Indigenous and non-Indigenous people *see* black–white textual collaborations; and readership of strangers, 219, 220, 221–2; reinvention and recontextualisation of by non-European cultures, 209–10; and reserve life, 214; and social relations, 216–19; as threat to differential rights Aboriginal knowledges, 215–16; as tradable objects rather than sign carriers, 210–11; transformations of by Aboriginal

- people, 6; in wilderness, 206; *see also* black–white authorial collaborations
- book history, 208, 209–10; Aboriginal, 222–3
- Book of common prayer*, 97; pages of used in Aboriginal ritual, 96–9, 211
- Boorong, 24–5, 26, 176
- borderland writings, 5
- Bourke, Governor Richard: and John Batman's treaty, 91
- Branly, Edith (Eda), 196, 197
- Branly, Kitty: letter to sister Edith, 196–7, 198
- Briggs, John, 140
- Briggs, Louisa, 140
- Brindle, Emily (*nee* Peters), 190
- Bringhurst, Robert: on books and oral texts, 207–8
- Bringing them home: report of the national inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families*, 15–16, 24, 200, 203, 204
- Brisbane, Governor Sir Thomas: and war against Wiradjuri people, 34
- Brough Smyth, R.: on Eaglehawk and Crow, 32
- Brune, Thomas, 204, 218; authority of, 105–6, 110, 130, 149; and Bible, 106–7; Robert Clark and, 106–7, 108; and colonial authority, 104–5, 106; formulaic repetition in writings and sermons of, 108–9; and mediation of Bible in assimilationist ways, 101; George Augustus Robinson and, 104, 111–12, 119, 130; and use of Bible for political instruction, 107; use of personal pronouns in and ambiguity of social positioning and audience in writings and sermons of, 111–12; writings and sermons of, 104, 106–7, 107–8, 109–10, 115, 118, 119
- Bruny Island people and language, 96, 101, 104, 105, 116, 117
- Bungett, 90
- Bunorong people, 126
- Burapper people, 127, 139–40, 140
- bureaucratic governance: and Aboriginal writing, 21, 22, 125, 135, 201, 229; and Bennelong's letter, 56; and writing as governance of Aboriginal people by remote control, 194–5; and writing to keep Aboriginal people at a distance, 200
- Burrara people: associations of their word for writing, 226
- Cameron, Bessie (*nee* Flower), 179, 186–94; as immigrant, 194; and institutional conditions of Indigenous literacy, 228; letters of, 187–8, 189, 191, 192–3; petition by, 189, 190; as self-authorising woman, 193–4; writing and reading abilities of, 186, 188, 190, 193; writing and reading abilities of as evidence of success of missions, 186, 188, 189–90
- Cameron, Boyd, 190
- Cameron, Donald, 188, 189, 190, 191
- Camfield, Anne, 186, 187
- Camfield, Martie, 187
- catechetical question-and-answer, 109, 115
- Central Board to Watch over the Interests of the Aborigines, 124, 195
- Charles, John, 139
- child removal *see* stolen generations
- Christian, Samuel, 25
- Clark, Robert: and Walter George Arthur and Thomas Brune, 106–7, 108, 121, 122; and black–white authorial collaboration, 121, 122, 228; preaching by in pidgin English, 101, 103
- clubs, carved wooden: in Wiradjuri country *see* Wiradjuri clubs
- Cochrane, 36
- coercion and ideological controls, 173; and Aboriginal people, 154–5, 173–4; *see also* hegemonic control
- Colby, 29, 57, 65
- Collins, David, 69
- Collins, James, and Richard Blot: on literacy, 10
- colonialism: and Aboriginal women, 6, 176; and coercion, 152, 154, 170; writing and, 23; *see also* gendered power structure of colonial society
- commercial publication: and etiquette of written communication, 228

- context: ideological and cultural contexts of sign systems, 72–3; literacy and *see* literacy in context; perceptions of writing and, 227
- Coranderrk petitions, 6, 130; September 1874, 133–4; October 1875, 134–7; September 1876, 137–40; September 1881, 141–2; late 1881, 131–2; 21 January 1884, 147–9; October 1893, 179–81; authenticity of as formal record of spoken words, 140; author, scribe and owner of, 146; and entanglement or orality and literacy, 140–4; face-to-face representations in support of, 134, 141, 143–4; and messengers and mediators, 137; questioning of authenticity of, 137, 138, 139, 143, 144–6; ‘speakers’ and, 146; written evidence and, 141, 142
