# Lost and Invisible: The Representation of Indigeneity in Children's Literature in Tasmania 1950-2001

# Margaret Anne Bromley

Bachelor of Education, Canberra College of Advanced Education

Bachelor of Arts, University of New England

Master of Education, University of New England

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the
University of New England
December 2012

### Acknowledgements

I am indebted to my supervisors Dr Liz Hale and Dr Bev Croker for their hard work and the astute mentorship that they both supplied during the course of my writing this thesis.

I wish to thank Belle Alderman at the Lu Rees Archives for sharing her knowledge of Nan Chauncy's contribution to children's literature. I acknowledge the assistance of Greg Lehman, and Theresa Sainty for their input into my interpretation of Tasmanian Aboriginal history. Dr David Roberts of the University of New England also provided timely clarification of historical information. I'm grateful to Dr Gary Crew for his input and encouragement at a crucial time in my writing of this thesis.

I am appreciative to Mary Small, children's writer, who responded to my queries and Margaret Dugon, daughter of Nora Dugon, who provided me with information on her mother's writing.

Jack Sutcliffe's enthusiastic sourcing of children's books in and around Hobart provided key resources for this study.

I also acknowledge the constant support of the staff at the Dixson Library at the University of New England

I am particularly grateful for the assistance of Dr John Kennard, the most diligent and patient editor who took the interest to read the children's books discussed in this thesis. I am extremely grateful for the tireless and constructive support of my husband John during the writing of this thesis, and the support of my children, Alice, Julian and Robin. I would like to acknowledge Robin's technical expertise to support the production of this thesis.

Finally, I would like to thank Jill Spilsbury and her husband Frank for their long friendship and generous hospitality to me and my family in Armidale.

### **Abstract**

This study examines the ways in which Tasmanian Indigeneity is constructed by children's writers for their readers. The colonialist ideologies engendered by writers and illustrators of this literature demonstrate a conservative approach to representations through the roles, characterisations and cultural contexts of Indigenous peoples and their life experiences.

Between 1950 and 2001 a small number of children's writers used Tasmania as a setting and subject for their novels. Physically isolated and unspoilt, Tasmania has a complex and dark past involving convict hardships and atrocities carried out by coloniser settlers against its Indigenous people. Tasmanian children's literature engages with that history, and its intersection with Indigeneity. This thesis centres on Tasmanian writers Jane Ada Fletcher, Nan Chauncy, Beth Roberts, Pat Peatfield Price and Nora Dugon, as well as mainland writers Fitzmaurice Hill, Gary Crew, Mary Small and Elizabeth Stanley who drew on Tasmanian subjects for their novels. Many of these works were highly recognised through the Australian Children's Book of the Year Awards.

Taking a broadly chronological approach, this thesis shows how child readers were protected from the harshness of the historical truths of the massacre and dispossession of the Tasmanian Aborigines. Through its reiteration of doomed race theory, the mythology regarding the demise of the Tasmanian Aborigines is perpetuated either explicitly or symbolically in these works, except those of Dugon and Small, who, rather timidly, go some way towards depicting and acknowledging the identity of Tasmanian Aborigines.

This is the first full scale study of its kind; its significance lies in its demonstration of how children's literature from Tasmania transmitted discriminatory attitudes that were deeply embedded and implicitly assumed for several generations of child readers. In their constructions of the world and its peoples these writers ensured that their child readers remained 'the most colonised persons on the globe' in their appropriation of colonialist attitudes towards Tasmanian Indigeneity.

This thesis shows how, textually, the past continues to inform and shape meaning to the present, as representations of Tasmanian Aborigines in children's literature sees them as lost and invisible. Moreover, as an audience, Tasmanian Aboriginal children are treated as invisible.

## **Contents**

Chapter 1	1
Introduction	1
Methodology: Framing the Study	2
Tasmania: A Fertile Setting for Children's Literature	8
Tasmania: Historical, Social and Contemporary Context	10
The History Wars and Tasmania	14
Reclaiming Tasmanian Aboriginal Rights and Identity	17
Exploring Indigeneity in Tasmanian Children's Literature	18
Lessons in History: 'Historical Inaccuracies, Closed Minds and White Impassivity' in Tasmanian Children's Literature	21
A Lesson in History	23
Chapter 2	25
Inscribing the Myth of Extinction: <i>Little Brown Piccaninnies of Tasmania</i> (19by Jane Ada Fletcher	,
Jane Ada Fletcher (1870-1956): Teacher, Anthropologist and Writer	25
Influences on her Writing: Fletcher's Social Darwinism for Children	27
Influences on Fletcher's Writing: Contemporary Literature	30
Fletcher's Thematic Treatment of the Disappearing Savage	32
The Historical Context of Little Brown Piccaninnies of Tasmania	35
Fletcher's View of Australian History: The Anthropologist as Translator	37
Fletcher's Historical Sources and Connections in <i>Little Brown Piccaninnies Tasmania</i>	•
Defined by Deficits: Racial Pessimism in Fletcher's 'Glimpse into the Past'	40
Conclusion: Stereotyping the Self-exterminating Noble Savage in Tasmania	48
Chapter 3	51
Invisibility and Tasmanian Indigeneity in <i>Southward Ho with the Hentys</i> (1952) Fitzmaurice Hill: 'Learning History without realising it'	
Fitzmaurice Hill (1898-1973): Historical Colonial Adventure in Australia	51
Southward Ho with the Hentys: 'Learning History without realising it'	53
The Story of the Hentys: Adventure into History	56
Hill's Version of Tasmania as the Real Frontier	59
White Fleece and Ignoble Black Savages	61
Recreating a 'Britain of the South'	65
Hearsay versus Experience: What Jim Learns about Indigenous People	66
Conclusion: Rewards and Results for the Young Coloniser	71
Chapter 4	75

