STRANGERS IN A STRANGE LAND

THE 1868 ABORIGINES AND OTHER INDIGENOUS PERFORMERS IN MID-VICTORIAN BRITAIN

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A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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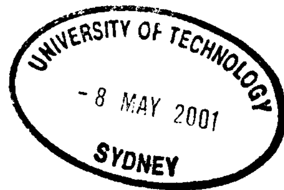
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CERTIFICATE

I certify that this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not being submitted as part of candidature for any other degree.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me and that any help I have received in preparing this thesis, and all sources used, have been acknowledged in the thesis.

David Sampson
August 2000.

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PREFACE

All histories are provisional and historians generally accept that their raw materials and conclusions are incomplete. Nevertheless, I should foreshadow several difficulties which I faced in this study.

It is problematic for a white Australian like myself to write histories of Aborigines and other indigenous people. I recognise that my life experiences and methodological predispositions do not equip me to adequately reflect the perceptions of recently colonised people from non-European cultures. I have acknowledged the methodological issues and attempted to incorporate a range of contemporary Aboriginal views but realise that this imperfectly addresses a significant historiographic problem.

Secondly, I am based in Sydney and was able to undertake only a brief research visit to England. It is probable that significant manuscript material relating to the 1868 tour remains buried in British archives and private collections.

Because material representation of race is a central theme, appropriate contemporary illustrations are a crucial aspect of the study. As they are an inextricable aspect of the history and ideology of race, I have reproduced illustrations as close as possible to the relevant written text. At the suggestion of Professor Ann Curthoys of the Australian National University, I have adopted double-sided printing so numerous illustrations do not render the physical bulk of the thesis unwieldy.

Finally, although the familiar terminologies of race, culture, evolution, anthropology and colonialism - "civilised"; "savage", "primitive", "barbarous", "native" etc. - are Eurocentric and deeply problematic, their frequent use is unavoidable in a work which focuses on the racial ideologies and practices of the mid-Victorian era. Although I have rejected the awkward practices of repeatedly enclosing them in inverted commas, prefacing them with "so-called" or following them with "[sic]", I hope that the attitudes throughout this thesis convey a rejection of the connotations implicit in colonialist terminology.

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ABSTRACT

Enshrined by cricket history, the 1868 Aboriginal cricket tour of England has become popularly established as a uniquely benign public transaction in the history of contact between Aborigines, pastoralist settlers and British colonialism. Embraced by two Australian Prime Ministers and celebrated by a commemorative Aboriginal tour, film documentaries, museum displays, poetry, creative fiction, sporting histories, special edition prints and a national advertising campaign for the centenary of Australian federation, the zeal for commemoration has overwhelmed critical enquiry. Incorporating some critical interpretations of the tour which are current in Aboriginal discourse, this re-examination subjects the tour to approaches commonly applied to other aspects of Aboriginal history and relations between colonialism and indigenous peoples.

Although it is misleadingly understood simply as a cricket tour, the primitivist displays of Aboriginal weaponry during the 1868 Aboriginal tour of Britain were more appealing to spectators than their cricketing displays. Viewed solely within the prism of sport or against policies leading to extermination, dispersal and segregation of Aborigines, there is little basis for comparative analysis of the tour. But when it is considered in the context of displays of race and commodified exhibitions of primitive peoples and cultures, particularly those taken from peripheries to the centre of empire, it is no longer unique or inexplicable either as a form of cultural display, a set of inter-racial relations, or a complex of indigenous problems and opportunities.

This study re-examines the tour as a part of European racial ideology and established practices of bringing exotic races to Britain for sporting, scientific and popular forms of display. It considers the options and actions of the Aboriginal performers in the light of power relations between colonial settlers and dispossessed indigenous peoples. Their lives are examined as a specific form of indentured labour subjected to time discipline, racial expectations of white audiences and managerial control by enterpreneuurs seeking to profit from the novelty of Aborigines in Britain.

Comparative studies of Maori and Native American performers taken to Britain in the mid-Victorian era flesh out sparse documentation of the Aboriginal experience in an alien environment. Elements of James Scott's methodology of hidden and public transcripts are utilised to identify the sources of concealed tensions and discontents. A detailed study of the two best known 1868 tourists, Dick-a-Dick and Johnny Mullagh, considers two strategies by which Aborigines confronted by a situation of acute disadvantage used their developed performance skills and knowledge of European racial preconceptions in partially successful attempts to satisfy their emotional and material needs and further Aboriginal goals. Finally, the disjunctions between commemoration and critical history are resolved by suggesting that the 1868 tour and its performers deserve to be commemorated as pioneers in the practice of recontextualisng and popularising Aboriginal culture in the western metropolis.

INTRODUCTION

THE HISTORY OF A PERFORMANCE TOUR, 1868-2000

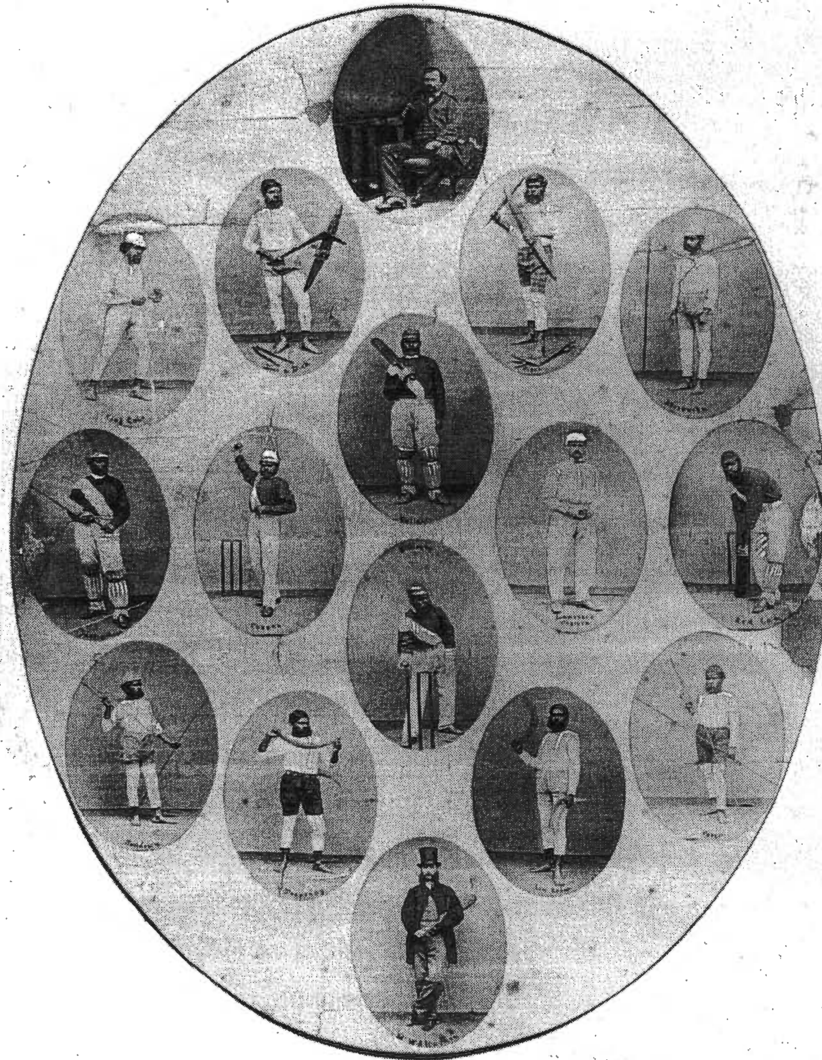

Illustration 1: Warrnambool, October 1867. In vertical columns, top down, left to right: King Cole, Harry Rose, Sundown; Dick-a-Dick, Cuzens, Twopenny; George Smith, Mullagh, Bullocky, William Hayman; Tiger, Charles Lawrence, Jim Crow; Mosquito, Red Cap, Peter.[1]

[1] State Library of Victoria, H5233.

AN EVENT AND ITS CELEBRATION

THE EVENT

From May to October 1868, 13 Aborigines predominantly drawn from the Jardwadjali, Gunditjmara and Wotjobaluk[2] peoples in the Wimmera region of Western Victoria entertained and fascinated scores of thousands of British spectators by their performances of cricket, athletics and displays of Aboriginal weaponry. The names by which they were known - the bracketed parts were often omitted - were Bullocky, Charley (Dumas), (Johnny) Cuzens, Dick-a-Dick, Jim Crow, King Cole, Mosquito, (Johnny) Mullagh, Peter, Red Cap, Sundown, Tiger and Twopenny. All are in the above photo, except Charley Dumas, the expert boomerang thrower who replaced Harry Rose.

This thesis will challenge prevailing interpretations of this famous episode and re-examine it as it was constituted - as a consistent and well-established manifestation of racial ideologies and practices of nineteenth century colonialism. By focusing on constructed racial identities and real inter-cultural difference, domination and contestation, this study aims to explore neglected Aboriginal dimensions of the story.

A reinterpretation will lead to public recognition of two elements. Firstly, that the tour is accorded its rightful status as the most significant forerunner of Aboriginal cultural achievement in western metropolitan centres. Secondly, that it is possible to explore human dimensions and non-European aspects of the tour - hidden *Aboriginal* responses to the unfamiliar demands, scrutiny, temptations and power of Europe. The Aborigines were strangers in a strange land, and like many other racial curiosities brought to England, adopted a variety of alternatives to negotiate the unimagined experiences, opportunities, problems and demands created by sudden, brief and poorly rewarded celebrity.

Only one generation separated from their traditional culture, the Aboriginal performers were confronted by psychological stresses and physical hardships over which they had little control. They were required to meet arduous work schedules imposed by a management who, though relatively humane, sought to reap profits by maximising the productivity of exploited Aboriginal labour. It is possible to locate some elements of their responses - compliance, resistance, shrewd opportunism, dissipation and partial adaptation - to a situation of disadvantage, but it was impossible for even the most gifted or industrious to overcome the relations of power that colonialism had imposed on all Aborigines. As pioneering Aboriginal performers and as human beings struggling to engage with an alien and difficult environment, all deserve recognition for the price they paid and the contributions they made to Aboriginal history and British audiences.

In barest outline this is the story of the tour.

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[2] See Chapter 7 for Aboriginal tribal names.

It has been suggested that history may have seen no more swift or thorough pastoral expansion than Victoria's.[3] As a result of dispossession, disease, deprivation of food sources and violence, the Aboriginal population of the Wimmera region had been slashed from between 3,500 and 25,000 before colonisation to a precarious 645 by 1863.[4]

Twenty years after the colonisation of Western Victoria, some pastoralists encouraged remnants of the devastated Aboriginal population working on their stations to play cricket. Some Aborigines displayed a talent for the game. William Hayman, local pastoralist and sportsman, had organised two of Australia's leading cricketers, firstly Tom Wills and then Charles Lawrence, to coach the Aborigines for games against white teams in front of paying audiences. Captained by Wills, they toured Victoria and New South Wales in 1866-67. Lawrence replaced Wills for their second tour, which culminated in England in 1868.

The team had been secreted out of Victoria, contrary to the wishes of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines, which publicly expressed concerns about their possible illness, exploitation and neglect.[5] It is known that at least one was gravely ill soon after arrival; another died in London; and two others were so sick that they rarely performed until they were finally sent home in August. It is not known whether they recovered after their return. The other 10 fulfilled their breakneck schedule with distinction and their management, apparently on pain of financial penalties if they failed to do so, returned them to their country early in 1869. A rough estimate suggests that 200,000 British spectators had attended their performances.[6]

Renown and celebration

This small and singular episode in colonial Aboriginal history has cast its flame well beyond its time: it remains better known, for example, than any of the individual massacres of Aborigines. The only instances of British-Aboriginal contact that approach its popular renown are Phillip's initial colonisation, Bennelong's visit to England and nuclear weapons testing at Maralinga. Following the initial publication of *Cricket walkabout* in 1967, and particularly since its second edition in 1988, interest in the tour has continued to intensify.

The tour is prominent in popular and public history, repeatedly celebrated in Aboriginal histories, sporting publications, cricket broadcasts and historical pieces in newspapers. It has given birth to public monuments: an obelisk for the team at Lake Wallace, near Edenhope; a plaque, playing ground and gravestone for Johnny Mullagh in Harrow; and a plaque and headstone for King Cole in London. It is celebrated by a poem, *The tour*, by Geoff Page.[7] The world's leading

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[3] J. Powell, *The public lands of Australia Felix: settlement and land appraisal in Victoria, 1834-1891*, (Chapter 1), Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1970, cited by Richard Broome, "Victoria", pp.121-167 in Anne McGrath (ed.), *Contested ground: Australian Aborigines under the British Crown*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1995, p.129.

[4] Figures from the discussion by Jan Critchett, *A distant field of murder*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1990, pp.76-85.

[5] Public Record Office, Victoria, VPRS 3991, Unit 283, File 67/10514. Reprinted in a number of newspapers, including *Bell's life in Victoria*, 19 October 1867.

[6] See Appendix B.

[7] In Geoff Page, *The great forgetting: poems by Geoff Page*, illus. by Pooaraar, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1996, pp.43-45.

cricket museums, the Marylebone Cricket Club and the Melbourne Cricket Club, devote prominent displays to the tour. Lord's displays the Aboriginal weapon, a leowell, which Dick-a-Dick used to ward off cricket balls in his starring part of the show. The Melbourne Cricket Club's exhibition offers a muted encapsulation: "The tour was a relative success in match terms, in cash management and in public relations for Australia and its people."

In 1988, another Aboriginal cricket tour of England, endorsed by the then Prime Minister, Bob Hawke and the current Prime Minister, John Howard, commemorated the 1868 tour. *Dreaming of Lord's*, a television documentary with strong Aboriginal input, celebrated both tours. Another documentary on the 1868 Aboriginal team is currently in production, written and researched by Christina Hindhaugh, from Balmoral in Western Victoria. In December 1999, Aboriginal Senator Aden Ridgeway urged Prime Minister John Howard to sponsor a symbolic Aboriginal commemorative tour of England in 2000.[8]

An authoritative work on cricket memorabilia notes that the "melancholy remembrance of the 1868 Aborigines never fails to draw collectors"[9] and the value of tour items continues to appreciate. The 1998 value of a "highly important unrecorded photograph" of the Aboriginal team in England was estimated at between $1,000 and $2,000.[10] New items are produced to meet the demand. To celebrate Australia's *Year of the Indigenous People*, a framed edition of Joliffe-like illustrations of the Aborigines was created for the lucrative sporting memorabilia market.[11] The event is such a familiar piece of exotica that the tour provided an evocative opening for a Sherlock Holmes pastiche: *Sherlock Holmes in Australia: the adventure of the kidnapped kanakas* begins with a member of the visiting Aboriginal cricket team delivering a letter to the great consulting detective at 221B Baker Street.[12]

The tour's renown has attracted academic attention but little scrutiny. Some authoritative Aboriginal histories, including Michael Christie's work on Aborigines in colonial Victoria, have ignored it. The episode is awkward for histories whose theme is Aboriginal victimisation or open resistance resulting from brutish white violence.[13] But Anne Curthoys and Clive Moore indicate that the tour suggests a methodological approach applicable to the specific mode of Aboriginal work that they performed in England. Referring to *Cricket walkabout*, their historiographic essay

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[8] Michelle Grattan, "Cricket bid is a test of reconciliation", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 December 1999, p.9.

[9] Marius Williams & Gordon Phillip, *The Wisden book of cricket memorabilia*, Lennard Publishing, London, 1990, p.110.

[10] Christie's Australia, *Christie's Australia cricketing memorabilia, Melbourne, Wednesday 13 May, 1998*, Christie's, Melbourne, 1998, Lot 262, p.79.

[11] Graeme Payne (artist), Australian Cigarette Card Company, Wamberal, NSW, probably 1992. Fifteen of the Aborigines were illustrated: inappropriately each was depicted in a cricketing pose, even Dick-a-Dick and Charley Dumas who were famous for other performances.

[12] Ken Methold, *Sherlock Holmes in Australia: the adventure of the kidnapped kanakas*, Pan, Sydney, 1991.To accommodate Sherlockian chronology, Methold pushed the first Aboriginal tour back a decade and invented a second one a decade later.

[13] M.F. Christie, *Aborigines in colonial Victoria 1835-1886*, Sydney, Sydney University Press, 1979. The most single-minded example of Aboriginal history as Maoist armed struggle is F. Robinson & B. York, *The Black resistance*, Widescope, Melbourne, 1977.

on Aboriginal labour asks: "Where do we place Aboriginal professional sportspeople, entertainers and artists in the employment spectrum?"[14]

For a century after it occurred, the tour was retold as the most bizarre cricketing curiosity involving the two major powers in cricket history, Australia and the Marylebone Cricket Club. Much more recently, it has been repositioned as a *respected* episode in the history of cricket and the history of European-Aboriginal relations. Both incarnations of its retelling have been shaped and disseminated by the remarkable influence of cricket history and the reach of its culture.[15] Its accounts and memorials focus on the team's cricketing status as a precursor of Anglo-Australian cricketing contests. Its lessons pay tribute to values supposedly embodied by cricket - its self-proclaimed cross-class inclusiveness and ideologies of inter-racial equality which became prominent as a result of anti-apartheid sporting campaigns and the burgeoning cricketing strength of non-white former colonies since the 1960s.

Cricket historians are predominantly devotees of the cricket field as an ideal world and ideology, "a set of imaginary social relations in which right-minded men could stage an exemplary meeting" beyond and above real social, economic and racial relations.[16] Cricket and its participants have come to embody "a consistent and deliberate set of values which appear oppositional to much contemporary social and political thought".[17] Similarly, the Aboriginal tour of England has been plausibly portrayed as an alternative to racial discrimination, prejudice and exploitation.

It is ironic then, that although the performers were and still are described simply as an Aboriginal cricket team, contemporary accounts make it clear that if they had been simply that - a team whose appeal relied on its cricketing performances - the tour would have quickly failed as a public attraction. Despite being captioned *Australian Aboriginal Cricketers*, representations of the Aborigines' performances in the publicity photograph at the beginning of this chapter were more accurate. Six of the thirteen brandished Aboriginal weapons, five wielded cricketing implements and two were clad for athletics. One of the five dressed for cricket was replaced by a specialist boomerang thrower who could scarcely bat and did not bowl. Contemporary audiences, journalists and team management recognised that the climax of their performances and their most potent

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[14] Anne Curthoys & Clive Moore, "Working for the white people: an historiographic essay on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander labour", pp.1-29, "Aboriginal workers", Special issue of *Labour History*, No. 69, November 1995, p.19.

[15] Its influence is a product of cricket's long history in England, Australia and other former colonies; cricket's symbolic status as a democratic exemplification of British civilisation; its multitude of enthusiastic, well-educated, well-connected researchers lovingly fascinated by its past; and an international following which has also tended to be literate and culturally influential.

[16] John Simons, "The golden age of cricket", in Gary Day (ed.), *Readings in popular culture*, England, MacMillan, 1990, p.157. C.L.R. James is the most famous example. After a lifetime of anti-colonialist and socialist activism, he famously admitted that cricket's mythology and Puritan public school values remained the moral compass of his life, despite reactionary cricketing administrators (equally passionate adherents of the game's ethics) who long frustrated James' campaign for a black man to captain the West Indies. See C.L.R. James, *Beyond a boundary*, Hutchinson, London, 1963, pp.35-37.

[17] Simons, "The golden age of cricket", p.151.

attraction were thrilling enactments of warrior skills drawn from Aboriginal culture by performers costumed to approximate European expectations of Aboriginal primitivism.

While this has remained obscured, the tour's historical audience has broadened and its relevance elevated beyond the jocular, paternalistic novelty of its initial renown in cricketing circles. Its current retelling and the elevation in its status can be ascribed to political factors beyond cricket.

Those to whom cricket has little appeal are seduced by the tour's exotic juxtapositions; entranced by its outlandish contrasts of culture, class and colour. Our imaginations are compelled by the strange story of full-blooded Aborigines who had still been living according to the rhythms, values and practices of their traditional culture as recently as 1848,[18] accepted in the genteel environs of Lord's Cricket Ground 20 years later, at play with the Earl of Coventry, Viscount Downe, Lieutenant-Colonel Bathurst and sundry Esquires. We are drawn by an inexplicable disruption to customary separations of ruler and ruled, white and black, civilisation and primitivism, culture and instinct, science and magic, rationality and superstition. We expect each to remain in its own compartment and when they fleetingly co-mingle in a seeming harmony of opposites, a "world turned upside down", we are engaged.

To white Australian humanists and to lovers of sport, the dramatic juxtapositions of race and class are psychologically felicitous, offering the consolation of an exception, and more extremely an alternative, to the mistreatment of Aborigines throughout Australia's history. Particularly for proponents of sport, the tour exemplifies cricket's colour-blind, multi-class ideals. It confirms that even in a society riven with gross injustice, sport, and certainly cricket, provides a more level, inclusive and civilised playing field. For white Australians coming to terms with the colonialism and racism that created our nation, it is a rare nineteenth century example of benevolence and opportunity provided to Aborigines.

What if Aborigines and the English aristocracy could mingle happily on the cricket field? If the Aboriginal team could appear on the playing fields of Australia and England and be warmly supported by many thousands of spectators from the Duke of Edinburgh to workers; if Johnny Mullagh could be internationally lauded for his sporting prowess and staunchness of character; if the management and captaincy could travel with their team in a caring working relationship; if the few overt examples of racism against the team were roundly castigated even at the time; if the press of both countries praised the deportment and performances of the Aborigines? If these just and tolerant interactions existed in the 1868 Aboriginal tour, it is easy to understand the story finding a receptive audience among white Australians grateful for the solace of a celebrated exception to the dismal sweep of our history of interaction with Aborigines.

To Aborigines striving for private opportunity and public recognition, the tour has provided cause for pride, inspiration and self-affirmation. From a position of near-extinction and despite only a short period of training, the team proved that Aborigines could carry themselves

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[18] Critchett, *A distant field of murder*, pp.56-67.

with distinction on the playing fields of the British establishment. It is understandable why Pearl Gibbs, an Aboriginal activist for decades from the 1930s, stuck a press clipping describing the tour in one of her notebooks;[19] or why the foreword to *Cricket walkabout* was written by Charles Perkins, an Aborigine whose sporting success in England facilitated his achievements as an activist and head of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs.[20]

Doubts: celebration or exploitation?

Brambuk Living Cultural Centre in Budja Budja, Gariwerd (Halls Gap, the Grampians) was established in 1989 as a co-operative by five Aboriginal communities.[21] It is set in the gateway of the ancient meeting place for congresses of the south-western tribes, peoples who formed the nucleus of the Kooris who toured England in 1868.

Brambuk's information booklet includes a full-page photograph of the team in Sydney in 1867.[22] Captioned as the "Jarwadjali Cricket team", the photo is placed after chronological themes of "The Killing Times" and "The Survivors" and before "The Mission" and "Assimilation". There is no textual description or assessment of the tour. Brambuk's exhibition rooms display Koori weapons, cultural artefacts and illustrative panels. They depict a history of European invasion and dispossession; of Koori struggle, adaptation, continuity and survival but there is no representation of the most famous event in which Koori people of the area participated.

I asked Tim Chatfield of the Girai Wurrung, General Manager of Brambuk and Custodian of Gariwerd, for his perspectives on the tour. His reply was unequivocal:

> It was only exploitation; a follow-up from dispossession and scientific research on the Aborigines. It's now become a historical thing in this country saying what a wonderful thing they've done for Aboriginal people. But it's really sad ... these guys were taken away from their families and land and animals. They were put on show - as strange people, savages ... [England] would have been terrifying for them ... no kangaroos, no wildlife, no family.

He linked their display to the exhibition of Aboriginal remains in Britain.

Was there any plan then, for Brambuk to present its perspectives? He thought there were problems of salvaging historical documentation that substantiated Koori perceptions. "There needs to be some hard evidence," he replied, "facts on the Aboriginal tour and

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[19] Thanks to Dr. Heather Goodall for this information.

[20] Charles Perkins, in Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout: the Australian Aborigines in England*, revised edition, MacMillan, Melbourne, 1988, (x) - (xi).

[21] Including the Kirrae Whurong (Framlingham Aboriginal Trust), Goolum Goolum (Horsham), Guntijmara (Warrnambool) and Kerrup Jmara (Lake Condah and Portland, Heywood and Hamilton). See Brambuk Living Cultural Centre, *Who and what is Brambuk?*, no publication date or details, informational leaflet distributed by Brambuk Living Cultural Centre, 1999.

[22] Brambuk Living Cultural Centre, *A journey through time*, Victoria, c.1997, p.10.

presenting an Aboriginal viewpoint." It would involve "asking what the Aboriginal people got from it. Stuff all!"[23]

His perspective is shared by other Aboriginal activists and historians. To Ruby Langford Ginibi, Bundjalung elder and author:

> This act of taking the Aboriginal cricketers to England was another act of exploiting people for somebody else's gain. It was just like anthropologists who have always put Aborigines under a microscope ... It was another act of exploitation of Aboriginal people and our culture; the Aboriginal cricketers would not have stood to benefit.[24]

But the most critical Aborigines express pride in the achievements and survival skills of the tour participants. Robbie Thorpe, a Kurnai activist who demonstrated against the Australian Bicentennial and the commemoration of the 1868 tour in England, commented:

> It was a pretty amazing effort, with all the difficulties they had ... They were looked at as circus freaks; they were just exploiting them. [But] imagine what they could have achieved with the right conditions ... They had brilliant skills. Our eyes and reflexes were developed as hunters ... Imagine how we would have developed if we'd been allowed ... we would have been better than the West Indians."[25]

Some historians of Aborigines in sport - Genevieve Blades, Colin Tatz, Peter Corris, Bernard Whimpress and Richard Cashman - have focused on aspects of racial exploitation that might be applied to the 1868 tour.[26] But trenchant Aboriginal critiques of the conduct, representation and benefits of the 1868 tour have seldom been documented. *Cricket walkabout* considered the question of exploitation. In the light of Aboriginal working conditions of the time and despite not being paid, it concluded that "it cannot be claimed that they were unduly exploited."[27] The tour was "a dignified episode in race relations"; it was emphatically not "a curiosity, little better than a vaudeville turn." Indeed, it was proposed as a standing example for contemporary Australians of respect and tolerance towards Aborigines.[28]

The differences in interpretation cannot be reduced to opposition between a unitary Aboriginal viewpoint and a unitary white outlook. Some Aborigines, especially leaders of the

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[23] Tim Chatfield, interview by David Sampson, Brambuk Living Cultural Centre, 10 February 1999.

[24] Ruby Langford Ginibi, interview by David Sampson, Allawah Hostel, Granville, 30 January 1997.

[25] Robbie Thorpe, telephone interview by David Sampson, 7 March 1999.

[26] Among numerous articles by Bernard Whimpress, "Aboriginal role restriction in Australian first-class cricket", *Journal of the Cricket Society*, Autumn, 1997, pp.32-36; "Few and far between: prejudice and discrimination among Aborigines in Australian first-class cricket 1869-1988", *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia*, Vol.30, No.1, December, 1992, pp. 57-70; Peter Corris, *Lords of the ring*, Cassell, Sydney, 1980, is a history of boxing in Australia.

[27] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.135.

[28] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp.3-4.

1988 commemorative tour and devotees of cricket, emphasise the achievements of the 1868 tour and do not portray it as racial novelty or exploitation.[29]

Nevertheless, other Aborigines insist that familiar manifestations of racial exploitation were central elements of the tour. They emphasise racial stereotyping of Aboriginal representation, Europeans viewing Aborigines like sideshow novelties, acute constraints on the agency of the Aborigines and severe hardships for the performers living in an alien environment.

European written histories have substantially portrayed the tour as an exemplar of racial tolerance and opportunity. Whether their primary focus is sport or Aborigines, written histories of the tour are characterised by a narrow range of contextualisation, uncritical evaluations and significant issues that remain unexplored.

Yet on the basis of available documentation it is persuasive to propose alternative readings. For instance that the tour was closer to a racial sideshow than other Australian cricket tours; that the Aborigines must have suffered emotionally, physically and financially for the sake of the financial ambitions of a quartet of white entrepreneurs; that Aborigines derived nothing but the most fleeting benefits for their efforts; that in view of critical physical illnesses and one death suffered by the Aborigines despite the unpredictably mild English summer, the Aborigines' Protection Board was justified in attempting to prevent the tour; that the evident kindness of the tour management was consistent with familiar strategies by which European employers manipulated Aboriginal workers;[30] and that the tour was more a continuation of racial stereotyping than a challenge to it.

These interpretations are not conclusive. But they are consistent with the tenor of white Australian - Aboriginal contact relations and English racial attitudes of the 1860s. What issues and methodologies have contributed to the narrow range of discussion and the uncritical, liberal assessments? Why has such a celebrated episode escaped critical examination by methods, assumptions and contexts which are considered appropriate in areas of Aboriginal history beyond sport?

An alternative approach

It is established historiographic practice for investigations of relations between Aborigines and Europeans to foreground inter-racial power relations, to examine the manifestation of racial ideologies and the scope of exploitative work relations, to contextualise within colonialist practices and ideologies, and to explore the possibilities and constraints of Aboriginal agency. European documentation is read critically, inflected by considering the self-interest and the racial-colonialist assumptions that shaped it. In view of sparse Aboriginal documentation, historians

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[29] The 1988 tour is briefly discussed in Section 5.

[30] Henry Reynolds, *With the white people: the crucial role of Aborigines in the exploration and development of Australia*, Penguin, Victoria, 1990, pp.47-50 explains Alexander Maconochie's 1830s theory that the "silken cord" of personal relations was a more effective form of discipline over Aboriginal native police than the "iron fetters" of punishment.

adopt methodologies that at least acknowledge distinctive Aboriginal perspectives. The Aboriginal tour of England has not been subjected to critical scrutiny because it is primarily interpreted as a unique event whose principal context is the history and ideology of cricket and the struggle against racial discrimination in sport.

I intend to re-examine it against a broader context: the common colonialist practice of bringing exotic peoples to Europe for scrutiny and profit. This enables it to be considered as it was in Britain at the time - not as a unique forerunner of Anglo-Australian Ashes contests or an ahistorical model of racial equality and opportunity, but as a fascinating instance in a well-established tradition of exhibiting exotic races in a wide variety of performance contexts.

By 1868, sport was recently established as a popular mode of racialised public performance. Despite being considered among the most publicly intriguing of primitive races, Aborigines had never appeared before mass audiences in Europe. The 1868 cricketers and performers were considerably more than a cricket team: they represented the first popular commodification of Aborigines and Aboriginality in Britain.

Extensive journalistic documentation of the tour describes its public aspects and expresses British perceptions of the Aboriginal performers. Consistent with hegemonic white dismissal of Aboriginal intellect and sensibility, such documentation did not consider Aboriginal options or perspectives. But it is apparent that like Native American, African, Maori and Inuit performers brought to Europe in the same era, and like Native American runners and lacrosse players, the Aborigines faced psychological, cultural, climatic and material difficulties in an alien environment.

They were disadvantaged and constrained but not passive. Existing documentation - including recently available 1930s letters from the children of William Hayman - confirms traces of ongoing conflict between Aborigines and management. It reveals intriguing, sometimes romantic, relations between Aborigines and the British public. It confirms that Aboriginal dissidence was overridden by management discipline. Some of the Aborigines sought, and sometimes managed, to make the most of unusual opportunities created by their novelty, skills and fleeting celebrity.

They were more than curious instances of racial primitivism or admirable cricketing precocity whose bodies, implements and performances were scrutinised by spectators and described by journalists. Most importantly, I wish to consider the Aborigines in Britain as developed human beings who had to work out how to live in a radically new world. Though they did not document their lives, I have attempted to read some of their experiences and choices from actions that they undertook and by close and critical examination of documentation by contemporary observers. The process of interpretation has been informed by comparative studies, particularly of contemporaneous Native American and Maori performers whose experiences, perceptions and struggles in Britain were self-documented or recorded by others.

The Aborigines had been born into an ancient culture that within their own generation had been propelled from the first tremors of disruption to one whose material basis seemed on the verge of extinction. Like all dispossessed peoples they were forced to precipitously adapt their experiences, practices, beliefs and perceptions to disastrous new circumstances. These thirteen Kooris underwent a more complete rupture.

Displaced to the centre of empire, uncertain of return to their country, they were suddenly exposed to unforeseeable new demands, environments, work practices, opportunities and temptations. Constantly under European scrutiny, they learned to perform unfamiliar roles on and off stage - as polite or amusing Aboriginal travellers and guests, as primitivist Aboriginal entertainers, as variably competent Aboriginal cricketers, as Aboriginal employees subjected to intensive work schedules, as Aboriginal drinking companions for the hospitably inquisitive, and as Aboriginal suitors of white women. In the most complex of circumstances, they adopted different courses of action to achieve certain goals or simply to survive.