- Coranderrk Reserve, 22, 124, 132; closure of, 151; Green years, 132–3; identification of community at with original country, 127; Indigenous land-based and kin-based authority structures at, 125–6; inquiry into, 194; land-based and kin-based authority structures at, 130; letter to *Argus* (1882) re restrictions at, 144–5; and literacy, 129, 133; and literacy and traditional gendered gerontocracy, 130; paper wars with Board for the Protection of Aborigines over, 127–8, 133; petitions *see under* petitions; social composition of community at, 126
- co-writing *see* black–white authorial collaborations
- cross-cultural exchange of goods, 65–6, 68–9
- Crow: and Daramulun, 39; in Eora language, 31; Kulin nation and, 126
- Crow and Eaglehawk: in Aboriginal mythology, 31, 32, 33, 34; narratives of and stolen children, 4, 33; and traditional marriage customs, 32
- cultural authority: multi-centredness of, 209
- cultures of literacy *see under* literacy
- Curr, Edward, 128, 138
- dangerous wanderers, 162; and transmission of hidden transcripts between isolated cells of oppressed group, 163; *see also* Scott, James
- Daramulun (son of Eaglehawk), 39
- Davis, Jack, 228
- Dawes, Lieutenant William: and recording of Aboriginal languages, 53
- Dawson, James, 84
- Deans, James, 138, 140
- deceased persons: use of names of alphabetical letters and traditional prohibition on saying names of, 225
- dendroglyphs, 89, 90; signatures, 84, 86; signatures and John Batman’s treaty, 83, 84, 86, 87, 89, 90
- Dharug people, 4, 62, 64
- dialogic reading practices: and monologic reading practices, 94–5
- dissent: Aboriginal people and, 6; *see also* open dissent and resistance
- Ditchburn, Mr, 200
- Diyari people and language, 197, 198
- Djadjawurung people, 127, 139, 140, 146, 177
- Djiniyini Gondarra, 118–19
- Domination and the arts of resistance* (James C Scott), 152
- Don’t take your love to town* (Ruby Langford Ginibi), 221
- Dow.wring.gi (‘Leonidas’, also named ‘David’): rearticulation of Bible by, 116
- drawings of writings of Charlie Flannigan, 5
- Drine.ne (‘Neptune’): rearticulation of Bible by, 116
- Drue.mer.ter.pun.ner (‘Alexander’): rearticulation of Bible by, 116
- Duffit, Mr, 166, 167
- Dunlop, Eliza Hamilton, 46–7
- Dunolly, Thomas, 146–9, 150–1, 181, 218; and Coranderrk Reserve land, 127; and institutional conditions of Indigenous literacy, 228; letter of rebutting evidence of BAP officials, 242; and Caroline Morgan’s petition, 194; and penning of Coranderrk petitions, 144, 146, 147,

- 149; and petition of 21 January 1884, 147; as scribe of William Barak, 146, 147, 149, 150, 218
- Eagle and Crow* (Johanna M Blows), 33
‘The eagle chief’ (Eliza Hamilton Dunlop), 46
- Eaglehawk: and Biraban, 42, 43, 46; and Daramulun, 39; and Jehovah, 47, 48, 49–50, 51, 52; *see also* Milbrodale Baiami; Kulin nation and, 126; similarities of words for in Aboriginal languages with Macquarie’s name, 31–2, 34; and Reverend William Watson, 36–7
- Eaglehawk and Crow: in Aboriginal mythology, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37; narratives of and stolen children, 4, 33; and traditional marriage customs, 32
- Eaglehawk and Crow* (John Matthew), 32
- Eastern Kulin-speaking societies, 126
- Ebenezer Mission Station, 40, 43, 49, 165, 188, 191, 202, 204
- Edgar, James, 140
- Ellen, 177, 179
- Elmore, F, 160, 162
- Embling, Dr Thomas, 147
- English language: and literacy, 14; phonetical similarities with words in Aboriginal languages, 30–1
- Eora people, 31
- Essai sur l’origine des langues* (J-J Rousseau), 71
- etiquette of written communication: and petitions and power relations, 120–2; and power relations, 155–6, 227–8
- Eurocentrism: autonomous model of literacy and, 9, 12; and the book, 206–7, 208, 210; and literacy and cultural evolution, 71–2, 207
- European manuscript cultures, 79
- European patronage systems: and Aboriginal kinship networks, 63
- Fawknor, John Pascoe: and John Batman’s treaty, 82, 84
- Finnegan, Ruth: on orality and literacy, 10
