

CREATIVE RESEARCH IN MUSIC

Informed Practice, Innovation and Transcendence

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Chapter 9

Informing Practice Through Collaboration: Listening to Colonising Histories and Aboriginal Music

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9 Informing Practice Through Collaboration

Listening to Colonising Histories and Aboriginal Music

Shannon Foster and Amanda Harris

In the past two decades, Australian Indigenous scholars have mounted a series of challenges to dominant scholarly methodologies. In 2000, Goenpul, Quandamooka scholar Aileen Moreton-Robinson argued that

white middle-class women anthropologists' representations [of Indigenous women] create a binary opposition of 'traditional' versus 'contemporary' Indigenous women which privileges certain groups of Indigenous women as culturally and racially authentic and positions the rest as racially and culturally contaminated [...] The methodology denies the historical construction of racialized power relations that shaped the subject positions of both women anthropologists and Indigenous women [...] The methodology allows for an illusory absence of colonisation which is preserved and felt in the presence of its absence.¹

This provocation has been productive in suggesting ways in which scholarship on Australian Aboriginal music can transform. In this paper, we describe an interdisciplinary and intercultural method for collaboration and listening that informs our work together as a Sydney D'harawal saltwater Knowledge Keeper, scholar and interdisciplinary creative practitioner, and a non-Indigenous cultural historian and musicologist. We explore the ways in which listening and collaboration informs practice that is experienced as ethical by each of us. We also suggest that this kind of collaborative listening has the potential to open up new ways of understanding Australian history, and therefore is not just a method concerned with ethics, but one that drives an expansion of knowledge, and the production of new scholarly findings. These findings are informed by Indigenous knowledges and approaches, by non-Indigenous historical and ethnographic methodologies, and by the very process of collaboration. We explore these issues in a dialogue between us about the process of informing research through listening and collaboration.² The chapter presents a song as methodology and practice, to sing up story and knowledges from history in the present.

Amanda Harris (AH):

In January 2018, I began work on a new project funded by the Australian Research Council.³ The project had been designed to be led by equal numbers of Aboriginal and non-Indigenous researchers, and at its core sought to locate historical records and audiovisual sources in the archives and reconnect them to living communities and families of Aboriginal people who performed music and dance on public stages from the 1930s to the 1970s. One such historical forum for these public performances that I was already aware of was touring gum leaf bands. I knew about the gum leaf bands from Wallaga Lakes and

Lake Tyers Aboriginal Reserves, who, in spite of the restrictions that NSW and Victorian government 'Protection' and 'Assimilation' policies enforced, had travelled around the country performing a mix of songs varying from folk songs, hymns, popular tunes and arrangements of Aboriginal songs in church halls, outdoor concerts, dances and fundraisers. A number of residents of the Sydney Aboriginal Reserve at La Perouse had also played gum leaf and toured in bands like these. Background research from Clare Compton and Matt Poll identified D'harawal man Tom Foster as one of these La Perouse performers. A name always makes searches in online databases easier, so I tried to find more about Tom Foster, and soon turned up a rich (if dispersed) collection of newspaper articles, archival files, photographs and musical scores featuring Tom Foster as composer, performer, correspondent and representative of Aboriginal people on Australia's east coast in the 1930s. Clare and Matt put me in touch with Tom Foster's great grand-daughter Shannon Foster, a saltwater Knowledge Keeper and scholar, working on PhD research at the University of Technology, Sydney. We arranged to meet.

Shannon Foster (SF):

My earliest memories of my great grandfather, Tom Foster, were regularly seeing a black and white photo of him that my father would reverently draw from a large envelope that he kept in the top of his wardrobe. In the photo, my father explained, were Tom and my grandfather Fred with two journalists (see Figure 9.1). Fred was painted up and Tom was in his kangaroo skins, both kneeling down on the ground and showing the white journalists some details of the boomerangs they would make from the mangrove trees that lined the shorelines of Kamay (Botany Bay) near their Aboriginal mission home on Guriwal (whale) Country (La Perouse) south of what is now called Sydney.



Figure 9.1 Fred Foster (left) and Tom Foster (right) with journalists 1930 photo courtesy of John Foster.