INTERPRETATIONS OF 1868: NOVELTY, RESPECTABILITY AND SILENCES

For 100 years the 1868 tour was not regarded seriously as a cricketing event or a model of future inter-racial tolerance and opportunity.[31] In 1877, when memories of the tour were fresh, Charles Box recalled that the "idea of such an invasion upon the legitimate domain of cricket created amusement".[32] He emphasised their boomerang exhibitions, Dick-a-Dick's performances and the "native sham fight" costumed in opossum skins and multi-coloured head dress with lyre-bird plumage.

The first white Australian cricket tour a year later sparked repeated racial jokes based on the hilarity of white cricketers being confused with Aborigines. Sitting in the Lord's pavilion the Reverend Arthur Ward reputedly approached the English cricketer A.G. Steel: "Well, Mr Steel, so I hear you are going to play against the niggers on Monday."[33] Many "lace-makers and hose-weavers expressed disappointment at the colour of the visitors, whom they evidently expected to find black ... One onlooker was heard to observe, 'Whoy, Bill, they beant

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[31] In chapters 8 and 9 we shall see that in Australia a handful of contemporary journalists and editorialists accorded the tour some significance as a model of race relations - but as advocacy of pastoralist control over Aborigines in preference to the allocation of Aboriginal reserves and control by the Protection Board, decidedly not as racial equality.

[32] Charles Box, *The English game of cricket: comprising a digest of its origin, character, history and progress*, The Field Office, London, 1877, "The Black Team", pp.323-329.

[33] Quoted by Parker, *The history of cricket*, p.449. Pioneer Australian batsman Charles Bannerman told a similar story twenty years later. He claimed an old working class man approached him, asking: " 'Be they coom yet?' 'Who', said Charlie. 'The chaaps.' 'What chaps?' 'The Australians', retorted the old man. 'We're the Australians', replied Charlie. 'Coom, that woant do; I mean the craaketers - the black fellows.' Charlie chuckled for days on that". Bannerman's story published 15 January 1898 in "Round the ground", republished in *Cradle days of Australian cricket: an anthology of the writings of 'Felix' (T.P. Horan)*, compiled and edited by Brian Crowley & Pat Mullins, Macmillan, Australia, 1989, p.172.

black at all; they're as white as wuz.' "[34] It is irrelevant whether the tales were apocryphal: their point was British and Australian understanding that Aboriginal cricketers were entertaining inferiors.

Thus, although the Aboriginal tour was quickly associated with Anglo-Australian cricket history, it was as an ironic identification of racial opposites. It was distinguished from and relegated beneath white Australian cricket tours by its unique racial status;[35] its spear and boomerang exhibitions;[36] the Aborigines' dependence on their white management;[37] and their sub-first class cricketing standards.[38]

In 1919, the first participant's account of the Aboriginal tour appeared, written by William Shepherd, "Deputy Captain and Umpire for the Team".[39] Their results in "playing the white man's game" were "creditable", but he devoted most of his attention to "the 'side show' business of the tour, I mean as apart from cricket".[40] He attributed attendances of 8,000 to 10,000 per day to the "attractive exhibition" comprised by their boomerang and spear throwing, stockwhip tricks and athletics.

Articles usually confined individual attention to Johnny Mullagh for his cricketing greatness, dignified reserve and "accomplishments of civilisation".[41] In *Odd men in: a gallery of cricket eccentrics,* the great Yorkshire cricket writer, A.A. Thomson, focused on the contrary characteristics of Dick-a-Dick: extroversion; a seemingly child-like fascination with accumulating

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[34] P.E. Reynolds, *The Australian cricketers' tour through Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain in 1878*, originally published Sydney, 1878. Reprinted E.& E. Plumridge, Cambridge, 1980, p.12. Another Reynolds anecdote (p.11) internationalised the racial hilarity. During planning for the 1878 tour, its organisers reacted to rumours that a team of Indian Parsi cricketers would visit England at the same time: "What a horrible fate if the pick of New South Wales and Victoria should meet defeat by the sable Eleven."

[35] Major C.B.H. Pridham, *The charm of cricket past and present*, Herbert Jenkins, London, 1949, Chapter 2, "Aboriginal cricketers of 1868 - The 'All Blacks' ", pp.26-41. He described them as an extinct tribe of "Polynesian blacks", who "should not be confused with the negroes of the Northern Territories of Australia" because, "[r]acially, they were more akin to the Maori of New Zealand." Pridham wrote an earlier version: "The first 'Australians.' The pioneer colonial touring team", *The Cricketer spring annual*, 1930, pp.10-14.

[36] Donald MacDonald cited Lawrence's unconvincing regret - possibly a result of MacDonald's comment that the Aborigines' nicknames made them sound like "the original Georgia minstrels" - that spear and boomerang exhibitions interfered with their cricket: in Donald MacDonald, "The 1868 tour", originally published c.1917, reprinted in Pat Mullins & Phillip Derriman (eds), *Bat and Pad: writings in Australian cricket 1804-1984*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1984, pp.206-209. R.H. Campbell, "Aboriginal cricketers: the deeds of Mullagh and his black team in England", *Life*, 1 May 1923, pp.421-422, recognised that the boomerang and spear performances constituted an ongoing and defining mode of Aboriginal entertainment for white audiences.

[37] For instance, F.J. Ironside, "Cricket and cricketers: from Hyde Park to the Sydney Cricket Ground", in *Old Times: a unique illustrated history of the early days*, Sydney, 1903, Issue No.1, p.33 lauded the patience of the Aborigines' white management more highly than the Aboriginal cricketers. Donald MacDonald, "The 1868 tour", explained the exhausting necessity for Lawrence to control Aboriginal irresponsibility.

[38] It was usual to acknowledge the Aborigines' surprising skill but Ironside's assessment was typical. It praised the management for the "moderate form" of the "primitive gentlemen ... all things considered" (F.J. Ironside, "Cricket and cricketers: from Hyde Park to the Sydney Cricket Ground", p.33). Cricket authorities have never assigned first-class status to any of the 1868 tour matches.

[39] William Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines", pp.128-134, *Ayres'* (London), 1919, pp.128-134. As the bulk of Charles Lawrence's reminiscences were published subsequent to *Cricket walkabout* they will be discussed in some detail in Chapter 14.

[40] Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines", p.130.

[41] R.H. Campbell, "Aboriginal cricketers: the deeds of Mullagh and his black team in England", p.422.The title of R.H. Campbell's article indicates the extent to which Mullagh was elevated above the other Aborigines. Despite his praise, Campbell noted Mullagh's typical Aboriginal shortcomings, idleness and ignorance of time.

colourful clocks, watches and jewellery; and his star act of evading cricket balls by agile dodging and adept parrying with native shield and club. [42] But Dick-a-Dick's eccentricity was consistent with racial stereotypes of childlike Aborigines, a manifestation of the child-race ideology of primitive peoples which we will encounter in following chapters. In terms of the representation of Aborigines, Mullagh was the eccentric. I will suggest an alternative reading of the lives of Mullagh and Dick-a-Dick in Chapter 18.

Pre-*Cricket walkabout* writers accepted that the primary appeal of the tour was novelty, based on the Aborigines' racial identity, costumes and performances. Thomson called the tour a "circus"[43] and did so without impugning the skills or endurance of the team. Accounts were not hostile, generally describing the Aborigines with droll, affectionate condescension, or, in the case of Mullagh, with patronising admiration. [44] Racial issues and questions of Aboriginal policy were ignored. The Aborigines were acknowledged for their endurance and unexpectedly precocious cricketing abilities. It was assumed that they might be capable of laudable imitation or irresponsible mischief but not of constructive agency, independent adaptation or resistance. Aside from brief allusions to the tour's physical demands, accounts overlooked the Aborigines' situations as human beings in an alien environment.

Cricket walkabout

John Mulvaney's *Cricket walkabout* was instrumental in repositioning the tour, raising it to a new level of significance and respectability and establishing it as a significant moment in Aboriginal-European relations. [45] *Cricket walkabout* argued that cricket historians had erred in positioning the tour "as a 'curiosity', little better than a vaudeville turn". Instead, it merited appreciation as "a neglected episode in race relations", consistent with political and intellectual developments propitious for racial tolerance, such as the American Civil War and the scientific writings of Darwin and Huxley.[46] Mulvaney linked European tolerance to Aboriginal intent: the tour "represented an interesting adjustment to their changed circumstances."[47] He therefore set out

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[42] A.A Thomson, *Odd men in: a gallery of cricket eccentrics*, Museum Press, London, 1958, pp.70-80.

[43] Thomson, *Odd men in*, p.75.

[44] Johnny Moyes took a more serious approach than most to the Aborigines' cricket and essayed some original research. See A.G. Moyes, *Australian cricket: a history*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1959, "Aboriginal team of 1868", pp.151-159. He was strangely baffled by Hayman's motives though earlier writers found it obvious: the tour was "a kind of speculation engineered by Messrs. Hayman, Graham and G. Smith, and a lucrative adventure it proved" : R.H. Campbell, "Aboriginal cricketers", pp.421-422.

[45] D.J. Mulvaney, *Cricket walkabout: the Australian Aboriginal cricketers on tour 1867-8*, Melbourne University Press, Victoria, 1967. When I refer specifically to the first edition, it will be denoted as Mulvaney, *Cricket walkabout*. Most references are to the revised edition, denoted as Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*. It is ironic that the significance of *Cricket walkabout* has itself been overlooked. It preceded the two inspirations for the modern practice of Aboriginal history : W.E.H. Stanner's injunction at the 1968 Boyer Lectures to end the "Great Australian Silence" (W.E.H. Stanner "After the Dreaming", reprinted in W.E.H. Stanner, *White man got no dreaming;essays 1938-1973*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1979, pp.198-248); and the publication of Charles Rowley's three volume work from 1970 (C.D. Rowley, *The destruction of Aboriginal society*, 1970; *Outcasts in white Australia*, 1970; *The remote Aborigines*, 1971, all Australian National University Press, Canberra).

[46] Mulvaney, *Cricket walkabout*, p3; Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.3.

[47] Mulvaney, *Cricket walkabout*, pp.2-3; Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.3.

to explore the tour in the light of "other significant issues ... which go beyond the confines of the cricket boundary."[48]

The breadth of Mulvaney's sources and concerns dwarfed previous accounts, foreshadowing multidisciplinary approaches that would become characteristic of Aboriginal history. Among other contributions, *Cricket walkabout* investigated the lives of Aboriginal team members before and after the tour, established the existence of a disastrous first tour to Sydney, detailed its cost in Aboriginal life, discussed attempts by the Central Board for the Protection of Aborigines to prevent the tour and examined British and white Australian reactions to the team.

Its influence extends beyond the confines of academia and Australian cricket history. It reached Aborigines in addition to the largely white discipline of written Aboriginal history. In the Goolum Goolum Aboriginal Co-operative in Horsham, Victoria, I talked with Jack Kennedy, Wotjobaluk elder and reputed descendant of Dick-a-Dick. When he wanted to illustrate a point, or when stumped for an answer, Jack carefully unwrapped a plastic-covered first edition of *Cricket walkabout* and unhurriedly turned the pages, saying "It's in 'ere, somewhere."[49]

It is difficult to satisfy two specialist audiences, cricket and Aboriginal studies,[50] and Rex Harcourt, a Melbourne cricketing archivist, was added as co-author of a revised edition. It incorporated additional research[51] and new documentation - notably handwritten reminiscences by an elderly Charles Lawrence[52] and a financial ledger and book of press clippings maintained by tour manager George Graham.[53]

As if to confirm the first edition's stated aim of restoring "a neglected episode in race relations",[54] the revised edition was published in association with Department of Aboriginal Affairs. Its foreword was contributed by Charles Perkins, in place of the first edition's Ian Johnson, former Australian cricket captain, secretary of the Melbourne Cricket Club and pillar of the Australian cricketing establishment. Where Johnson lauded the book for filling "a vacant place in the annals of cricket literature",[55] Perkins emphasised that it was "more than another book about cricket. It is a commentary on social attitudes in the relationship between Aborigines and Europeans in the 1860s."[56]

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[48] Mulvaney, *Cricket walkabout*, p3; Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.3.

[49] Interview of Jack Kennedy by David Sampson, Goolum Goolum Aboriginal Co-operative, Horsham, Victoria, 20 June 1993.

[50] To England's *Cricket quarterly*, it was "undone by terrible howlers in the general cricket scene" (Vol.6, No.1, 1968, pp.48-49); to Ronald Berndt it was "an interesting little book ... rather limited in scope" (*Anthropological forum*, Vol. II, No.2, November 1968, pp.277-287).

[51] One new chapter, "Financial gain, human cost", was added, largely a product of financial details in the Graham ledger. The other seven chapters were expanded. Information relating to broader aspects of Aboriginal life was incorporated - for instance, the destruction of the Aboriginal population as a consequence of pastoral occupation (pp.31-33); details of the Aborigines non-cricketing performances; and an assessment of the Aborigines' lives in England (pp.142-147).

[52] I have adopted Mulvaney & Harcourt's description (*Cricket walkabout*, fn.9, p.89) of the Lawrence materials, identifying the 68 handwritten pages as Lawrence ms.1; the three loose sheets as Lawrence ms. 2; and the seven pages of notebook as Lawrence ms.3, all in the possession of Mr. Ian Friend.

[53] I will refer to Graham ledger as the source for both press clippings and financial details.

[54] Mulvaney, *Cricket walkabout*, p.3.

[55] Mulvaney, *Cricket walkabout*, viii.

[56] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, x. Perkins became the first Aboriginal head of the DAA in 1984. After governmental pressure he resigned from the public service in 1989.

The revised edition was openly prescriptive. It endowed the tour with explicit lessons, judgements and moral values, even posing it as an *alternative* to colonial racism. A forthright passage suggested that the tour should be enshrined as a lesson in racial tolerance:

> Another less academic but vitally human reason for this study is to rescue a dignified episode in race relations from oblivion. Aboriginal people should feel pride in the success and character of these versatile Victorian ancestors. It is an object lesson for other Australians that, instead of contempt and prejudice during the nineteenth century, respect and tolerance towards Aborigines could have achieved a more positive interaction and helped to ameliorate generations of suffering and bitterness.[57]

In depicting the tour as a co-operative inter-racial venture, *Cricket walkabout* dismissed its commodification of racial novelty, rejecting propositions that the tour was a curiosity, a circus or vaudeville.[58]

The programmatic intentions of *Cricket walkabout* idealise both sides of the inter-racial transaction. In the final chapter, I will discuss tensions between two incongruent enterprises, history and commemoration: here I will suggest only that successful commemoration is unlikely to be entirely satisfactory as critical history. *Cricket walkabout* does not explore the ambivalent relationships between the Aborigines, their management and British audiences. John Mulvaney rightly commented that the absence of Aboriginal documentation renders their characters elusive[59] but assessments of the organisers of the Aboriginal team are closer to tribute than scrutiny.[60]

Instead of analysing differential power, contradictory interests and inevitable tensions in the relationship between the Aborigines and their management, it defined them as "a unified team, devoted to their captain, and not an assemblage of individual tribesmen."[61] The first edition suggested that in England, the Aborigines "were received on terms as equal as any accorded colonials in Victorian England";[62] the revised edition insisted that the tour could not "be dismissed as a speculation or stunt."[63] Despite admitting they had not been not paid, it concluded that "it cannot be claimed they were unduly exploited."[64]

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[57] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp.3-4.

[58] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.3. The Aboriginal non-cricketing performances were inappropriately subsumed within the description "brighter cricket" (a marketing slogan for cricket in the 1950s and 60s).

[59] Mulvaney, *Cricket walkabout*), p.3.

[60] For instance, pastoralists playing cricket with Aboriginal survivors only 20 years after invasion and occupation of their lands was described as an "idyllic situation, perhaps, indicative of tolerance and enlightened racial attitudes" (Mulvaney, *Cricket walkabout*, p.13; Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.28). By accepting at face value Hayman's protestations of financial unconcern, *Cricket walkabout* concluded that the decision to take the Aboriginal team to Melbourne was not motivated by profit , attributing it to "altruism [presumably for Aborigines] and local pride." (Mulvaney, *Cricket walkabout*, p.22; Mulvaney and Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.41).

[61] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.88.

[62] Mulvaney, *Cricket walkabout*, p.56.

[63] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.135.

[64] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.135.

John Mulvaney's characteristically humanist and universalist approach to contact history has emphasised accommodation and acculturation over conflict and difference.[65] In *Encounters in place*, he has contributed an enlightening analysis of the complexities in European-Aboriginal transactions.[66] But in *Cricket walkabout* the protagonists in the Aboriginal tour of England were all but immune to ideologies, hierarchies, and prejudices which characterised race relations in Victoria and England. The major characters in *Cricket walkabout* failed to come to life as historical characters, because they did not live in history.

Cricket walkabout briefly assessed the racial temper of Victorian Britain, an issue which had been ignored in previous interpretations of the tour. But its characterisation of the late 1860s as an era of racial tolerance was incorrect.[67] The revised edition suggested that a tolerant tour was possible because it came "just in time", preceding racial attitudes which hardened "after the 1860s".[68] This was also inaccurate. As we shall see, the 1868 tour came precisely at a point of sharply increased racial intolerance and discrimination in Britain. It was a period when public prejudice, scientific theory and indigenous uprisings against colonial expansion made racial superiority, racial curiosity and its public exploitation lucrative and respectable.

Another innovation of *Cricket walkabout* was its analysis of racial attitudes towards Aborigines during the tour. It correctly observed that it was rare for contemporary accounts to express racial hostility.[69] But racial superiority and racial exploitation are not necessarily accompanied by overt hostility. The tour would not have proceeded or succeeded without hegemonic assumptions that Aborigines were racially distinctive, primitive and inferior. In sum, *Cricket walkabout* was incorrect to present the tour as an alternative to or antithesis of, colonialism and racial exploitation. It was, I believe, a constituent part of both.

The decisive shifts which can be credited to *Cricket walkabout* are more significant than its shortcomings. Firstly, it sited the Aboriginal tour in the broad context of European-Aboriginal relations. Although concentrating on Aborigines in cricket, it favourably contrasted the tour against increasingly paternalist, segregationist and dispersalist policies adopted by colonial governments towards the latter stages of the nineteenth century.[70] While recognising that Hayman and other pastoralists regarded the Aborigines as "part of the station property",[71] it credited agency to Aborigines, unlike previous accounts which depicted them as objects. It did not systematically analyse agency and power, but did depict "the adventurous 1868 team"[72] who "affixed their marks" to a contract, elected to conduct the tour and adapted themselves to new circumstances.[73]

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[65] Tom Griffiths & Tim Bonyhady, "Mulvaney, Derek John", *The Oxford companion to Australian history*, edited by Graeme Davison, John Hurst & Stuart Macintyre, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1998, pp.443-444.

[66] D.J. Mulvaney, *Encounters in place*, University of Queensland, Queensland, 1989.

[67] Mulvaney, *Cricket walkabout*, p.3; Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.3.

[68] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.139.

[69] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp.137-139.

[70] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.170.

[71] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.52.

[72] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.153.

[73] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.51.

And despite incongruities between the processes of critical history and historical commemoration, John Mulvaney triumphantly achieved his aim of recreating the 1868 tour as a significant episode in Aboriginal and Australian history. Not least, *Cricket walkabout* has established itself as a resource for Aborigines who wish to explore their own history or celebrate Aboriginal heroes.

Subsequent histories of Aborigines and histories of cricket have broadly accepted the judgements and contexts established by *Cricket walkabout.* [74] But some traces of doubt have emerged since Genevieve Blades' passing critique of *Cricket walkabout* for its inadequately rigorous historical analysis. [75] Cashman recognised the tour's paternalism and "racist assumptions about Aboriginal cricketers", noting that one of their matches was stopped for Aboriginal displays. [76] In questioning whether any of the Aborigines benefited, Colin Tatz implied it may have been legitimate for the the Board to have thwarted the tour. [77] *The first eleven,* a television documentary directed by James McCaughey and written and produced by Christina Hindhaugh is scheduled for completion in 2000. Although not focusing on issues of racial ideology and domination, it will increase awareness of neglected Aboriginal perspectives. Jack Kennedy discusses his great-grandfather, Dick-a-Dick; interviews with Framlingham Aborigines will also be included; and Aborigines will demonstrate weapons and Aboriginal performance skills which earned fame in England. [78]

Aboriginal historians have not subjected 1868 to systematic scrutiny, [79] although James Wilson Miller suspected crowds were primarily attracted by the "sideshow effect" of their exhibitions. [80] *Dreaming of Lord's*, an Aboriginal-approved documentary on the 1988 tour of England, referred extensively to the first tour.[81]

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[74] Richard Broome's *Aboriginal Australia* situated the tour as opportunity; a rare exception to governmental strangulation of Aboriginal abilities (Richard Broome, *Aboriginal Australians*, [second edition], Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1994 p.69). In 1994, Richard Cashman reiterated *Cricket walkabout*'s insistence that it "cannot be dismissed as a 'mere speculation or stunt' " (Richard Cashman "Cricket", Chapter 4 in Wray Vamplew & Brian Stoddart (eds), *Sport in Australia: a social history*, Cambridge University Press, Australia, 1994, p.60). Typical contemporary examples in cricket histories are: *200 seasons of Australian cricket*, Ironbark, Sydney, 1997, pp.26-27; Chris Harte, *A history of Australian cricket*, Andre Deutsch, London, 1993, pp.77-79; and Jack Pollard, *Australian cricket 1803-93*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1987, pp.148-161.

[75] Genevieve Blades, Australian Aborigines, cricket and pedestrianism: culture and conflict, 1880-1910, Honours Degree, Department of Human Movement Studies, University of Queensland, 1985, p.4. Blades' comments referred to the first edition of *Cricket walkabout.*

[76] Richard Cashman, *Paradise of sport: the rise of organised sport in Australia*, Oxford University Press, Australia, 1995, p.134.

[77] Colin Tatz, *Obstacle race* (revised edn) University of NSW Press, Sydney, 1995, pp.279 & 62.

[78] The comments are based on my discussions with Christina Hindhaugh and a viewing of the first cut of the film which she kindly showed to me on 12 February 1999 at Englefield, her property in Balmoral, western Victoria.

[79] Patricia Davis-Hurst, a descendant of Charlie Dumas, has written a family history but did not locate any new material about the tour.

Patricia Davis-Hurst & Ray Hurst, *Sunrise Station*, Sunbird Publications, Taree, 1996.

[80] James Miller, *Koori: a will to win: the heroic resistance, survival and triumph of Black Australia*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1985, p.72.

[81] See Section 5.

Thus far, analyses remain dominated by the framework of sport.[82] There has been no sustained historical re-examination and no exploration of the touring Aborigines as historical subjects. In Martin Flanagan's *The call* and Craig Cormick's *Unwritten histories*, two recent ficto-historical works which engage with elements of the tour, the Aboriginal cricketers remain mute. [83]

Silences and history

The central element missing from these accounts is testimony which reflects the experiences of the Aborigines and constitutes them as human beings. Why did they become part of the team? What did they hope to gain? What did they make of their lives in Britain? Were they able to prepare King Cole for his death? To what extent did they enjoy greater freedoms, yearn for their own country or chafe at their situation? What were their relations with their management and English observers? How did they deal with six months of constant scrutiny and performance; six months on board ship and twelve months separation from Aboriginal women? Did they attempt to defy authority or assert their independence?

Histories of Aboriginal people have implemented strategies, whether explicit or unstated, for dealing with what Aboriginal historian Jackie Huggins has called multiple "fold[s] of silence" created by "two centuries of colonisation".[84] The ravages have alienated Aboriginal people from knowledge of their own family histories.

I had hoped that Aboriginal families might have retained some oral testimonies of their forebears in Britain in 1868. The descendants of Johnny Cuzens, Charlie Dumas and Dick-a-Dick welcomed my interest and generously offered their knowledge. But none of the English experiences of these three important Aboriginal public figures - Cuzens a wonderful cricketer and athlete whose memory has been overshadowed by Mullagh; Charlie Dumas, the first great public exponent of the art of boomerang-throwing to perform overseas; and Dick-a-Dick, the charismatic Wotjobaluk leader who skilfully transformed warrior skills into compelling entertainment for Europeans - appear to have survived the ravages of colonisation on Aboriginal families. [85] The Aboriginal silences are almost total: no written documents; no oral testimonies; and only scanty fragments offering any indication of motivations, living experiences, perceptions, and struggles to adapt to British environment.

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[82] Broome, *Aboriginal Australians*, p.145 explained that sport democratised inter-racial contact and was an exception to the racial segregation which existed elsewhere in society. Ian Clark, a Marxist geographer specialising in Victorian Aboriginal studies, discussed the identity of the cricketers in his work on Aboriginal clans and languages but deferred to *Cricket walkabout* and did not investigate its methodological framework or conclusions (Ian D. Clark, *Aboriginal languages and clans: an historical atlas of Western and Central Victoria*, Monash Publications in Geography No. 33, Melbourne, 1990, p.249).

[83] Martin Flanagan, *The call*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1998 is a fictional biography of Tom Wills. Craig Cormick, *Unwritten histories*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1998 consists of 18 imaginative retelling of contact incidents in Australian history. Strangely, "The tour of the century" (pp.101-107) consists solely of press clippings about the 1868 tour.

[84] Rita Huggins & Jackie Huggins, *Auntie Rita*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1994, p.4.

[85] Ivan Cousens is proud of Johnny Cuzens and James Cousens (Mosquito) but it was not until the last ten or 15 years that he learned anything substantial about his forebears (telephone interview with Ivan Cousens, 11 February 1999). Family research by the Dumas/Simons family has been unable to recover details of Charles Dumas before or after the tour (interview with Mrs Vilma Simons, Taree, 15 January 1994).

The seemingly intractable problem of incorporating subaltern voices is a central concern of critical historiography. Historians have sought to implement ways around the limitations and assumptions of Eurocentric documentation; other writers have rejected historical narrative as an inadequate means of conveying the experiences of colonised peoples.

History has been buffeted from one side by claims that the discipline is simply a specific type of literary narrative, qualitatively no different to fiction.[86] History's legitimacy as an accurate representation of the past - its ability to "capture the truth"[87] - has been interrogated by post-colonialist concerns that empiricist reliance on documentation and Eurocentric methodology excludes the non-western, the non-literate and the powerless.[88] A cluster of questions problematise whether historical methodology can reflect the experiences of peoples whose record-keeping did not rely on written documentation and whose cultures might not have entailed linear temporality, secular causality and notions of progress or individualism.

Fictional strategies similar to Cormick's *Hidden histories* and Flanagan's *The call* may result from aesthetic preference but they also reflect frustrations encountered by historians attempting to deal with colonialist contacts between Europe and indigenous peoples.

Using historical research as a starting point, Aboriginal writers have conveyed the subjectivity of famous Aboriginal figures by deploying literary forms which are not confined by rules of historical evidence or conventions of historical narrative. Fictional and dramatic representations which fill silences in the lives of Aboriginal historical figures include Mudroorroo's *Long live Sandawara*;[89] Eric Willmott's *Pemulwuy, the rainbow warrior*;[90] Gerry Bostock's short story, *Colebe*;[91] and *Moobbajia*, a play about Bennelong.[92]

In the absence of documentation, some silences may be impenetrable[93] but historical methodology and informed historical imagination can create historical narratives from fragmentary, incomplete and allusive historical data. Addressing historical silences is an active process: the "history of Aboriginal existence", explained Jackie Huggins, is an active process: it has to be "*gleaned* if necessary from white records"; it has to be "*prised* out of white archives"(emphases added).[94]

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[86] Hayden White, *Metahistory: the historical imagination in nineteenth century Europe*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1973; Hayden White, "The historical text as literary artifact", in R.H. Canary and H. Kozicki (eds), ***The writing of history**: literary form and historical understanding*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1978, pp.41-62.

[87] See also Peter Novick's, impeccably documented and scrupulously balanced 650 page demolition of the objectivity of American historiography: Peter Novick, *That noble dream: the "Objectivity Question" and the American historical profession*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988.

[88] A lively sample of issues and contending views is included in Calvin M. Martin (ed.), *The American Indian and the problem of history*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1987. Robert F. Berkhofer Jr. *Beyond the great story: history as text and discourse* (Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1995) is a systematic and more recent survey.

[89] Mudrooroo (Colin Johnson), *Long live Sandawara*, Hyland House, Melbourne, 1992 (orig.1979).

[90] Eric Willmott, *Pemulwuy the rainbow warrior*, Weldon, Sydney, 1987.

[91] *Meanjin*, 53[4], Summer, 1994, pp.613-618.

[92] *Moobbajia (speak an unknown language): The English language through Koori eyes*, devised in performance by Kooris in Theatre with Pauline McLeod & Malcolm Mitchell, Amade Productions, performed at Museum of Sydney, 6-8 October 1995.

[93] I have been unable, for example, to uncover any information relating to the effects of the tour on Aboriginal communities from which the team was drawn and who lived without them for eighteen months, such as the wives of Dick-a-Dick and Twopenny.

[94] Jackie Huggins, *Sister girl: the writings of Aboriginal activist and historian Jackie Huggins*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1998, quoted by Crusader Hills, "Solidarity", *Australian Book Review*, April 1999, pp.11-12.

Although no diary records of Europeans involved in the tour have come to light, partial and one-sided documentation of the Aboriginal tour is plentiful. It is an unusually rich source of European representation of Aborigines. British journalists contributed their impressions and reproduced information supplied by tour management. Writings by Lawrence, Shepherd, William South Norton and W.B. Tegetmeier offer European views of their relationships with the Aborigines. Some of it is surprising and even the silences are revealing.

My approaches to reading documentation have drawn on important contributions to Aboriginal history. Among them are Henry Reynolds' reading of documentation against the grain; Bain Attwood's and Bob Reece's work on the construction of Aboriginality; Tony Swain's insights into maintenance and transformations of Aboriginal cosmologies; explorations by Anne McGrath, Raymond Evans and Kay Saunders into concealed sexual and gender dimensions in European relations with Aborigines; and Bernard Smith's analysis of European preconceptions which shaped their observations of new worlds and peoples in the Pacific.[95] Crucially, comparative case studies of other indigenous performers in the centre of colonialism shed further light on fragments of evidence which appear to be trivial or enigmatic when read in isolation.

The implementation of appropriate methodologies can, I believe, produce historical insights into important aspects in the lives of the Aboriginal performers in Britain.

HISTORIOGRAPHIC ISSUES

A number of central themes will run through this study. They are power, agency, colonialism, and the material representation of race. Theoretical aspects of these themes, particularly power and agency, will be developed throughout the thesis in conjunction with the examination of documentation. At this stage, I will briefly outline their relevance to an analysis of the 1868 tour.

Power

Power is the most basic and pervasive of these themes. Relations of power, exercised and implicit, shaped every aspect of the 1868 tour and the options which were open or denied to its protagonists. It was the fundamental factor in creating the conditions for Aboriginal performers to travel to England in 1868; in the construction of racial ideology and modes of racial representation which predominated in Britain; in defining socio-economic and inter-personal relations between the Aboriginal performers and the European employers and observers with whom they engaged;

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[95] Henry Reynolds, *The other side of the frontier*, Penguin, Australia, 1982; Bob Reece, "Inventing Aborigines", *Aboriginal History*, Vol.11, No.1, 1987, pp.14-17; Bain Attwood, *The making of the Aborigines*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1989; Tony Swain, *A place for strangers: toward a history of Australian Aboriginal being*, Cambridge University Press, England, 1993; Anne McGrath, *Born in the cattle*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1987; Kay Saunders & Raymond Evans (eds), *Gender relations in Australia: domination and negotiation*, Sydney, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Sydney, 1992; Bernard Smith, *European vision and the South Pacific*, Oxford University Press, Australia, 1989.

and in shaping the documentation and the silences on which its historical interpretations have been constructed.

Haitian historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot has emphasised that silences are produced by a differential exercise of power which operates at all stages of the historical process. He demonstrates that historical scrutiny can also unravel silences, because silences are constructed by overlapping processes of how history works and how its narratives are produced. The processes overlap because historical narratives themselves are "always produced in history" and continue to produce effects on it.[96] Thus, he suggests, a recognition "that historical production is itself historical is the only way out of the false dilemmas posed by positivist empiricism and extreme formalism."[97]

Trouillot notes that power and silences begin at an earlier stage of the historical process and end later than is usually appreciated. Tracking power (from history itself as a social process, to the creation, assembly and selection of facts, the creation of narratives and their subsequent operation in history - which in turn affects the creation and selection of further facts and narratives) explains why some narratives are silenced and others are not. The process can identify and, to some extent, restore historical silences but there is no formula. Each historical narrative contains a unique combination of silences, specific to itself and the social processes of the historical situation it describes and reshapes.

In the case of the Aboriginal tour of England, differential exercises of power and the silences they have produced can be followed through a long period of time. The process takes into account a diverse range of inter-racial relations and conventions established by colonialist power in Australia and Britain.