- Flannigan, Charlie, 79–80; drawing writing of, 5, 74, 79, 80–1, 91, 92
- Flinders Island *see* Wybalenna settlement on Flinders Island
- Flinders Island Chronicle*, 103, 104, 106, 116, 119, 122
- Flower, Ada, 187, 190
- formulaic repetition: Walter George Arthur and Thomas Brune and, 108–9
- Franklin, Governor Sir John, 114
- Fraser, Jackie, 158
- Geelong deed, 85, 86, 87
- gendered gerontocracy *see* traditional gendered gerontocracy
- gendered literacy and language use: patterns of, 177
- gendered power structure of colonial society, 175
- gerontocracy *see* traditional gendered gerontocracy
- gift exchange: and Aboriginal kinship systems, 62; Bennelong’s letter and, 56, 62–3, 67–8
- Gilbert, Kevin, 228, 229
- Ginibi, Ruby Langford, 220–2, 228
- Glenelg, Lord: and John Batman’s treaty, 91
- God: Baiami and, 39; *see also* Jehovah
- Goodall, William, 128, 145–6, 147
- Gorrie, Billy, 158, 160
- government policy: and literacy, 12, 13; *see also* bureaucratic governance
- Gramscian model of hegemony: hidden transcripts and, 152–3
- Green, Reverend John, 124, 128, 133, 134, 147; and Kulin people, 132
- Green, Margaret *see* Harrison, Margaret (*nee* Green)
- Green, Mary, 124, 132, 133, 134, 147
- Green, Thomas, 158, 160
- Grog war* (Alexis Wright), 229
- group awareness: lack of in Maggie Mobourne’s letters and petitions, 167, 169; transmission of hidden transcripts between isolated cells of oppressed group and, 163

- Guha, Ranjit: on differences between colonialism, 154, 170
- Gunnartpa people: associations of their word for writing, 226
- Gunther, Reverend James, 35–6, 37, 38
- Hagenauer, Reverend FA, 150, 187; and Bessie Cameron (*nee* Flower), 188, 190
- half-castes *see* people of mixed descent
- Halliday, Hugh, 137, 138, 140, 144
- Handl, Reverend Johann CS, 30, 34–5
- Harker, George, 134, 135
- Harrison, Captain, 202
- Harrison, Margaret (*nee* Green), 201–5; letters by, 202, 204
- Haunted by the past* (Ruby Langford Ginibi), 220–1, 228
- Hegarty, Ruth, 228
- hegemonic control: and fiction of Aboriginal consent, 174; hidden transcripts and, 152–4; at Lake Condah Mission Station, 173–4; varieties of, 173; *see also* assimilation
- Hewitt, Peter, 170
- hidden expressions of anger and resentment, 156; *see also* open dissent
- hidden transcripts, 152–4; and articulating silences, 173; and public transcripts, 161, 162; of Robert Sutton's court case, 157–8; transmission of between isolated cells of oppressed group, 163
- Hobbles Danayarri, 214
- Howitt, Alfred W, 189, 190
- Huggins, Jackie, 219, 220, 221
- Huggins, Rita, 219–20, 221
- I, the Aboriginal* (Waipuldanya [Douglas Lockwood]), 218
- ideographic scripts, 5, 71, 72, 73, 89, 91, 92
- ideographic signs, 212
- ideological context of literacy, 13–14, 16–18
- ideological controls and coercion, 173; and Aboriginal people, 154–5, 173–4; *see also* hegemonic control
- ideological model of literacy, 9–11
- imperialism: writing and, 23
- Indigenous land-based and kin-based authority structures, 125; at Coranderk Reserve, 125–6, 130; and writing at Coranderk Reserve, 131; *see also* traditional gendered gerontocracy
- Indigenous oral cultural traditions: and books, 215; and European print cultures, 207–8; Ruby Langford Ginibi's *Haunted by the past*, 221–2; and land, 215; and literacy, 11, 12–13, 16, 18; loss of, 11; *see also* orality
- Indigenous patriarchal practice *see* traditional gendered gerontocracy
- individual black–white collaboration: and Indigenous literacy, 19
- Infant System, 35
- institutional context of literacy, 14–15
- intergenerational collaboration of speaking and writing: amendments to *Aboriginal Protection Act 1869* (Vic.) re people of mixed descent and, 150
- Isaacs, Jennifer, 216, 217, 221
- Jajowrong people, 126, 179, 194
- James, John Stanley, 191
- Jeanneret, Dr Henry: letter of Mary Anne Arthur to Queen Victoria re, 178–9; petition against reinstatement of, 119–22, 177–8
- Jeffrey, Alexander (aka Andrew Jackson): and Annie McDonald (*nee* Rich), 184, 185–6; and Annie McDonald (*nee* Rich), 183