My father always spoke with great pride about Tom and seemed exasperated by us not really understanding the magnitude of who he was. It wasn't until much later in my life, when catalogues were being digitised and Tom's name began appearing in internet searches that a fuller version of their public lives became clear. In online records, I found two hymns that Tom had written in 1930, "Happy Today" and "My Thoughts."⁴ Reading his thoughts and words, I could not comprehend this incredible find. I saw musical notes that I couldn't read; they were just marks on a page and it oddly never occurred to me that these marks on the page make sound, that someone could pick this music up and play it and I could listen and be immersed in another layer of this amazing man's spirit.

Finding Tom's music has brought many opportunities for us to discover even more about him. It is through his music that I have come to know Dr. Amanda Harris, Professor Linda Barwick and the team of researchers working on a new project "Reclaiming Performance under Assimilation in Southeastern Australia 1935–75." They were beginning to research Tom and it was validating and strengthening to meet them and feel my awe for this man mirrored back to me. I was also relieved that they made contact with me to collaborate in the early stages of the project. More often than not, this does not happen in the research world and our stories are told by outsiders as if we do not exist.⁵ At best, we are consulted with as an afterthought, at worst, we are erased out of the histories. This research was different; an important element factored into this project was that information was to be shared and that collaborations and acts of reciprocity for the community would be prioritised. I had always had a yearning to do more with music and song so I was looking forward to being a part of this work. Soon after, Amanda began sending me everything she could find about my great grandfather, Tom.

AH:

Sharing resources from the outset means creating opportunities to listen. And this listening creates the potential for different kinds of histories to have a voice. As a cultural historian, I had always known the value of archival sources, as records of long ago that revealed crucial details that illuminate the past. However, in this work I could see that the personal stories of families, and oral histories, often gave a very different account of what historical events could mean and how they could be held onto within families. When I first saw the hymns that Tom Foster composed, I wondered what would be made of their religious texts (intended for performance in the La Perouse church), by living D'harawal people.

In December 2018 we held the project's first symposium at Sydney Conservatorium of Music. Contributions to the event from Indigenous participants brought the sounds of Aboriginal languages, Aboriginal song, and the continuation of practice into the room through invoking old people now past, in current performances. Yuwuaalaraay musician, writer and performer Nardi Simpson gave a demonstration of how she was weaving recorded sound from her Country into new musical work; an installation that would build melodic lines out of the pitches generated by the wind against the riverbank. Lou Bennett and Romaine Moreton demonstrated the entwinement of images of Country set on film against the sounds of Yorta Yorta language being woken up in their collaborative multi-media work. Nerida Blair asked for a clip of her father, tenor Harold Blair's singing, to be broadcast over the venue's speakers. Shannon Foster had brought along the musical score for two songs composed by her great-grandfather. Imagine if these could be played on those beautiful pianos at the front of the room, she said.

SF:

Late in 2018, I spoke about Tom Foster's songs and their impact on our lives in a symposium that was arranged through the research project.⁶ The symposium changed me in many ways: most importantly, it opened my eyes to the possibilities of actually creating music and song that could tell our stories and share our languages.

Sitting in the concert hall, I was entranced by the shiny grand piano sitting silent on the stage where the speakers had shared their stories and experiences. I imagined the smell and feel of its silken keyboard and the distinct beauty of its sound. An idea began to fill my head. I could feel the compulsion to speak as I had never felt it before. It was more than just a thought or an idea, it was a calling from eons ago but as strong and as fresh as if someone was talking directly to me in this space and time. This was my opportunity to ask, for Tom, in this room of musicians, singers and performance professionals, could someone please play Tom's music on that beautiful shiny piano?

Everyone was keen to bring Tom's notes to life in one of the only places that could do justice to the sounds. Lecturer in piano, Kevin Hunt played the piano and Amanda offered her beautiful voice. Within moments, the Conservatorium filled with Tom's music played in perfect acoustic conditions. Every note swam through my heart and my mind, transcending all time and space, the music striking in a way that no sound has ever done before, or since. It was sublime. This had come from him, his mind, his heart; the spirit of the man that I revered filled the air. It was an incredible moment. With every note I understood with absolute clarity that from that moment on, I had to find a way to create music for our stories. And so, here in this space, generations after it was conceived, ceremony was enacted, culture was alive and I know, without a doubt, who I am.