Power can be traced from race relations established in western Victoria and Victorian Britain. It extends to the deployment of historical narratives established by cricket histories and *Cricket walkabout* in the political conflicts of the 1988 Bicentennial. Power over Aborigines was manifested in racial humanitarianism, representation and civilising projects as well as in violence and dispossession. It was manifested in the power of determining whether Aborigines could return to their country; the power to deny or enable Aboriginal freedom of movement and action; and the power to conceal and obliterate or to display and profit from Aboriginal culture. Missionaries, employers and Protection Boards exercised colonialist power over Aborigines and on all sides of the complex relationships behaviour was shaped by knowledge of its existence. Silences were created by pastoralist power over Aboriginal land, the power by which Aborigines were constituted as mute objects of European entertainment and interest, by ideologies of racial inferiority and the power of Eurocentic documentation.

In conjunction with European power, Aboriginal awareness of their position should also be appreciated. Sudden celebrity must have made it obvious that it was possible for them to

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[96] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the past: power and the production of history*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1995, pp.22-23.
[97] Trouillot, *Silencing the past*, p.145.

capitalise on European curiosity, humanitarianism and obligation - to manoeuvre in advantageous spaces within historical conditions and racial constructions which had been established to their detriment and beyond their control. If the Aborigines in Britain were subject to the power of their employers and observers, their management's pursuit of profit and prestige from Aboriginal exoticism required a certain level of Aboriginal co-operation. So too did the desire of public and private audiences for entertainment or information. Because the legitimacy of European authority over Aborigines was not openly contested, the relationship was expressed as a harmonious transaction: a form of accommodation which resulted from and conformed to differentiated power, but concealed its exercise.

The *form* of the tour, then, disguised European power over Aborigines, but the silences created in the documentation were not absolute. Published reminiscences of the Aborigines by William South Norton and William Shepherd respectively indicate European contempt and Aboriginal discontent. Silences have been perpetuated by modern historical narratives because evidence has been ignored or minimised by accounts of the tour which emphasise its co-operative nature. Tracking of power and the silences it has produced enables us to uncover clear indications of conflict and of Aboriginal resistance.

Agency

A decisive shift in Aboriginal history has been to replace portrayals of Aboriginal victimhood with affirmations of Aboriginal agency. Yet agency - personal actions or interventions which exist within specific social relations and which either reproduce, struggle within, or struggle against their confining structures[98]- is always contingent on limitations of power and historical circumstance.[99]

Agency is particularly difficult to assess in peoples whose alternatives have been limited by specific disadvantage and whose options are evaluated as degrading - not necessarily by themselves. The case of black performers in fairgrounds, boxing tents or freak shows is closely related to the 1868 tour. The fundamental problem is whether an absence of coercion and the testimony of indigenous people who worked in and enjoyed these shows constitutes conclusive evidence that they exercised agency and were not exploited.

Aunty Iris Lovett-Gardiner, an elder of the Kerrup-J-Mara clan from Lake Condah, fondly recalled life in the local showgrounds. Lovett-Gardiner was a Gunditjmara, whose people comprised part of the Aboriginal team. Her husband was a boxer in the Jimmy Sharman troupe; she worked in the women's "leg-show"; Aboriginal horsemen worked in the rodeos and

[98] Following Perry Anderson's ideas as used by Alan Ingham and Stephen Hardy, "Sport: structuration, subjugation and hegemony", *Theory, culture and society*, Nos. 2-3, June 1987, p.100.

[99] As in Marx's famous formulation: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past." from the "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", in Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, *Selected works in three volumes*, Vol. 1, pp. 394-487, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p.399.

wild west shows; and (genuine) "Pygmies" would dance "and lunge at the people with their spears with the most ferocious look on their faces but they were beautiful gentlemen once the show was over and she was always the lady." The tent shows were a meeting place for traveling Aboriginal performers and Aunty Iris regretted their passing: "There was no racism on the showground even among the people that came to the shows ... There too was a bond of brotherhood."[100]

In a discussion of performers in freak shows, David Gerber asks:

> If an individual consents, by virtue of what appear to be acts of free choice, to being degraded, exploited or oppressed, does that act of consent end the moral problem that his or her situation seems to constitute?[101]

He argues that it does not in the absence of preconditions for effective choice - a significant range of alternatives; the availability of achievable, socially respected roles; access to the information required to make informed choices; and the security needed to evaluate them. The consent and subsequent beliefs of those involved, Gerber concludes, are only part of an effective evaluation of agency.[102] It is an uncomfortable solution because the assessments of participants might be counted as less valid than the evaluations of cultural critics with no living experience of the situation.

The opposite situation can apply. Roslyn Poignant has implied that a significant difference between the "Aboriginal cricket team who were voluntary travellers overseas" and the exploitation of Palm and Hinchinbrook Island Aborigines who were exhibited in Europe and America resides in the agency of the former.[103] But Jack Kennedy, the Wotjobaluk elder, and Sandy Atkinson of the Koorie Oral History Project of the State Library of Victoria, thought the Aborigines would have had little effective choice once William Hayman obtained the permission of pastoralists on whose properties they belonged and worked. To Atkinson, it was a concrete question of power, not legal rights: "Station owners said go, they'd up and went. Couldn't question things those days."[104] When asked if he thought they had any choice, Jack Kennedy replied: "No, I don't think they would. They wouldn't have had none. Well, they understood, I suppose and everything."[105] Both are reasonable conclusions. One estimate is based on European documentation of the Aborigines' decision; the other on a personal experience of Aboriginal realities which supplements and possibly contradicts the documentation.

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[100] Aunty Iris Lovett-Gardiner, *Lady of the Lake: Aunty Iris's story*, Koorie Heritage Trust Inc. Melbourne, 1997, pp. 64-65.

[101] David A. Gerber, "The 'careers' of people exhibited in freak shows: the problem of volition and valorization", pp. 38-54, in Rosemarie Garland Thomson (ed.), *Freakery: cultural spectacles of the extraordinary body*, New York University Press, New York, 1996, p.38.

[102] Gerber, "The 'careers' of people exhibited in freak shows", p.42

[103] Roslyn Poignant, "Captive Aboriginal lives", pp. 35-57, in *Captive lives: Australian captivity narratives*, Working Papers in Australian Studies No. 85, Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, London, 1993, p.39.

[104] Interview with Sandy Atkinson by David Sampson, State Library of Victoria, 15 June 1993.

[105] Interview with Jack Kennedy by David Sampson, Horsham, 20 June 1993.

Evaluating the dynamics of agency assumes some knowledge of a subject's intentions. Assessments of non-European agency can err by making inappropriate assumptions of goals and aspirations.

Presuppositions that all actions are driven by pragmatic rationality assume that actors behave as they do and judge their situations out of self interest: that they act in pursuit of individualistic, material and political (in a western sense) goals. Anthropologist Sherry Ortner has commented that pragmatic rationality is Eurocentric and unrealistically active. The assumption that historical actors are "always pressing claims, pursuing goals, advancing purposes and the like may simply be an overly energetic (and overtly political) view of how and why people act."[106] Following Clifford Geertz, anthropologists have proposed "stream theory" as an alternative to interest theory. It is applicable to post-colonialist historiography because it emphasises the social forces which limit and shape the alternatives open to colonised subjects.

As implemented in Section 4, stream theory analyses subjects who attempt to solve problems posed by complex situations rather than pursuing liberation or advancement through exercise of free will. Applied to indigenous subjects, stream theory foregrounds the pressures and processes of colonialism, to "reveal the sorts of binds it places upon actors, the sort of burdens it places upon them .... [providing] much of the context for understanding actors' motives, and the kind of projects they construct for dealing with their situations."[107] It considers the influence of non-western concepts and goals in determining actions and shaping behaviour.

The question of agency will be revisited over the contract to which the Aborigines were a party; the issue of why they travelled to England, their relations with Hayman and Lawrence, and discussion of their lives in Britain. I will work from a hypothesis that the Aborigines managed to exercise some degree of agency, both consistent with and contrary to the wishes and expectations of those who exercised authority over them. Documentation of Aboriginal actions will be supplemented by discussions of evidence from other indigenous performers in Britain which indicate the extent to which they may have been able to express agency despite the constraints of their situation.

Material representation of race

A comparative study of the 1868 tour heeds Raymond Williams' observation that cultural analysis begins with the study of patterns and that the relationships between these patterns can reveal unexpected identities and correspondences.[108] Construed solely as a cricketing event, and when no previous and few subsequent Aborigines have been able (or permitted) to prominently play racially integrated cricket, the tour has been understood in isolation. It has been contrasted

[106] Sherry Ortner, "Theory in anthropology since the sixties", in Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley & Sherry B. Ortner (eds.), *Culture, power and history: a reader in contemporary social theory*, USA, Princeton University Press, 1994, p.395.
[107] Ortner, "Theory in anthropology since the sixties", p.395.
[108] As discussed by Sut Jhally, "Cultural studies and the sports/media complex" in Lawrence A Wenner (ed.), *Media, sports and society*, Sage, California, 1989, p.73.

but not compared. Viewed only against policies of extermination, dispersal and segregation of Aborigines, there is little basis for comparative analysis.

But if the 1868 tour is considered in the context of displays of race and exhibitions of primitive peoples and cultures, particularly those taken from peripheries to the centre of Empire, it is no longer unique or inexplicable either as a form of cultural display, a set of inter-racial relations, or a complex of indigenous problems and opportunities.

Material representations of race offer an alternative and a supplement to print, "giving practical realization to Bacon's advocacy of things over words as instruments of knowledge." [109] Race may be materially represented by arranging objects in a context of high culture, such as a museum or university, or low culture, in a freak-show or sideshow. It can display inanimate objects associated with a culture, fossilised human remains, exotic peoples exhibited in simulated traditional environments or in incongruously civilised social settings and clothing. So diverse is the history of the material representation of race, and so direct is its imaginative appeal to social strata ranging from the non-literate to elites, that the weight of analysis which has concentrated on literary representation is surely disproportionate. I will reproduce illustrations which indicate its visual effects and ideological connotations.

Selecting and arranging objects to represent a culture is an illusion achieved by removing and recontextualising the objects from the culture they purport to embody.[110] The convention that whole cultures can be represented and comprehended by displays of objects is a metonym which is particularly associated with the rise of museums, anthropology and evolutionism.[111] The boomerang has traditionally acted as a metonym for Aboriginal identity:[112] the 1868 tour maximised representational authenticity because Aborigines themselves threw the boomerangs. Viewed in the context of Victorian racial ideology and science, the primitive human beings and their primitive implements were mutually authenticating, illustrating how Stone Age survivals existed in relation to each other and to modern audiences.

Indigenous performances fulfilled a function similar to museums, playing: "a key role in fixing the identity of autochthonous peoples ... before they disappeared since they provided Europeans with unique insights into our historical trajectory."[113] It is instructive to conceive of the tour as a mobile museum of living Aboriginal culture, one of the most imaginative among myriad examples of material representations of race in Victorian England.

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[109] Richard D. Altick, *The shows of London*, Harvard University Press, London, 1978, p.1

[110] Bain Attwood, "Introduction" to Bain Attwood & John Arnold (eds), *Power, knowledge and the Aborigines*, LaTrobe University Press, Melbourne, 1992, viii.

[111] Attwood, "Introduction", in Attwood & Arnold, *Power, knowledge and the Aborigines*, pp. v-viii.

[112] Phillip Jones, "The boomerang's erratic flight: the mutability of ethnographic objects" in Attwood & Arnold, *Power, knowledge and the Aborigines*, pp.59-71

[113] Attwood, "Introduction", Attwood & Arnold, *Power, knowledge and the Aborigines*, p.5.

Whenever objects are collected and arranged for display in another culture - entrepreneurs and audiences presented and viewed primitive races very much as human objects - cultural constructions have *preceded* their public presentation. Only if display is interpreted as signifying something broader than itself is it deemed worthy of interest. As Michael Baxendall has noted:

> It seems axiomatic that it is not possible to exhibit objects without putting a construction upon them ... To select and put forward any item for display, as something worth looking at, as interesting, is a statement not only about the object but about the culture it comes from.[114]

It says even more about the culture which selects, constructs and casts judgement on the display. Aborigines and their implements were interesting to British audiences because of assumptions regarding the relationship between European and non-European culture and being.

When object and viewer derive from different cultures, three points of view come into play: the culture from which the objects come; the ideas and purposes of the promoters; and the values, expectations and predispositions of the audience.[115] In the case of human objects, with variable wills, improvisations, intentions, abilities, allies, tempers and health, further complications arise: the display is dynamic. Its variability is unpredictable and it assumes an element of interactivity. Agency becomes an issue.

Displays of indigenous peoples can be understood as inclining to two modes, images of primitivism and images of transformation. [116] Primitivism showcases semi-naked or exotically garbed natives who deliver uninhibited, hostile or martial performances, typically in conjunction with weaponry and artefacts associated with technological and cultural backwardness. Imagery of transformation is the contrary mode, presenting natives who have taken on aspects of European civilisation, clothing, language, etiquette, or cultural skills. They might wear a suit, play a piano, sip tea, give a speech or play cricket. Both cases frame otherness, one as identity, the other, commonly, as incongruity or irony.

Because European civilisation was understood to be the agent of progress for primitive peoples, shows which offered representations of both primitivism and transformation were telling a story. In 1868, Aborigines were represented both as semi-civilised cricketers and unimproved primitives. Their show enacted the great narrative of progress from savagery to civilisation, embodying the civilising role of colonialism on a race which was incapable of independent historical development. It was a dramatic and entertaining exposition by material metaphor of the progress of primitivism from symbolic nakedness and fierce savagery to the partial civilisation of

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[114] Michael Baxendall, "Exhibiting intention: some preconceptions of the visual display of culturally purposeful objects", in Ivan Karp & Stephen D. Lavine (eds), *Exhibiting cultures: the poetics and politics of museum display*, Smithsonian Institution Press, USA. 1991, p.34.

[115] Baxendall, "Exhibiting intention", pp.34-37.

[116] I have adapted the idea of images of transformation from Roslyn Poignant, "Surveying the field of view: the making of the RAI photographic collection", in Elizabeth Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and photography 1860-1920*, London, Yale University Press, 1992, pp. 42-70.

European clothing, restrained deportment and inter-racial acceptance on cricket fields in the centre of Empire.

Colonialism, race and performance

During the crucial period of birth for modern sport, the half-century from 1837 to 1887, its originator, Great Britain, expanded its power and its cultural mores over an area which increased from 1.1 million to 8.4 million square miles. Its rule over black colonial populations leaped from 98 million people to 262 million.[117] The racial relations, ideologies and forms of representation of the 1868 tour were contingent aspects of British colonialism and its relations with colonised peoples. Understanding the tour involves a critique of colonialism and an appreciation of its diversity: it was one aspect of an ideology, a network of relations and a set of practices which cannot be confined to Aboriginal history much less cricket.

The British public's fascination was heightened by the uniqueness of the boomerang and a belief that Aborigines were Stone-Age relics doomed to rapid extinction. But these specifics obtained their significance from a context of comparative popular-scientific studies associated with racial difference and development, including evolution, anthropology-ethnology and archaeology. Stereotypical characteristics of racial inferiority for which Aborigines were either denigrated, pitied or patronised - backwardness, childishness, superstition, dependence, idleness, lack of restraint, cruelty towards women - had been drawn from a stock of traits which were previously understood to define the inferiority of more familiar non-white races.

The public display of primitive peoples to civilised audiences is, above all, a power relation of conquering over conquered, of colonisers over colonised. The triumphant were not only able to plunder conquered artefacts and peoples, they could also transport them, display them and classify them within their spatial and intellectual territory. European viewing of Aborigines has not been innocent and has invariably reflected and justified, whether intentionally or unintentionally, kindly or unkindly, colonialist imbalance of power.[118] The perspective is applicable to practices which, C.L.R. James argued, were the dominant cultural influences of the British Empire, cricket and football.[119]

My reconsideration of the 1868 tour is anti-colonialist, in the sense of seeking to create "a rupture and a positive awareness of the way colonial representation has shaped and misshaped, reality for coloniser and colonised alike."[120] But the dynamics of colonialism are to be understood

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[117] Katharine Moore, "The Pan-Britannic festival: a tangible but forlorn expression of Imperial unity", in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *Pleasure, profit, proselytism: British culture at home and abroad, 1700-1914*, Frank Cass, England, 1988, p.144.

[118] See Ian Donaldson & Tamsin Donaldson "Introduction", in Ian Donaldson & Tamsin Donaldson (eds), *Seeing the first Australians*, Australia, Allen & Unwin, 1985, pp.15-17.

[119] James, *Beyond a boundary*, pp.33-37, unlike Edward Said, *Culture and imperialism*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1995 which restricts its investigations to high culture.

[120] Annette Hamilton, foreword to Marcia Langton, *'Well, I heard it on the radio and I saw it on the television...'*, Australian Film Commission, Sydney, 1993, p.6.

more comprehensively than processes of physical invasion, conquest, subjugation, exclusion and contempt.

Limiting colonialism and racism to coercion, hostility and rejection omits the complex, historically specific and frequently intimate relationships between coloniser and colonised.[121] Like colonialism, racism is not a unitary thing. It is a web of relationships and meanings, whose widely divergent qualities and intensities differ according to their specific colonial contexts.[122] The African-American literary critic, Henry Louis Gates, has noted the liberal confusion of racism and contempt, pointing to the myriad American examples of " 'racist' benevolence, paternalism and sexual attraction which are not always, or only, dependent upon contempt or aggression."[123] British fascination with Aboriginality exemplifies Nicholas Thomas's insistence that histories of colonialist relations and perceptions of race should incorporate the complex embrace of exoticism in addition to the unambiguous violence of conquerors. Consequently, the capacity of colonised peoples to appreciate the appeal of exoticism and perhaps capitalise on it should also be recognised.[124]

In some instances, the embrace of exoticism was physical. Histories of Africans, Maoris and Native Americans in England indicate sexual dimensions of their representation as lubricious femininity or masculinised primitivism. The marked interest of British women in primitivist male performance extended to sexual attraction, which in some instances was consummated, even resulting in marriage. At least a few of the Aborigines embarked on relationships with British women.

The relationship between the Aborigines and their managers and observers in England was another instance of the intimacy of colonialism. It was in management's self-interest to exercise authority over Aborigines but they assumed that their discipline also benefited the Aborigines. The relationship involved physical closeness and cultural distance; elements of personal responsibility and fondness as well as discrimination, exploitation and conflict. William Hayman and the English ethnologist W.B. Tegetmeier, who irritated three of the Aborigines by scrupulously measuring their bodies, conformed more closely to Ashis Nandy's second wave of colonisers, "well-meaning, hard-working, middle-class missionaries, liberals, modernists and believers in science, equality and progress" than the first generation of ruthless bandit-kings.[125] But their relationships with the Aborigines should be understood as part of colonialism and racial chauvinism - not as exceptions to it.

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[121] The relationships between inter-racial power, intimacy and dominance in Arnhem Land are perceptively explored by Gillian Cowlishaw, *Rednecks, eggheads and blackfellows: a study of racial power and intimacy in Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1999.

[122] Laura Ann Stoler, "Rethinking colonial categories: European communities and the boundaries of rule", *Comparative studies in society and history*, Vol. 31, 1989, pp.135-136.

[123] Henry Louis Gates Jr. "Talkin' that talk", pp.403-409 in Henry Louis Gates Jr. (ed.) *"Race", writing and difference*, University of Chicago, Illinois, 1985, p.403.

[124] Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's culture: anthropology, travel and government*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1994, p.17.

[125] Ashis Nandy, *The intimate enemy: loss and recovery of self under colonialism*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1983, xi.

Performances by indigenous visitors to Europe in the mid-Victorian era entailed a highly specific manifestation of the relationship between coloniser and colonised. The audience-performer dynamic is a structured but warm relationship, with reciprocal elements of formality, mutual responsibility and intimacy. Aspects of behaviour characteristically extended by gracious hosts to their guests and by generous audiences to entertaining performers explain why British assumptions of their racial superiority were expressed as sympathy and warmth rather than contempt or hostility.

Racialised performances tend to create a relationship between white audiences and black performers which is distinctly more sympathetic than its broader racial environment. The structure of the performance relationship predisposes an audience towards reactions which display elements of admiration and goodwill. Audiences expect to see entertaining and interesting performances. We would not expect an audience to hoot and jeer at performers they pay to see unless the contract between entertainer and entertained were severed.

A relationship is established which is at once commercial and intimate and in which elements of reciprocity exist. Skills displayed by the performer - usually aptitudes associated with primitivism or relatively modest and trivial European attainments - can encroach on racial hostility without threatening ideologies of racial inferiority. Indeed, when performances display skills like music, dancing or athleticism, which conform to characteristics supposedly natural to an intellectually backward race, the talents can exemplify and buttress racist precepts at the same time as they attract genuine admiration.

Gracious appreciation of the talents of a handful of colonised peoples serves a psychological function for colonisers. It demonstrates that they are a sympathetic people who generously reward ability, indicating that the typically depressed status of people of colour are reflections of nature rather than prejudice. Moreover, when black performers are nurtured, managed and presented by whites the display usually becomes a self-congratulatory demonstration of the benefits of colonialism.

As numerically insignificant visitors who did not appear to contest their inferiority, exotic racial performers did not represent a threat to the racial, economic, social, or sexual security of the British public. While their primitivist performances were a delightful respite from the homogenous monotony of bourgeois life and its geographic and emotional restraints, they reassuringly affirmed the supremacy of even the lowest strata of whiteness.

It is important to recognise that colonialism was an unequal but bilateral relationship and that the Aborigines contributed to the metropolis unprecedented enactments of their skills and commodified fragments of their culture. Though colonialism could not fully recognise the meaning and content of indigenous culture, the pleasure and instruction which the Aborigines provided for British audiences exceeded the value of anything they took home with them.

It is not surprising that the Aboriginal performers, like Native American sportsmen, "Wild West Indians", "Maori Warriors" and "Maori Chiefs", were greeted with warmth and avid

curiosity. But the rarity of overt hostility towards a handful of visitors does not reflect a breach of racism in a society in which black inferiority was unquestioned.

When racism is restricted to hostility and exclusion, fundamental assumptions and expressions of racial prejudice and superiority escape scrutiny. Overt hostility is repulsive but it is not the core problem of racism, just as an openly expressed hatred of women is not the difficult problem at the heart of sexism. It is relatively easy to identify, expose and isolate, but restricting racism to its grossest statements and practices ignores its civilised, liberal and paternalist manifestations.

The problem is "inferential racism and other forms of covert racist practices".[126] These are defined by Stuart Hall as "those apparently naturalised representations of events and situations relating to race, whether 'factual' or 'fictional', which have racist premises and propositions inscribed in them as a set of *unquestioned assumptions*."[127] Such representations of Aboriginal inferiority, subordination and dependence; of European paternalism, superiority and responsible authority were reproduced throughout their British tour. They can be identified, compared with the representations of other visiting indigenous performers and understood as naturalised expressions of colonialist relations and racial ideology.

OUTLINE

My study begins with developments in British colonialism and racial representation in the mid-Victorian era. It culminates in 1988, a year of Bicentennial celebration of the colonisation of Aboriginal Australia; its contestation by internationally significant Aboriginal protests; publication of the revised edition of *Cricket walkabout*; and the commemoration of the 1868 team by another Aboriginal cricket tour of England.

The first section, ***Representations of race in mid-Victorian England***, examines developments in the British representation of race and Aborigines, particularly its material representation, to 1868.

Chapter 1, *Colonialism, science and the visual dissemination of race,* is a broad-ranging discussion of British racial ideology, science and representation up to the time of the Aboriginal tour.

Chapter 2, *Bringing living examples of race to Britain*, examines motivations and manifestations in the colonialist practice of importing primitive peoples for scrutiny. I will discuss different means of exhibiting exotic races, paying particular attention to the case of

[126] E. San Juan Jr., *Racial formulations/critical transformations: Articulations of power in ethnic and racial studies in the United States*, Humanities Press, USA, 1992, p.40.

[127] Stuart Hall, "The whites of their eyes: racist ideologies and the media", in George Bridges & Rosalind Brunt (eds), *Silver linings*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1981, p.36.

George Catlin, who pioneered influential modes of displaying primitive peoples - including as sportsmen.

Chapter 3, *Aborigines and their representation in Britain*, examines the increasing popular and scientific interest in Aborigines to the 1868 tour. In addition to visual and written representation, it includes living Aborigines who were brought to Europe, most of whom appear to have died abroad.

Chapter 4, *Cricket, sport and race in mid-Victorian Britain*, explores relationships between sport, racial ideology and racial display. It culminates in predecessors of the Aboriginal team - British tours in the 1860s by a Native American lacrosse troup and Deerfoot, a Native American runner.

The second section, ***Mustering the team and constructing an Aboriginal show*** explores the Australian development of their performances from cricket into commodified representation of Show Aborigines.

Chapter 5, *From squatter dispossession to metropolitan commodities: the Gurnett contract with the Aboriginal team*, highlights the relations of power involved in a contract which indentured the Aborigines to perform in Europe.

Chapter 6, *Aboriginal performance and the material representation of primitivism in Australia*, examines Australian representation of Aborigines in popular journalism, government policy and material displays. It ranges from private and informal Aboriginal performances, to professionally constituted scientific and popular displays, to Australian importation of primitivist Maori performers.

Chapter 7, *The Wimmera: pastoralists, Aborigines, land and sport*, outlines the calamitous dispossession of Wimmera Aborigines and the complex relations with white authorities which confronted the survivors.

Chapter 8, *Hayman, Wills and the Aboriginal cricket and athletics team*, describes the transformation of the Aborigines from recreational rural cricketers and workers on pastoral properties in their own country to a team of travelling Aboriginal sportsmen.

Chapter 9, *Charles Lawrence constructs an Aboriginal show*, explains the elaborate development of their primitivist Aboriginal performances after it became apparent that displays of cricket and European athletics could not sustain commercial success.

The third section, ***Aborigines Abroad 1868: Images of primitivism and transformation***, surveys key incidents in the tour of England and analyses British representation of their Aboriginal identity. It focuses on the tour's arduous work schedule and demonstrates that cricketing performances were a secondary attraction for the British public.

Chapter 10, *Primitivist images, advance publicity and travel to England,* discusses the three month voyage to England and introduces the visual imagery and primitivist tropes which attracted British audiences.

Chapter 11, *Sensations in the south: Celebrity and tragedy, May 13-June 24* culminates in the death of King Cole which abruptly terminated the brief period of their greatest popular success, climaxed by the appearance at Lord's.

Chapter 12, *The Northern grind: June 26-September 12,* highlights crises during their troubled schedule in northern England, marked by illness, increased demands on a depleted troupe and periodic denigration of their cricketing abilities.

Chapter 13, *Squeezing blood from a stone, September 14-October 26* is the final five weeks in southern England, marked by desperate management attempts to extract the last shilling out of their Aboriginal investment.

Chapter 14, *British perceptions of Aboriginality and race on the 1868 tour,* analyses racial tropes manifested in journalistic and personal accounts, cartoons and humour.

The fourth section, ***The subjectivity of indigenous performers in mid-Victorian Britain*** applies methodologies which can proceed beyond documentation primarily constituting the Aborigines as objects of European perceptions, desires, values and cultural practices.

Chapter 15, *Agency, mediated documentation, double-consciousness and hidden transcripts,* considers methodological issues relevant to reconstituting indigenous performers in Europe as active, rational human beings, constrained by colonialist relations of power. James Scott's notion of hidden and public transcripts is suggested as a tool for analysing Eurocentric documentation of relations with colonised peoples. The methodology is applied to a case study of Maori in Britain from 1863-64. Their unusual circumstances briefly transformed the customarily disempowered situation of primitivist indigenous performers in Britain, enabling them to document and express usually concealed discontents.

Chapter 16, *Public and hidden transcripts of the 1868 tour* uses the previously established analytical methods to investigate the agency of the Aboriginal tourists. Letters which have recently come to light confirm the reality of concealed Aboriginal struggles and the exercise of managerial authority to subdue them.

Chapter 17, *Individual Aboriginal strategies and responses: snapshots and fragments* discusses individual differences between the Aboriginal tourists and outlines the little that is known of their off-stage lives in Britain.

Chapter 18, *Unamurriman (Johnny Mullagh) and Jungagellmijuke (Dick-a-Dick)* is a sustained investigation of the lives and options of the two most prominent Aboriginal performers. A reinterpretation of the life of Johnny Mullagh is followed by the contrasting survival strategy adopted by Dick-a-Dick, the undeservedly neglected pioneer of Aboriginal cultural performance in Europe.

The final section, ***Conclusions: Continuities, contrasts and commemoration*** reconsiders the place of the 1868 tour in history. It argues that from the late Victorian era entrepreneurs recognised that indigenous sporting teams were an inadequate mode of display for primitivism. The failure of the 1988 commemorative Aboriginal cricket tour of England to evoke the excitement of the original tour reflected another factor, the elevation of primitivism by late twentieth century European culture. Although the 1868 tour is officially commemorated as a significant moment in Australian sport and race relations it is Aboriginal primitivism, no longer the despised preserve of cheap popular amusement, which is internationally fetishised.

Because of incongruities between commemoration and critical history, the commemoration of 1868 has elided central elements of the tour's history. Entrenchment of an official, commemorative history has hindered serious reconsideration of the centrality of primitivism in the 1868 tour. Instead of being commemorated as the most significant forerunner of Aboriginal culture in Europe, their non-European performances remain an amusing and faintly embarrassing sidelight, obscured by cricket and images of transformation. The 1868 Aborigines will continue to be inadequately described as "the Aboriginal cricket team", but recognition of their other achievements is long overdue.

SECTION 1

POPULAR REPRESENTATION OF RACE AND ABORIGINES IN MID-VICTORIAN BRITAIN

CHAPTER 1

COLONIALISM, SCIENCE AND THE VISUAL DISSEMINATION OF RACE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RACE IN THE VICTORIAN ERA

The new racial ideology

The pervasiveness of racial ideology prepared England for the 1868 Aboriginal tour. Public preconceptions of Aboriginal identity were a product of hierarchical images of race which conditioned popular and scientific British discourse. Although it rested on and overlapped with earlier stereotypes of the body, culture, class, nation and gender, racial ideology of the Victorian era was decisively different to previous explanations of human difference.

The complex of features which distinguished the new ideology were the hegemony and public prominence which it established as explanations of human otherness; an inclusiveness and universality which assigned everyone to a race in which physical characteristics determined behavioural and intellectual capacities and assigned them to a hierarchy; the significance of science in legitimising and systematising its arguments; the relegation of Christian and Enlightenment ideas of human commonality; and a degree of biological determinism which imposed limits on the environmental improvement of which races were capable. The ideological construction of race as the characteristic which determined human superiority and inferiority was a manifestation of the global supremacy of British colonialism and systematic interactions of dominance with indigenous peoples of the world.

As a coherent theory of human development and difference whose determining mechanism was "the biological transmission of innate qualities", [1] Ivan Hannaford has dated the biological construction of race from 1815 and estimated that it peaked from 1870.[2] Ancient Greek, Roman or Hebrew literature had no equivalents to the term "race".[3] Previous explanations of a people's superiority were unsystematised[4] or had rested on religious or environmental foundations.[5] From the

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[1] Cedric Gover, "Race: the uses of the word", *Man*, April 1951, p.55, quoted by Ivan Hannaford, *Race: the history of an idea in the West*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1996, p.3.

[2] Hannaford, *Race*, p.187.

[3] Hannaford, *Race*, pp.4-6.

[4] For the composite, unsystematised, semi-bestial "Wild Man" or "Wild Woman" mythologies of otherness, see Peter Mason, *Deconstructing America: representations of the other*, Routledge, England, 1990, pp.41-52; Robert Miles, *Racism*, p.17. David Theo Goldberg (*Racist culture: philosophy and the politics of meaning*, Blackwell, England, 1993, p.24) explains that such feudal, pre-Columbian images attached themselves to peoples in the New World, but their systems of thought excluded racial discourse and classification.

[5] For the environmental and religious basis of ancient Greek, Roman, Jewish and Christian explanations of difference and superiority, see Kwame Anthony Appiah, *In my father's house*, Methuen, London, 1992, pp.14-18.

sixteenth century, Europe's accelerating technological superiority and the expansion of colonialism increasingly constituted Africans as backward and bestial peoples,[6] but inferiority and physical and behavioural differences were primarily attributed to climate, culture or environment.[7]

Although slavery increasingly generalised the association of black skin with inferiority, "race theorising had not yet become racism",[8] a transformation that was accompanied by the dissemination of racial science from the middle of the nineteenth century.[9]

There is broad agreement that the characteristics of racial ideology were established by 1815, entrenched by the time of the anti-slavery Emancipation Act of 1833 and dominant by 1850.[10]

It is ironic but not incidental that British racism fully developed during the great triumphs of the abolitionist movement headed by the Anti-Slavery Society and the Aborigines' (in the generic sense) Protection Society. Abolitionist literature, most famously the Uncle Tom of Harriet Beecher Stowe, entrenched a racial stereotype who earned "sympathy because he does *not* resist or revolt."[11] Campaigns led by overlapping humanitarian and Christian groups known collectively as Exeter Hall had emphasised philanthropy rather than equality. Influential visual imagery sought colonialist pity for helpless black victims.[12]

The triumph of the British abolition campaign was emblematic of national and racial superiority. At an annual meeting of the instructively named Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa, Robert Peel linked the progress of the anti-slavery movement with British racial-colonial dominance. Until it succeeded in abolishing slavery, he argued, Britain would "never be able to convince the black population of Africa of the superiority of their European fellow men."[13]

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[6] Michael Adas, *Machines as the measure of man: science, technology and ideologies of western dominance*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1989, explains that increasing European technological superiority served as cause, symptom and evidence of non-European inferiority. For the variability of European assessments of African peoples and civilisations to the sixteenth century and beyond, see Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White on black: images of Africa and blacks in western popular culture*, Zed Press, London, 1995, pp. 24-25, 29; for the application of Wild Man mythologies to Africans, see Peter Fryer, *Staying power: the history of black people in Britain*, Pluto Press, London, 1984, pp.135-144.