- Jehovah: Eaglehawk and, 47, 48, 49–50, 51, 52; *see also* Baiami; God; Milbrodale Baiami
- Jupagilwournditch people, 188
- Kaurna people, 17
- Kayardild people: associations of their word for writing, 226
- Kerrupjmarra people, 165, 183, 201
- kinship networks: adoption of Governor Arthur Phillip into Bennelong's, 59–61, 62, 63; and European patronage systems, 63; and obligation of exchange of gifts, 62

- Kneale, Captain: George Augustus Robinson on, 99–100
- Kramer, Carl, 188
- Kramer, Reverend, 204
- Kulin nation/confederacy, 140; Reverend John Green and, 132; languages, social customs and religious beliefs of, 126–7; and literacy, 129, 149; writings of, 3, 127, 131; *see also* Coranderrk Reserve
- Kurnai people, 127, 187, 190, 192
- Lake Condah Mission Station, 6, 152, 155; coercion, hegemonic control and pretended submission at, 173–4; proposed closure of, 170
- Lake Macquarie Mission, 39
- Lake Tyers Mission Station, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192
- land: Indigenous oral cultural traditions and, 215; written documents and struggle for, 124
- Langford, Nobby, 220, 223
- Langford, Ruby *see* Ginibi, Ruby Langford
- learning by imitation, copying, repetition, 112–13; deficiencies of, 113–14, 115; subversive potential of, 112, 113–14
- Lee, Dawn, 183
- Leichhardt, Ludwig, 1
- letters: from Aboriginal women *see* letters from Aboriginal women; to *Argus* (1882) re restrictions at Coranderrk Reserve, 144–5, 146; Bennelong's *see under* Bennelong; as means of asking for things, 67–8; and message-sticks, 67; Maggie Mobourne, 166–9, 170; as tradable objects, 56, 67, 70; writing of by Aboriginal people, 3, 21; *see also* etiquette of written communication
- letters from Aboriginal women: Mary Anne Arthur, 178–9; Lena Austin, 198–200; Kitty Brangy, 196–7, 198; Bessie Cameron (*nee* Flower), 187–8, 189, 191, 192–3; elicited by colonial bureaucracy, 201; Ellen, 177, 179; Margaret Harrison (*nee* Green), 202, 204; Annie McDonald (*nee* Rich), 184–5; Edith Taylor, 203; to Queen Victoria, 195–6
- Letters from Aboriginal women of Victoria, 1867–1926*, 175
- letters to Queen Victoria, 195–6; Mary Anne Arthur, 178–9; Ellen, 177, 179; seen as 'women's business', 177
- Lindsay, Jessie, 16, 17
- linguistic context of literacy, 14
- literacies: and empowerment, 7
- literacy: and Aboriginality, 18; and agency, 22–3; and assimilation, 11, 12–13, 18; bureaucratic governance and, 21, 22, 125, 135, 229; and construction of 'the helpless', 183, 185; in context *see* literacy in context; Coranderrk petitions and entanglement of and orality, 140–4; and cultural evolution, 9, 12, 71–2, 207; cultures of, 3, 6, 18–22, 224, 229; *see also* mission and reserve cultures of Indigenous literacy; traditionally oriented cultures of Indigenous literacy; individual black–white collaboration; gendered literacy and language use, 177; government policy and, 13; history of Indigenous, 2–3; ideological model of, 9; Indigenous, 4, 12, 18; and Indigenous oral cultural traditions, 11, 12–13, 16, 18; institutional conditions of, 228–9; in language of Awabakal people, 40; in language of Wiradjuri people, 37; of Annie McDonald (*nee* Rich), 183–4, 185; micro-historical context of, 18, 229; and orality *see* orality and literacy; Pallawah, 178; and prisons, 228; settler ideology and, 1–2; and stolen generations, 4, 15–18, 24, 25, 29, 35; and struggle for Aboriginal land, 124; in Wiradjuri language, 37; of women *see* literacy of women; writing before, 74; of young people *see* literacy of young people; *see also* alphabetic literacy; autonomous model of literacy; ideological model of literacy; literacies; writing
- literacy in context, 2, 3, 4, 9–10; ideological, 13–14, 16–18; institutional, 14–15; linguistic, 14; material, 14;

- semantic, 14; socio-political, 14
- literacy of women, 177; and construction of 'the helpless', 183–6; men's attitudes to, 181, 183; white vested interests in, 186–94
- literacy of young people: at Coranderk Reserve, 129, 133; and traditional gendered gerontocracy, 105, 109, 113, 129, 130, 149
- literary works: Aboriginal people and, 3
Living black (Kevin Gilbert), 229