AH:

Seeing tears running down Shannon's face as Kevin and I finished performing Tom Foster's songs, I understood something new about the effect of bringing to life musical scores that had long sat in the National Library of Australia's collection. For Aboriginal families, who had survived the process of systematic displacement and separation that resulted from NSW government policies in the Protection and Assimilation regimes, historical records were inseparable from very personal stories of dispersal, survival and reclamation.⁷ In Shannon Foster's presentation at the Symposium, she showed some of the photographs and hand-crafted and designed boomerangs made by her great-grandfather that she had recovered from antique shops and eBay, and she linked designs on Tom Foster's painted body, on his engraved boomerangs, and on rock art in the Sydney region to her contemporary paintings (Fig. 9.2).

In my searches in the archive and in historical newspapers, I had been intrigued by one photograph of Tom Foster in particular. In this image, Tom Foster posed in animal skins, holding and displaying boomerangs he had crafted, surrounded by a crowd of peering onlookers leaning in for a closer view of what he was exhibiting (Fig. 9.3). Further research revealed that this was an exhibit of the Ranger's League (a bushland conservation group) who held annual exhibitions at Sydney's David Jones and Farmers department stores between 1930 and 1937. How should I make sense of this image? Would I interpret it, as an example of the kind of coerced exhibits of savagery that Roslyn Poignant has written about, or the public parading as "noble savages" in Judith McKay and Paul Memmott's descriptions of the touring Wild Australia shows?⁸ If so, who had coerced Tom Foster and Wesley Simms into this display? The NSW Aborigines Protection Board was listed among the exhibitors for the Ranger's League Australian Bushland Exhibition at Blaxland Galleries.⁹



Figure 9.2 “Buldyan” (Grandfather) by Shannon Foster, 2018, references the body painting on Shannon’s grandfather Fred Foster’s legs in a photograph from the 1930s (see Fig. 9.1), artwork created for Centre for the Advancement of Indigenous Knowledges, University of Technology Sydney.

Further research in the collections of the State Library of NSW revealed that Tom Foster, however, was not just a participant in the Exhibition as an unnamed “Aboriginee” presented by the board; rather, he actively negotiated with the organisers on the terms of his participation and pursued this opportunity annually after initial participation in 1932. Correspondence from 1936 was addressed directly to Foster at no.7 Aboriginal Reserve, La Perouse, and suggested that he might consider bringing along some Aboriginal children to make the exhibit more interesting and sell more wares.¹⁰ Shannon Foster’s uncle Wesley Simms was listed among the stallholders requiring after-hours access to the Gallery to arrange the exhibit.¹¹ Selling wares had been an ongoing part of tourist operations at La Perouse Aboriginal reserve where Foster and Simms had lived since early in the century, when the tram line was extended to the La Perouse headland and tourist industries grew up around ‘The Loop’ where trams would turn to make the return trip into the city. Maria Nugent describes the tourists who travelled out to the end of the line expressly to see “Aboriginee” in what quickly became a ‘local amusement precinct.’¹² The State Library’s collections also showed Tom Foster in a parade of Aboriginal gum leaf musicians across the Harbour Bridge in 1932 (Fig. 9.4).

SF:

There is another photo from my father’s collection that we had seen regularly over the years. The photo pictures Tom with his daughter, my great Aunty Renee (senior). Tom is



Figure 9.3 "Aborigines' Gunyah at Bushland Exhibition." *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 September 1933: 12. Accessed 8 Mar 2019 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article17006273>.



Figure 9.4 Hood, Sam. *Aboriginals and Their Gum Leaf Band Pass the Dais*, 20 March 1932, Home and Away – 2136, 44240, State Library of NSW, Sydney.

all dressed up in a good coat and holding something like a box or plaque—it's hard to tell from the old black and white picture. My father explained that it is a picture of Tom after he had performed a corroboree for the opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge in 1932. It was so hard to believe this story; surely if this had happened, we would have been taught this and heard about it outside our home?¹³ It is such a sensational story not least of all because of how Aboriginal people, my great grandfather no less, would be allowed to do this at what would have been considered such an important, colonial event?

Dad would always go on to explain that my great grandfather and the other Aboriginal men performing the corroboree were meant to be the first people to walk out onto the bridge at the official opening. The story in our family goes that just before they walked out a white man walked in front of the group and officially became the first person to walk out onto the bridge. Understandably, the Aboriginal men were incensed, and my great grandfather's anger and frustration is always the prominent subject whenever the story is told.