[7] Robert Miles, *Racism*, Routledge, London, 1989, pp.26-30. This extended to the classifications of eighteenth century naturalists and anatomists like Linnaeus, Buffon and Blumenthal. See Peter Gay, *The cultivation of hatred*, Harper Collins, USA, 1993, p.72.

[8] Peter Gay, *The cultivation of hatred*, p.72.

[9] Nancy Stepan, *The idea of race in science: Great Britain 1800-1960*, MacMillan, England, 1982, x. Marvin Harris defines this as the transformation from "folk racism" to "scientific racism", Marvin Harris, *The rise of anthropological theory*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, England, 1968, p. 81. Domestic British justifications for slavery usually argued on economic or environmental grounds, particularly the suitability of Africans for labouring in tropical climates: Miles, *Racism*, p.30.

[10] Among them: Anthony J. Barker, *The African Link: British attitudes to the negro in the era of the Atlantic slave trade, 1550-1807*, Frank Cass, London, 1978; P.D. Curtin, *The image of Africa: British ideas and action, 1780-1850*, MacMillan, London, 1965, p.29; Stepan, *The idea of race in science*, p1; Pieterse, *White on black*, pp.45-49; Kenan Malik, *The meaning of race: race, history and culture in western society*, MacMillan, London, 1996, p.62.

[11] Pieterse, *White on black*, pp.45-57, p.61.

[12] Generally abject and bound, as in the famous emblem of the Abolition Society, a kneeling black man in chains, his eyes cast upwards in supplication and hands clasped in prayer with the celebrated appeal: "AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER?". See Pieterse, *White on black*, pp.56-61 for examples of visual publicity by European anti-slavery organisations.

[13] Quoted in Lawrence James, *The rise and fall of the British Empire*, Little Brown and Company, Great Britain, 1994, p.186.

As it replaced slavery with a system of contracting, transporting and exploiting the indentured labour of colonised peoples,[14] Britain basked in its ethical supremacy. A British anti-slavery accommodation was underpinned by a soft, philanthropic racism. Though virulent racists and polygenecists still denounced Exeter Hall as "nigger worshippers",[15] a level of consensus was established on a foundation where "*race*, emerged as the buffer between abolition and equality".[16]

Anti-colonialist revolts: the ingratitude of petted children

The ascendancy of racial philanthropy relied on obedient non-white acceptance of British authority. When colonised subalterns asserted agency and rebelled against colonialist tutelage, the soft racist accommodation of the 1830s and 1840s collapsed.

The decade of imperial crisis between 1857 and 1867 struck at the heart of English "belief in the *potential* equality of all mankind".[17] In addition to the Indian Mutiny and Morant Bay, rebellions, revolts, uprisings and banditry erupted in Sarawak, South Africa, Iban, Jedda, Damascus, Beirut, New Zealand, Nigeria and China.[18] In 1864, before the worst shock of all, Trevelyan summed it up: "And now who can wonder that among a generation which has undergone such a crisis philanthropy is somewhat at a discount?"[19]

The Indian Mutiny appeared to demonstrate that racial inferiority could only be temporarily repressed by the influence of enlightened colonialism. It could not be eradicated: "the CHILD and the SAVAGE lie very deep at the foundations of their being. The varnish of civilization is very thin and is put off as promptly as a garment."[20] Mill thought that the "passive and slavish" Indian nature accounted for the uprising against civilization. Liberals and missionaries pondered flaws in the nature of Indians; [21] English editorialists accepted Cobden's conclusion that "One stands aghast and dumbfounded at the reflection that after a century of intercourse with us, the natives of India suddenly exhibit themselves greater savages than any of the North American Indians who have been brought into contact with the white race."[22]

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[14] William A. Green, *British slave emancipation: the sugar colonies and the great experiment*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1976; D. Northrup, *Indentured labour in the age of imperialism 1834-1922*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1995.

[15] Christine Bolt, *Victorian attitudes to race*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1971, p.227.

[16] Pieterse, *White on black*, p.59 (italics in original).

[17] Ronald Hyam, *Empire and sexuality: the British experience*, Manchester University Press, England, 1990, p.200 (italics in original).

[18] Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Imperial century, 1815-1914*, Batsford, London, 1976, pp.72-76.

[19] G.O Trevelyan, "The competition wallah", quoted in Hyam, *Britain's imperial century*, p.225.

[20] J.S. Mill reflected on the "passive and slavish Indian nature" (*National Review*, January 1858, cited by James, *The rise and fall of the British Empire*, p.192.); missionaries wondered if Indians were incapable of Christianity (Bolt, *Victorian attitudes to race*, p.171.)

[21] Bolt, *Victorian attitudes to race*, p.171.

[22] Quoted by Hyam, *Britain's Imperial century*, p.72.

Illustration 2 expressed the hysterical racial stereotypes which could be conveyed by black and white illustrations. Black, depraved Indians assassinated white women and impaled children on the point of bayonets. The central figure was the heroic white Englishman. Bound to a tree with a weapon at his throat, his clear eyes sternly accused the dark assassins of treachery as harrowed white women cradled innocent white children. The accompanying text conveyed British horror at the perfidy: "Anything more surprising, more terrible, more dangerous to the real supremacy of Great Britain, can scarcely be pointed out in all previous history."[23]

Illustration 2: "The massacre at Delhi"[24]

The Morant Bay massacre of 1865 was a still greater shock to English racial opinion. A black protest against an unjust magistrate had been punished by the slaughter and judicial murders of over five hundred black Jamaicans and wholesale imprisonment, floggings, and house burnings. A long and ultimately unsuccessful campaign to bring to justice Governor Edward John Eyre, the man responsible for ordering the crushing of the revolt, split British opinion into two warring camps. Dickens, Carlyle, Ruskin, Tennyson and Kingsley were among his defenders; his liberal accusers included Mill, Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, Bright and Thomas Hughes. It was *the* watershed event which decisively hardened British racism by the late 1860s.[25] When Eyre was finally acquitted early in the 1868 Aboriginal tour, public controversy was still blazing.[26]

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[23] Sir Colin Campbell, *Narrative of the Indian revolt from its outbreak to the capture of Lucknow: Illustrated with nearly two hundred engravings from authentic sketches*, George Vickers, London, 1858, p.1.

[24] Campbell, *Narrative of the Indian revolt*, p.1.

[25] For example, Douglas A. Lorimer, *Colour, class and the Victorians*, Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1978, pp.12-14; Bolt, *Victorian attitudes to race*, pp.75-108; Walvin, *Black and white: the negro in English society 1555-1945,* Allen Lane, England, 1973, pp.171-171; Hyam, *Britain's Imperial century*, pp.74-80.

[26] Among London's pro-Eyre editorial judgements: *Bell's Life in London*, 6 June 1868; *Gloworm*, 3 June 1868. Anti-Eyre: *Reynold's Newspaper*, 7 June 1868; *Bee-hive* (a union and reform newspaper), 27 June 1868. During the tour, the *Field* was a vociferous champion of Eyre as were the *Times* and *Telegraph*.

It is important to be careful, though, when assessing the effects of Morant Bay on indigenous performers brought to Britain. It increased the currency of derogatory racial stereotypes and confirmed the immutability of racial inferiority, establishing, to the satisfaction of the conservative *Times*, that it was "impossible to eradicate the original savageness of the African blood."[27] More significantly, one of Eyre's critics, Professor Beesly hastened to concede:

> I am no negro worshipper ... Some negroes may be men of ability and elevated character, but there can be no doubt that they belong to a lower type of the human race than we do, and I should not like to live in a country where they formed a considerable part of the population.[28]

The upsurges against colonial authority appeared to establish that primitive races were incapable of permanent self-restraint, that they required strong British control, and that curtailment of their impulses was a necessary condition for civilisation.[29] All of these conditions were implicit in the situation of indigenous peoples, 'tamed savages', who were brought to Britain for display. If anything, the furore increased British interest in scrutinising primitives.

The most vehement proponents of black inferiority acknowledged that savages could learn or mimic useful talents. The childish talent of mimicry, of copying behaviour without knowledge or understanding, was an amusing characteristic of lesser races. Mimicry was a concept which rationalised the adaptation of indigenous peoples while maintaining that they were racially incapable of independent progress. David Hume likened the learning process of a Jamaican to "a parrot, who speaks a few words plainly".[30] Carlyle's notorious racial tirade, *Shooting Niagara*, confirmed that in addition to their natural function of servitude, a talent for entertaining white audiences was a subsidiary role associated with black people: "One evidently likes the Nigger;" snarled Carlyle, "evidently a poor blockhead with good dispositions, with affections, attachments, - with a turn for Nigger Melodies and the like."[31]

In an address to the philanthropically inclined Ethnological Society, the Reverend Frederic Farrar, a racial hard-liner, clarified the distinction between the acknowledged possibility of black improvement and the ineradicability of essential traits of inferiority. Claiming that "hundreds" of failed experiments in civilisation had proven the inherently savage traits of black races, he offered four examples of the impermanence of transformation among whom were two Australian Aborigines. One was "Benilong [sic] [who] ... after living for some time in London, resumed with full choice the savage life." And there was "Miago, the Australian, who was so kindly trained by officers of the *Beagle*, soon after voluntarily returned as a savage to the bush, and was soon seen almost naked, painted all over, after having been concerned in several murders."[32]

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[27] *Times*, 13 December 1865.

[28] Both quotes from Bolt, *Victorian attitudes to race*, p.83.

[29] For instance: "As long as the black man has a strong white government and a numerous white population to control him he is capable of living as a respectable member of society ... But wherever he attains to a certain degree of independence there is the fear that he will resume the barbarous life and fierce habits of his African ancestors." *Times*, 13 December 1865.

[30] In his essay, "Of national character", a 1753 amendment of a 1748 work, quoted in Fryer, *Staying power*, p.152.

[31] Thomas Carlyle, *Shooting Niagara: and after?*, Chapman & Hall, Picadilly, London, 1867, p.7.

[32] Frederic William Farrar, "Aptitudes of Races", *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, Vol.5, 1867. Reprinted in Michael Biddiss (ed.), *Images of race*, Leicester University Press, England, 1979, p.148.

But he cited instances where the most primitive races had learned to mimic European skills necessary for novelty performances. From Gobineau, the French pioneer of racism, Farrar had learned that a kaffir could dance and play the violin or a Yolof might learn carpentry. But they could only achieve this as a result of "complete isolation from their fellows". On a visit to England, perhaps, for the delectation of the curious?

Racial science

By the late 1860s, evolution had prevailed over initial salvos of Christian outrage and established its validity in scientific and popular discourse.[33] Belief in the biological evolution of races undermined social evolution and legitimised as progressive the inevitable extinction of primitivism.[34] European anthropologists accentuated, classified and analysed skin colour, skull shape, jaw size and cranial capacity to somehow account for biologically permanent racial inferiority. A fascinated scrutiny of primitive peoples united and divided the disputatious camps of British racial scientists.

Passionate debate raged over the details and consequences of racial inferiority, the origins and limitations of primitive races, and the responsibilities of colonial superiors towards them. A group of racial hard-liners split from the Ethnological Society in 1863 to found the Anthropological Society. The Ethnologicals, who had emerged from Exeter Hall, tended to be liberal-philanthropist, monogenecist and accusers of Eyre. The Anthropological Society - whose inner clique, the Cannibal Club, convened their meetings with a gavel shaped like a Negro head - defended Eyre, tended to be polygenecist and adamantly rejected the substantial improvability of black races.[35]

Although Anthropological membership far outstripped the older philanthropic organisation, there was significant overlap between the two.[36] Most Ethnologicals, "like most Victorians ... tended to regard a darker skin as a sign of both physical and cultural inferiority".[37] To appreciate the temper of British racism it is necessary to acknowledge the popularity of racial hostility and the respectability of racial hardliners like Hunt, Farrar, Carlyle, Galton and Robert Knox. But the position of Huxley, Darwin and other humanitarian liberals is a better indicator of the hegemony of racial chauvinism.

Alfred Wallace, Charles Darwin and Thomas Huxley did not doubt that natural selection had produced a European human being whose intellectual and moral qualities were more highly evolved than in primitive races. Nor did they doubt that primitive races, particularly Aborigines, were doomed to extinction as a result of the operation of natural selection.[38]

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[33] Pat Shipman, *The evolution of racism, human differences and the use and abuse of science*, Simon & Schuster, USA, 1994, pp.53-69 explains the popular influence of Huxley's lectures and illustrations published in "Evidence as to man's place in nature" (1863).

[34] Peter Bowler, *The invention of progress*, Basil Blackwell, England, 1989, p.39.

[35] George Stocking, *Victorian anthropology*, MacMillan, England, 1982, p.252.

[36] Galton and Farrar, both racial extremists, were Ethnologicals. There were monogenecists within the Anthropologicals and polygenecists among the Anthropologicals.

[37] Stocking, *Victorian anthropology*, pp..247-254, p.272.

[38] Russell McGregor, *Imagined destinies: Aboriginal Australians and the doomed race theory, 1880-1939*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1997 pp.23-25, 49-58.

To Huxley, it was inconceivable that a member of a primitive race, even in the most equal of circumstances would

> be able to compete successfully with his bigger-brained and smaller-jawed rival ... The highest places in the hierarchy of civilisation will assuredly not be within the reach of our dusky cousins, though it is by no means necessary that they should be restricted to the lowest."[39]

Racial hard-liners could have quibbled only with Huxley's final clause.

The new and hegemonic ideology in nineteenth century Britain can fairly be described as racism, in the sense of being an *evaluative form of representation* whose content included an essential core of superiority.[40] Although comprising superiority as well as difference, racism did not necessarily involve contempt or exclusion: negative attribution was expressed with sympathy, hostility, amusement, pity, derision or scientific dispassion.

Ideologies of race are articulated with overlapping ideologies of gender, class and nation. It is important that analysis of racial ideology, in David Roediger's phrase, reflects the "simultaneity" of these reified categories.[41] Marxists from W.E.B. Dubois[42] and C.L.R. James[43] to Robert Blaumer and Stuart Hall have come to acknowledge that race is a historically specific category, which, "under specific conditions may define the content and form of class struggle."[44] The content of racial ideology was the primary determinant of the living circumstances of indigenous performers brought to Britain but it was always entangled with and modified by ideologies and relations of class and gender.

Racism and tropes of primitivism

Racial ideology was supported and transmitted by a populist jumble of associated stereotypes and images which reproduced in everyday life intellectual and systematised expressions of racism. The imaginative dimensions of racial ideology were communicated, popularised and commodified by metaphorical, material and visual representations. Mass reproduction of visual images in anthropological and travel writing made racial difference accessible to a broad western audience, projecting scientific racism beyond its educated gentlemen theorists and creating a mass

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[39] Thomas Huxley (1871), quoted by Kenan Malik, *The meaning of race*, MacMillan, London, 1996, pp.54-55.

[40] I am adopting the usage of Robert Miles, *Racism*, Routledge, London,1989, pp.79-84. Confining racism to ideology in no way denies, as Barbara Fields has stated, that "an ideological delusion [race] ... once acted upon ... may become as murderous as a fact." Barbara Jean Fields, "Ideology and race in American history", in J. Morgan Kousser & James M. McPherson, *Region, race and reconstruction*, USA, 1982, quoted in Davud Roediger, *Towards the abolition of whiteness*, Verso, USA, 1994, p.26.

[41] David Roediger, *Towards the abolition of whiteness*, p.76, credits the term to Tera Hunter. Many of the tropes of primitivism - childishness, capriciousness, unrestrained emotionalism, concupiscence and dependence - were similarly applied to women, but not violence, infanticide or the incapacity for civilisation.

[42] Roediger, *Towards the abolition of whiteness*, pp.21-34.

[43] See Tony Martin, "C.L.R. James and the race/class question", *Race and class*, Vol.14, No 2, October, 1972.

[44] This quote p.48 and the references to Baumer and Hall in the chapter "Problems in the Marxist project of theorizing race", E. San Juan Jr. *Racial formations/Critical transformations: Articulations of power in ethnic and racial studies in the United States*, Humanities Press, USA, 1992. See also critical commentary by Catherine Hall, *History Workshop Journal*, Issue 35, Spring 1993, pp.230-237 of the omission of race as a category in David Turley, *The culture of English slavery 1780-1860*.

market for material and living displays.[45] Visual representation of racial science, such as Huxley's famous counterposition of Aboriginal and Neanderthal skulls legitimised the practice of bringing exotic races to the metropolis for exhibition.[46]

Mariana Togorvnick has described as "tropes of primitivism" the stock of racial ideas and symbols, the linguistic descriptions, illustrations and material representations which have been transferred to scientific concepts and popular representations of primitivism.[47] Among the tropes of primitivism are childishness, sensuality, savagery, nakedness, superstition, brutality towards women, and rudimentary technological, intellectual and historical development.

Infantilism was a dominant trope of primitivism. The belief that primitive races represent childhood in the development of civilisation and must be treated as such by their racial parents, was a well-established image of racial and colonialist dominance which was seamlessly incorporated by evolutionary science.[48] Some months after the Aborigines left England, the influential liberal ethnologist Sir John Lubbock complained that the "close resemblance existing in ideas, language, habits, and character between savages and children, though generally admitted has been ... regarded rather as a curious incident than an important truth." Yet, he averred, it was central to understanding racial difference and the "opinion is rapidly gaining ground among naturalists, that the development of the individual is an epitome of that of the species".[49] It attained scientific codification in Ernst Haeckel's anthropological theory of recapitulation.[50]

With equal ease, racial infantilsm could deprecate and naturalise black impatience, indolence, dependence, revolt, immorality, precocity or ignorance. As primitivist tropes are "control perceptions", demarcating lines and legitimising relations of power between Europe and colonised others,[51] infantilism could validate exercises of crude imperialist power or modes of indulgent paternalistic control. It was persistently applied, as protection or punishment, to legitimise custodial or disciplinary power over Aborigines.[52]

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[45] See Howard Morphy & Marcus Banks, "Introduction: rethinking visual anthropology", pp.1-32 in Howard Morphy & Marcus Banks (eds), *Rethinking visual anthropology*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1997, p.25.
[46] David MacDougall, "The visual in anthropology", pp.276-295 in Howard Morphy & Marcus Banks (eds), *Rethinking visual anthropology*, p.276.
[47] Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone primitive: savage intellects, modern lives*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1990
[48] Herbert Spencer explained that "the intellectual traits of the uncivilized ... are traits recurring in the children of the civilized". Carl Vogt was more specific in 1864: "The grown up negro partakes, as regards his intellectual faculties, of the nature of the child". Both quotes from Stephen Jay Gould, *Ever since Darwin: reflections in natural history*, Penguin, England, 1980, pp.217-218.
[49] John Lubbock, 1869 appendix to *The origin of civilisation and the primitive condition of man*, republished University of Chicago Press, USA, 1978, p.360.
[50] Steven Jay Gould, *Ever since Darwin*, Penguin, USA, 1980, pp.217-218.
[51] Torgovnick, *Gone primitive*, pp.9, 11-14, 16, 252.
[52] Andrew Markus, *Australian race relations*, Allen & Unwin, Australia, 1994, p8.

ILLUSTRATING RACIAL DIFFERENCE

Mechanical reproduction of race

In addition to colonialism and racial science, further determinants of the Victorian omnipresence of race may be added: the spread of literacy, the technology of print capitalism and the power of mechnical reproduction.[53] Racial tropes were popularly disseminated by journalistic discourse and visual imagery in illustrated mid-Victorian periodicals and newspapers which had become unprecedentedly accessible to the middle and working classes as a result of developments in literacy, print technology, transport and urbanisation.[54]

The colonialist self-imagery of benevolent observation and dispassionate judgement was beautifully illustrated in the frontispiece to a popular Victorian work on primitive peoples and cultures, J.G. Wood's *Natural history of man*[55] (Illustration 3). While savagery engages in self-destruction, and as primitive and intermediate stages of human evolution await his guidance, the white British gentleman serenely accepts tributes laid at his feet.

Illustration 3: The benign lord of humankind observes his subjects.

[53] Shearer West, "Introduction:", pp.112-127, Shearer West (ed.), *The Victorians and race*, Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1996, pp.2-3.

[54] David Vincent, *Literacy and popular culture: England 1750-1914*, Cambridge University Press, England, 1989.

[55] Rev. J.G. Wood, *The natural history of man: an account of the manners and customs of the uncivilized races of man*, George Routledge & sons, London, 2 vols, 1868-1870.

The circulation and influence of newspapers and periodicals in the Victorian era outstripped books.[56] By 1861, three years after the abolition of duties on newspapers, it was estimated that in London alone, one million one hundred thousand copies of secular weekly and monthly periodicals whose contents were described as "useful, entertaining, educational" were sold each month.[57] The *Penny Illustrated Paper* and its parent, the *Penny Magazine*, circulated over 200,000 copies of its single issues and monthly parts.[58]

In an era when popular literacy was often rudimentary,[59] mass circulation illustrated newspapers and periodicals effected a transition between orality and literacy.[60] Until the invention of halftone printing near the end of the nineteenth century, photographs could not be printed on the same press as type. As a consequence of their circulation to mass audiences, racial identity was disseminated more influentially by illustrations than photography or painting[61] and the study of general-interest illustrated newspapers and periodicals remains an under-investigated field of study.[62]

Newspaper illustrations and tropes of race

Their frequency and prominence in popular illustrated newspapers attests that no area of natural history more intrigued British masses than visual representations of exotic races, their remarkable social practices and dramatic conflicts with white civilisation. Unlike the infant technology of photography, illustrations were able to capture images of motion and excitement; fleeting moments and dramatic events; subjects not bathed in a perfect light; places where photographic equipment was difficult to transport, use and develop - in short, the far-flung colonial outposts where the colonising eye encountered and interpreted exotic races.

Reverend J.G. Wood, author of the lavishly illustrated two volume *Natural History of Man* and a fascinated observer of the 1868 Aborigines in England, explained the advantages of illustrating primitive races. They could not be photographed "while engaged in their ordinary

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[56] Introduction, pp.3-8, J. Don Vann & Rosemary T. Van Arsdel (eds), *Victorian periodicals and Victorian society*, Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1994, p.3.

[57] Richard D. Altick, *The English common reader: a social history of the mass reading public 1800-1900*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1957, pp.357-358. In the period immediately prior to and during the Aboriginal tour, the most influential of the illustrated newspapers were the *Penny Illustrated Paper*, founded 1832, the *Illustrated London News* (1842) and the *Illustrated Times* (1852). The *Illustrated Times* was amalgamated with the *Illustrated London News* in 1862. See, the Times, *A newspaper history 1785-1935*, London, 1935, p.167.

[58] George Boyce, James Curran & Penny Wingate (eds), *Newspaper history from the seventeenth century to the present day*, Constable, London, 1978, p.238.

[59] The Forster Education Act of 1870 mandated schooling for all children between five and twelve years of age: Linda K. Hughes, "1870", pp.35-50 in Herbert F. Tucker (ed.), *A companion to Victorian literature and culture*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1999, p.35.

[60] David Vincent, *Literacy and popular culture*, p.243.

[61] For excellent analyses of the latter, see Elizabeth Edwards, *Anthropology and photography 1860-1920*, Yale University Press, London, 1992; Albert Boime, *The art of exclusion: representing blacks in the nineteenth century*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1990.

[62] Introduction, pp.3-8 and Patricia Anderson, "Illustration", pp.127-142, in J. Don Vann & Rosemary T. Van Arsdel (eds), *Victorian periodicals and Victorian society*, Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1994.

pursuits". Natives, who were "restless, inquisitive, and rather nervous" of the lens, assumed "attitudes quite at variance with the graceful unconsciousness of their ordinary gestures" because they were not permitted to move. Black skins in sunshine presented a special problem for photography. [63]

Because the behavioural and physical characteristics ascribed by racial theory to non-white races were "governed not simply by empirical reality but by a battery of desires, repressions, investments and projections",[64] illustrations utilised the freedom of inventing their own visual reality.

Illustration 4: A harem as representation of Turkey

A photograph of the Sultan of Turkey during his visit to London might not have conveyed the intermediate status of Oriental races flawed by decadence, sensuality and corruption. The *Illustrated Weekly News* of 20 July 1867 evoked it in one seductive illustration (left) by conjuring up a harem of lascivious Oriental women.

Illustrated newspapers most vividly conveyed primitivism by the drama of inter-racial frontier conflict. Indeed, Robert Knox objected that colonial encounters had misleadingly defined racial difference by images of colour, war and primitivism. Therefore, he complained, English understandings of racial inferiority were predominantly confined "to distant countries; to Negroes and Hottentots, Red Indians and savages", obscuring racial differences between Saxons, Celts and European races with less obvious physical dissimilarities.[65]

On 13 June 1868, the day the Aboriginal cricketers ensured a place in history by stepping onto Lord's, "An Encounter with Redskins: an Incident of Prairie Life in America" appeared in the *Illustrated Times* (Illustration 5). Two figures dominate the battle scene, a white man and a American Indian locked at the climactic moment of mortal conflict. The white in fringed buckskin has fallen to the ground, supported on a hand outstretched behind him. Though armed with rifle, pistol and sword, he is in desperate straits as the ferocious Redskin bears down

[63] The "shadows became developed into black patches, and the high lights into splashes of white without the least secondary shading": Rev. J.G Wood, *The natural history of man*, Vol. 1, pp.15-17

[64] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, Kegan Paul, England, 1978, p.5.

[65] Knox quote from Douglas A. Lorimer, "Race, science and culture" in Shearer West (ed.) *The Victorians and race*, Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1996, p.15.

on him with tomahawk raised to the clouds. The skin of the savage is dark against his tight-fitting white trousers; his primitivism identified by semi-nakedness, the metonymic devices of tomahawk, feathers and murderous intent. The long-haired frontiersman has literally saved his scalp by firing aiming his gun at the assassin. By placing the white man in a position of physical disadvantage, in a resolute act of self-defence, the role of violent savagery was unmistakably designated to the native.

The *Illustrated Times* of 3 October 1868 printed "Indians on the Rampage: Antics of the Redskins after Pillaging a Goods Train on the Union Pacific Railway" (Illustration 6). In the foreground, feathered, semi-naked Indians rampage on horseback in a muscular frenzy, brandishing weapons and bearing away the spoils of pillage. The symbol of progress, a goods train, lies derailed, a tilted and disjointed wreck. Indians prance atop the overthrown metonym of civilisation, trailing long lengths of plundered cloth, performing their primitive "antics", a word which in conjunction with "Redskin" connotes the irrational attributes of racial infantilism. It is a characteristic example of battle scenes conflating tropes of race and masculinity.[66]

Illustration 5: "An encounter with Redskins"

[66] Shearer West, Introduction, pp.1-11 and Joseph Kestner, "The colonised in the colonies: representation of Celts in Victorian battle painting", pp.112-127, in Shearer West (ed.), *The Victorians and race.*

Illustration 6: "Indians on the rampage"

The most effective anti-colonialist revolts in 1868 were the Hau Hau (or *Pai Marire*) uprisings by Maori in the North Island of New Zealand. To account for the bloody and embarrassing defeats suffered by colonists, illustrations of Maori savagery transcended images of raw primitivism.

"Equipped for Fighting" (Illustration 7)[67] portrayed a Maori warrior who was more racially advanced and hence more dangerous than a Native American or Aborigine. He was naked to the waist, a generic marker of the savage, but facial *moko* specifically identified him as Maori. Kneeling in readiness, his eyes alert and aware, his face is handsome and intelligent with flared nostrils and full lips. He has lain his small axe on the ground, replacing it with the higher technology of a rifle, which he holds with confidence. An ammunition tin is around his waist, and another at his throat.

The death of Lieutenant Perceval (Illustration 8) is a classic inter-racial battle scene, depicting savagery and civilisation in a fight to the death.[68] The forces are numerically equal but the almost naked savages are on the offensive. At close quarters, Maori tomahawks were clearly overpowering the soldiers' muskets. One soldier has knelt to fire, his gun aimed directly behind the ear of the doubly unlucky Perceval who remains undaunted as a tomahawk begins its descent towards his head. Facing death, reduced to employing their superior technology as clubs or swords, the white troops are upright, courageous and unflinching of eye, resplendently uniformed and civilised to the last. The Maori are definitive studies in ferocity, faces and bodies tattooed, wild-haired and crazy-eyed. Their relentless, muscled bodies bring their weapons down on the forces of civilisation with demonic intent. Clad in a pelt, the only clothed Maori is bestial, like the Wild Man of medieval fable.

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[67] *Illustrated London News*, 10 October 1868.

[68] *Illustrated Times*, 30 January 1864.

Illustration 7: "A Maori of New Zealand equipped for fighting"

Illustration 8: "Death of Lieutenant Perceval"

Illustrations of frontier conflict with Aborigines depicted their demeaned racial status. In "Natives attacking an out-station (Queensland)"[69] (Illustration 9), their backwardness is immediately signified by their nearly naked black bodies. Unlike Native Americans or Maori, Aborigines had not developed metal tools or domesticated animals to use in warfare. They were threats to life and property of the most isolated settlers, but too primitive to pose a threat to colonial civilisation.[70]

Their weapons, wooden boomerangs, spears and shields, are seen to be primitive and ineffective. Apparently unable to injure any of the three visible occupants of the out-station, three of the four Aborigines flee in fear when the white settlers fire in self-defence. One clasps a hand to his heart and another warrior falls, his boomerang dropping to the ground before his headlong flight. Their intellectual limitations are indicated by their rudimentary technology. Their character is defined by the implicitly treacherous mode of surprise attack and the cowardice of their panic-stricken retreat. Too primitive to compete militarily against the most undefended white settlers, they are unable to fight with the courage of a Maori, let alone face death with the dignity of a Lieutenant Perceval.

Illustration 9: "Aboriginal Natives attacking an out-station (Queensland)"

[69] *Illustrated Melbourne Post*, 25 March 1865, engraved by N. Chevalier.

[70] "Natives attacking shepherd's hut", six Aborigines hurling spears at a lonely hut defended by its occupants (*Illustrated Melbourne Post*, 18 May 1864, engraved by George Strafford) is a similar example.

The formula for illustrating colonial inter-racial conflicts, then, was that they were numerically equal or whites were disadvantaged, even with superior technology.[71] Civilisation was fair - in both senses - and under attack. The aggressors were native savages, male and dark-skinned, fierce and merciless. Illustrations contrasted the physiological polarities of black and white, associating them with intellectual and behavioural tropes of race which legitimised white dominance. They highlighted the impressively muscular dark bodies of primitive peoples, a quality which racialised sport would also emphasise. Their inferiority to Europeans was not necessarily physical: it was conveyed by backwardness in technology, character and intellect.

The natural order of racial hierarchy in its peaceful state was illustrated by tamed natives submitting to colonialist authority, British law and white tutelage.

In 1867-68, Britain engaged in a remarkable imperial adventure in Abyssinia (Ethiopia) after the modernising King Tewodros (Theodore) II imprisoned British missionaries and envoys whom he accused of plotting against him. Five thousand British and Indian troops under General Napier arrived, marched on Magdala and defeated Tewodros's army in April 1868.[72] When they immediately left the country, the philanthropic colonialism of London's *African Times* lamented the impossibility of "a people so sunk in barbarism rising to order and civilization by their own unassisted effort ... Alas, poor Africa."[73] "Justice in Abyssinia" (Illustration 10), the illustration of an episode during the conflict, depicts the conditions for inter-racial harmony and the imposition of civilisation.[74]

Two black natives on trial for stealing from commissariat stores kneel abjectly, their arms bound. The central figure of justice, a helmeted and uniformed Englishman, gestures calmly with his left hand. But most of the circle of colonial authority which surrounds them is comprised of turbaned Sikh subalterns who guard intently, accepting European command, as justice is administered to the hapless thieves. The natural order of civilisation is imposed in the wilderness: at its apex is an Englishman, underneath it Indians, then primitive Africans.

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[71] Sven Lindqvist, *'Exterminate all the brutes'*, Granta, London, 1998, pp.63-67 notes that British illustrations of the Battle of Omdurman in 1898 depicted man-to-man combat although no Sudanese got closer to 300 yards from the British before 9,000 of them were slaughtered by artillery.

[72] *African Times*, 23 May 1868. 500 Abyssinians were killed, 1500 wounded and 14,000 taken captive as against one British officer killed and 14 soldiers wounded.

[73] *African Times*, 23 May 1868.