Loehe, Pastor, 198
- McDonald, Alf, 184
- McDonald, Annie (*nee* Rich), 181, 183–6; and Alexander Jeffrey (aka Andrew Jackson), 184, 185–6; as immigrant, 194; letter of to Captain Page, 184–5; literacy of, 183–4, 185
- McDonald, Euphemia, 184
- MacDonald, Reverend Murdoch, 190
- McLeod, DN, 166, 167, 168, 169
- McLeod, JN, 161
- MacLeod, Mr, 198, 200
- Macpherson, JA, 134
- Macquarie, Governor Lachlan: annual 'meetings of the tribes', 27–9, 31, 34, 39, 43; phonetic similarities of his name with words in Aboriginal languages, 30–1, 34; and stolen children, 4, 27–8, 34
- Male and Female Orphan Schools, 30
- Maltilina, Rebecca: postcards written by, 197–8, 199
- Maria (Colby's daughter), 29
- marriage *see* traditional marriage customs
- Marsden, Samuel, 25–6
- Marxism: hidden transcripts and, 152, 154
- material context of literacy, 14
- materiality of writing, 14
- Matthew, John: on Eaglehawk and Crow, 32, 33–4
- Meananger (Benang) people, 186
- Melbourne deed, 85, 86, 87
- message-sticks: and books, 209; letters and, 67, 211–12; and messenger's memory, 212; and George Augustus Robinson's visiting cards, 212–13; written texts used as, 213
- messengers and mediators: and message-sticks, 212; and petitions and letters, 137
- Mignolo, Walter D: on book history, 209; on writing as taming of the voice, 222
- Milbrodale Baiami, 48–52; *see also* Biraban
- Milligan, Dr Joseph, 121
- mission and reserve cultures of Indigenous literacy, 5–6, 19, 20–1, 23; *see also* prisons
- missions and reserves: and books, 214; coercion and ideological controls and, 154–5; pretence of benevolence by administrators of, 155, 194–5
- Mobourne, Ernest, 166, 169, 170; petition penned by, 167, 170, 171–2
- Mobourne, Maggie, 170; letters and petitions by, 166–9, 170
- Mohican Station, 124, 147
- monologic reading practices: Bible and, 99; and dialogic reading practices, 94–5; sermons of Thomas Brune and, 110
- Morgan, Caroline: petition of, 194, 195
- Mukwara *see* Eaglehawk
- Nanbaree, 25
- National School at Windsor, 30
- nationalism *see* Aboriginal nationalism
- Native Institution *see* Parramatta Native Institution
- Native Legends* (David Unaipon), 2
- Neidje, Bill, 215
- Ngurai-illam-wurrung people, 126
- ngurungaeta*, 125, 130, 146, 147
- Noemy (Mar.wer.reek): rearticulation of Bible by, 116–17
- non-alphabetic graphic systems, 18, 20
- Northern people and language, 116
- Nuenonne band, 105
- Nyoongah people, 187, 188
- Officer, Charles, 179–80
- Ogilvie, Christian, 137, 138
- Ong, Walter J: on formulaic repetitions, 109; on writing and non-writing, 71–2, 73

- Oodgeroo Noonuccal, 229
- open dissent and resistance: consequences of, 156, 158; dangerous wanderers and, 164–5, 169; *see also* hidden expressions of anger and resentment
- ‘oral’ societies: and alphabetic literacy, 3–4; *see also* Indigenous oral cultural traditions
- orality and literacy, 10, 18, 222; Coranderrk petitions and entanglement of, 140–4
- Page, Captain, 128; and ‘Aboriginal Narrative’, 160, 162, 163, 164; and Kitty Brangy, 197; and Bessie Cameron (*nee* Flower), 191; and Coranderrk petition (September 1881), 142; and ‘grateful Aborigines’ petition, 158; and Margaret Harrison (*nee* Green), 201, 202, 204; and letter to *Argus* (1882), 145; and Annie McDonald (*nee* Rich), 184; and Edith Taylor, 203
- Pallawah peoples, 99, 117, 130, 140, 176, 177, 211; position of women, 178; reading and writing by, 2–3
- Pangerang people, 127, 140
- paper: associations of in Aboriginal languages, 214, 227
- paper yabber*, 213
- Parker, Edward Stone, 213
- Parker, ES, 16
- Parramatta Native Institution, 26–7, 29
- patriarchal practice *see* traditional gendered gerontocracy
- patrilineal moiety system: of Kulin nation, 126; *see also* traditional marriage customs
- patronage *see* European patronage systems
- people of mixed descent: 1886 amendments to *Aboriginal Protection Act 1869* (Vic.) and, 149–50, 181, 191; at Coranderrk Reserve, 126, 181
