PROOF COVER SHEET

Author(s): Andonis Piperoglou

Article title: Locality and legacy in Indigenous history now

Article no: RAHA_A_1360756

Enclosures: 1) Query sheet
2) Article proofs

Dear Author,

1. Please check these proofs carefully. It is the responsibility of the corresponding author to check these and approve or amend them. A second proof is not normally provided. Taylor & Francis cannot be held responsible for uncorrected errors, even if introduced during the production process. Once your corrections have been added to the article, it will be considered ready for publication.

Please limit changes at this stage to the correction of errors. You should not make trivial changes, improve prose style, add new material, or delete existing material at this stage. You may be charged if your corrections are excessive (we would not expect corrections to exceed 30 changes).

For detailed guidance on how to check your proofs, please paste this address into a new browser window:

<http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/production/checkingproofs.asp>

Your PDF proof file has been enabled so that you can comment on the proof directly using Adobe Acrobat. If you wish to do this, please save the file to your hard disk first. For further information on marking corrections using Acrobat, please paste this address into a new browser window: <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/production/acrobat.asp>

2. Please review the table of contributors below and confirm that the first and last names are structured correctly and that the authors are listed in the correct order of contribution. This check is to ensure that your name will appear correctly online and when the article is indexed.

Sequence	Prefix	Given name(s)	Surname	Suffix
1		Andonis	Piperoglou	

Queries are marked in the margins of the proofs, and you can also click the hyperlinks below.

General points:

1. **Permissions:** You have warranted that you have secured the necessary written permission from the appropriate copyright owner for the reproduction of any text, illustration, or other material in your article. Please see <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/permissions/usingThirdPartyMaterial.asp>.
2. **Third-party content:** If there is third-party content in your article, please check that the rightsholder details for re-use are shown correctly.
3. **Affiliation:** The corresponding author is responsible for ensuring that address and email details are correct for all the co-authors. Affiliations given in the article should be the affiliation at the time the research was conducted. Please see <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/preparation/writing.asp>.
4. **Funding:** Was your research for this article funded by a funding agency? If so, please insert 'This work was supported by <insert the name of the funding agency in full>', followed by the grant number in square brackets '[grant number xxxx]'.
5. **Supplemental data and underlying research materials:** Do you wish to include the location of the underlying research materials (e.g. data, samples or models) for your article? If so, please insert this sentence before the reference section: 'The underlying research materials for this article can be accessed at <full link>/ description of location [author to complete]'. If your article includes supplemental data, the link will also be provided in this paragraph. See <<http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/preparation/multi-media.asp>> for further explanation of supplemental data and underlying research materials.
6. The **PubMed** (<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed>) and **CrossRef databases** (www.crossref.org/) have been used to validate the references. Changes resulting from mismatches are tracked in red font.

AUTHOR QUERIES

- Q1: For both books, please provide the number of pages, the price and the publisher's website
- Q2: Page numbers of the books under review should be given in parentheses in the text, so the footnotes have been deleted and the page numbers placed in the text accordingly
- Q3: 'Then, Ward shows...' – please rephrase this sentence as the meaning is currently unclear
- Q4: Should this be 'Danduragu' as mentioned earlier?

How to make corrections to your proofs using Adobe Acrobat/Reader

Taylor & Francis offers you a choice of options to help you make corrections to your proofs. Your PDF proof file has been enabled so that you can mark up the proof directly using Adobe Acrobat/Reader. This is the simplest and best way for you to ensure that your corrections will be incorporated. If you wish to do this, please follow these instructions:

1. Save the file to your hard disk.
2. Check which version of Adobe Acrobat/Reader you have on your computer. You can do this by clicking on the Help” tab, and then About”.

If Adobe Reader is not installed, you can get the latest version free from <http://get.adobe.com/reader/>.

3. If you have Adobe Acrobat/Reader 10 or a later version, click on the Comment” link at the right-hand side to view the Comments pane.

4. You can then select any text and mark it up for deletion or replacement, or insert new text as needed. Please note that these will clearly be displayed in the Comments pane and secondary annotation is not needed to draw attention to your corrections. If you need to include new sections of text, it is also possible to add a comment to the proofs. To do this, use the Sticky Note tool in the task bar. Please also see our FAQs here: <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/production/index.asp>.

5. Make sure that you save the file when you close the document before uploading it to CATS using the Upload File” button on the online correction form. If you have more than one file, please zip them together and then upload the zip file.

If you prefer, you can make your corrections using the CATS online correction form.