[74] *Illustrated London News*, 30 May 1868. A modern African reading of the conflict is Bahru Zwede, *A history of modern Ethiopia 1855-1874*, Addis Ababa University Press, Ethiopia, 1991, pp.35-41.

Illustration 10: "Justice in Abyssinia"

An illustration of children from the Andaman Islands depicted another type of racial tutelage (Illustration 11).[75] The mysterious origins of Andaman Islanders, Negrito hunter-gatherers living on islands in the Bay of Bengal, fascinated Victorian ethnologists. The text describes their cunning and treachery: "among the very lowest in the scale of civilization ... they show determined hostility to Europeans."

But in the melancholy illustration they have accepted their subordination. The seven small, solemn, sad-eyed Andamanians are clothed in loose-fitting plain robes and trousers, beneath which bare feet peep out shyly. It could be seen that they had benefited by civilisation for, although "wholly unaccustomed to the use of clothing", they were not naked. The setting is dominated by a tall, full-bearded, besuited white man who towers behind them, distractedly gazing away from the scene. Racial hierarchy is expressed by the physical dominance of his size and posture and the bourgeois authority of his Victorian suit. The bearing of the black Andamanian children is uncertain, meek and submissive.

[75] *Illustrated Times*, 17 August 1867. It was drawn from a photograph taken by Messrs. Sache & Wakefield of Calcutta.

Illustration 11: Children of Andaman Islanders

In contrast to illustrations of frontier conflict, they are *tamed savages*. The control of a white guardian and their arrangement for European scrutiny has prepared them for display. They have been decontextualised, as if readied for removal to the metropolis for direct inspection.

Popular illustrations of primitive peoples served as a bridge between reading about race and visualising it. But there was no substitute for seeing them in the flesh, hearing them, smelling them, watching them in action with their characteristic implements, meeting them and personally gauging the extent to which they were capable of benefiting from their exposure to civilisation. The British public were prepared to pay money to see them and entrepreneurs were always prepared to import them for display.

CHAPTER 2

BRINGING LIVING EXAMPLES OF RACE TO BRITAIN

Illustration 12: Six Ojibwa warriors, two squaws and a girl presented to Queen Victoria, December 1843[76]

GEORGE CATLIN AND THE UNINTENDED TRAGEDIES OF EXHIBITING RACE

The legacy of Catlin's European exhibitions

The first of three groups of visiting Native American performers to create a sensation in Britain and Europe under the auspices of George Catlin's Indian Gallery, the Ojibwa were the most influential of all living exhibitions of primitivism in Victorian Britain. Soon afterwards, to square accounts with his conscience and freshly record their tragedies and triumphs, Catlin wrote and published at his own expense a uniquely detailed, personalised and reflective record of the Native Americans' experiences in Europe.

Catlin's Notes of Eight Years Travel and Residence in Europe with his North American Indian Collection with Anecdotes and Incidents of the Travels and Adventures of Three Different Parties of American Indians whom he introduced to the Courts of England, France

[76] Illustration from *Illustrated London News*, 23 December 1843. The tribe were then generally described as Ojibbeway.

and Belgium is a rambling, detailed classic of sympathetic Noble Savage literature.[77] It remains among the most vivid evocations of the fervid interaction of British audiences with primitivist performers and the swarm of speculators who aimed to capitalise on it. Because Catlin endowed the Indians with adult voices and minds and did not conceal his own ethical uncertainties, an analysis of *Catlin's notes* is an appropriate starting point for approaching the Aborigines' experiences in Britain two decades later.

George Catlin was an American who had spent eight years of his life in the western wilderness he loved, painting hundreds of superb images of Indian life and assembling thousands of their artefacts.[78] He described his purpose as recording "souvenirs" of North American Indians, "a numerous and noble race of HUMAN BEINGS [Catlin's emphasis] fast passing to extinction and leaving no monuments of their own behind them."[79]

He opened his massive Indian Gallery - eight tons of equipment, 485 paintings of Indian life and thousands of costumes, weapons and artefacts - in London's Egyptian Hall in 1840. American government opposition to "contemplated speculations with Indians in other countries" which "are calculated to degrade the Red Man, and certainly not to exalt the whites engaged in them" dissuaded Catlin from bringing living Indians to London.[80]

The Indian Gallery made Catlin a celebrity of London society, but neither dummies of costumed Indians nor "Tableaux Vivants" - painted, shaved and costumed white men enacting primitivist Indian "manners and customs"[81] - could substitute for living Indians. English audiences waned until Arthur Rankin, a Canadian entrepreneur, arrived in London in 1843 with a group of Ojibwa Indians. Like the two other troupes of Native Americans subsequently used in his shows, Catlin sub-contracted the Ojibwas to star in his Indian Collection, sharing expenses and receipts equally with the entrepreneurs. In addition to being guaranteed safe return, the Indians were paid a monthly sum for performing.

The opportunity of seeing living savages sent Londoners into a frenzy. Even when the Indians were in their own rooms, bodies of police were employed to restrain intrusive hordes of curiosity-seekers. Initially, at least, the Indians were intimidated to the extent of apprehensively

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[77] "Published by the Author at his Indian Collection, London, 1848".

[78] In addition to Catlin's own writings, I have drawn biographical details from Treuttner, *The natural man observed: a study of Catlin's Indian Gallery*, Smithsonian Institution Press, USA, 1979; and Richard Altick, *The shows of London*.

[79] Catlin's hand-lettered title page for his drawings, in the Newberry Library collection, quoted by Jennings, *The founding of America: from the earliest migrations to the present*, W. S. Norton, New York, 1993, p.353.

[80] Letter from J.R. Poinsett, Secretary of War, to Catlin, 18 October 1939. The War Secretary had threatened to prosecute speculators and the Department of War warned Atlantic ports that shipping Indians to foreign countries was prohibited without government permission and guarantees of safe return. In Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Vol.1, p.154.

[81] The imitation Indians reclined around a fire until a chief entered and instructed them to prepare for war. The subsequent tableaux included them volunteering to fight; deliberating in a council of war; performing a war dance; going to battle in full war dress; "skulking" upon the enemy to ambush them; demonstrating a sham battle; scalping the enemy and performing a victorious war dance; then smoking a calumet peace pipe. Details of these scenes are from a Catlin advertising poster, reproduced in Treuttner, *The natural man observed*, p.42.

"peeping out between the curtains of their windows."[82] Crowds fought to establish if the visitors were impostors merely disguised as savages.[83]

Once convinced that they were authentic, sightseers sought evidence that they conformed to generic stereotypes of primitivism. Excited observers "pronounced them 'the real cannibals from New Zealand'; and others said 'their heads were too red, and they could be nothing else than the real *red*-heads - the man-eaters - that they had read of somewhere but had *forgotten* the place.' "[84]

European elites clamoured for private introductions and displays.

Illustration 13: French and Belgian royal families meet the Ojibwa.[85]

Catlin's shameless name-dropping described audiences with Queen Victoria, Louis Philippe and the royal family of Belgium (Illustration 13); the Duke of Wellington, Victor Hugo and George Sand; and numerous religious figures, political dignitaries, aristocrats, editors and literary lions. Disraeli, a proponent of the view that "race explained everything", invited the Indians to breakfast in his rooms.[86] The celebrated hosts displayed benevolent interest and hospitality but Catlin reported that only Quakers earned the Indians' respect and trust.[87]

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[82] Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Vol.1, p.106.

[83] Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Vol.1, p.109 reporting fervid curiosity-seekers: " 'we can't get near them - we can't tell whether they are in their own skin or in fleshings.' "

[84] Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Vol.2, p.4. Emphasis in original.

[85] This is the second troupe of Ojibwa, pictured in Paris with Catlin. The Royal families descended from their carriages and after introductions the Ojibwa performed archery and lacrosse for them. Illustration from Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Vol.2 facing p.288.

[86] Peter Gay, *The cultivation of hatred*, p.73.

[87] Quakers were at the forefront of welfare and philanthropic activities for Native Americans.

Figure 14: Ojibwas in performance for Queen Victoria[88]

The shows

Their shows fulfilled European preconceptions of primitivism. The Indians rapidly understood audience expectations and improvised aspects of their performances. They enacted war dances, songs, chants, exhibitions with lacrosse sticks and mock warfare, "seek[ing], on a platform in a large room, to give you a type of their fierce and vehement doings in the vast wilderness."[89] Only male warriors were relevant because primitivism was a fundamentally masculine construct.[90]

Outdoor exhibitions were even more spectacular, precursors of the Aborigines' performances and International Exhibitions decades later. At the Vauxhall Gardens, they demonstrated prairie warfare. Mounted on horseback and galloping at thrilling speed, they "illustrated their modes of drawing the bow as they drove their arrows into the target, or made their warlike feints at it with their long lances as they passed."[91]

In an indication of the irresistibility of importing indigenous sportspeople, an effusive reviewer compared "Our ideal of wild Indian grace and agility ... with some athletic examples of gymnastic men in civilized life."[92] Lacking the muscular perfection of scientifically trained English gymnasts, they "have what is better in its own way - that untutored grace which is spontaneously cultivated by natural practice."

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[88] Truettner, *The natural man observed,* p.45 reproduced from Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Plate 6.

[89] *Aethenaeum*, No. 850, 10 February 1844, pp.135-136.

[90] The women were of only passing interest, "modest, and kindly disposed; and the little girl very pretty, considering her caste": *Aethenaeum*, No. 850, 10 February 1844, pp.135-136.

[91] Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Vol.2, p.119.

[92] *Aethenaeum*, No. 850, 10 February 1844, pp.135-136.

The shows provided a combination of entertainment, national chauvinism and racial science. The:

> benighted beings [were] a fine subject for scientific investigation, as well as a scene for popular gratification and rational curiosity. It was strange ... to reflect that by a single turn of the head might be witnessed the two extremes of humanity - the highest and lowest of the race - the wandering savage and the silken baron of civilisation."[93]

Publicity materials and press releases regularly emphasised the ethnographic value of the shows. Catlin was amused by a phrenological examination of the Indians and he noted that in Paris, scientists and ethnologists made requests to see the natives every day.[94]

Exploitation, agency or civilising project?

Despite overwhelming curiosity and enthusiasm,[95] Catlin was forced to confront accusations of exploitation. His defence employed abolitionist discourse, sharply differentiating slavery from the exploitation of indentured colonial labour. As "free men and not slaves", argued Catlin, they had the right to pursue their own goals. The Indians - the males at least - were exercising agency:

> These Indians are men, with reasoning faculties and shrewdness like to our own, and they have deliberately entered into a written agreement with the person who has the charge of them [to] make if possible, by their humble and honest exertions, a little money to carry home to their children."[96]

His clinching argument was that their welfare was protected by Catlin, who had "undertaken to stand by them as their friend and advocate."[97] The effectiveness of his guardianship was tested when, as a publicity stunt, Rankin decided to convert a covert romance between an Ojibwa man and an English woman into a public wedding. Catlin objected to "a union of that kind" on the grounds that the cultural difficulties would be insuperable but Rankin insisted on the commercial advantages. Catlin severed relations but Rankin retained control of the Ojibwas.

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[93] *Illustrated London News*, 12 June 1847.

[94] Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Vol.2, p.247.

[95] See the reluctant admission by Charles Dickens in his attack on the cult of the Noble Savage and Catlin shows, "The Noble Savage", *Household Words*, 11 June 1853. It is reprinted in Charles Dickens, *The Dent uniform edition of Charles Dickens: Vol.3, Gone astray and other pieces from Household words 1851-59*, Michael Slater (ed.) Dent, London, 1998, pp.141-148.

[96] Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Vol. 1, p.154. He conceded that the natives were "perhaps 'degraded' as civilized actors degrade themselves on foreign boards."

[97] Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Vol.1, p.154.

A second group of Indians, Iowa who had been brought to England by a Mr Melody, replaced them in Catlin's shows. This time, the American government granted enthusiastic assent because the visit was a civilising mission rather than a speculation.[98]

Sex and primitivism

Sexuality - attraction, fascination, speculation, fear and repulsion - is an important element in displays of racial difference. Catlin repeatedly implied that sexual electricity was a powerful current in their shows. He recounted that the Indian men were continually admired and blatantly pursued by English women. The Indian men did not object (neither did their wives, so Catlin claims); some "ogled" the English women and it is impossible not to infer that sexual interludes occurred.

Catlin's accounts of infatuated English women emphasise that the Indians were sexual as well as racial objects. In an age which esteemed sexual restraint as a distinguishing mark of civilisation, the libidinous appeal of semi-naked primitivism was palpable.

Indian voices

Catlin's narrative credited the indigenous visitors with adult voices, astute perceptions and mature cultural practices. He reproduced translations of their private dialogues and public speeches which deconstructed British institutions and civilised values. As rendered by Catlin, their insights were critical and acute.

Unable to comprehend poverty in the midst of conspicuous plenty, they compulsively gave money to the street poor; commented critically on confining animals in zoos; were amazed by the incomprehensibility of anti-poaching laws; requested estimates of the obviously large number of police and soldiers needed to keep people at work and force them to pay taxes; were alarmed at fox-hunters, who reminded them of Red-Coats in pursuit of Indians; and displayed a dismayed consternation at orphanages, debtors' prisons and capital punishment. They advised missionaries to stay away from their people in America and "go to work right here in your own streets, where all your good work is wanted."[99]

Their voices rejected European values and demanded self-determination:

> My friends - we know that the Great Spirit made the red man dwell in the forests and white man to live in green field and in fine houses; and we believe that we shall live separate in the world to come. The best that we can expect or want in a future state is a clear sky and beautiful hunting grounds ... This we think might not suit white people, and therefore we believe that their religion is best for them ... When a few white men come into our country to make money, we

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[98] It decided Melody was quite different to the usual profiteers "who merely wish to make money out of them by exhibitions without taking care of their habits or morals, or inducing them to profit by what they see and hear upon their route": letter from J.M. Porter, Secretary of War, 14 September 1843, quoted in Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel* ,Vol. 2, p.2.

[99] Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Vol. 2, p.176.

don't ask them to take up our religion. We are here away from our wives and children to try to get some money for them, and there are many things we can take home to them of much more use than white man's religion. Give us guns and ammunition, that we can kill food for them and protect them from our enemies and keep whiskey and rum sellers out of our country … we wish to follow the religion of our fathers, and would rather not talk any more on the subject.[100]

Catlin's rendering of Indian voices was refreshing but not unmediated. It was formulaic, the Indians expressing Catlin's romantic humanism in "manly" (the men did the speaking), dignified and forthright statements. Apart from unfamiliarity with European technology, they were rarely at variance with Catlin's perspectives. The Indians were endowed with a voice and point of view, but they also served as a *device* which is difficult to extricate from Catlin's authorial voice and editorial position.

Despite his love of Native American society, it was impossible for Catlin to remain immune from conceptions stemming from racist ideology. To defend his policy of permitting the Indians so much freedom in England that they were exposed to alcoholic and sexual temptation, Catlin argued that their stage of racial evolution was accompanied by both indiscipline and a capacity for learning: "these people are like children in some respects and like men in others."[101]

He failed to recognise the sundry ways he benefited from the inequalities in their relationship and their objectified status. Catlin's status and authority were products of his power to exhibit the natives. Even when the Indians were enjoying relaxation between shows, Catlin recounted that: "Many of my personal friends finding this a pleasing opportunity to see them, were in the habit of coming in, and amusing themselves with them."[102]

Consequences and guilt

Despite their celebrity and the philanthropic intentions of Catlin and Melody, the outcome was exploitation and tragedy. Two of the Iowas died: a baby, Corsair and the handsome, much lusted after 'Roman Nose' (No-ho-mun-ya), heartbroken that he would never again see his homeland.[103]

As he died, the Iowas continued to perform exhibitions. Catlin claimed that they insisted on fulfilling their contract, and after a period of mourning with their faces painted black, decided to travel to Paris to seek new excitements with his show. We can only feel

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[100] Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Vol.1, pp.164-165.
[101] Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Vol.2, p.97.
[102] Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Vol.2, p.123.
[103] Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Vol. 2, p.272.

sceptical: it is impossible to doubt that Catlin's monomania and ambitions for the Indian Gallery to appear under the patronage of French royalty were responsible for the show proceeding.

Soon, Little Bear, the mother of Corsair, died in Paris of consumption. Catlin, stricken with guilt, evoked her husband's mourning:

> The poor, heartbroken noble fellow, the Little Wolf, shed the tears of bitterest sorrow to see her, from necessity laid upon the rows of the dead in a foreign land; and on every day that he afterwards spent in Paris he ordered a cab to take him to the grave, that he could cry over it and talk to the spirit of his wife, as he was leaving some little offering that he had brought with him. This was the second time we had seen him in grief.[104]

On top of the series of tragedies, the Iowas had been receiving letters from their tribe urging them to return home. Fortunate to be in a position to insist on the terms of their agreement with Melody and the US government, they acted decisively. They demanded to leave Paris for home and Melody complied.

It was even worse for another group of Ojibwas who, amazingly, materialised in Paris, managed by a young London entrepreneur. They left Paris with Catlin to perform in Brussels for a royal family. Seven of them were afflicted with smallpox and Catlin ministered to them for two months, risking infection and suffering financial ruin. One died in his room in Brussels, another in hospital and a third in London. Catlin described the ceremonies each dying Indian performed with his fellows, entrusting his belongings to be delivered to his homeland.[105]

It ended Catlin's association with exhibiting Indians and he urged the survivors to return home. They either didn't or couldn't and Catlin was distressed to hear that the Chief continued to travel through England in Indian exhibitions while his wife and three children died; that seven out of the twelve Ojibwas had died in Britain; that a Sac Indian brought to England had also died, making a total of eleven Indian deaths in 18 months.

Catlin was most appalled when a London scientist accosted him, suggesting he might be interested to look at the skeleton of his old friend the War-Chief, which was on display. So relieved was Catlin to discover that his friend had, after all, been buried and the skeleton belonged to another person, that he inserted erratum slips after publication to correct his misapprehension.[106]

In all, decided Catlin, bitterly "meditating on the virtues of scientific and mercenary men" the experiences constituted "a shocking argument against the propriety of persons bringing Indians to Europe with a view to making their exhibitions a just or profitable speculation".[107]

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[104] Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Vol. 2, p198.
[105] Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Vol.2, pp.297-298.
[106] This was a loose slip in the British Library copy of Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*.
[107] Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, pp.301-302.

CHANGING CONTEXTS FOR EXHIBITING RACE

Motivations for importers of race

Despite the unusual degree of indigenous agency, subjectivity and dignity reflected in Catlin's narrative, circumstances which he described recurred in the fragmented histories and diverse exhibitionary contexts of other indigenous performers visiting nineteenth century Britain. Among the familiar themes would be the frequently contradictory motivations of small-time, one-off entrepreneurs; the device of contracts to legitimise their projects; the overlap of private and public exhibition, popular amusement and scientific scrutiny; the opportunities, temptations and strains occasioned by being constantly on display; and the regularity of alienation, illness and death.

The practice of bringing indigenous Americans, Africans and Polynesians to Britain for private inspection and exhibition in fairgrounds and taverns dated from at least 1501 and had developed with European colonialism. In spite of the prominence of professional entrepreneurs and showmen like Cunningham, Habenbeck, Barnum and Buffalo Bill Cody, most indigenous exhibits were brought to England as an almost incidental by-product of the scale and traffic of colonialism. Colonial travel had thrown explorers, adventurers, missionaries, colonial-settlers, soldiers and administrators into close and often dominating contact with colonised peoples. As colonists were themselves intrigued by exotic races, familiar with European fascination, and yearning to visit an England most emigrants regarded as home, it was a small step to bring natives back with them.

The motivations of non-professional entrepreneurs were more complex than direct financial profit. British aristocracy, gentry, high clergy and bourgeoisie jostled to receive racial novelties and their managers at prestigious social engagements. The memoirs of George Catlin and the diary of William Jenkins (Chapter 14) indicate that access to exalted social circles was a benefit no less seductive than gate receipts.

When Robert Fitzroy, the gentlemanly captain of the *Beagle*, brought natives of Tierra del Fuego to England and introduced them to the Queen in 1831, he would have rejected any suggestion of profiting from their public exhibition. Fitzroy was sincere in his desire to civilise them and return them to their homeland. But it was useful to his career that he could invite aristocratic friends and influential missionaries to observe them at Walthamstow as they learned Christianity, decorum and English.[108] Despite Fitzroy's assiduous precautions one of the Fuegians, Boat Memory, died of smallpox in Britain.

Charles Darwin was an interested observer of the surviving Fuegians when Fitzroy repatriated them on the *Beagle's* epochal voyage.[109] Darwin was convinced that "in contradiction of what has often been stated, 3 years has been sufficient to change savages into, as far as habits

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[108] Janet Browne, *Charles Darwin: voyaging. Volume 1 of a biography*, Pimlico, London, 1995, pp.234-235. Another goal of the project was to use any future mission established by the converted Fuegians as a base for British naval voyages.

[109] Richard Lee Marks, *Three men of the Beagle*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1991, has examined in detail the story of Fitzroy, Darwin and Jemmy Button.

go, complete and voluntary Europeans."[110] A young Fuegian named Jemmy Button (Orundellico) appeared most affectionate, compliant and proud of his transformation.[111] Viewing naked, unimproved Fuegians, rivetted and appalled by his common ancestry, Darwin became a fascinated spectator of primitivism: "they are as savage as the most curious person would desire";[112] … an untamed savage is I really think one of the most extraordinary spectacles in the world."[113]

Darwin and Fitzroy were sad to leave Jemmy and the civilised Fuegians with the savages; shocked when they returned several months later to find that Jemmy had reverted to his native culture, rejecting agriculture and his mission; and mystified that he adamantly refused to return to England despite being on the verge of starvation. Darwin was consoled that as a result of his lessons in civilisation "a shipwrecked seaman may hereafter receive help and treatment from Jemmy Button's children."[114]

In 1859, another mission was established on Keppel Island and a middle-aged Jemmy Button and other Fuegians were persuaded to travel there for re-conversion. Later, when the Christian Fuegians were repatriated, they massacred the missionaries and crew during the singing of the first hymn. The sole survivor and other testimonies claimed that "Jam-mus Button" had instigated and revelled in the slaughter.[115]

Importing indigenes to Britain: some generalisations

Three general propositions emerge. Firstly that those who took indigenous people to England stood in some way to personally benefit from the enterprise. Secondly, ambitions and prejudices prevented them from recognising the hardships which confronted the indigenous visitors under their control. And, as with Jam-mus Button, it was difficult for those who brought indigenous peoples to England to explore beneath the appearance of simple, grateful compliance.

The enticement of indigenous people was a relatively inexpensive proposition. Although kidnappings occurred, particularly in the early stages of colonisation, the role of persuasion, the desperate conditions of colonised peoples and the lure of a promised alternative was more common. Unequal power was a constant factor. In landowner-tenant relationships with disposessed peoples, white guardianship of indigenous children, a master-servant nexus or missionary control, many entrepreneurs already enjoyed a a position of formal authority over people of colour taken to England. Colonial structures of racial dominance, often redoubled by personal attachment and

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[110] Charles Darwin, *Charles Darwin's Beagle Diary*, edited by Richard Darwin Keynes, Cambridge University Press, England, 1988 p.143.

[111] His story is retold in detail by Nick Hazlewood, *Savage: the life and times of Jemmy Button*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 2000. See illustrations of a transformed and primitive Jemmy Button on title page.

[112] Darwin quoted by Janet Browne, *Charles Darwin: voyaging*, p.240.

[113] Darwin quoted by Janet Browne, *Charles Darwin: voyaging*, p.243.

[114] Darwin quoted by Janet Browne, *Charles Darwin: voyaging*, p.269.

[115] Richard Lee Marks, *Three men of the Beagle*, pp.166-170. Jemmy denied his guilt, attributed the massacre to an enemy Fuegian tribe, the Oens-men and was never punished. Hazlewood believes that Jemmy was implicated but that the massacre was a consequence of cumulative Fuegian unhappiness from insensitive treatment by missionaries, including detention from their homeland during civilising experiments. Jemmy's son Threeboys (see illustration on title page) died of European disease soon after being returned from a civilising tour of England in 1865-66; Fuegians were later exhibited to European 'audiences and were devastated by Argentinian colonisation (Hazlewood, *Savage*, pp.257-303; 313-318; 347-358).

dependence, persuaded colonised peoples to accompany white masters to Britain and shaped their relationship in Europe.

Written contracts commonly supplemented verbal agreements. In some sense no doubt, this represented a recognition of the rights of indigenes. But a lack of resources and unfamiliarity with British law, language and society made it improbable that non-Europeans could enforce the conditions of contracts to their advantage. In practice, contracts predominantly reflected and reinforced the interests of entrepreneurs. They lured native peoples by stipulating that the promises of employers would be honoured. They prevented performers from accepting better offers once they demonstrated their value in the metropolis; they demonstrated to critics that the natives chose to leave voluntarily; and they legalised onerous employment conditions. Entrepreneurs had little to fear if they reneged on their obligations.

The following discussion illustrates these issues in the changing British contexts for exhibiting primitive peoples between Catlin's heyday and the arrival of the Aborigines.

Ethnology and popular amusements

Troupes of primitives brought to Britain functioned interchangeably as private amusement, public entertainment and scientific data. Two Bushmen children displayed at the Egyptian Hall in 1845 with a baboon and monkeys became "living illustrations" for a paper to the Ethnological Society. To accompany another group of Bushmen in 1847, Robert Knox delivered a lecture which touched on "the great question of race ... the probable extinction of the Aboriginal races, the progress of the Anglo-African Empire, and the all-important question of Christian missions and human civilization."[116]

In July 1853, a special meeting of the Ethnological Society was convened to scrutinise two children imported to represent an entire "Aztec race which either perished or was at least driven into the wilderness before the Spaniards under Cortez."[117] Their "diminutive size and the peculiar expression of their features" created intense interest among the ethnologists who watched the little children run around the room before being placed on a table for closer inspection.[118] As they knew little English, it was inferred that they "had evidently no means of communicating with each other by language" and possessed the intelligence of two to three year old British children. Data having been gathered, the children were "removed" so scientific discussion could begin "on ethnological points connected with the history of the children". Three months later, a letter from the Boston Society of Natural History clarified that the children were from San Salvador, unfortunate offspring of "dwarfed or deformed and imbecile parents."[119] The microcephalic "Aztec children", Bartolo and Maximo, continued to be exhibited in freak shows and other environments for sixty years.[120]

Even as ethnological data, scrutinised natives were not passive exhibits. They *performed* typical images of primitivism, in confirmation of their authenticity and to emphasise the distance in

[116] Quoted by Altick, *The shows of London*, p.280.

[117] *Athenaeum*, No 1341, 9 July 1853.

[118] *Athenaeum*, No. 1341, 9 July 1853.

[119] *Athenaeum*, No. 1353, 1 October 1853.

[120] Nigel Rothfels, "Aztecs, Aborigines and ape-people: science and freaks in Germany, 1850-1910" in Rosemarie Garland Thomson (ed.), *Freakery: cultural spectacles of the extraordinary body*, New York University Press, New York, 1996, pp.158-172.

civilisation between themselves and their audiences. Bushmen mimicked tracking, hunting and killing animal prey; "Kaffirs" enacted a wedding, a hunt, a military expedition and a sham fight; Native Americans performed dances, horsemanship and sham fights.

Controversy, criticism and agency

The importation of primitive peoples was attacked by humanitarians only if their guardians were not "gentlemen" and if the conditions of their public display were conspicuously coarse or degrading. Most infamous was the notorious exploitation of Sartjee Baartman, the "Hottentot Venus", a San woman brought to England in 1810 by a Boer farmer, Hendric Cezar, and a British surgeon. After buying out his partner's interest in Sartjee, Cezar displayed her in Britain and Paris, encouraging male and female spectators to gawk at her elongated genital apron, and, for an extra fee, prod her steatopygic buttocks.[121] Cezar used threats and a bamboo cane to force her out of a cage into public view where she danced and played an African instrument.[122]

Cezar defended himself against indignant press criticism on the grounds that Sartjee had been his servant in the Cape and not his slave. She had freely chosen her employment in England, "where all breath [sic] the air of freedom". She had "as good a right to exhibit herself as an Irish giant or a dwarf."[123] Two members of the philanthropic-colonialist African Insitition took Cezar to court, alleging that Sartjee was being degraded, mistreated and exploited against her will. The court directed for Sartjee to be interviewed in Low Dutch, and stipulated that the African Institution be permitted to explain their intentions to her. After questioning, she was to be given the opportunity of being released to the African Institution for repatriation.

To everyone's shock, the results of a three hour interview were that she liked England, was treated kindly by Cezar and did not wish to return home. She requested only a warmer garment for the cold climate. Having long been employed in Africa as a nursery maid by Hendric Cezar and his brother, she had willingly agreed to come to England for six years and personally asked permission to do so. A written contract with Cezar's former English partner guaranteed the illiterate Sartjee half the proceeds from exhibiting herself, although, as the interview pointed out, she "understands very little of the Agreement made with her ... and which agreement she produced to us."[124] The contract, it emerged, had been read twice to her in Dutch by a Notary Public who inferred that Sartjee understood it and was satisfied by its conditions.

The case was dismissed. Sartjee's less degraded exhibitions continued until she died in 1815 when her labia were dissected and displayed in a bottle.

Are we to conclude that she was exercising agency? Do rules of historiographic evidence preclude historians from inferring that she was miserable, helpless and acting contrary to her real wishes? Are we unjustified in regarding her as a victim of colonialist voyeurism and racist-scientific sexual prurience? And if we infere that she was grossly unhappy - contrary to her own testimony - is

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[121] See illustration on title page.

[122] From contemporary accounts of the performances quoted by Bernth Lindfors, "Ethnological show business: footlighting the dark continent", pp.208-209, in Rosemarie Garland Thomson (ed.), *Freakery*, pp.207-218.

[123] *Morning Chronicle*, 13 & 23 October 1810, quoted by Bernth Lindfors, "Courting the Hottentot Venus," pp.136-137, *Africa* (Rome), 40, 1985, pp.133-148.

[124] Deposition by S. Solly and Geo. Moojen, Public Record Office No. KB1/36, pt.2, quoted by Bernth Lindfors, "Courting the Hottentot Venus," pp.142-143.

it only the sexual invasiveness to which we are responding and how are we to weigh other, less emotionally charged, examples if little evidence exists either way?

Soon after the fiasco of the Aztec children, the President of the Ethnological Society, John Connolly, discussed ethical concerns over importing indigenous people for scrutiny.[125]

In the previous twelve months British audiences had seen two families of "Bosjemen" (Dutch-Afrikaans for Bushmen: see advertising poster below), a group of "Esquimaux", two children "fancifully" called "Earthmen" and the "Aztec children".

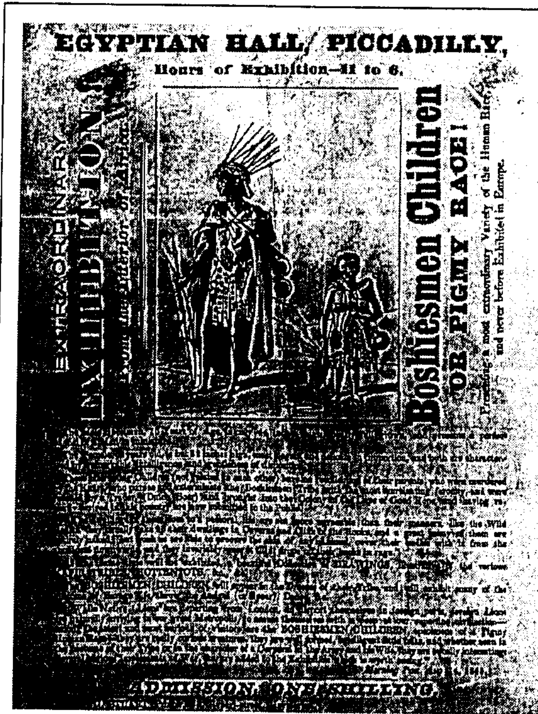

Illustration 15: Performing Pygmies rescued by colonialism 1845[126]

The text explains that the 16 year old Pygmy male and 8 year old girl were saved by colonialism. They "have no recollection of their parents, who were murdered by the Kafirs, who pursue and exterminate the Boshiesman Tribe with the most unrelenting ferocity, and were rescued by a Trader (Dutch Boer) and brought into the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and having recently arrived in this country are now submitted to the Public." They were exhibited with drawings illustrating the lives of other African peoples. The Boshiesman children "will appear in the Dresses of their Tribe, and will exhibit many of the customs of Savage life, throw the Assigai (or Spear), Dance &c."

A review from the *Morning Post*, 14 August 1845, explained that they were exhibited in primitivist and transformationist modes and interesting either in the costume of their own tribe or the character of an Army Corporal and his wife. The paper noted that this curious race were amusing themselves by "taking a peep at our superfine civilisation".

Connolly was unhappy with the unseemly behaviour of spectators and the populist staging of the displays. Although the Bosjemen were "the most attractive" of all the exhibits, they "appeared to be looked on as zoological curiosities, a little higher than the animals in the Gardens." He was appalled that one had been taught not a single word of English and that

[125] John Connolly, *The Ethnological Exhibitions of London*, John Churchill, London, 1855.