- petitions: by Walter George Arthur, 228; by Bessie Cameron (*nee* Flower), 189, 190; Coranderrk Reserve *see* Coranderrk petitions; gender categorisation of, 179; by Ernest Mobourne, 167, 170, 171–2; by Maggie Mobourne, 166–9, 170; by Reverend John Heinrich Stahle against ‘disruptive’ Sutton group (‘grateful Aborigines’ petition), 158–9, 159; to Queen Victoria by Pallawah people against reinstatement of Dr Henry Jeanneret, 119–22, 177–8; *see also* etiquette of written communication; signatures
- Phillip, Governor Arthur: and Bennelong, 5, 14, 56–8, 69; and Bennelong’s kinship network, 59–61, 62, 63; and cross-cultural exchange of goods, 68–9; as exotic exhibit, 69; and recording of Aboriginal languages and culture, 53
- Phillips, Mr and Mrs: and Bennelong, 61, 62, 64, 67, 69–70
- phonographic scripts, 5, 71, 72, 73, 92
- pictographic scripts, 5, 71, 72, 73, 92
- Picturesque atlas of Australasia*, 84
- Pie.yen.kome.yen.ner (‘Wild Mary’), 117
- Pignaburg (‘Bessy’), 117
- Plunkett, Pol, 36
- postcards: by Rebecca Maltina, 197–8, 199
- Power, Grace, 17
- pretence of benevolence: by administrators of missions and reserves, 155, 194–5
- pretence of submission, 153, 154, 155–6, 158, 159, 173; reserve superintendents and, 155
- prisons: and modern Indigenous literacy, 228
- protectionism: construction of ‘the helpless’ (illiterate) and, 183–6; lack of open attack on, 169; open attack on, 165; *see also* *Aboriginal Protection Act 1869* (Vic.); Board for the Protection of Aborigines (BPA)
- public transcripts, 152, 155–6, 157; and hidden transcripts, 161, 162
- Queen Victoria: letters to *see* letters to Queen Victoria; petition by Pallawah people against reinstatement of Dr Henry Jeanneret, 119–22, 177–8; written ‘loyal address’ to re land for Coranderrk Reserve, 125

- Ramahyuck Mission Station, 165, 179, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193
- Ravenscroft, Alison, 219–20, 221
- reading practices: monologic and dialogic, 94
- Rebellion at Coranderk* (Diane Barwick), 127
- red ochre: in Aboriginal ritual, 98
- refraction *see* ventriloquism and refraction
- Reid's Mistake mission, 40, 43
- removal of children *see* stolen generations
- Report on the literacy progress of the Aboriginal children in the Native Asylum, Parramatta* (Elizabeth Shelley), 29
- repressive hypothesis, 201
- reserve culture *see* mission and reserve cultures of Indigenous literacy
- reserves *see* missions and reserves
- resistance: hidden forms of *see* hidden transcripts *see* Aboriginal resistance
- Rich, Annie *see* McDonald, Annie (*nee* Rich)
- ritual: parts of books and written documents used in, 68, 96–9, 211
- Robinson, George Augustus: and Mary Anne Arthur, 178; and Walter George Arthur and Thomas Brune, 104, 111–12, 119, 130; and gathering of Aboriginal people in Van Dieman's Land, 96; and pages of *Book of common prayer* used in Aboriginal ritual, 96–9; and protection of Aboriginal people, 107, 123; and schooling on Flinders Island, 112, 113–15; and visit of Governor Sir John Franklin to Flinders Island, 114; and visiting cards issued to messengers, 212–13; way of dealing with Aboriginal people, 104; and Wybalenna settlement, 101, 103
- Rousseau, J-J, 71
- Ruediger, Dorothea, 197–8
- Sabbath: Aboriginal contextually determined views of, 103; observance of and assimilation, 101–3
- schooling: and removal of children, 15–16
- Scott, James: and 'Aboriginals' Narrative', 163–4; and open rejection of hegemonic public discourse of protectionism, 164–5, 169
- Scott, James C: on hidden and public transcripts, 152–4
- scribes: and author and owner of written documents, 146; William Barak and, 133–4, 134, 146, 149, 150, 179, 181; Bennelong and, 54, 227, 228; European anthropologists as, 208; gender of, 179, 181
- semantic context of literacy, 14
- settler ideology: and fiction of Aboriginal consent, 174; and Indigenous literacy, 1–2
- Shelley, Elizabeth, 26, 27, 29
- Shelley, William, 26–7
- sign carriers: in Aboriginal societies, 207, 209; alphabetic writing on variety of, 211; non-European and books, 209–10
- sign systems: and ideological and cultural contexts, 72–3