Hearing this story growing up, I had no idea if it was true. My father has been known to pull your leg on occasion and would tell tall tales to us kids. He is a great storyteller but he doesn't always let the truth stand in the way of a good story, so I was really sceptical. I became even more sceptical as the internet opened up access to the world of archives and records and I relentlessly searched for colonial evidence of the corroboree but could never find anything about it. I searched for evidence of this corroboree for years even though I knew better than to dismiss my family's oral histories and question their truth; it had backfired before and I had learnt to trust what they knew, even if it isn't written down or in an archive somewhere.¹⁴

On 26 January 2018, I was preparing to deliver a speech in Australia Hall. The speech had been delivered by Tom eighty years earlier in the same building as part of the 1938 Day of Mourning protest.¹⁵ This protest saw Aboriginal people from all over the country come together to ask, quite simply, for equal rights for Aboriginal people. On that day, I walked up the same stairs that Tom had walked up eighty years earlier; I stood under the same roof that Tom had stood under and I read his words:

The Aborigines have three enemies. The first is the Aborigines Protection Board, which has meted out most callous treatment to our people, and has forced us to do as the white man wishes. The second enemy is the white missionary, who preaches to our people. Some of these are disgraceful. The third enemy is liquor. White men brought liquor for us, and it has helped to destroy our people. We should stand shoulder to shoulder to destroy these three enemies.¹⁶

There are no words to describe a moment like this. As I stood there in that moment I felt knowledge, connection and culture come full circle and I know exactly who I am, why I am here and what I have to do for the people who came before me, as well as for those who will come after me. The morning of the speech, I was aimlessly scrolling through social media and there, out of the blue, was an old, black and white picture of a group of Aboriginal men in a procession. The photo credit said that it was taken in 1932 during the official opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge (Fig. 9.4). Years and years of searching records, archives, books and pages and pages of internet sites and here it is: the evidence that I had been looking for, randomly dumped into my newsfeed from a newspaper photo database, and on the day I was due to deliver his speech, no less.

I frantically scanned the photo and there he was. Tom was in his skins, playing the gum leaf and holding one of his Harbour Bridge boomerangs aloft and there, in the front of the procession, just as my father had always said in his story, was a white man. Through Amanda's research I have found out that the man represented the Aborigines Protection Board who, after the event was organised by the Aboriginal men, swept in and claimed



Figure 9.5 One of Tom Foster's boomerangs created to commemorate the opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge. Courtesy of Shannon Foster.

ownership over them and their presence there.¹⁷ No wonder they were angry and it is not surprising that the story carried through the generations to be here today.

Tom's boomerangs are amazing pieces of culture and they always feature prominently when I speak about my research work documenting our Narinya (Living Dreaming) (Fig. 9.5). During a recent talk, I find myself addressing the audience, holding one of my great grandfather's boomerangs in my hands. I tell the incredible story of how it came to be here with me over eighty years, and who knows how many owners since it was created. I explain the transcendent feeling of placing the boomerang into my father's hands for the first time. I am lost for words. I try, but words don't capture the intensity and magnitude of the moment. I talk about how this brings us cultural strength and a sense of identity. How this wonderful man left us tangible culture to hold onto. This boomerang is evidence that not everything had been lost, stolen, erased, put behind glass, or worse still, held captive in a box somewhere in a basement on the other side of the world.¹⁸

Through a member of the audience though, I am brought back to our racist reality and I am reminded that non-Indigenous historians often see our cultural heritage very differently and through a deficit, colonial lens. Historians have made assumptions and drawn conclusions about the ways in which our cultural past and the visual evidence of this must be undermining to our cultural integrity because they do not consider it 'authentic' Aboriginal art.¹⁹ I am told by a prominent historian in the audience that they had always seen boomerangs like Tom's as nothing more than kitsch, cultural denigration, humiliation and damage. They had never considered (nor thought to ask) how we feel about them. It had never occurred to them that what we see is physical evidence of our existence in a world where we have been consistently erased. Tom's boomerangs speak to us of survival, resistance, and cultural fortitude and strength. When we see what our Elders created we see staunch, courageous and innovative people who continued to create and promote culture under extreme and violent circumstances. They made sure they left behind vitally important links for us in this future and they left us a space to anchor to, to be able to speak out and tell these stories. We see evidence of who we are and how we have survived and resisted that which tried, and still contributes to, the destruction of who we are. But most importantly, we see our grandparents, our aunts and our uncles and how relentlessly their incredible stories have forged a way into a future that they had never even been considered a part of.