Troubleshooting

Acrobat help: <http://helpx.adobe.com/acrobat.html>

Reader help: <http://helpx.adobe.com/reader.html>

Please note that full user guides for earlier versions of these programs are available from the Adobe Help pages by clicking on the link Previous versions” under the Help and tutorials” heading from the relevant link above. Commenting functionality is available from Adobe Reader 8.0 onwards and from Adobe Acrobat 7.0 onwards.

Firefox users: Firefox's inbuilt PDF Viewer is set to the default; please see the following for instructions on how to use this and download the PDF to your hard drive: http://support.mozilla.org/en-US/kb/view-pdf-files-firefox-without-downloading-them#w_using-a-pdf-reader-plugin

BOOK REVIEW

Locality and legacy in Indigenous history now

Andonis Piperoglou

Australian Catholic University, Australia

Living with the Locals: Early Europeans' Experience of Indigenous Life, by John Maynard and Victoria Haskins, Canberra, National Library of Australia, 2016, ISBN 9780642278951 (paperback)

A Handful of Sand: The Gurindji Struggle, After the Walk-Off, by Charlie Ward, 2016, Melbourne, Monash University Press, ISBN 9781925377163 (paperback)

Over the past decade there has been a burgeoning interest in compiling material that looks back at early settler-colonial interactions with Indigenous peoples. There has also been an increased interest in historically examining the protest movements that defined Indigenous politics from the 1960s onwards. In visual and performing arts, in novels and poems, in documentary and feature films and in public and academic history, investigations have focused, with more critical lenses, on the localised specificities and cultural legacies of Indigenous experiences. In *Living with Locals: Early Europeans' Experience of Indigenous Life* by John Maynard and Victoria Haskins, and *A Handful of Sand: The Gurindji Struggle, After the Walk-Off* by Charlie Ward, two very different explorations into Indigenous history are presented. One centres on localised examples of early European settlers who lived with Indigenous peoples. The other focuses on the cultural legacy left behind by the Gurindji people's struggle for economic, political and cultural self-determination. Each, in its own distinct way, is a welcome and refreshing addition to Indigenous historical inquiry. They are both balanced, intriguing and sophisticated, and there is little doubt that they are important contributions to a historical field that is comfortably expanding.

In *Living with Locals*, Maynard and Haskins present a solidly researched body of evidence to their readers. Together they have used their mastery of the historian's craft to present a fresh assessment of how early Europeans found themselves living with Indigenous populations. Drawing upon the recounted testimonies of a motley group of lost sojourners, shipwrecked survivors and rebellious runaways, their study probes into the complexity of interactions that took place on the other side of the frontier. Covering a wide geographical spectrum, the book's nine chapters are centred on particular locations along the eastern coastline where Europeans were 'genuinely' accepted and embraced by Indigenous peoples (222). Beginning at the earliest stages of colonial intrusion, the book opens with the story of John Wilson (a Lancastrian convict) who lived with the Dharug people and ends in the 1870s with Narcisse Pelletier (a French cabin boy) who became acculturated with the Uutaalnganu linguistic group. In capturing these distinct forms of cultural acceptance, Maynard and Haskins unpack what these Europeans felt about their

Indigenous 'hosts' while simultaneously uncovering fresh insights into Indigenous culture and knowledges (222).

By retracing some well-known narratives, the most famous of which being the household name of William Buckley, they discover, through a careful examination of original and secondary texts, interesting and neglected points of significance. Conscious of the interpretive weight they place on their sources, they describe how initial forms of contact took place and explore how communities received their new 'guests'. They critically address the biases, distortions and sensational embellishments that permeate throughout the colonial archival residue. Their research pinpoints small conflicting details in their sources and deduces substantial meaning from the stories they have brought together. Interestingly, each chapter's narrative is unpacked in separately coloured concluding pages. These closing pages are full of informative sub-headings which assist the reader in understanding the localised specificities of cultural experience that is explored. Topics such as law and punishment, marriage practices and gender roles, food gathering and hunting techniques, burial rights and body decoration are discussed at length. Such a compartmentalised chapter format ensures that Indigenous perspectives persistently, and digestibly, are present. Indeed, it is the accessibility of these concluding pages that accentuates Maynard and Haskins' fresh interpretation of Indigenous cultural practices, law and belief systems.