[126] Acknowledgements to Michael Slater, Professsor of Victorian Literature, Birkbeck College, University of London for this illustration plus information on Charles Dickens and his attitudes to race.

friends of the exhibitor "were now and then permitted to tease and perplex him with small conjuring tricks" so they could enjoy his reactions.[127]

The "Esquimaux" were more fortunate because they had been brought to England for only a few months by a "kindly and honest" whaling captain, who, presumably, returned them. They had appeared successfully before several meetings of the Ethnological Society but an exasperated Connolly reported that as their behaviour was "free from all taint of vulgarity" they were ignored by "the public in general, accustomed to higher stimulants."[128] The public demanded primitivism and not a little show business.

The Aztecs and Earthmen provided it. The Aztec children, whose embarrassing identity Connolly ignored, were presented on pedestals, in a simulated temple.[129] Performances by the little "Earthmen", Flora and Martini, offered pleasingly infantile images of transformation as they "played a little on the piano, and generally succeeded in persuading lady-visitors to play, to whose music they danced gaily and gracefully." Some time later, the 12 year old Flora treated her visitors with "demureness and affected womanliness", playing tunes on the piano while Martini sang "prettily in a childish voice."[130]

In considering "these, or any other illustrations of Ethnology imported from other lands" Connolly was troubled by "what becomes of the illustrations when either the novelty of their exhibition has passed away and the Town demands fresh wonders, or even when they have grown too big or too troublesome to be carried about."[131] Seeking profits, their managers obliged them to perform in obscure venues with increasing frequency. The Aztecs were already "falling into the class of minor shows and exhibited in the suburbs." If insured, they might be more valuable to their manager dead than alive.[132]

If they survived but were not repatriated, prospects were dire:

> What provision is made for them? In what workhouse will they end their days? The long-continued profits accruing from their exhibition, the rich presents, the boasted jewels showered upon them - is anything secured from them to keep them in age, or when abandoned as no longer lucrative?[133]

At this climactic moment, Connolly's courage, and his ability to overcome the prejudices of his age, failed him. The President of the Ethnological Society could not advocate putting a stop to the importation of living ethnological data. The problem, he averred, was not the practice itself, but the ungentlemanly character of some entrepreneurs. The solution was simply to ensure that "the importation and return of aboriginal visitors to Christian lands [should be] ... superintended by earnest persons, by whom every human being whom God has permitted to live is easily regarded as having a human soul."[134]

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[127] Connolly, *The Ethnological Exhibitions of London*, pp.8-9.

[128] Connolly, *The Ethnological Exhibitions of London*, pp.11-12.

[129] Connolly, *The Ethnological Exhibitions of London*", p.24.

[130] Connolly, *The Ethnological Exhibitions of London*, p.26.

[131] Connolly, *The Ethnological Exhibitions of London*, p.29.

[132] Connolly, *The Ethnological Exhibitions of London*, p.29.

[133] Connolly, *The Ethnological Exhibitions of London*, p.29.

[134] Connolly, *The Ethnological Exhibitions of London*, p.30.

The scrutiny of transported natives was respectable only if it were elevated above mere curiosity and involved the civilisation of primitive peoples.[135] Without it, the only reasons for bringing indigenous peoples to England were those he had condemned - profiteering and idle amusement.[136]

Connolly ignored the alienation, psychological pressures, economic exploitation and dependency on their importer-guardians that the isolated Bosjemen, Esquimaux, Aztecs or Earthmen must have experienced. On one level, he was avoiding questions which would have made the practices of British ethnology untenable. More fundamentally, humanitarian acceptance of the progressive nature of colonialism and the inferiority of primitive races had negated their full humanity and obscured the consequences of their displacement.

Changes

The heyday of the standing, small-scale racial exhibition was over by the 1860s, but Altick erred in attributing its decline to the sating of English appetites for primitive peoples.[137] It was still increasing, but viewing contexts were changing. Rents for metropolitan showspaces made ethnological exhibitions difficult propositions for small entrepreneurs,[138] and competition for the entertainment and education shilling in London was cut-throat. Vast, standing, respectably institutionalised public exhibitions marginalised small, temporary, privately owned displays of race. Six million people visited the Crystal Palace Exhibition, while British Museum patronage rocketed from 720,000 in 1850 to 2,230,000 in 1851. There were 50 museums in England in 1860; 200 by 1900.[139] Usually dated from Crystal Palace in 1851, World Fairs and International Exhibitions became dominant metropolitan contexts for material representations and living displays of primitive humanity. International freak shows sensationalised racial exoticism.

Sport would intermittently become another context of popular culture which represented racial difference.

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[135] Connolly, *The Ethnological Exhibitions of London*, p.30. He reflected that: "During their long sojourn in this country, it is pitiable to see human beings stared at as mere objects of temporary amusement" finding it depressing that by the time they had returned to their native lands they might not have learned anything useful.

[136] In 1867, the Aborigines' Protection Society campaigned against the exploitation of five "Wild Men of Jesso" because "such exhibitions notoriously tend to perpetuate the cruel and pernicious ideas of the natural inferiority and irreclaimable barbarism of the weaker races of mankind which have unhappily become too prevalent in this country." The fur-clad "Wild Men" had performed hunting and war dances for British audiences since 1865 and as they appeared to be confined to a cage and could not communicate in any known language, there was no pretext that their experience was a civilising exercise. Their exhibitor defended himself by arguing that he had lodged a bond for their repatriation. After an enquiry the Home Secretary dismissed the complaints, explaining that the public had been deceived and that the "Wild Men" were employees, "supposed savages" who were under no restraint. *Times* (London), reprinted in *Empire* (Sydney), 7 March 1867.

[137] Altick, *The shows of London*, p.287.

[138] Catlin's wife complained that even in the 1840s, the expenses had nearly ruined him, see Altick, *The shows of London*, p.276.

[139] Tony Bennett, "The exhibitionary complex" in Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, & Sherry B. Ortner (eds), *Culture, power, history: a reader in contemporary social theory*, Princeton University Press, 1994, p.135.

CHAPTER 3

ABORIGINES AND THEIR REPRESENTATION IN BRITAIN

The archetypal primitivism of Australian Aborigines and belief in their imminent extinction rendered them valuable objects of public curiosity in Britain by the late 1860s.

James Brunton Stephens emigrated to Australia in 1866 and earned a reputation as one of Australia's noteable colonial poets. Inspired by the death of William Lanney, the "last" Tasmanian Aborigine, Stephens wrote *King Billy's Skull*, a grisly comic poem that described two Australian physicians, Dash and Blank, waiting impatiently for Lanney to die in 1869. They were vying to claim his skull so the victor could reap the benefits from donating it to the British Museum.

> *And Blank and myself had sworn an oath,*
> *Secret from each yet sworn to both,*
> *To achieve some scientific note*
> *In catalogue or anecdote,*
> *By the munificent presentation*
> *Of King Billy's skull to the British nation.*
> *Fancy the honour, the kudos, the fame!*
> *A whole museum athrill with one's name.*
> *Fancy the thousands all crowding to see*
> *'Skull of the last Aborigine,*
> *Presented by Asterisk Dash, M.D.'* [140]

Decades before the 1880 publication of Fison and Howitt's ethnographic research, Australian Aborigines' geographical isolation, technological simplicity and naked hunter-gatherer culture had made them near "as could be to the Victorian image of primitive man."[141] Colonists who brought Aborigines to England for public or private inspection could expect social prestige, scientific recognition, economic benefits, career advancement and the admiration of British friends and family.

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[140] From James Brunton Stephens, *Convict once and other poems*, George Robertson and Co., Melbourne & Sydney, 1888, pp.203-204.

[141] Adam Kuper, *The invention of primitive society: transformations of an illusion*, Routledge, London, 1988, p.93.

LIVING ABORIGINES IN BRITAIN

From Bennelong to the 1850s

Between Bennelong and the 1868 team, an unknown number of Aborigines visited Britain. Fragmentary records indicate characteristic European attitudes to their importation and some aspects of the hardships and fatal dangers which confronted Aborigines in Europe.[142] It is difficult to suggest any benefits reaped by those Aborigines fortunate enough to survive their visits.

Bennelong and Yemmerrawanyea Kebbarah were the first Aborigines to voyage to England[143]. There is little doubt that they chose willingly to travel. Equally apparent was the grief of their womenfolk and kin, which casts into doubt any easy assumptions that such Aboriginal decisions were communal and consensual. Collins reported that they departed for England "voluntarily and cheerfully", on 11 December 1792, sufficiently determined to withstand "at the moment of their departure the united distress of their wives and the dismal lamentations of their friends".[144]

Contemporary English colonists attributed their decision to individual devotion to Governor Phillip, who accompanied them on their voyage. An Aboriginal play about Bennelong, *Moobbaji: speak an unknown language*, depicted his agency as being motivated by an individual sense of adventure and curiosity not shared by many of his fellow Aborigines.[145]

Bennelong's agency, however, was shaped by his direct appreciation of relations of power between his people and the white settlers. He had been captured, shackled and imprisoned by Phillip in 1789. During his detention he learned English and found that he could amuse his captors by an ability to mimic them.[146] Mimicking and delighting the white invaders appeared to offer better prospects than resistance or flight. His accommodation was not the antithesis of conflict, but a consequence of its inequality; a decision to entwine his fortunes with the white authority who seemed most likely to benefit his prospects.

Phillip claimed to have taken the Aborigines to England because Bennelong's intelligence equipped him to impart information about the new colony. But Bennelong could have explained as much in Sydney. The two imported Aborigines, like the four "kangeroos" on board, were trophies to sate the curiosity of influential British authorities, bolster Phillip's prestige and make a show of wonders discovered in the new colony.

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[142] John Mulvaney, "Aboriginal Australians abroad 1606-1875", *Aboriginal history*, Vol.12, Nos 1-2, 1989, pp.40-47 examined voluntary Aboriginal seafaring to eastern Indonesia and kidnappings of Aborigines by European explorers.

[143] For illustrations of Bennelong as a primitive and partially transformed savage, see title page.

[144] Quoted in John Kenny, *Bennelong: first noteable aboriginal*, Royal Australian Historical Society, Sydney, 1973, p.53.

[145] *Moobbaji: speak an unknown language*, created and performed by Amade Productions at the Museum of Sydney, October 1995. It depicted Bennelong as an explorer and diplomat, emphasising the creative integrity of insights about English society which he would have gained in England. My interpretation of the play is supplemented by conversation with Pauline McLeod of Amade Productions, 8 October 1995.

[146] See Jakelin Troy, "Language contact in early colonial New South Wales 1788 to 1791", p.40 in Michael Walsh & Colin Yallop, (eds), *Language and culture in Aboriginal Australia*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1993.

The Aborigines arrived on 21 May 1793 and were treated kindly. Bennelong was introduced to George III and adopted as a pet of the officer set.[147] Nine months after their arrival, Collins reported that they "were well but not sufficiently divested of the genuine, natural love for liberty and their native country to prefer London with its pleasures and its abundances to the woods of New South Wales." They asked for their wives to be told that they would return in 1794[148] but the teenaged Yemmerrawanyea died of a pulmonary illness induced by cold, damp climate. Aboriginal activists have attempted unsuccessfully to repatriate his remains.[149]

Bennelong was not returned to Sydney until September 1795. Despite benevolent care, he had almost died of the same causes as his compatriot and he was repeatedly ill, homesick and miserable.[150] His fortitude and gifts for mimicry sustained him through a traumatic and alienated experience but after his return Collins reported that Bennelong was unable to endure "a life of celibacy, which had been his condition from the day of his departure from this country until nearly the present hour".[151] Rejected by his wife and spurned by other Aboriginal women, he attacked yet another, to be punished by Colbee who ridiculed his English pretensions[152] and demanded whether his behaviour was a specimen of the British manners he had learned.[153]

The first Aboriginal visits to Britain demonstrated tragic consequences, even under conditions of voluntary departure and paternal care. The climate produced illness which tended to be fatal; Aborigines keenly felt the separation from their country and people, and were powerless to return as quickly as they wished. Their English accomplishments amused white colonists but cut no ice with Aborigines. Hunter relayed an instruction to the Judge Advocate that his Majesty "had on the return of Bennelong from England expressed his desire that not another native should be brought home from New South Wales."[154]

Sexual alienation made the hazardous journey to Europe more difficult. William Shelley, superintendent of Macquarie's educational institution for Aborigines, commented in 1814 that Aborigines who returned from England: "were generally despised, *especially by European females*; thus all attachment to their new society was precluded ... No European woman would marry a native ... A solitary individual ... educated from infancy, even well, among Europeans, would in general, when they grew up be rejected by the other sex of Europeans, and must go into the bush for companions."[155]

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[147] Kenny, *Bennelong*, p.54.

[148] Collins (1794), quoted in Kenny, *Bennelong*, p.54.

[149] From the churchyard in Eltham, Kent: *Encyclopedia of Aboriginal Australia*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1994, Vol.2, p.1223.

[150] Hunter's correspondence, quoted in Kenny, *Bennelong*, p.56.

[151] Collins (1796), quoted in Kenny, *Bennelong*, p.59.

[152] *Encyclopedia of Aboriginal Australia*, Vol.1, p.208.

[153] Quoted in Kenny, *Bennelong*, p.58. Colbee was another of Phillip's early Aboriginal captives.

[154] *Historical Records of Australia*, III, 2:238, quoted by Isabel McBryde, *Guests of the Governor: Aboriginal residents of the first Government House*, Friends of the Government House Site, Sydney, 1989, pp.28-29.

[155] *Historical Records of Australia*, Vol. VIII, pp.368-371, quoted by Charles Rowley, *The destruction of Aboriginal society*, Penguin, Australia, 1972, p.89 (italics in original).

The *Sydney Gazette* of 1814 quoted the riposte of "a well known native" who had distinguished himself in his work on European ships and was asked why he always returned to Aboriginal society: "Will you, said he keep me company? white women will marry white men; but no white woman will have me; then why wish to keep away from my own people, when no other will look upon me?"[156]

After surviving a lonely, stressful, celibate existence in Europe,[157] the return by Aborigines to their own society confirmed to Europeans the impermanence of their transformation. There appeared to be one main reason for rejecting civilisation, an innate, irremediable predilection for primitive sexual gratification.

It is likely that living Aborigines appeared in English exhibitions before 1868, although no conclusive documentation has emerged.[158] But Bennelong and Yemmerrawanyea were "paraded as curiosities" in London[159] and the demarcation between public and private exhibitions was fluid. Aboriginal seamen who worked their way to England but found difficulty in securing return passage, or Aborigines who were taken to Britain for civilisation and private amusement may have become objects of public display.

On his return from Australia in 1845, Edward John Eyre took an Aboriginal boy, Warrulan, (Illustration 16) from Morrunde on the Murray, to England. Supposedly given to Eyre's care by his father, Tenberry, the boy sailed in 1844, after his people travelled to Adelaide to contentedly bid farewell to the boy "whom they hardly ever expected to see again."[160] Another Aboriginal boy, Pangkerin, an orphan from a different tribe, was brought to England on the same vessel under the care of Anthony Foster. Eminent British phrenologists examined them, pronouncing that "their developments [were] ... very good, and far superior to those of the negro race generally." [160a]

[156] *Sydney Gazette*, 1 January 1814, quoted by Henry Reynolds, *With the white people*, Penguin, Australia, 1990, p.112.

[157] Monastic training dictated the celibacy of two Aboriginal boys taken from Fremantle to Naples in 1849 by Bishop Salvado but familiar consequences ensued. Intended to civilise other Aborigines on their return, Francis Xavier Conaci died in Naples in 1853 from chest complaints caused by the climate, and John Baptist Dirimera, similarly ill, barely survived the trip home and died in 1855. Both were 17 and had been unhappy in Europe. Salvado was a humanitarian but he presented the two boys to Pope Pius IX and Sicilian nobility to attract support for his Benedictine mission. Salvado's biographer absolves him from any responsibility for the boys' deaths as they "probably would have died young of white man's diseases had they remained at the mission, as others had done." Maybe, although Russo admits the European climate was a factor in their fatal illnesses; moreover, being ill or dying in so alien a culture must have been terrifying. See George Russo, *Lord Abbot of the wilderness*, Polding Press, Australia, 1980, pp.138-147.

[158] Robert Holden uncovered a 1789 broadsheet handbill in ephemera holdings of the Mitchell Library which advertised the display of a "Hairy Wild Man of Botany Bay" in London. Holden suggests that some sort of African primate may have been displayed as a Botany Bay Wild Man to capitalise on speculation about the indigenous inhabitants of New South Wales (Robert Holden, "The Wild Man of Sydney", address to the Library Society of New South Wales, State Library, 23 February 1999). Altick made a cursory reference to Aborigines on display in London in 1853: Altick, *The shows of London*, p.268. The "Wild Australian Children" exhibited in American freak shows as Aboriginal cannibals from 1860 were two severely retarded microcephalic (small-headed) black Americans from Ohio, see Robert Bogdan, *Freak show: presenting human oddities for amusement and profit*, University of Chicago, USA, 1988, pp.119-121.

[159] McBryde, *Guests of the Governor*, p.23.

[160] *Illustrated London News*, 14 February 1846.

160a Illustrated London News, 14 February 1846.

On 26 January 1846, Eyre presented both boys to the Queen and Prince Albert at Buckingham Palace, the *Illustrated London News* hoping that their presence in England might "mitigate the evils which our occupation and possession of the country necessarily inflict upon them."[161] It failed to observe that the Royal presentation benefited Eyre's prestige and career prospects more than the Aborigines'.

Illustration 16: Warrulan presented to Queen Victoria by Eyre, 1846[162]

Illustration 17: Aboriginal boy from Warialda in England, 1855[165]

A sixteen year old Aboriginal boy from Warialda (Illustration 17) was taken to England on the barque *Balthazar* by Mr Geddes, a colonist who decided to "show him the mother country" and deemed him "quite capable of any improvement to any extent that an opportunity might offer or his instruction."[163]

Meenmulger (or Mean Mulga) of the Warinyaloke Balug clan in Victoria was also taken to England a few years later, but it is likely that he also died there because his tribe were said to be extinct by 1846.[164]

European experiments in Aboriginal civilisation were represented in transformationist mode to depict the humanitarian benefits of colonialism, similar to those who became known as "stolen children" over a century later.[166] Like Bennelong in England, the boys were costumed in formal British attire to symbolise the transformation of nakedness, savagery and primitive superstitions by Christian civilisation.

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[161] *Illustrated London News*, 14 February 1846.

[162] *Illustrated London News*, 14 February 1846.

[163] *Illustrated London News*, 24 November 1855.

[164] Ian D. Clark, *Aboriginal languages and clans, an historical atlas of Western and Central Victoria*, Monash Publications on Geography No. 33, Melbourne, 1990, p.334.

[165] *Illustrated London News*, 24 November 1855.

[166] *Bringing them home: National inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families*, Report of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, Australia, (Commissioner Ronald Wilson), Sydney, 1997.

Willie Wimmera

One tragic civilising experiment became the subject of a missionary tract, *A short memoir of William Wimmera, an Australian boy who sailed from Melbourne, April 1851; died at Reading, March 10, 1852.*[167] Intended to inspire English boys, it was to create unforeseen consequences for the Aborigines of the Wimmera.[168]

In 1846, during the invasion of the west Wimmera, a party of white settlers led by Horatio Ellerman, a Belgian born squatter who later became a Christian philanthropist to Aborigines, slaughtered a defenceless Wotjobaluk mother at Banu Bonyit.[169] A child clinging to her neck was brought to Melbourne by white wood-gatherers but was soon abandoned. Lost and crying, he was befriended by white children and cared for by their mother. Unhappy when sent to school, he came to the attention of the Reverend Lloyd Chase. Chase was about to return to England and "it struck him, that could the child be entirely separated from old associations, and brought to England to receive a Christian education, he might, by God's blessing, hereafter return to Australia and teach his poor benighted people."[170]

In 1851, Willie Wimmera was taken to England. After a difficult passage, where he climbed the mast to become closer to the moon, the only aspect of the environment familiar to him,[171] Willie was educated at Chase's family homes. His health failed, a doctor predicted the English climate would soon kill him, and he became too ill to repatriate. Originally "selfish, sullen and disobedient",[172] the little boy sickened further, was confined to bed-ridden care by fervent evangelists, and in his terror and desperation became devoutly Christian. When there was no hope of recovery, a letter by a Mrs K, his carer in Iver, suggested that were it not for Willie's constant invocation of Heaven, the angels and Christ, "Mr. Lloyd Chase will be almost [!] disposed to regret having brought him from his native land."[173] Before Reverend Chase returned to Australia, he decided to baptise Willie and the excitement of the occasion destroyed the last of his resistance. Unable to take any nourishment, and though it was "distressing to see his arms no larger than an infant's ... the indication of a missionary spirit in this dear child was very delightful."[174]

He died in March 1853, declaring he would like to see his brothers again so he could tell them about Christ. His death was a triumph, for "it may be said, that it was only in the last year of that short life in which he began to live; for while in heathen darkness he was little better than the animals around him."[175]

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[167] No author or publisher, Cambridge, 1853.

[168] See Chapter 7.

[169] Aldo Massola, *Aboriginal mission stations in Victoria*, Hawthorn Press, Melbourne, 1970, p.33. Ellerman arrived in the Wimmera in 1843.

[170] *A short memoir of William Wimmera*, p.12.

[171] I am indebted to Anne Brown of Seymour, a researcher in Wotjobaluk history, for this interpretation during a phone interview on 10 March 1999.

[172] *A short memoir of William Wimmera*, p.41.

[173] *A short memoir of William Wimmera*, p.20.

[174] *A short memoir of William Wimmera*, pp.34-35.

[175] *A short memoir of William Wimmera*, p.41.

REPRESENTATION OF ABORIGINES IN BRITAIN

Before the tour of 1868 then, very few British who had not visited Australia had seen living Aborigines. But overlapping forms of written and visual representation established preconceptions of a uniquely undeveloped race, creating primitivist tropes for an intrigued public. I will discuss a small sample of various forms of representation: scientific accounts; popular journalism; accounts of travellers and explorers; and photographs, illustrations and material displays.

Ben-ni-long

At a high-water mark in philanthropic anti-slavery sentiment, Bennelong, who had died in 1813, reappeared on the London stage as Ben-ni-long. Following his disillusioned return from England, a play portrayed him as an implacable anti-colonialist liberation fighter in Tasmania, ("... see to what state they have reduced the mighty Ben-ni-long? - sprung from the powerful race of Cam-mer-ray, Chief of the Broken Bay tribe - whose word was life and death! - What is he now? - a fugitive! - a slave! - woe to the pale-faced warrior, woe", he declaimed[176]).

Written by William Moncrieff, an English theatrical identity who had never visited Australia, *Van Diemen's Land or Tasmania in 1818: an operatic drama in three acts*, attained an "extraordinary popularity" in London,[177] being performed at the Surrey Theatre in October 1832 and probably earlier.[178]

It showed that like contempt, sympathy for Aborigines could be developed on foundations of ignorance.[179] The costume directions conflated popular embodiments of primitivism. Ben-ni-long appeared in "Indian head-dress", with white shirt, short trunks, brown legs and arms, and scarf. His fictional sister Kangaree, an Aboriginal Pocahontas infatuated with Darcy Ballylaggin, a wrongfully transported Irish convict, was garbed in an "Indian striped dress".[180] Ben-ni-long's mode of speech reflected European admiration for Native American eloquence.

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[176] William Moncrieff, *Van Diemen's Land: an operatic drama in three acts*, Thomas Richardson, London, undated, c. 1831, p.37.

[177] Preface to Moncrieff, *Van Diemen's Land*, v.

[178] E. Morris Miller, *Australian literature 1795-1835*, Facsimile edition, Sydney University Press, 1973 (original edition 1940),Vol.1, p.351.

[179] The play demonstrated that like hostility, sympathy for Aborigines was not necessarily a product of knowledge. The preface allowed that the Bennelong story was well-known in New South Wales but conceded that it was "extremely doubtful if Ben-ni-long was ever in Van Diemen's Land at all, and if he was ever there, he has, we believe been dead some years." Preface to Moncrieff, *Van Diemen's Land*, vi.

[180] Moncrieff, *Van Diemen's Land*, p1.

He had been lured to England by fraudulent generosity: " 'Twas but to snare! ... I went over sea, to white man's lands, where their king dressed me in his warrior's dress and gave rich gifts.' "[181] The civilising project was a hypocritical tactic of dispossession because the Englishman:

> is not civilized enough! Ben-ni-long, savage as he was, found white man worse; he left his country, what found he here, when he came back? He found the white man chief! He found his lands all seized, and he, the prince, the white man's slave.[182]

Ben-ni-long's third person critiques of British society anticipated Catlin's Indian narratives a decade later:

> What saw the untaught savage - the wild chief there? - this saw he! - he saw the white man, his neighbour, poor! distressed! - shut him in prison! make him poorer still to make him pay! - he saw the white man hang white men like dogs to save him from starvation![183]

Moncrieff presented Aboriginal return to native culture as a political decision, not a reversion to irremediable savagery. Ben-ni-long's declaration confronted theatregoers with a guerrilla manifesto:

> He threw off the fine clothes the white man gave him - left their gay feasts - shut ear to their smooth words - took to his native skins again - his hunter's fare - and wars 'gainst the white man now, as white man warred 'gainst him![184]

With an abandoned disregard for cultural specificity, Moncrieff's farcical resolution flung North American stereotypes across the Tasmanian Aboriginal landscape. Ben-ni-long swore on his "sacred hatchet" to make Darby a "chief" if he married Kangaree. And Darby calculated that it would protect him from Ben-ni-long's depredations and raise him above Irish convict status: "I shall be our brother to Ben-ni-long, a great warrior and very fond of rum; cousin to Catterwawl! Uncle to the great bear Borriborri! And I don't know what to the big buffalo, Bugaway!"[185]

Science, anthropology and Aborigines

In the 1860s, the supposed extinction of Tasmanian Aborigines dramatised the significance of Australian Aborigines as a specific race.[186]

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[181] Moncrieff, *Van Diemen's Land*, p.37.
[182] Moncrieff, *Van Diemen's Land*, p.38.
[183] Moncrieff, *Van Diemen's Land*, p.37.
[184] Moncrieff, *Van Diemen's Land*, p.38.
[185] Moncrieff, *Van Diemen's Land*, p.57.
[186] In confirmation of the theme of *King Billy's skull*, British readers learned that on the death of the "last male Aborigine of Tasmania", King Billy's skeleton had, indeed, been "horribly mutilated" for scrutiny and that Dr. Crowther, honorary surgeon of Hobart Hospital was the prime suspect: *Illustrated Australian News* (formerly *Australian News for Home Readers*), 19 April 1869. Lyndall Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1996 explains the grisly details of Billy's mutilation (pp.214-217) and the survival of Tasmanian Aborigines up to current struggles to regain their land (pp.222-312).

Aborigines were relevant to science because of perceptions of their beginnings and their ends: that is, earliest primitivism and imminent extinction. They were conceived by Europe as people without history, being understood as having made no technological, social, emotional or intellectual progress since the Stone Age. For C. S. Wake, Aborigines were worthy of study because "the natives of Australia ... show approximately the condition in which man generally must have existed in the primeval ages, ... so soon as the struggle for existence between man and man commenced."[187]

The superimposition of Aboriginal and Neanderthal in Thomas Huxley's *Man's place in nature* (1863) was an important visual influence on Aboriginal status.[188] Prestigious collections of Aboriginal skulls in Britain. reflected the suggestive power of illustrations which depicted progressions of skulls from ape to primitive and modern humankind. Bestial and simian comparisons had advanced from racially abusive rhetoric to a respectable scientific concept which developed with the acceptance of evolution.[189]

Aborigines were located near the base of human evolution. To Darwin's cousin, Francis Galton, the "Australian type is at least one grade below the African negro".[190] In an Austrian anthropological compilation, the "Australian occupies the lowest rank", below the Papuan, the Malayo-Polynesian, Negro and American, "and scarcely differs from the animal".[191] Aborigines were ranked decisively below Polynesians, an evaluation which was strengthened by Maori military success in their anti-colonial wars of the late 1860s. John Lubbock defined the lowest form of humanity according to the lowest type of religion and "(P)erhaps the lowest form of religion may be considered to be presented by the Australians."[192]

Male Aboriginal bodies, athleticism and hunting skills were more admired. An English anthropological traveller effusively compared male Aboriginal physiques to the idealised masculinity of ancient Greece: "Strange as it may seem, I would refer to an Australian as the finest model of human proportions I have ever met, in muscular development combining perfect symmetry, activity and strength; while his head might have compared with an antique bust of a philosopher."[193] The inside of their heads was not regarded so highly.

Although bloodthirsty savages and skilled hunters, Aborigines did not engage in warfare "as we understand the word ... [for] they have not the intellect nor the organisation for

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[187] C. Staniland Wake, "The mental characteristics of primitive man, as exemplified by the Australian Aborigines", *Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland Journal*, Vol.1, 1872, p.74.

[188] D.J. Mulvaney, "The Darwinian perspective", in Donaldson & Donaldson, *Seeing the first Australians*, p.69.

[189] Glover, Scientific racism and the Australian Aboriginal 1865-1915: the logic of evolutionary anthropology, BA Hons thesis, University of Sydney History Department, 1982, p.37.

[190] Francis Galton, *Hereditary genius: an enquiry into its laws and consequences*, St. Martins' Press, New York, 1978 (originally published 1869), p.339.

[191] "The chief races of mankind", (extracted from the third [anthropological] part of the circumnavigation of the globe by the Austrian frigate, *Novara*) *Anthropological Review*, Vol.8, 1870, p.93.

[192] John Lubbock, *The origin of civilisation and the primitive condition of man*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1978 (orig. 1870), p.349.

[193] Quoted in Wood, *Natural history of man*, Vol.2, p.3. Mr. Pickering was the anthropological traveller.

it."[194] In their "general mental development", Aboriginal evolution had been retarded. Intellectually and especially morally, " … as compared with the races who have made further progress in mental culture, [they] are yet in the condition of children …They represent the childhood of humanity itself."[195] Like other black races, Aborigines lacked the European capacity for self-restraint and deferred gratification. Their "curious capacity for alternate gluttony and starvation is fostered by the lazy disposition of the Australian savage and his utter disregard for the future."[196]

Physical anthropology purported to establish that measurement of Aboriginal craniums demonstrated their inferior intelligence. To Darwin, in *The descent of man*, this belief "is supported by the comparison of the skulls of the savage and civilized races … [Australian Aborigines have] only 81.9 cubic inches."[197] A more contemptuous assessment was that to even speak "of intellectual phenomena in relation to the Australian aborigines is somewhat of a misnomer";[198] another that "his mind is so obtuse that he scarcely thinks of anything but satisfying his animal instincts, such as hunger, thirst and sexual propensities."[199]

Male and female Aboriginal sexual behaviour demonstrated that their "moral ideas … remain almost wholly undeveloped."[200] Viewed through the prism of Victorian patriarchy, Aboriginal women were vessels for sexuality, procreation and suckling. They were evaluated beneath Aboriginal men: "It should be stated that the skull of the native Australian female is very inferior in form to that of the male, approaching much more nearly to the animal type."[201]

Without the saving grace of male hunting and martial skills, older Aboriginal women, deprived even of their youthful function of attracting male sexual predators, were vehemently denigrated. Even "singularly hideous" old African women were "quite passable when compared with her aged sister of Australia [who] exhibits a type of hideousness peculiarly her own."[202]

Yet the ethical inferiority of Aborigines was inferred from the mistreatment of their female inferiors. In common with "all the lowest races the [Aboriginal] women perform the most laborious work".[203] They were "treated with the same contemptuous neglect with which a savage treats his dog."[204]

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[194] Wood, *Natural history of man*, Vol.2, p58.
[195] Wake, "Mental characteristics", p.82.
[196] Wood, *Natural history of man*, Vol.2, p.27.
[197] Quoted in Glover, Scientific racism and the Australian Aboriginal 1865-1915, p.46.
[198] Wake, "Mental characteristics" , p.74.
[199] "The chief races of mankind", p.93.
[200] Wake, "Mental characteristics", p.77. Wake used the authority of Eyre's observation "that no such virtue as chastity appears to be recognised … it is customary for the youth of both sexes to lie indiscriminately together".
[201] C. Staniland Wake, "The physical characters of the Australian aborigines", *Journal of Anthropology*, No.III, January, 1871, p.267.
[202] Wood, *Natural history of man*, Vol.2, p.5. The denigration was highly gendered: "Flat, pendent breasts swinging to the waist …"
[203] In a discussion following a paper given by the author, Thomas Bendyshe, "On the extinction of races", *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London*, Vol.II, 1864, cxi.
[204] Wood, *The natural history of man*, Vol.2, p.3.