- signatures, 89; of Aboriginal men on petition by Reverend John Heinrich Stahle against 'disruptive' Sutton group, 159; concept of, 146; on John Batman's treaty, 83, 84, 86–9; order of on petitions, 132, 140, 170; questioning of on Coranderk petitions, 144–6
- signum*, 89
- silences: articulating, 173–4
- Simpson, Martin, 140
- Smyth, Robert Brough, 133, 137, 189
- Snodgrass, Peter, 124
- socio-political context of literacy, 14
- speakers, 146–7
- Spenser, WB: on Aboriginal people, 2, 72
- Stahle, Reverend John Heinrich, 155; and Aboriginal women at Lake Condah Mission Station, 165, 166, 183, 201–4; and 'Aboriginals' Narrative', 161–2, 164; ambiguous power position of in official hierarchy, 160–1; beating of boys by, 157–8, 160; charge of assault against, 152, 156–7; and Coranderk

- petitions, 133–4; and Margaret Green, 201–2; inaction of over allegations of sexual misconduct, 160; and Annie McDonald (*nee* Rich), 183, 184, 185; and Mobournes, 166, 169, 170; petition by against ‘disruptive’ Sutton group, 158–9
- Stahle, Mary, 164
- stolen children *see* stolen generations
- stolen generations: in early colonial period, 24–30, 34–6; literacy and, 4, 15–18, 24, 25, 29, 35; narratives of Eaglehawk and Crow and, 4; return of to own community to marry, 26–7, 30, 34
- strategic performances: by oppressors and oppressed, 155; *see also* pretence of benevolence; pretence of submission
- Strickland, Frederick, 128, 142, 144
- Sutton, John Jr: indirect accusation in letter by, 157–8
- Sutton, John Sr, 158, 165; and ‘Aboriginals’ Narrative’, 159–60
- Sutton, Robert: and charge of assault against Reverend John Heinrich Stahle, 152, 156–7
- Sydney, Lord, 63–4; and Bennelong’s letter, 58, 62, 68
- Tanderrum ceremony: and John Batman’s treaty, 82, 123, 151
- Ta.ne.e.ber.rick (‘Clara’), 117
- Tasmania *see* Van Dieman’s Land
- Taungurong people, 123, 124, 126, 127, 139, 146, 149, 181
- Taylor, Edith, 204; letter by, 203
- Tench, Watkin, 53, 54–5
- Thomas, William, 124; and Coranderrk Reserve, 124
- Threlkeld, Launcelot, 4, 14, 22; and biblical translation and linguistic work, 40–1, 93; and biblical translation and linguistic work with Biraban, 39, 42, 43–6, 48; and intellectual astuteness of Awabakal people, 40
- tradable objects: European goods, 210; letters as, 56, 67, 70; written and printed texts, 210–11
- trade: Aboriginal networks, 66–7; written documents and, 2, 5, 68; *see also* cross-cultural exchange of goods
- traditional gendered gerontocracy, 129; amendments to *Aboriginal Protection Act 1869* (Vic.) re people of mixed descent and, 150; literacy of young people and, 129, 130, 149; literacy of young people and inversion of, 105, 109, 113, 129, 130, 149; and order of signatures on petitions, 132, 170; and women’s writing, 179; *see also* Indigenous land-based and kin-based authority structures
- traditional marriage customs: Eaglehawk and Crow and, 32; of Kulin nation, 126; of Kurnai people, 187; stolen generations in colonial period and, 26–7, 30; *see also* patrilineal moiety system
- traditionally based Indigenous practices of alphabetic literacy, 11
- traditionally oriented cultures of Indigenous literacy, 19–20, 224–5
- translation of Bible, 3, 4, 37–8; into Awabakal language, 39, 40, 44–5; on Flinders Island, 117–18; into language of Ben Lomond people, 100; and recontextualisation of, 118–19; into Wiradjuri language, 37, 38
- Tristan, 25–6
- true stories: bringing people closer together, 198–205
- Truganini, 176
- Tylor, Edward Burnett: on writing and civilisation, 8–9, 72
- Unaipon, David, 2
- Van Dieman, George, 99–100
- Van Dieman’s Land: war against Aboriginal people of, 95–6, 117; *see also* Pallawah peoples
- ventriloquism and refraction: political dynamics of, 5–6
- Victoria: destruction of Aboriginal economy in, 123; establishment of Aboriginal reserves in, 123; *see also*

- Batman treaty with Woiworung people
- visiting cards: Aboriginal use of fragment of text as, 213; George Augustus Robinson's, 212–13
- Volosinov, VN: on monologic and dialogic reading practices, 94
- Vöss (Patrick White), 1
- Waipuldanya, 218
- Walker, Robert, 228
- Walter *see* Arthur, Walter George
- Wandin, Jemima Burns, 150, 151