So how does an outsider feel that they have the authority to assume a position for us and speak about us as if we are not there? They need to ask themselves the question: are you researching with us or about us?²⁰ It is up to us to tell our stories, others do not do it well enough, accurately enough or thoroughly enough. Their knowledge of us is formed on colonial records: records that have been created to perpetuate lies; erase, diminish and oppress us in the pursuit of the colonial agenda. For every piece of us that I find in the archives, I find things that I wish I had never seen or heard.²¹ The archives are the ruins of a battle, there are warriors and survivors but there are also bludgeoned lives and corpses. I do not want to rely on the bloodstained colonial records but our ghosts haunt them, pieces of us are left behind and need to be returned home to where they belong. They need to be with us and not lost forever or found by strangers wishing only to exploit them all over again.

AH:

In reading the sounds and historical sources of the past, we are always interpreting. Standing in the present, we seek to closely read the kinds of sources history has preserved to make sense of how these can inform our understanding of distant events. Aboriginal understandings of cultural practice—both practices that continue ‘traditional’ expressions of culture, and practices that adapt culture to current circumstances—are often absent from written archives.²² In order to respond to Moreton-Robinson’s provocation that methodologies and analytical frameworks have imposed ‘anthropological representations’ on individual Aboriginal subjectivities, we have tried to listen to historical sources in new ways. This method centralises the interpretations of history by Aboriginal family members and communities as “sources” that can radically reinterpret what performative actions meant in the recent past. These collaborative approaches can also be regenerative and can inspire new expressions of culture that that not only respond to, but extend and continue, cultural practice.

SF:

During a retreat made possible by the research project "Reclaiming Performance under Assimilation in Southeastern Australia 1935–75," I found myself amongst amazing performers who inspired me to compose the following song with good friend and colleague, Jo Kinniburgh. The song is based on a process known as Naway (now, the present moment) which I developed through my doctoral research work. Linda Barwick, Amanda Harris and Jakelin Troy had been workshopping a song in the Ngarigo language which had been published by John Lhotsky, so Jo and I took the opportunity to perform our song with the guidance of these wonderful women and we were excited to learn that Linda had notated it for us as we sang.²³ (see Fig. 9.6). It describes the processes involved in the acquisition of knowledges required for working with Country. The kind of research methodology followed at the retreat, as well as in our ongoing collaboration, is laid out in the song and its text is a poetic version of the collaborative practice that we have retold in these pages. The song describes a methodology and a practice, to sing up story and knowledges that are made accessible through the powerful, Ancestral energies of Naway.

<i>Naway</i> (<i>Singing in the sevens</i>)	<i>Naway</i> (<i>Singing in the sevens</i>)
<i>naway</i> <i>ngalawah</i> <i>ngara</i> <i>wingara</i> <i>bangaaaaa, bangaaaaa</i>	In the moment of now, wait, listen, understand, do, share.

v1

Naway

"singing in the sevens"

Shannon Foster, Ngarigu nura
Jo Kinniburgh

Transcribed Linda Barwick May 2019

Allegro (M.M. ♩ = c. 120)

The musical score is written for two voices, Giba and Yura, in a 2/4 time signature. The tempo is marked 'Allegro' with a metronome marking of approximately 120 beats per minute. The score consists of seven systems, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The lyrics are: 'Na - way nga - la - wa nga - ra win - ga - ra ba - ngga'. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The score is marked with measure numbers 8, 15, 22, 29, 36, and 43.

Giba

Yura

Na - way nga - la - wa nga - ra win - ga - ra ba - ngga

8

G

Y

Na - way nga - la - wa nga - ra win - ga - ra ba - ngga

15

G

Y

Na - way nga - la - wa nga - ra win - ga - ra ba - ngga

22

G

Y

Na - way nga - la - wa nga - ra win - ga - ra ba - ngga

29

G

Y

Na - way nga - la - wa nga - ra win - ga - ra ba - ngga

36

G

Y

Na - way nga - la - wa nga - ra win - ga - ra ba - ngga

43

G

Y

Na - way nga - la - wa nga - ra win - ga - ra ba - ngga

©Shannon Foster

Figure 9.6 “Naway: Singing in the Sevens” by Shannon Foster and Jo Kinniburgh, transcribed by Linda Barwick.