What is most illuminative, however, is the authors' claim that the Europeans who lived with Indigenous groups acted as important cultural intermediaries. Their encounters, it is argued, reveal 'elaborate forms of networks and connections' that have often been sidelined, or entirely neglected, within Australian historical inquiry (141). The reader's gaze is turned away from exhaustive narratives of violence and cannibalism (although such subjects are covered) and introduced to neglected stories of acceptance and generosity. The Europeans' experience of acceptance meant they came to recognise and appreciate the worth of Indigenous culture and society. A plethora of evidence is presented that reveals how individuals were welcomed, sheltered, assisted and aided in their host communities. Once returned to settled towns, a number of the Europeans told their stories in newspapers and presented their experiences in talks to the community. Others, like William Buckley, James Davis and Narcisse Pelletier, felt obligated to conceal much of what they observed and experienced. For example, Narcisse Pelletier (who was given the name of 'Anco' by his host community) gave vague responses, giving the 'impression that he knew more than he chose to confess' (208). Interrogated upon their return for details of what life was like 'among savages', these individuals were simultaneously considered alluring and distasteful (218). They were consigned to the confines of marginality and marked as perpetually disloyal. Readers are spurred to sympathise with their experiences and encouraged to learn from their ability to adapt and appreciate Indigenous culture.

Living with Locals has boldly chosen to use a plethora of visual material, giving the book an attractive coffee-table-like edge. Acting as a constant guide for the reader, the many sketches, illustrations, engravings, lithographs, watercolours, excerpts from letters and photographs make for arresting viewing and help paint an even more engrossing portrait of the engagements and encounters presented. In this sense, the images allow the reader to imaginatively weave through the past. However, many of the visual materials are merely illustrative and are not analysed in substantive detail. Had most of the images been treated as primary evidence, the book's central argument would have been enhanced. It should be noted that the book has many block quotations which are derived from the actual text. These block quotations are indented, and set in a different typeface, font size and colour from the main body of text, and although this highlights significant phrases,

the block quotations can be distracting as they break up the flow of the central narrative structure.

Despite the limitations of these formatting techniques, *Living with Locals* presents a pragmatic examination of both sides of Australia's early colonial past. The authors have studied archival collections across the country and have done well to locate the scant bits of information needed to make this book work. They have uncovered the experience of individuals, many of whom were given Indigenous names and assimilated with the cultural groups they found themselves with. Some individuals inter-married, learnt the language of their host societies and adapted and understood the peoples they were living with. The mutual respect that permeates in the stories of those who lived with locals should be embraced. These stories should be taught, debated and understood alongside the many historical accounts of loss, violence, racial prejudice and settler-colonial dispossession.

In *A Handful of Sand*, Charlie Ward presents a more nuanced narrative about one of the most famous land rights claims in Australian history. Through sensitively written prose, Ward provides a fresh reassessment of the Wave Hill walk-off in 1966. He digs deep into the complexity that surrounds the so-called 'handback' of land to the Gurindji people in 1977 and charts the troublesome road experienced by the Gurindji in their continued quest to control their own affairs. An image of Vincent Lingiari accepting a handful of sand from Gough Whitlam adorns the cover of the book. The image – which has been publicly embraced as an icon of the nation awakening to the struggles of Indigenous plights – provides Ward with a rich starting point to address the broader themes of his investigation. In the book's preface, he openly notes that after living and working with the Gurindji at Wave Hill, he felt that 'Saint Gough[s]' handful of dirt had 'blown to the world's four corners' (xxvii). Driven by an earnest desire to understand the political, social and cultural legacy of the handback, he seeks to know whether [Danduragu](#) (Gurindji name for the place by Wattie Creek where the Wave Hill walk-off began) became the 'better place' Lingiari had fought for. Put simply, after 50 years since the symbolic handback, Ward intends to go beyond Whitlam's symbolic handful of sand in an effort to uncover the earliest roots of the walk-off and legacy of Gurindji's dream for freedom. He achieves this aim with convincing subtlety and a respectful consciousness of the country he is speaking of, and to.

From the 1920s, when the federal government outsourced northern development to the wealthy multinational pastoral firm called Vestey's, the Gurindji had been confined to substance living, dependent on rations and pensions (often not paid) at Wave Hill station. The wages that were received were comparatively much smaller than those paid to *kartiya* (white person, white people) stockmen, and by the late 1960s demands for equal pay were made. A group of elders, led by Lingiari, risked their people's security and refused to work unless equal rights were granted. Quickly, Ward notes, it became obvious that equal pay was a stepping stone for larger and more emotionally embroiled rights claims. The Gurindji took a stand. They wanted their land. Ward shows how a series of slow, seismic changes in national attitudes towards race relations and land propelled them. Petitions called for the release of land and self-determined autonomy over economic resources and education. Government responses were unfavourable and neither side showed any sign of compromise or capitulation. As Ward notes, 'an epic battle over Aboriginal land rights was brewing, and Wattie Creek was its epicentre' (53).