- Wandin, Joy Murphy, 151
- Wandin, Robert, 147, 151, 181
- Wandjuk Marika, 216, 217, 221
- Wandjuk Marika: life story*, 216, 217
- Wangkumara people and language, 214, 227
- Ward, Glenyse, 228
- Warkentin, Germaine: on the book as function, 208
- Warlpiri community at Lajamanu: and use of names of alphabetical letters and traditional prohibition on saying names of deceased persons, 225
- Wathaurung people, 126
- Watson, Reverend William, 30, 34–5, 36, 37; as eaglehawk, 36–7; and use of Wiradjuri language, 37, 38
- Wave Hill Station, 80, 81
- Weapons of the weak* (James C Scott), 152
- Wellington Valley Mission, 30, 34–6, 38–9
- Western Bundjalung people: associations of 'paper' in their language, 227
- Western Bundjalung people and language, 214
- Western Kulin-speaking societies, 126
- Western people and language, 104, 116, 117
- White, Patrick: and Aboriginal people and written documents, 1
- Wilkinson, Thomas, 101; and translation of Bible, 100
- Willemering, 60–1
- Windradyne, 28, 34
- Wiradjuri carver(s), 224–5
- Wiradjuri clubs: club A, 75–8; club B, 77, 78; use of alphabetic characters in accordance with traditional inscriptions, 74–9, 91, 92, 211, 227
- Wiradjuri people, 5, 28; and assimilation of Bible to traditional understanding of universe, 38; Baiami ceremonies of, 38–9; literacy in language of, 37; removal of children of, 34–7; and war with colonists, 34
- Wiradjuri people and language: translations into, 37
- Woiworung people, 124, 139, 140, 146, 181; treaty with John Batman *see* Batman treaty with Woiworung people; women, 127
- women *see* Aboriginal women
- Wonga, Simon, 123; and Coranderrk Reserve, 124, 127; as *ngurungaeta*, 125; and traditional Indigenous law, 126; and written 'loyal address' to Queen Victoria re land for Coranderrk Reserve, 125
- Wonnarua country, 48, 49
- Worgan *see* Crow
- Worgan, George, 31
- Wourraddy ('Doctor'/'Count Alpha'): rearticulation of Bible by, 117–18
- Wright, Alexis, 229
- writing: by Aboriginal people as means to bridge spatial and social distances, 195–7, 198; adaptation of to traditional protocols of communication, 3, 6, 22, 211, 213; associations of English and Aboriginal words for, 225–7; and biological and cultural advancement of humankind, 8–9; bureaucratic governance and, 21; by colonial bureaucrats as governance of Aboriginal people by remote control, 194–5, 197; and communication with world outside mission/reserve, 161; and English language, 14; history of reading, 2–3; ideologies of, 225–6; and Indigenous land-based and kin-based authority structures at Coranderrk Reserve, 131; before literacy, 74; materiality of, 14; materiality of and

- associations of in Aboriginal languages with reference to 'paper', 227; and meaning, 14; and non-writing, 72, 73, 91, 92; perceptions of and cultural contexts, 227; as performative medium, 6; and power and status, 57; and talking back about abuse of power, 142; true stories, 198–205; *see also* intergenerational collaboration of speaking and writing; letters; literacy; petitions; postcards
- writing by Aboriginal women, 6; authority to write, 179; on behalf of community, 179–83, 189; letters and petitions, 165–72, 175–6, 177–9, 184–5; literacy and language skills, 177; men's attitudes to, 181, 183; as scribes, 179–81
- written documents: author, scribe and owner of, 146; and struggle for Aboriginal land, 124; as tradable artefacts, 2, 5, 68; used in ritual, 68; Patrick White on Aboriginal people and, 1; *see also* the book and books
- Wurul. Wurulbadyaou, 26
- Wurundjeri clan, 82, 125, 126
- Wurundjeri-willam clan, 125
- Wybalenna settlement on Flinders Island, 100; heterogeneity of Aboriginal languages in, 116; heterogeneity of Aboriginal peoples in, 104, 105; inversion of traditional gerontocracy in, 105, 109, 149; older men's rearticulation of Bible in, 115–18; scriptural education in, 109, 112–15; traditional ceremonial practices and power structures in, 105; visit of Governor Sir John Franklin to, 114
- Yemmerrawanie, 61
- Yidinjdji people: associations of their word for writing, 226–7
- Yolngu people, 216