Scientific and popular adaptation of a famous illustration identified Aboriginal culture with violent sexual subjugation. Sourced to an original drawing by J. Arago, the draftsman on a global voyage which spent three months in New South Wales in 1819,[205] the visual stereotype was reproduced in authoritative ethnological works such as McLennan's *Primitive marriage* (1865) and, entitled "Australian Aboriginal Marriage Ceremony", in Lubbock's *Origin of civilisation and the primitive condition of man* (1870).[206] Popular newspapers reproduced similar illustrations identifying Aboriginal men as primitive rapists.[207]

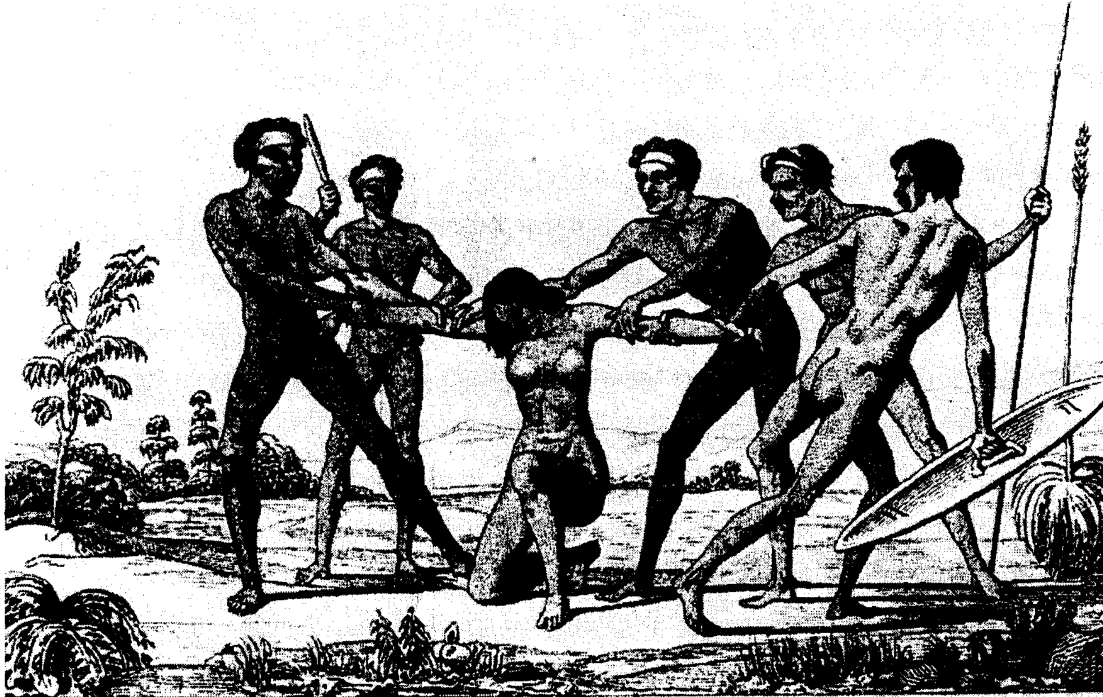

Illustration 18: "Aboriginal courtship"[208]

Although the fate of Tasmanian Aborigines stimulated popular belief that primitive societies were doomed by natural processes of evolution, racial inferiority was not always accepted as sufficient cause for extinction. A British obituary for George "The Protector" Robinson concluded that an over-supply of government rations caused the demise of Tasmanian Aborigines. Because of colonialist kindness, they "died, in fact of too much prosperity."[209] In a paper to the Anthropological Society of London in 1864, Thomas Bendyshe excoriated as

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[205] L.R. Hiatt, *Arguments about Aborigines: Australia and the evolution of social anthropology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, p.61.

[206] J. McLennan, *Primitive marriage: an inquiry into the origin of the form of capture in marriage ceremonies*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1970. The illustration from John Lubbock, *The origin of civilisation and the primitive condition of man*, is reproduced in Stocking, *Victorian anthropology*, p.186.

[207] For example, a similar illustration in *Illustrated Melbourne Post*, 24 May 1862.

[208] The Arago illustration from Hiatt, *Arguments about Aborigines*, p.61, reproduced by Lubbock, *The origin of civilisation and the primitive condition of man*, is reprinted in Stocking, *Victorian anthropology*, p.186.

[209] *Once a Week*, 7 September 1867.

"consolation … [for] the pious manslayer" the "American" generalisation that a law of nature decreed the displacement of each lower race by a higher.[210] Despite moral and intellectual inferiority, extinction was not a necessary consequence of colonisation if savages accepted their subordination to civilisation[211] and Bendyshe concluded - atypically - that the extinction of Aborigines in Victoria, still in the balance, was not inevitable.[212]

Mass circulation newspapers, periodicals and illustrated newspapers

Britons who read *Chambers' Journal* in 1864 and joined the Aborigines' audiences four years later might have experienced a particular thrill as they watched Dick-a-Dick parrying and dodging cricket balls hurled at him by a posse of spectators. Most onlookers would have thought they were enjoying a frivolous piece of native dexterity; an informed few could lose themselves in an adaptation of primal drama involving abduction, rape, revenge, inter-tribal warfare and one warrior risking his life against a torrent of the deadly accurate spears which they had seen demonstrated by the Aborigines in their "sham fight".

"The Australian Blacks" opened with a categorical prediction of Aboriginal extinction "before the advance of civilization. Already their race has become extinct in Tasmania; whilst in the other colonies only a few scattered families survive."[213] Their disappearance made imperative the collection of material displays for "in another generation, no traces of their existence will remain, except, perhaps, the bark-covered mounds which mark their burial-places, or the weapons preserved in public museums, or in the collections of the curious."

Acknowledging Aboriginal generosity towards widows, orphans and white people, *Chambers' Journal* also appreciated their physical skills in hunting and tracking. But their attributes were firmly positioned within the intellectual limitations of primitivism. In beliefs, they were "intensely superstitious", dreading the Bunyip and murdering enemies to cut out their kidney fat to use as a cure. They had no religion and were incapable of properly absorbing European beliefs and social practices: "All missionary efforts have been thrown away on them, and even those who, from their very infancy, have associates with white men, and have enjoyed all the comforts of civilisation, will, at a moment's warning, forsake everything to return to the savage life of the camp."

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[210] Thomas Bendyshe, "On the extinction of races", *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London*, Vol.II, 1864. Bendyshe confirms Nancy Stepan's observation that most racial scientists did not intend to be proponents of hatred or victimisation: Stepan, *The idea of race in science*, xvi.

[211] An elaboration made in the subsequent discussion, Bendyshe, "On the extinction of races", cx.

[212] Bendyshe's Malthusian logic argued that as the inferiority of non-white races was defined by their "absence of moral restraint", the only checks to their population increase were promiscuity, disease, abortion, infanticide, war and poverty. Racial extermination was inevitable only when periodic population decline produced by these mechanisms coincided with colonisation by a superior race.

[213] *Chambers' Journal*, Fourth series, 22 October 1864, pp.686-688.

The "brutality of their nature" was exemplified by their bestial treatment of women. Courtship was unknown. An Aboriginal man simply clubbed a woman with his nulla-nulla to "stun the object of his 'affections', and drag her insensible body away … to his own gunyah in triumph."

But a skilled warrior who had kidnapped a bride might prevent warfare by undergoing a "trial of spears" against 10 of the ablest members of the aggrieved tribe. Each of the 10 was:

> provided with three reed-spears, and a wommera and a throwing-stick; and the offender, armed only with his *heiliman* (a bark-shield only eighteen inches long by six wide) is led out in front, and placed at the distance of forty yards. Then, at a given signal, the thirty spears are launched at him in rapid succession; this he receives and parries with his shield, and so skilful are the blacks in the use of their weapons, that very seldom is any wound inflicted."[214]

The ritual concluded with the two tribes feasting in harmony.

Popular periodicals and illustrated newspapers were the primary means of conveying Aboriginal identity to the British public. Australian newspapers including the *Melbourne Illustrated Post* were readily available for sale or to be "read gratuitously" in London and other major centres.[215]

A weekly illustrated periodical, the *Australian news for home readers* ("home" meaning Britain for most Australian colonists up to the twentieth century) was printed in Melbourne and sold in Britain. It featured numerous illustrations of Aborigines, occasionally represented as partially transformed by civilisation, but predominantly in a state of decaying primitivism and savagery. Its representation of Aborigines in the 1860s substantially exceeded that of Australian newspapers or non-illustrated British newspapers, an indication of their visual interest to British readers.[216] An 1867 illustration (below) typified primitivist representations of a race so unimproved that British colonisation constituted its only prospect of survival or elevation.

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[214] "The Australian Blacks", *Chambers' Journal*, p.688.

[215] *Border Watch* (Mt. Gambier), 2 February 1870, for example, advertised the Gordon & Gotch outlet at Holborn Hill for Australian newspapers.

[216] In 1865, the *Australian news for home readers* included articles and/or illustrations on an Aboriginal native and a blackfellows' camp (23 February 1865); natives attacking an outstation in Queensland (25 March 1865); an outrage committed by the blacks (25 May 1865); a native encampment near the Murray (24 June 1865); an outrage committed by the blacks and a story about sober Aborigines who were lucky enough to discover gold the Aboriginal mission at Coranderrk (25 August 1865); burying a native chief (25 September 1865); civilisation of the blacks at Coranderrk (25 October 1865); murder of a blackfellow by another Aborigine (25 November 1865); and murder of a white shepherd by a blackfellow (23 December 1865).

Illustration 19: Natives roasting an emu[217]

Popular English newspapers and periodicals reached more of the British population than *Australian news*. The *Illustrated London News* published an illustration of what it described as an unusual event, Victorian Aborigines venturing towards civilisation.

Illustration 20: Victorian natives walking to the city.[218]

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[217] *Australian News for home readers*, 27 September 1867.

[218] *Illustrated London News*, 15 November 1856.

The selection of illustration was rare: European readers were primarily interested in Aborigines in a primitive state, unconcealed by European clothing. In reprinting the diary and sketches of John McKinlay, leader of the Burke and Wills relief expedition, the *Illustrated London News* portrayed good and evil Aborigines. The good Aborigine was Bulingani, McKinlay's loyal tracker, in pursuit of three lubras and a male Aborigine, Keri Keri, who had attacked a previous exploring party. When McKinlay and Bulingani cornered Keri Keri:

> certainly a more expressive subject of mingled fear and rage could not be found. With hanging jaw to show his fear, distended nostrils his surprise, and glaring eye his hate, there he stood, covered by my gun, convulsively twitching his waddy, as if meditating to hurl it at one or other.[219]

With a "maniacal laugh" Keri Keri summoned his lubras, the "hideous objects of his solicitude", and confirmed to Bulingani that he had killed and eaten four Europeans. McKinlay's illustration depicted the atavistic cannibal, whose inferiority, unlike Bulingani, was evidenced by an inability to subordinate himself to the authority of white civilisation.

KERI KERI, A NATIVE OF KADHI BIERI, CENTRAL AUSTRALIA.

Illustration 21: Keri Keri[220]

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[219] *Illustrated London news*, 1 March 1862.
[220] *Illustrated London news*, 1 March 1862.

The *Illustrated London News* of 3 October 1863 published illustrations (Nos 22-23) which idealised the beauty of male Aboriginal bodies. Hunting bees, hunting snakes, calling "Coo-oo-oo-ee!" from a cliff above a valley wilderness, and dancing in a moonlit corroboree, the text argued that the traditional hunting and fishing skills of savage life precluded Aborigines - at least those living in an uncolonised Rousseauian state of nature - from being ranked as the lowest in the scale of humanity.

Illustration 22: "The bee-hunters"

Illustration 23: "Coo-oo-oo-ee!"

Several months before the arrival of the 1868 team, and possibly occasioned by reports of their boomerang performances, a lurid report of Aboriginal-white Australian "sporting" interaction appeared in the *Illustrated Sporting and Theatrical News.*[221]

It recounted the gory details of a South Australian kangaroo hunt, an exotic colonial equivalent of gentlemen's field sport which harnessed primitive Aboriginal skills, savagery and athleticism to European control. Aborigines played the part of hunting dogs, locating the huge herd of kangaroos, leading the whites to it and relishing the kill. On horseback, the whites trapped the herd. Meanwhile,

> the blacks have their boomerangs and waddies ready ... the blacks are terribly excited and flourish their boomerangs in a frantic manner ... from my right comes a whirring and a whistling; something rushes past, catching the old fellow between neck and shoulder tearing away muscle and bone, and then he falls over on his side.

Aboriginal women were a comic device, the writer juxtaposing would-be ferocity with risible female ineffectuality: "The 'lubras' join in the attack just like the men; one very old lady with very grey hair and legs about as thick as broomsticks got so excited that she deliberately walked out to meet a 'boomer' with nothing but a small 'waddie' in her hand."

Material representations of Aborigines in Europe

Aboriginal weaponry constituted prized examples of primitive technology, and sizeable English collections had already been gathered by the British Museum and individuals like Reverend J.G. Wood and Colonel Lane Fox (Pitt-Rivers).[222] At the Crystal Palace, the four examples of primitive technology that represented Tasmanian Aboriginal civilization - shell necklaces, reed baskets, a kelp water-carrier and a navigational device made from bundles of tree bark - appeared pitifully insignificant amid 345 other groups of exhibits from Van Diemen's Land.[223] The 1862 Intercolonial Exhibition in London, a much-criticised successor to its Crystal Palace inspiration, displayed photographs of Tasmanian Aborigines taken by Bishop Nixon in 1858.[224]

The Paris Universal Exposition of 1867 was the first international exhibition in which displays of living human beings could be considered part of the exhibits.[225] The exhibits submitted for display by Australian colonists demonstrated an awareness of European interest in

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[221] 15 February 1868, original British publication in *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times.*

[222] Wood, *Natural history of man*, p.28.

[223] Stocking, *Victorian anthropology*, p.275.

[224] Roslyn Poignant, "Surveying the field of view: the making of the RAI photographic collection", in Edwards, *Anthropology and photography*, p.45. Poignant has observed that they reflected greater individuality than the homogenised morbidity of the Woolley photographs, *The Last of the Aborigines*, a common *motif* in anthropological collections

[225] Paul Grenhalgh, *Ephemeral vistas: the Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World Fairs 1851-1939*, Manchester University Press, England, 1988, p.85. The Paris Exposition was also the first international exhibition with an amusement zone (Burton Benedict, *The anthropology of world's fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific Exposition of 1915*, Scolar Press, USA, 1983, p.52) and the first with a carnival atmosphere (John Findling (ed.) *Historical dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions 1851-1988*, Greenwood Press, USA, 1990, p.35). It was not until the Paris World Fair of 1876 that living primitive peoples were systematically displayed (Raymond Corbey, "Ethnographic showcases, 1870-1930", p.60, in Jan Nederveen Pieterse & Bhikhu Parekh (eds), *The decolonization of imagination*, Zed Books, London, 1995, pp.57-80).

Aborigines and their artefacts. A photograph by Auguste-Rosalie Bisson reveals six busts of Aborigines (left side of the photo two-thirds to the top), arranged prominently on top of a glass display cabinet for the colony of Victoria at the Exposition.[226]

Illustration 24: Busts of Aborigines in colony of Victoria's display, Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1867

Among its Miscellaneous Exhibits to the General Committee, the South Australian catalogue of contributions listed 16 photographs of Aborigines and a collection of native weapons.[227] An individual exhibitor, W. Tomsett of Port Adelaide, contributed 27 Aboriginal items, mainly weapons from South Australia and the Northern Territory. The location description for spear, waddy and woomera reads: "From Port Adelaide. The tribe are now extinct." Another item was a "cord made from human hair." The list built to the climactic artefact: "Skull of an Aboriginal (supposed female)".

The documentation of Victoria's exhibits was prefaced by William Westgarth's summary of the colony's history and conditions. A section on "Natives" explained that the pre-colonisation Aboriginal population of 6,000 or more had declined to 1,694 in the 1861 census, excluding about two hundred who had "missed enumeration."

Despite the efforts of Christian philanthropy they were racing towards extinction. All of Victoria had been colonised and Aborigines were "fast dying out from the colonised area. The

[226] Mulitimedia catalogue, State Library of Victoria, http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/pictoria/b/3/2/doc/b32737.htm. The busts, by Charles Summers, are currently held by the Museum of Victoria.

[227] *South Australia Catalogue of Contributions to the Paris Universal Exhibition held in Paris 1867*, South Australia, W.C. Cox, Adelaide, 1866, pp.21 & 25.

progress of civilization has been utter destruction to his prospects."[228] The cause was an absence of will coupled with inability to improve or adapt: "He does not rise to the level of the surrounding civilisation. As his hereditary mode of life is now on every side interfered with, he pines away in a purposeless existence, a victim to the vices without the virtues of the new order."

Exhibitors of Aboriginal materials were directly associated with the story of the 1868 touring team. Display Number 2 in Class 37 (weapons) was exhibited by "Mr. Officer, Mount Talbot." Charles Officer - who later as an MLA and Chairman of the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines repressed Aboriginal dissent and enforced policies of dispersal[229] - taught cricket to Bullocky[230] and employed a number of the team as shearers on his Mount Talbot station.[231] It is possible then that some of the cricket team's weapons had preceded them on display in Europe.[232]

The donor of Exhibit No. 3, a "collection of native weapons and shield", was described as "R. Brough Smyth, Surveyor of the Mines Department." True enough, but it is interesting he was not identified by the position which better authenticated the exhibits: "R. Brough Smyth, Secretary of the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines" - who at precisely this time was frantically attempting to prevent the Aboriginal cricket team leaving for England.

Victorian Exhibit No. 16 was "two aboriginal skulls."

Representation of Aborigines to British emigrants at sea

The Aboriginal team sailed to England on the *Parramatta* in February 1868. During its previous voyage from England towards the end of 1867, four issues of a shipboard newspaper, the *Parramatta chronicle*, were printed for the Australia-bound passengers. The contents indicated what British migrants were advised to expect from Aborigines they encountered.

It presented two views of Aborigines - tamed, when they could be amusing subordinates, useful for their native skills; and untamed, when they were treacherous, murderous savages. A spoof of a naturalist observing the north-western coast of New South Wales was pseudonymously contributed by Buffon Cuvier Munchausen Junior. The scientist was accompanied by his tracker Weazle, who uttered comic pidgin observations like: "Me tink him, dat one fellow sit down along o'here."[233]

In contrast to its frivolity was "Shaw's Peak or a Narrative of Northern Queensland", which extended over several issues of the *Parramatta Chronicle*. Set in 1861, the narrator,

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[228] *Paris Universal Exhibition 1867. Royal Commissioners for the Colony of Victoria*, Melbourne & London, 1866-1867, viii..

[229] Jan Critchett, *Untold stories: memories and lives of Victorian Kooris*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1998, pp.99-100.

[230] *Hamilton Spectator*, "The Black cricketing team", letter by 'A Cricketer', 6 February 1867.

[231] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.36.

[232] *Paris Universal Exhibition 1867. Royal Commissioners for the Colony of Victoria*, pp.10-11. Eighteen types of native weapons donated by Officer were listed with their English descriptions and native names.

[233] *Parramatta Chronicle*, No. 2, 9 November 1867, published during the voyage of the ship "Parramatta" between London and Sydney in the year 1867. Published on the South Atlantic Ocean by Charles Thomas Norton, Chronicle Office, on board the *Parramatta*, and in Sydney by the Caxton Steam Printing Office, 156 Pitt St.

accompanied by "two black boys, Billy and Weazle, both of them capital stockmen and 'cute trackers' " eventually reached a native camp. The Port Molle blacks, a warlike tribe of coast natives, strong and dangerous from devouring prey of turtle and oysters, were "a formidable enemy to the European who is not armed with the six-shooter or rifle."

Unfortunately, the landing party was gulled by their demonstrative welcome, friendly bartering and tempting offers of seafood. Entirely unprovoked, and led by "a fellow of herculean build … painted with vermillion in alternate streaks, with chalk on his face and ribs" the "murderous fiends" attacked. They murdered three "brave white men" and gloatingly displayed portions of the bodies "stripped entirely naked and cut down the middle into halves" to the onboard survivors.

Ten days later a party of 25 well-armed Europeans returned in search of vengeance. They found that the Aborigines had removed the white corpses "which had probably formed 'pieces de resistance' for many a horrid feast." Opening carbines on the Aboriginal camp, they killed 19 and wounded others: "So ends this simple narrative of a few of the risks which have been gone through in opening up of the new country."

It was simple enough but more than a narrative. It was an incitement for English immigrants on the frontiers to engage in preemptive murder of Aborigines, a precursor of Trollope's advice about legal acquiescence in colonial-settler extermination of rebellious Aborigines.[234] The Aborigines who boarded the same ship in Sydney three months later could, like Weazle, be treated with affectionate amusement, having apparently accepted their subordination and adopted some of the veneer of civilisation.

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[234] Trollope documented his 1872 visit to Australia in articles published in British newspapers in 1873, collected in Anthony Trollope, *Australia*, edited by P.D. Edwards & R.B. Joyce, University of Queensland Press, 1967. It suggested that Aborigines spearing livestock should be treated like tigers or snakes (p.111). Trollope was contemptuous of Aborigines, believing their savagery was ineradicable (pp.27 & 100), and condemning missions as a waste of effort because of imminent Aboriginal extinction (p.111). But he effectively exposed the hypocrisy of racial philanthropy for supporting colonisation despite the inevitable theft of Aboriginal land and destruction of its inhabitants (p.112). For Trollope's criticisms of colonisation, see Victoria Glendinning, *Trollope*, Hutchinson, London, 1992, p.252.

CHAPTER 4

CRICKET, SPORT AND RACE IN MID-VICTORIAN ENGLAND

Industrial developments; pre-industrial survivals

In mid-Victorian England modern sport was emerging from its rural precursors of the pre-industrial age. The years 1860 to 1877 saw the first professional golf championship; the first English cricket tour of Australia; the first organised hockey club; the formation of the English Football Association; the first modern athletics championships; the publication of the Marquess of Queensberry Rules for boxing; the first court tennis championship; the first international football match; the formation of the Rugby Football Union; the first F.A. Cup; the beginning of the English county cricket championships; the Europeanisation of lacrosse; and the first test cricket match.

The 1868 Aboriginal tour found a niche before regularised national or international competitions could marginalise it, but after increased spectator access made sport a promising entrepreneurial speculation in many areas beyond London. Urban concentration, consolidated leisure time for workers and an expanding rail network created the framework for sports to regularly attract larger audiences and create national rules and associations.[235] The growth of multi-class spectatorship established sport as a key arena of national and colonialist popular culture.[236]

Rule regularisation and speedier sea transport facilitated international sporting ventures. Within a four month period in 1867, *Sporting Life* described an international racket match in New York for a stake of 1,000 pounds between the English and U.S. champions; a regatta in Paris between French and English crews; and a four-oared contest in Connecticut between British and American crews.[237]

Like the contest between the Oxford and Harvard crews depicted in *Bless you my children: a family picture*,[238] international amateur sport, approved by a full-bosomed Britannia, was an avocation uniting white gentlemen of privilege.

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[235] Wray Vamplew, "Sport and industrialization: an economic interpretation of the changes in popular sport in mid-nineteenth century England", in J.A. Mangan, (ed.), *Pleasure, profit, proselytism: British culture and sport at home and abroad 1700-1914*, Frank Cass, London, 1988.

[236] In Tony Bennett's sense of popular culture as an "area of exchange" between classes. Tony Bennett, " 'Popular culture': defining our terms, in *Popular culture: themes and issues*, Milton Keynes, 1981, p.86, quoted in Annie E. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: museums, material culture and popular imagination in late Victorian and Edwardian England*, Yale University Press, London, 1994, p.3.

[237] *Sporting Life*, 15 May 1867; 13 July 1867; and 28 September 1867 respectively.

[238] *Tomahawk* (London), 28 August 1869.

Illustration 25: "Bless you my children."

Local sporting activities shared by country gentry and rural workers continued, including animal-baiting sports which had been banned as a result of agitation by middle class philanthropic movements.[239] Field sports - hunting, fishing and the increasingly prestigious shooting - were influential and respectable. Horse racing and bare-knuckle boxing, the two premier avenues for aristocratic gambling, had carried into the modern era. Horse racing was highly prestigious; boxing was under challenge from the "civilisers" of brutal pre-industrial pastimes. Football was growing in prominence as a spectator sport, billiards was a significant, if racy, gentleman's activity and the popularity of pedestrianism (running), general athletics and rowing were also reflected in the general and sporting press.

Novelty events and rustic traditions maintained popularity, a factor which was important to the success of the Aboriginal tour.[240] Modern sports were contested at urban festivals and rural fairs, commonly accompanied by traditional amusements such as flinging missiles at the figure of a black Aunt Sally, as illustrated at an English race meeting.[241]

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[239] Richard Holt, *Sport and the British*, Clarendon Press, England, 1989, pp.12-73.

[240] *Sporting Life*, 22 May 1867 noted an athletics contest in Sheffield which included a horn-blowing contest, a blindfold race and a "frog-leap" competition. Sporting newspapers of 1868 reported occasional contests of *knur-and-spell*, an intriguing northern England survival of an ancient Norse activity. For *knur and spell*, see Holt, *Sport and the British*, p.68.

[241] *Illustrated Sporting and Theatrical News*, 8 February 1868.

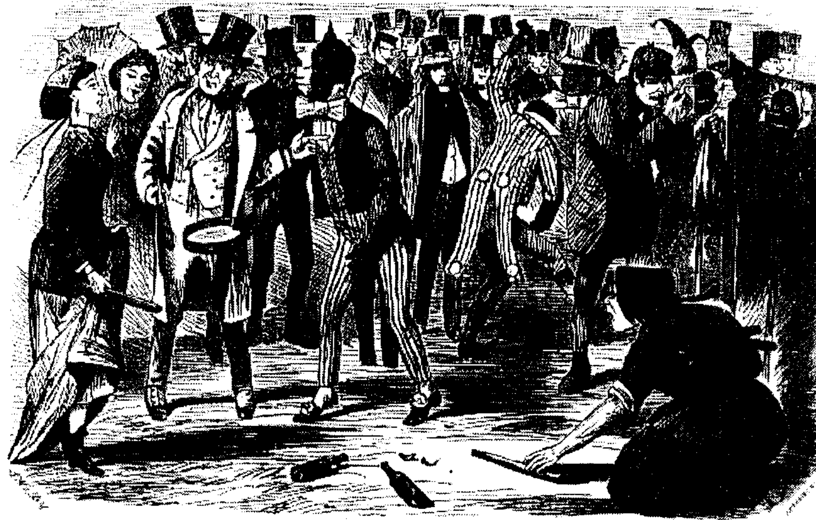

Illustration 26: Targeting Aunt Sally

Illustrations depicted sport as a semi-rustic activity transferred to the metropolis, a part of the city not yet transformed by it.[242]

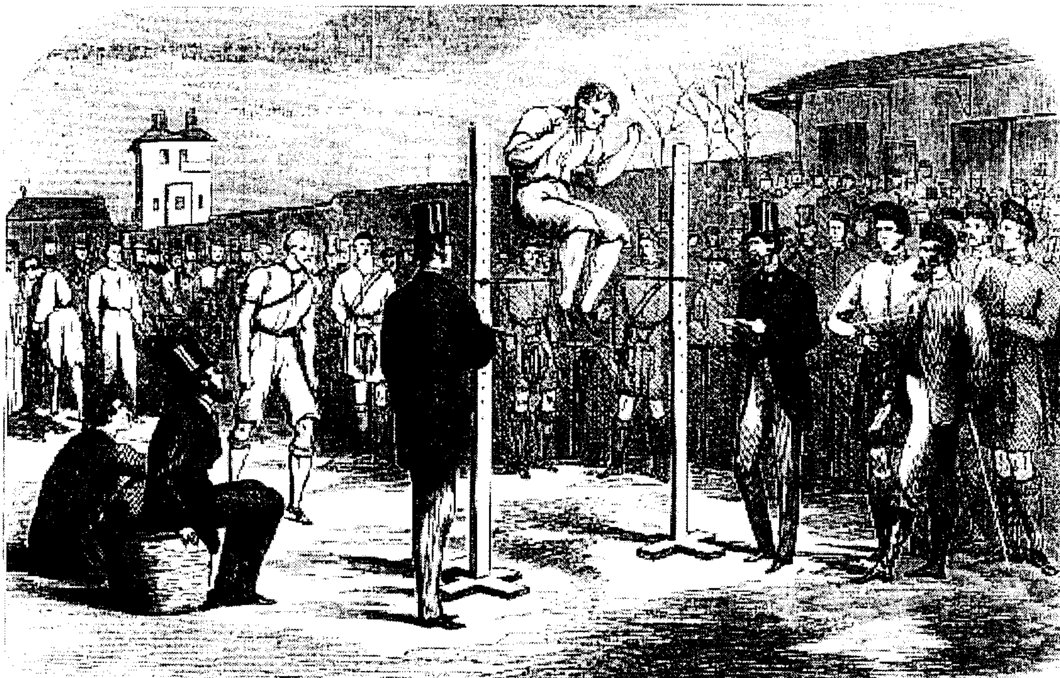

Illustration 27: London Scottish athletic events, 1867

[242] Respectively: London Scottish Athletic Sports - *Illustrated sporting and theatrical news*, 4 May 1867; Athletic Sports on Good Friday at Agricultural Hall - *Illustrated Sporting and Theatrical News*, 18 April 1868; Volunteer Athletic Sports, Alexandra Park *Illustrated Times*, 4 July 1868.

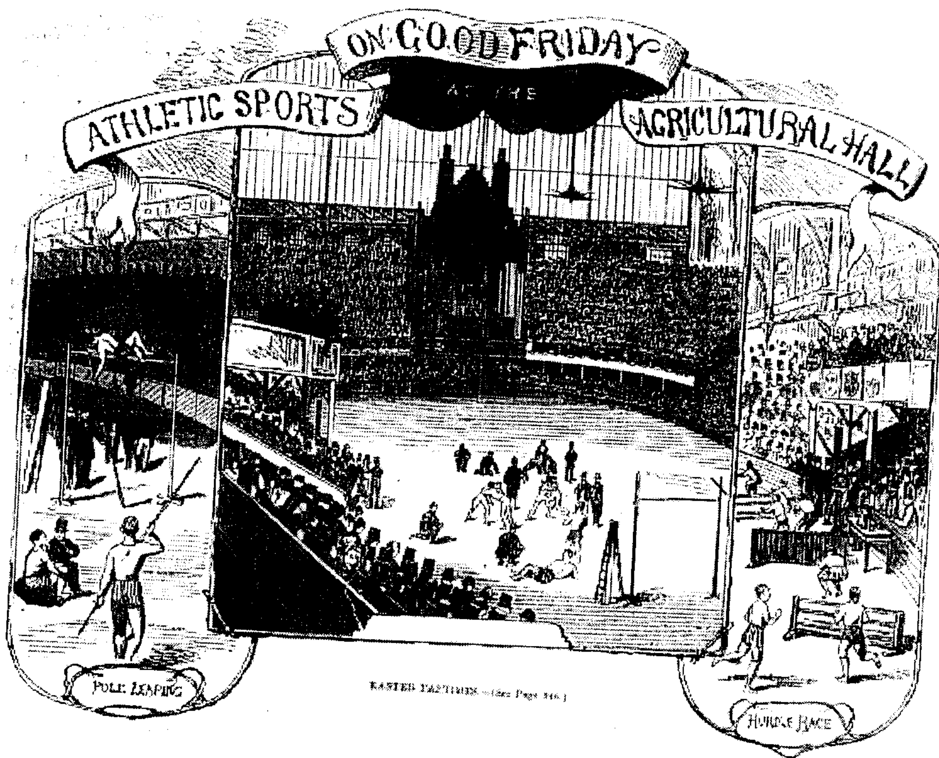

Illustration 28: Athletics at Agricultural Hall, 1868

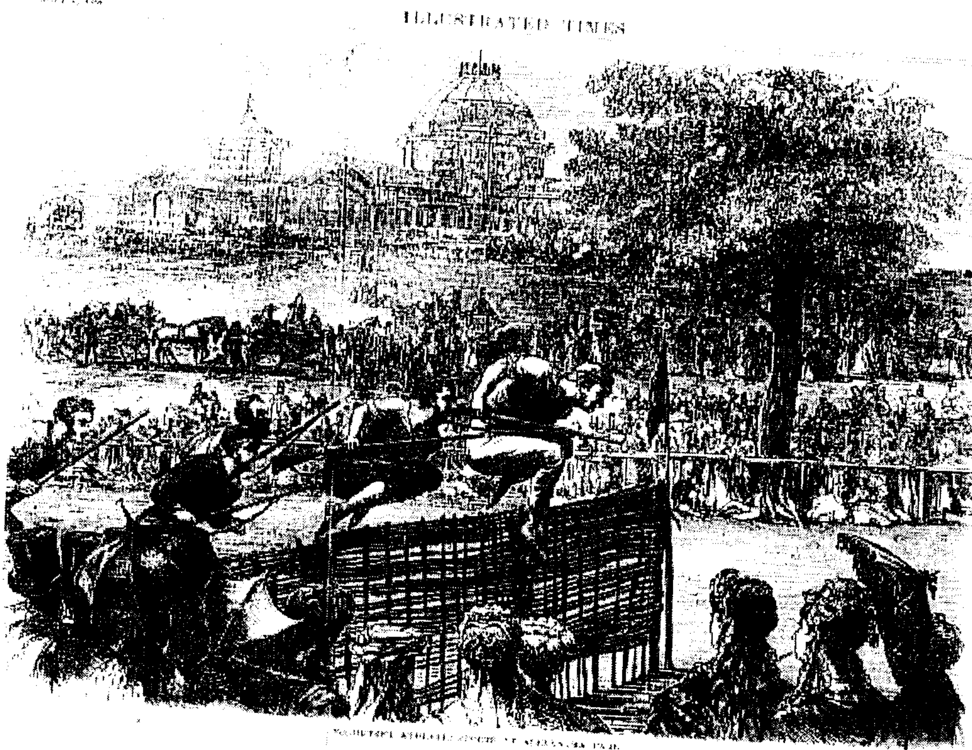

Illustration 29: Volunteer athletic sports at Alexandra Park, 1868

CRICKET

English cricket in transition: unique opportunities for the Aboriginal tour

An endearing snapshot of the unsystematised social diversity of English cricket is reflected in reports in the sporting press of 1867-68. Matches included Non-Commissioned Officers Royal Artillery Coast Brigade vs. Garrison; Harrow School vs. Oxford Eleven; various wandering professional elevens (All England, United North of England, United South of England) vs. various village twenty-twos and eighteens; County of Surrey vs. MCC and Ground (i.e. professionals); Gentlemen of Sussex vs. Gentlemen of Kent; Past vs. Present Carthusians; Civil Service vs. Battersea Institution; Middlesex Club vs. Anomalies; I Zingari vs. Lords and Commons; Gentlemen vs. Players; Eton vs Harrow; and my favourite, the Hundred of Hoo vs. Gentlemen of the Isle of Thanet.