The potency of the protest movement is revealed to the reader with striking oral evidence, government speeches, legislative enactments, bureaucratic publications, archival materials, personal papers and even pieces of poetry. Such sources are presented alongside

snippets of Gurindji language and a consistent thread of outback idioms that can be heard in Gurindji country ('Jesus horse' describing donkeys is one example [14]). The successes and failures of the Gurindji people's risky political battle for self-determination are perceptively addressed. Throughout the entirety of the book, a resolute commitment to bring together the visions and experiences of Gurindji people with the stories of pastoralists, journalists, activists, public servants and politicians is unmistakable. Underscoring this bringing together of voices, Ward does not shy away from the fact that many *kartiya* 'inspired, supported, disappointed, and deceived' (xxix).

Previous historical interpretations would have us believe that Vestey's was the historic villain in this national saga. However, Ward reveals that the Gurindji's real adversaries were conservative politicians, at both federal and territory levels of governance. For example, the Minister for the Interior, Peter Nixon, wanted at all costs to avoid dealing with the issue of land rights. After a visit to the Gurindji at Wattie Creek in 1970, he told the House of Representatives that the 'government believes it is wholly wrong to encourage Aborigines to think that because their ancestors have had a long association with a particular piece of land, Aborigines of the present day have a right to demand ownership of it' (69). Despite such opposition, Ward reveals, through careful analysis of newspapers and personal correspondence, the organisational capacity of the protest movement to acquire financial and political support in Melbourne and Sydney. Disparate suburban associations like the St Albans Cub Pack and the Bundoora Tennis Club donated to their cause. He also shows the heavy activist role that was played by Frank Hardy, whose book the *The Unlucky Australians* megaphoned the Gurindji message beyond Australian shores. It appeared that the Gurindji's efforts were paying off.

A window of opportunity opened for the Gurindji when Whitlam led Labor to power. The Gurindji's claim under the Land Rights Act (1976) was not submitted until four years after the 'handover', largely as a result of the embryonic conservative territory government threatening them with eviction. Ward shows the complexity of the situation. The Gurindji were met with certain conditions of lease, technological change in the pastoral industry and large government loans. Other barriers stood in their way. The Department of Aboriginal Affairs (DAA) and the Aboriginal Development Commission who funded the Gurindji consistently placed requirements on the community. ~~Then, Ward shows, that despite the Gurindji new freedoms with their company they had to endure through a hard~~ ~~blow.~~ They were forced to de-stock under the national Brucellosis and Tuberculosis Eradication Campaign (BTEC). As Ward notes, the BTEC was a land management revolution dressed as an animal health initiative. What made matters worse, Ward asserts, was that the Gurindji elders had to contend with other powerful drivers of social and technological change. The 'burden of booze' was rampant and the elders' cultural and ceremonial life was changing radically.

Ward points out that Aboriginal self-determination was the policy of the DAA, but there was only one agency providing services in Kalkaringi and Daguragu. The Northern Territory Department of Education, for example, resisted the Gurindji elders' desire for a genuine bilingual school. What they got instead was a school in Kalkaringi, delivering a largely mainstream programme, with the elders allocated just one lesson a week for language and culture. The marginalisation of Gurindji knowledge continued, as children who wished to progress beyond primary school had to be sent to boarding colleges in Darwin and Alice Springs. Unfortunately, much of the Gurindji's political vision was never realised. There was some success, in that the Gurindji of the next generation were able to step

into roles within the school, the clinic and the council. Such roles were not managerial – as was the case in other remote communities.

Overall, *A Handful of Sand* carefully recounts, in great detail, what happened, while simultaneously understanding why it happened. Ward shows what people's visions were and why these visions were so often ignored or unmet. It should be said that the sheer volume of the research makes for dense reading and creates a level of detachment from the personalities involved. It would have been nice to be provided with more detail on some of the central players involved in the struggle, particularly the Gurindji elders. This might have provided a pan-chapter unity that could have been relied upon when reading through the heavy political complexity. Furthermore, the book's afterword could have better situated the Gurindji struggle in a broader historical context. One is left wondering, for example, how their struggle connects with other land rights claims and other Indigenous community efforts to seek self-determination. Having said this, anyone interested in the lingering legacy of the Wave Hill walk-off and the complexity of this ongoing political struggle will find this book thoroughly informative, tasteful and serious. Ward should be commended. He has achieved a seemingly impossible task: he has written a densely researched, personally inflected history that honourably tells the story of the Gurindji people's experience – past, present and future.

In recent weeks, the anniversaries of the 1967 Referendum and Mabo decision have provided a platform for us to collectively reflect on the legacy that Indigenous struggles have had on this settler-colonial nation. As the two works that have been reviewed here reveal, the possibilities for considered reflection and honest historical reinterpretation are limitless. In paying homage to Kev Carmody and Paul Kelly, whose catchy lyrics and chords have publicly immortalised the struggles of the Gurindji, both these publications affirm that *from little things, big things* have been growing, and will continue to *grow*, in Indigenous Australian history.