Notes

1. Aileen Moreton Robinson, *Talkin' up to the White Woman: Aboriginal Women and Feminism* (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2000): 75–78.
2. Parts of this paper are reworked from the forthcoming book by Amanda Harris (with contributions from Shannon Foster, Tiriki Onus and Nardi Simpson), *Listening Stages: Representing Australian Aboriginal Music and Dance, 1930–70*, (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020).
3. This research has been supported by funding from the Australian Research Council for DP180100938, 2018–20.
4. Tom Foster. *My thoughts, and I'm happy to-day: two Aboriginal spirituals*, 1930, National Library of Australia, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-181580080>
5. Evelyn Araluen Corr. "Silence and resistance: Aboriginal women working within and against the archive." *Continuum*, 32, no.4, (2018): 487–502.
6. Indigenous Music and Dance: Cultural maintenance, transmission and transformation in the twentieth century, Sydney Conservatorium of Music, 13–14 December 2018, <https://sydney.edu.au/music/our-research/research-events/indigenous-music-and-dance-conference.html>.
7. The NSW Aborigines Protection Board was formed in 1883. The Board, populated by government ministers, anthropologists and public servants including the Commissioner of Police and Director General of Public Health, initially oversaw tasks like the distribution of rations and blankets. However, the powers of the NSW board were increased from 1909, when it was given control of all Aboriginal reserves and stations. From 1915 the NSW Board was able to remove children from families at any time, though policies of dispersal that had separated community members from one another had been in evidence since the earliest days of the colony. Peter Read, "A Rape of the Soul So Profound': Some Reflections on the Dispersal Policy in New South Wales," *Aboriginal History* 7, no.1/2 (1983): 25–26; Tim Rowse, ed. *Contesting Assimilation* (Perth: API Network, 2005): 4.
8. Roslyn Poignant, *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2004); Judith McKay and Paul Memmott, "Staged Savagery: Archibald Meston and His Indigenous Exhibits," *Aboriginal History* 40 (2016): 182.
9. Undated list of Exhibitors including "Abo Protection Board (Abos. and gunyah)" in Subject Files - Bushland Exhibition, 1935–1967, Box MLK1134/Item [5], Rangers League (Sydney, NSW) records, 1918–1976, MLMSS 3328, State Library of NSW.
10. Secretary to Mr. T. Foster, 8 July 1936, "Topics, Generally Useful" Box MLK1132, Rangers League (Sydney, NSW) records, 1918–1976, MLMSS 3328, State Library of NSW.
11. Subject Files - Bushland Exhibition, 1935–1967 Box MLK1134, Item [5], Rangers League (Sydney, NSW) records, 1918–1976, MLMSS 3328, State Library of NSW.
12. Maria Nugent, *Botany Bay: Where Histories Meet*, (Sydney NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2005), 72–73.
13. Gawaian Bodkin-Andrews and Bronwyn Carlson. "The Legacy of Racism and Indigenous Australian Identity within Education." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 19, no.4 (2016): 784–807.
14. Patrick D. Nunn and Nicholas J. Reid, 'Aboriginal Memories of Inundation of the Australian Coast Dating from More than 7000 Years Ago', *Australian Geographer*, 47(1) (2016), 11–47.
15. The 26 January 1938 was the 150th anniversary of the invasion of British troops into Sydney Cove. This day is celebrated each year as "Australia Day" by settler colonial populations of Australians but mourned by First Nations people and we refer to the day as "Invasion Day" or "Survival Day".
16. "Our Historic Day of Mourning and Protest" *The Abo Call*, April (1938), 2. Accessed 31/10/2019 https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/catalogue_resources/20373.pdf
17. "VAUCLUSE PAGEANT." *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 March 1932: 14. Accessed 13 March 2019 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article16849399>.
18. Moira G. Simpson *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era*. (London: Routledge, 1997).
19. Anne-Marie Willis and Tony Fry. "Art as ethnocide: The case of Australia." *Third Text*, 2, no.5 (1988), 3–20.
20. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang. "R-words: Refusing research." *Humanizing research: Decolonizing qualitative inquiry with youth and communities*, edited by Django Paris and Maisha T. Winn. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2014): 223–248.
21. Natalie Harkin. "The Poetics of (Re) Mapping Archives: Memory in the Blood." *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature*, 14, no.3 (2014).
22. Ann Laura Stoler. Colonial archives and the arts of governance. *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 87–109.
23. John Lhotsky. *A Journey from Sydney to the Australian Alps, Undertaken in the Months of January, February and March, 1834*. (Hobart: Blubber Head Press, 1979 [original publication 1835]).