Ideology in the Historical Fiction of Nan Chauncy's <i>Tangara</i> (1960)	75
Introduction: Telling the Truth about Genocide in Tasmania	75
Time and Place	77
Sense of Place	79
Historical Perspective in Tangara	81
The Subversive Elements of Tangara	88
Strategies of Silence and Subversion in Adult Versions of History	93
Conclusion: Silence Ensures Ambivalence	98
Chapter 5	103
'Sorrow for the Child of a Doomed Race': Nan Chauncy's <i>Mathinna's People</i> (1967)	103
'Inevitability' in Chauncy's Historical Fiction	
Solutions to the 'Aboriginal Problem', 'For their own Good'	
Real History: 'The Uprooting and Betrayal' of Towterer's People	
Real History: Mathinna and the Franklins	
Chauncy's Legendary Mathinna	
'True and Tragic' Events	
Depicting and Managing Frontier Contact	
Wyrum, Ancient Noble Savage	
The Uprooting and Betrayal of Towterer's People	
Conclusion: Reframing Mathinna and Her People	
Chapter 6	127
Lost in the Bush: Beth Roberts's <i>Manganinnie</i> (1979) and Pat Peatfield Price's <i>Hills of the Black Cockatoo</i> (1981)	
Introduction: The Lost Child in Colonial Tasmania	127
Beth Roberts's 'Admiration for and Fascination with the Original Custodians the Land	
The Lost White Child and the Fear of 'Becoming one of Them': Parallels wi Mrs W.I. Thrower's (1894) <i>Younah! A Tasmanian Aboriginal Romance of the Cataract Gorge</i>	th 1e
Roberts's Ownership of Manganinnie's Destiny: Paratext and Language	136
Manganinnie as Noble Savage	138
Manganinnie as the Last Tasmanian Aborigine	140
Loss and Redemption in Manganinnie	144
Lost Tasmanian Aboriginal Children in Pat Peatfield Price's <i>The Hills of the Black Cockatoo</i> (1981)	
Pat Peatfield Price: The Ethics of Representation of Indigeneity, Fiction as Atonement	148
Price's Indigenous Children, Lost but not yet Doomed	152

Price's Depiction of the Last of their Race	155
Conclusion: Representing Genocide in Tasmania through the Lost Child N	
Chapter 7	
Self, Identity and Belonging: 'Thousands of Generations Tasmanian' in Nor Dugon's <i>Lonely Summers</i> (1988) and <i>Clare Street</i> (1990)	
Introduction: Nora Dugon's Representation of Contemporary Tasmanian Aborigines	161
Nora Dugon: Writer of Young Adult Fiction in Tasmania of the 1980s	162
Sense of Self Identity and History in Lonely Summers and Clare Street	166
Lonely Summers (1988): Intergenerational Identity and History	170
Re-claiming Aboriginality for Mothers and Daughters	172
Clare Street, 1990: Negotiating Racism through Identity Construction	180
Incorporating the Other into Kelly's Sense of Self	183
Conclusion: Dugon's Constructions of Indigeneity - Identity, Belonging a Home in <i>Lonely Summers</i> and <i>Clare Street</i>	
Chapter 8	191
Getting off the Island: Negotiating the Future and Identity for Cape Barren Islanders in Mary Small's <i>Night of the Muttonbirds</i> (1981) and Elizabeth Stanight without Darkness (2001)	
Introduction: A Crisis of Environmental Conscience	
Cape Barren Islander Indigenous Identity and Muttonbirding	194
Night of the Muttonbirds: Managing the Future for Birds and Boys	197
'It was a job, nothing more. Yet he felt like a murderer'	200
Death and Resurrection in Night without Darkness (2001)	206
Conclusion: Boys and Birds Leaving the Island	213
Chapter 9	215
Faction and the Fabrication of History in Gary Crew's and Peter Gouldthorp Lost Diamonds of Killiecrankie (1995)	
Introduction: Gary Crew's 'Sense of History'	215
Faction and the Fabrication of History: 'The Last of His Tribe'	219
The Lost Diamonds of Killiecrankie: 'A Story that Must be Told'	224
Imaginings and Visual Representations in The Lost Diamonds of Killiecra	
The Quest for Significant Objects of Desire: Aaron's Story as 'The Begin	
the End'	_
Conclusion: Making Sense of History	239
Chapter 10	243
Conclusion: Breaking the Silence of the Past	243

	History and Historicism	247
	'Hiding behind Notions of Popular History'	
	Ethnographic Intentions, Writing the Present Tasmanian Aborigines Out of Existence	251
	Why Dare Disturb the Universe? Writing for Readers to gain a Sense of Self, Belonging and a Sense of History	
Refe	erences	257