Even its idea of eccentricity was eccentric. The annual contest between two teams of Greenwich Pensioners, One-Armed v One-Legged, was treated as something of an unremarkable tradition. On the other hand, a headline which read:

CRICKET NOVEL AND EXTRAORDINARY

announced an impending match between two women's teams in Hampshire.[243] It was not unusual for many of the festive and novelty matches to use the services of local brass bands, something the Aborigines would hear much of. The *Era* reported a highly successful match in 1868 between Eleven Gentlemen of Middlesex and Twenty-Two Clowns: "There were no less than twenty-five clowns fielding during this innings, their costumes and attitudes being most grotesque, and at the fall of each wicket their captain Mr. Holland shouted 'Over' and forthwith there was a general shower of somersaults, which the spectators seemed to enjoy amazingly."[244]

Above all other sports, England thought of cricket as symbol and source of its international superiority, but an 1868 illustration of Lord's presents a bucolic air.

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[243] *Sporting Life*, 21 August 1867.

[244] *Era*, 11 October 1868.

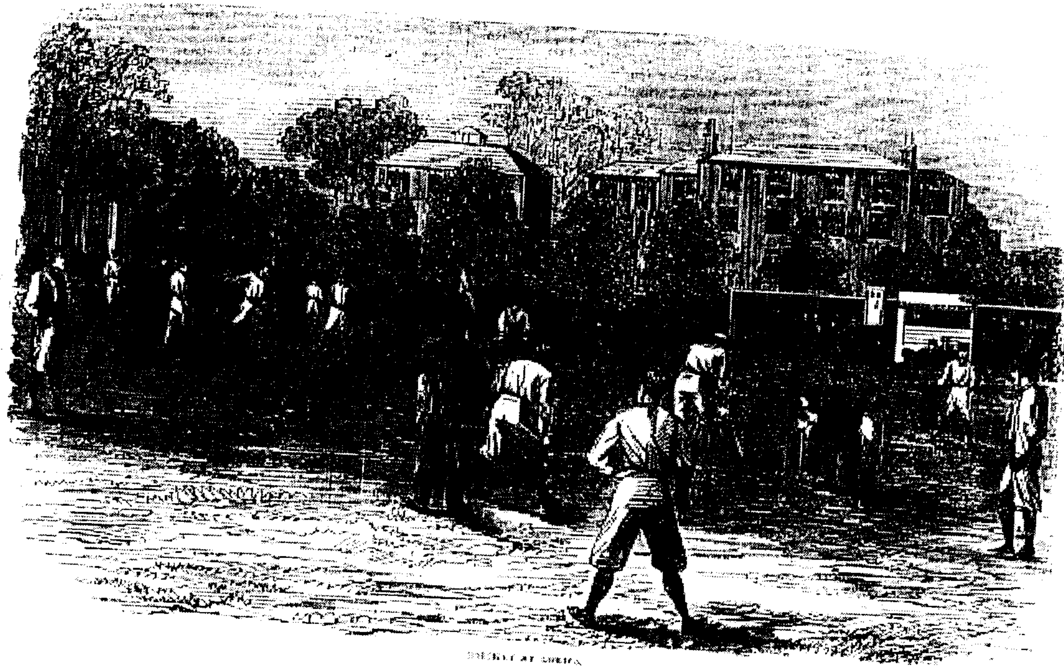

Illustration 30: Cricket at Lord's 1868.[245]

A game whose English folk origins can be traced to 1598 and possibly centuries earlier,[246] cricket was still largely controlled by a landed-aristocratic ruling clique which had coalesced to establish its "Laws" at the *Star and Garter* tavern in 1784 to regulate its profligate gambling.[247] It had become a national game by the end of the eighteenth century, by which time 500 matches were recorded in a year.[248]

In 1846, William Clarke, the son of a bricklayer, a middle-aged, one-eyed archaic underarm lob bowler, created a national cricketing framework which made the Aboriginal tour possible. From the ranks of self-employed tradesmen and skilled apprentices, he organised, financed and captained a team of travelling professional cricketers which toured England playing against local teams of eighteen or twenty-two men.[249] Until the mid 1860s, the All-England Eleven played at least six days a week, thirty matches a year, from May to September.[250]

Its success led to the formation of other touring professional cricketing troupes until fragmentation weakened all of them. "Professional cricket has long been on the wane, and the season of 1866 has given it the coup de grace", reported the *Saturday Review* with satisfaction.[251] Their last great year was 1867 and thereafter the travelling professional teams

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[245] *Illustrated Sporting and Theatrical News*, 20 June 1868.

[246] Stephen Green, "Some cricket records", *Archives*, Vol.XVIII, No.80, October 1988, pp.187-188; Derek Birley, *A social history of English cricket*, Aurum Press, London, 1999, pp.3-8.

[247] Mike Marqusee, *Anyone but England: cricket and the national malaise*, Verso, London, 1994, pp.33-36; Birley, *A social history of English cricket*, pp.29-58.

[248] Marqusee, *Anyone but England*, p.44.

[249] Ric Sissons, *The players: a social history of the professional cricketer*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 1988, pp.49-53 & 99.

[250] Sissons, *The players*, pp.63-66.

[251] Reprinted in the *Empire* (Sydney), 13 March 1867.

declined. In 1867, the All England Eleven played 22 games and the United South of England 17, still attracting large crowds. In 1868, the composite United England Eleven played only seven games and died the year after.[252] A resentful socio-cricketing establishment re-established its power, insisting that "professionals will return to their proper place as auxiliaries in amateur matches."[253]

As with race, class prejudice was more complex than exclusion or contempt. Amateur "Gentlemen" were happy to play with professional inferiors, but their coexistence had nothing to do with cricket's mythical equality. Gentlemen admired the skill of obedient, well-behaved professionals, and hired them to provide entertainment, garner them prestige, do the yeoman work of bowling, and win wagers. But they would only tolerate professionals who were respectful and knew their place.[254]

The collapse of professional touring elevens created a vacuum which the Aboriginal tourists were able to fill. The peripatetic professionals had penetrated almost every corner of England. Under their stimulus, the attendance at inter-county matches had doubled from the 1840s to the 1860s.[255] They had created audiences accustomed to watching local teams play against visiting touring elevens. In 1868, for the first time in 20 years, credible professional teams were in short supply. Thus in 1867, the twenty-two of Bootle were thrashed by the All England Eleven:[256] in 1868, the Aborigines played Bootle twice. In 1870, the County Championship began, after which the Aboriginal tour could not have been as successful. The Aborigines' management had selected one of the two most opportune years in the history of English cricket for their visit.

Cricket, colonialism and English chauvinism

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the cult of manliness, expressed in cricket, symbolised British supremacy over other nations and races. [257] The English were smug enough

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[252] Sissons, *The players*, p.63.

[253] *Baily's magazine of sports and pastimes*, Vol.15, No.102, August 1868, p.182. The amateur establishment wished to reassert previous relations of power: when they saw fit to summon professionals for a match, the working cricketers "were proud of being asked to play; they came up to Lord's and earned their five pounds for winning a match." But the upstart "paid professionals insisted on dictating to those who paid them the associates with whom alone they would consent to act." "Cricket", *St. Paul's*, 1868, p.558.

[254] Fuller Pilch, one of England's greatest nineteenth century professionals whose career extended to the 1850s, recalled the relationship between leading professionals and the gentlemen. He was welcome in "the butler's private room when we were playing a great match. Ay, and drank rare good stuff, too. The gamekeepers used to drop in by accident and the ladies' maids and the housekeeper; and I have known some of the young gentlemen in the big house come down and smoke their cigars and talk cricket; for I say gentlemen were gentlemen and players were players, much in the same position as a nobleman and his head gamekeeper might be, and we knew our place and they knew theirs." Quoted in Green, *A history of cricket*, pp.45-46.

[255] Keith Sandiford *Cricket and the Victorians*, Scolar Press, Aldershot, c.1994, p.112.

[256] *Sporting Life*, 1 & 8 June 1867.

[257] James A. Walvin, "Symbols of moral superiority: slavery, sport and the changing world order, 1800-1940", in J.A. Mangan & James Walvin (eds.), *Manliness and morality: middle class masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1987, p.251. Walvin observes that the cult of manliness was also a function of racial superiority.

to joke about their superiority[258] and *St. Paul's* admonished the Lord Rector of Aberdeen that replacing some of the metaphysical curriculum with "a modicum of cricket" might impart to Scottish students some of the English national virtues - "manliness, self-dominion and modesty."[259] The absence of these qualities defined primitive races, particularly as masculinity was the negation of bestial sexual expression.[260]

Although cricket embodied "national" qualities, it was noted that the "proposition is true only if applied to the ideal Englishman, the member of the upper and middle classes".[261] Awkward evidence that working class professionals could play cricket better than amateurs was resolved by confining the captaincy, leadership and administration of cricket to the amateur "ideal" Englishman.

The cricketing ideology of hierarchical social inclusiveness, class deference and manly honour was extended to Britain's colonial outposts. A magazine edited by Anthony Trollope quipped that cricket would enable future scientific researchers to trace the spread of civilisation in the farthest reaches of the colonised world. "Where a score or so of our sons are found," it guffawed, "there is found cricket; where there are not, cricket is not, and the ethnologist may hereafter find a very sufficient guide to their presence by the inseparable concomitants of fossil stumps and bats."[262]

It was true: in 1868 the British military were playing sport in Algeria;[263] holding a week-long English sports carnival and cricket match in Mauritius;[264] and staging a cricket match in present-day Nigeria between Lagos Club and H.M.S. Danae.[265]

Trollope's magazine echoed the general opinion that it had already been proven that "our own dependencies in India cannot create native players." Undeniable exceptions were fleeting and insignificant novelties:

> although by unremitting diligence - more for the pleasure of overcoming difficulties than anything else, - one or two Englishmen have taught the Australian native to present a more than creditable appearance, their existence is a mere phenomenon which has no significance as far as the national character of the game is concerned.[266]

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[258] *Punch* (London), quoted in *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 30 August 1862 jested that modesty almost precluded them from agreeing that "we Englishmen are magnificent specimens of humanity", but seriously concluded that it was "cricket and other field sports which have made us what we are". In 1868 Charles Box guffawed that the "Italians are too fat for cricket, the French too thin, the Dutch too dumpy, the Belgians too bilious, the Flemish too flatulent, the East Indians too peppery ..." Charles Box, *Cricket: its theory and practice, from its origin to the present time*, pp.22-23.

[259] "Cricket", St. Paul's, 1868, p.562.

[260] Holt, *Sport and the British*, p.89.

[261] "Cricket", *St. Paul's*, 1868, p.553.

[262] "Cricket", *St. Paul's*, 1868, p549.

[263] *Field*, 5 December 1868.

[264] *Field*, 26 December 1868.

[265] *Field*, 29 August 1868.

[266] "Cricket", *Saint Paul's*, 1868, p.549.

THE EXOTIC BODY, RACE AND SPORT

Sport and race

The non-white body is a material text whose meanings, constructed by colonialist power, are tenacious and inescapable.[267] Elements of racial ideology and science are still applied to black activities in sport.[268] When black bodies in sport and other aspects of physical display have been the subject of European evaluation, intimations of white physical superiority and black physical prowess have equally been cited as evidence of primitive evolutionary inferiority.

Similarities between hunting and physical skills in primitive cultures and the athletic, field and blood sports pursued by white gentlemen made comparisons irresistible. In 1814, *Foreign field sports, fisheries, sporting anecdotes &c. &c.* illustrated the parallels between European sportsmen shooting wild game and the hunting techniques of Laplanders, Arabs, Hindus, Hottentots and Aborigines.[269] Aspects of body culture in non-European societies were recontextualised as primitively evolved equivalents of European sport. The Tutsi activity, *gusimbuka-urukiramende*, was misinterpreted as "high-jumping";[270] a Native American activity with ceremonial and spiritual significance which George Catlin had illustrated in the 1830s (below) was adapted, usurped and renamed as lacrosse by colonial-settlers.[271]

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[267] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin, *Key concepts in post-colonial studies*, Routledge, London, 1998, pp.183-186.

[268] "Black magic" is its most persistent expression, a primarily instinctual set of attributes associated with a closeness to nature and animalism, and exemplified in rhythmic movement, keenness of eye, suppleness of wrist, and imperviousness to pain.for example, see Ernest Cashmore, *Black sportsmen*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, England, 1982, pp. 7-9; 42-56. Bodily characteristics of black Africans are still adduced as the racial-scientific explanation of black sporting success. See for example, David K. Wiggins, "The debate over black athletic superiority", in S.W. Pope (ed.) *The new American sport history: recent approaches and perspectives*, University of Illinois Press, Chicago, 1997, pp.312-338.

[269] *Foreign field sports, fisheries, sporting anecdotes &c. &c. containing one hundred plates with a supplement of New South Wales*, Edward Orme, London, 1814.

[270] John Bale, "Between the traditional and the modern: the case of Tutsi high jumping", Paper presented at Sporting Traditions XI Conference, Edith Cowan University, Western Australia, 1997.

[271] W.G. Beers, the author of the white rules, had considered anthropological arguments that the Indians were too primitive a race to have invented lacrosse. He doubted the claims for Phoenicians and Irish Celts and until "some archeologist can prove that it was played by the extinct races of humanity said to have existed on this continent long before the advent of the Spaniards, it is only fair to add that they [the Indians] should have the honour.": W.G. Beers, *Lacrosse: the national game of Canada*, Sampson Low, London, 1875 (orig.1868), pp.3-5. For a fascinating analysis of the traditional practices and significance of Indian lacrosse, see Thomas Vennum Jnr, *American Indian lacrosse: Little brother of War*, Smithsonian Institution Press, USA, 1994.

Illustration 31: Ball-play of the Choctaw 1834-35[272]

Few were more predisposed to accept precepts of evolutionary superiority than the country gentlemen who dominated England's prestigious field sports and were a powerful force in the administration of English cricket. Breeders of prime livestock and pure-bred horseflesh found Darwinian principles of selective breeding commonplace and incontestable. The principles of natural selection were familiar to the exponents of planned selection, it being "an intuition that domestic breeding practices and natural selection were the same phenomenon differing only in the identity of the selector."[273]

Thus, *The Field: the Country Gentleman's Newspaper* employed W.B. Tegetmeier, a leading Darwinian naturalist, who provided articles like "Darwin on variation in the horse, ass and pig" for a readership whose business, hobbies and personal vanities were bound up with superior breeding.[274] Tegetmeier was to take an active ethnological interest in the 1868 Aborigines and the hunting activities of these primitive sportsmen.

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[272] From Royal B. Hassrick, *The George Catlin book of American Indians*, Watson-Gulpill, New York, 1997, p.72.
[273] Pat Shipman, *The evolution of racism*, Simon & Schuster, USA, 1994, p.21.
[274] *Field*, 2 May 1868.

Racial science and the assessment of "protoathletic" abilities

It was a natural development for physical anthropology and ethnology to measure the physical abilities of primitive races. In 1800 Joseph-Marie Degerando suggested that the explorer-scientist should measure "the physical strength of the individual savage, what burdens he is capable of lifting, carrying or dragging; ... how quickly he can run; how far he can travel without rest; how good he is at swimming", capacities which John Hoberman has usefully described as "protoathletic" abilities.[275] In the early nineteenth century, Francois Peron, an adventurous ethnologist, travelled to Australia with a dynamometer and measured the physical strength of the recently discovered Aboriginal race. Having wondered whether civilisation varied inversely with strength, he was pleased to find that civilisation was stronger.[276]

Results of primitive protoathletic abilities were of two types. Assessments which suggested white physical superiority were interpreted as consistent with their higher evolutionary state. John Crawfurd of the Ethnological Society concluded in 1867 that "the European is a larger animal, possessing more bodily strength, with a great capacity for enduring toil."[277] Non-white physical inferiority was used to explain primitive disinclination to accept work discipline.[278] Because a program of eugenics could hardly be advocated if it bred a race of weaklings, Francis Galton was implacable on white physical superiority, insisting on the bodily magnificence of European intellectual giants.[279] After the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, visiting anthropologists submitted the indigenous peoples on display to a series of athletic contests entitled "Anthropology Days". When results indicated they had fallen below white athletes, it was concluded that their subnormal intelligence made them physically subnormal.[280]

Others questioned the physical inferiority of Africans, African-Americans, Native Americans and Aborigines. The German anthropologist, Theodor Waitz, proposed in 1859 that "savages" of "all races" possessed superior resistance to pain and greater athletic aptitude. He suggested "experiments to be performed in running, spear-throwing etc. to form a judgement of the proportion of bodily strength in different nations."[281]

But beliefs that primitive male bodies were stronger, fleeter of foot, more tireless or keener of eye were easily contained within the hegemonic racial hierarchy. Frederic Farrar, racist ethnologist and apostle of muscular Christianity in his capacity of headmaster of

[275] The term is from John Hoberman, *Mortal engines: the science and dehumanization of sport*, MacMillan, New York, 1992, p.36-37. In 1854, an English *Manual of ethnological enquiry* reiterated Degerando's suggestion (Hoberman, *Mortal engines*, p.35). For a discussion of evolutionism and sport, see *Mortal Engines*, Chapter 2, "Darwin's athletes: the 'savage' and 'civilized' body", pp.33-61.

[276] Quoted in Hoberman, *Mortal engines*, p.37. Other scientists who brought dynamometers to Australia also found that their nation was the strongest of the races tested and Aborigines the weakest.

[277] Quoted in Hoberman, *Mortal engines*, p.43.

[278] Hoberman, *Mortal engines*, p.51.

[279] Francis Galton, *Hereditary genius,* 1869.

[280] Philip Verner Bradford & Harvey Blume, *Ota Benga, the Pygmy in the zoo*, Bantam, USA, 1992, pp.121-122. A current anthropological approach to sport still theorises a model which divides societies into five evolutionary stages. Aboriginal culture, games and technology are assessed at Band 1, the base level of "sociocultural adaptation": Kendall Blanchard,& Alyce Cheska, *The anthropology of sport*, Bergin and Garvey, USA, 1985, pp.132-141.

[281] Quoted in Hoberman, *Mortal engines*, p.55.

Marlborough School, attributed the physical strength of black races to "salient animality".[282] For Dr. George Harley, "evolution from a state of barbarism into one of *bien seance* and refinement" had wrought "a direct deteriorating influence on ... [civilised man's] animal vitality."[283] Darwin reasoned that with the progress of civilisation, physical superiority diminished as a mechanism of inherited survival and intellectual qualities were a higher development.[284]

Catlin's Indians: precursors of sporting tours

As in other areas of primitivist display, George Catlin's Native American performances prefigured indigenous sporting tours. To demonstrate to the French king how they paddled birch canoes, Ojibwa warriors competed against a French crew in St. Cloud.[285]

Illustration 32: Royalty watching Ojibwa canoeing race in St. Cloud[286]

Catlin's illustrations had depicted lacrosse as a unique component of exotic Native American masculinity,[287] which he attempted to recontextualise in European performances. In early shows at the Egyptian Hall, Ojibwas attempted to demonstrate their skills in difficult conditions. "The famous ball game was exhibited", reported the *Athenaeum*, "but again the prairie was needed. The gas-light perplexed the vision, and our Indian made more misses than hits. In the open air, we were told, he would never fail."[288] To the imaginative Catlin, the solution was obvious.

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[282] Quoted in Hoberman, *Mortal engines*, p.39.
[283] Quoted in Hoberman, *Mortal engines*, p.40.
[284] Hoberman, *Mortal engines*, pp.40-43.
[285] Catlin believed the Indians lost because the crew consisted of four warriors and Indian squaws were much superior rowers: *Catlin's notes*, Vol.2, p.289.
[286] *Catlin's notes*, Vol.2, facing p.290.
[287] For instance, his illustration "Drinks the Juice of the Stone in ball-players [nearly naked] dress", Treuttner, *The natural man observed*, p.100.
[288] *Aethenaeum*, No.850, 10 February 1844, pp.135-136.

"We resolved to procure some suitable ground for their purpose," he explained, "where their active limbs could be seen in full motion in the open air, as they are seen on their native prairies with their ball sticks, in their favourite game of ball, and the use of their bows and arrows". At the Vauxhall Gardens in 1845, the Iowas drew thousands of observers to their demonstrations of lacrosse and prairie warfare on horseback. The Ojibwas anticipated the touring Iroquois and Aboriginal sportsmen of the 1860s, when "an arrangement was made for the use of Lord's Cricket Ground and on that beautiful field (prairie as they called it) they amused thousands daily, by their dances, archery and ball playing."[289]

Race in British sport

From the early nineteenth century, African-American prizefighters like Bill Richmond and Tom Molineux became the first non-whites to achieve prominence in British sport.[290] Primitivist tropes and racial science enabled English spectators to admire their pugilistic abilities without subverting the conviction that blacks occupied the lower reaches of racial development. Anthropologists attributed to primitive races abnormal thickness of skulls and insensitivity to pain. To Carl Vogt, the thick Negro skull was accompanied by a thick neck which increased their advantages in combat and "afford[ed] a glimmer of the ape beneath the human envelope".[291] Blows from a waddy to an Aborigine's head "would fell an ordinary ox; but the skull of an Australian is made of sterner stuff than that of a mere ox ...[any number of blows] which would have killed a European immediately ... seem to have caused only temporary inconvenience to the Australian."[292]

Beyond prizefighting, British sport remained the preserve of white males up to the 1860s. But racial caricature entered sport as a reflection of racial burlesque in Victorian popular culture. One instance was a benefit cricket match at Kennington Oval in September 1868. Played between a team of Christy Minstrels and Canterbury Music Hall it was recorded that "the blacks" won by two runs.[293] Organisers and public must have been aware of the racial associations when the Aborigines played at the same ground one week later.

A decade later, a more elaborate ersatz representation of race was introduced into association football. In 1879, the year that the Zulu King, Cetewayo, had been defeated and his people slaughtered at the battle of Ulundi, a football team of "Zulu Warriors" took to playing exhibition football games in England. Blackened with burnt cork, covered in black jersey and

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[289] Catlin, *Notes of eight years travel*, Vol. 2, pp.77-78.

[290] Fryer, *Staying power*, pp.445-454.

[291] Quoted in Hoberman, *Mortal engines*, p.53.

[292] Wood, *The natural history of man*, Vol.2, p.30.

[293] *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 19 September 1868.

stockings, set off by feathers and beads and playing under the pseudonyms of Cetewayo and his brother Dabulamanzi, the footballers were white British soccer players.

They deposited assegais and shields on the sidelines, enacted war whoops, mimicked savagery and performed racial clowning amid the football. The burlesques raised money for British widows and orphans of the imperial war which had drowned the Zulu nation in blood. They were disbanded after the Sheffield Football Association decided that the exhibitions were "calculated to degrade the game."[294]

It was inevitable that entrepreneurs would realise there was money to be made from touring England with exotic sportsmen who could also display the metonymic paraphernalia of primitivism. Two Native American tours, one by an individual, the other by a team, preceded the Aboriginal venture.

Deerfoot

A Seneca Indian became a sensation in Britain during the early 1860s with a combination of bodily display, metonymic primitivism and magnificent athleticism. His indigenous name has been rendered as Hot-tso-so-do-no ("he who peeks in the door")[295] whilst his American name was Louis Bennett, but it was under the performance name of Deerfoot that he earned British fame. African-American prize-fighters achieved sporting distinction without specific staging devices to foreground racial otherness; Deerfoot attracted huge audiences and general fame by pioneering the imaginative representation of racial exoticism in sport.[296]

His bodily displays confirmed literary and ethnological observations of American Indians, providing evidence for "sceptical readers [who] have often been inclined to doubt the glowing descriptions of physical powers given by the American novelist Cooper, in relation to the Indian tribes."[297] The athletic contests provided direct inter-racial comparisons for those who suspected that *The last of the Mohicans* was a misleading idealisation of "a very commonplace and unprepossessing class of persons … But we have had recently a very convincing proof …. We have now a true Indian among us, testing his bodily powers in competition with our best men and beating them."[298]

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[294] Quoted in Andrew Ward, *Soccer's strangest matches*, Robson, London, 1992, pp1-2. The real Cetewayo came to London the following year seeking recognition as ruler of a subject colony. Whetted by lurid war illustrations, British crowds flocked to see him their but their expectations of Zulu primitivism were disappointed by the civilised black man in bowler hat, frock coat and kid gloves: James Morris, *Heaven's command: an imperial progress*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, p.438.

[295] John Lucas, "Deerfoot in Britain: an amazing American long-distance runner, 1861-63", *Journal of American culture*, Vol.6, Fall 1983, p.13.

[296] Despite its disdain for professional sportsmen, the *Times* devoted ten articles to his doings in 1861 and a one act play was even based on his renown. *Sporting intelligence extraordinary: a match is arranged to come off at the Royal Olympic Theatre on Tuesday Dec 17th 1861 between the Unknown and the Seneca Indian Deerfoot*, is as heavy-handed as the title suggests. It is in *Lloyd's acting edition of plays, dramas, farces, extravaganzas etc.* Vol. 53, edited & published by Thomas Hailes, London, n.d.

[297] *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 19 October 1861.

[298] *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 19 October 1861.

Exotic advertising devices resembled Catlin's promotional methods. One of Deerfoot's managers arranged for him to promenade around London in a superb array of Indian clothing and decoration.[299] He eschewed running shoes for moccasins and established himself as a child of nature by making it known that he refused a bed and slept on an animal skin atop bare boards.[300] A press release advertised that before he ran, Deerfoot would "be dressed in his native costume, and at a quarter of an hour before each race he will walk around the hippodrome three times, so that the public may have the opportunity of seeing him as he appeared in his native wilds."[301] Consequently, prior to a race:

> his appearance created much interest ... the Indian was dressed in native costume and had a small red band trimmed with gold round his head, in which was a feather. His body dress was trimmed with little brass bells, which, with their music, as he came bounding along, announced his approach.[302]

Performances shamelessly exploited his sex appeal. The preamble to his contest at Dublin's Rotunda Gardens before 5,000 excited fans sounds something like a Chippendales show: "Deerfoot appeared, walked about the enclosure, resplendent in wolfskins, beaded velvet head band, gold lace and a large feather. The crowd was in a perfect frenzy when he threw off his wolfskin cloak"[303] to suddenly reveal himself "in tights, and wearing a girdle richly ornamented with floss silk and feathers, and also a slight belt, to which several small bells were attached."[304] Alarmed by the blatant interest in Deerfoot's body, white competitors insisted that all runners be clad in guernseys and long drawers for their race at Hackney Wick. The pallid rationale was "to enable the many ladies to attend who have expressed a wish to see this far-famed Indian runner."[305]

But it was remarked that his appeal was "especially to the fair sex"[306] and illustrations make the reason obvious. An engraving published in the *Illustrated Sporting News* captured his physical attractions. Save for headgear and ear-ring he was naked above the waist, reminding us that as English men availed themselves of the pretext of ethnological observation to peruse naked bodies, "a whole bevy of ladies would embrace the opportunity ... to have a peep at the Indian, which they may never else do."[307]

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[299] Lucas, "Deerfoot in Britain", p.14.
[300] *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 19 October 1861.
[301] Lovesey, *Kings of distance*, Eyre & Spotiswoode, London, 1968, p.30.
[302] *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 19 October 1861.
[303] Lucas, "Deerfoot in Britain", p.14.
[304] *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times*, 26 October 1861, cited by Lucas, "Deerfoot in Britain".
[305] Unsourced account cited in Lovesey, *Kings of distance*, p.25.
[306] An account cited by Lucas, "Deerfoot in Britain", p.14.
[307] *Bell's Life in London*, 15 June 1862, reprinted in *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 23 August 1862.

A comparison of the photograph from which the illustrated portrait was drawn (Illustrations 31-32) conveys the capacity of illustrated newspapers to construct visual images which subtly highlighted racial difference.[308] The illustration made him more muscular in the pectorals, biceps and legs and darkened his skin colour. It located the Indian in nature by replacing a featureless background with a wooded environment, from which he had apparently emerged.

Illustration 33: Deerfoot, the photograph[309]

Illustration 34: Deerfoot the illustration[310]

Other illustrations portrayed Deerfoot's exotic athletic apparel and bodily display. In head-dress, feather and short fur tunic, he led a balding white American, Jackson ("the American Deer"), who appeared slight, short and physically outclassed.

[308] The illustration is from the *Illustrated Sporting News*, 4 October 1862. The photograph was taken by George Newbold, the Strand, and reproduced in Lovesey, *Kings of distance*, facing p.16.

[309] Photographed by George Newbold, the Strand, reproduced by Lovesey, *Kings of distance*, facing p.16.

[310] *Illustrated sporting news*, 4 October 1862.

Illustration 35: Deerfoot leads the American Deer.[311]

Four celebrated white pedestrians looked like commoners dwarfed by a nobleman. Deerfoot was magnificent in his exotic costume, towering above his miniaturised supporting cast.

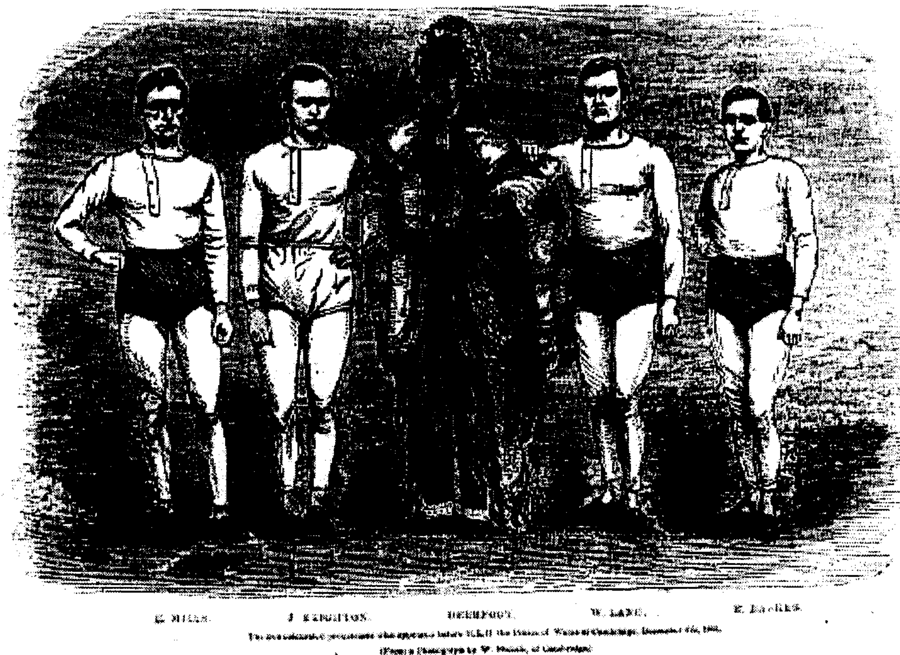

Illustration 36: Deerfoot and four pedestrians who appeared before the Prince of Wales, Cambridge 1861.[312]

[311] *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 19 October 1861.

[312] *Illustrated Sporting News*, 10 May 1862. Its source photograph was taken by W. Nichols of Cambridge.

Novelties necessarily wane and to maintain financial returns, Deerfoot's itinerary was intensified, a decision which led to inconsistent performances and allegations of race fixing.[313] Despite incontrovertible evidence of his athletic prowess - he ran 12 miles in 62 minutes, 11 and a half seconds in April 1863 - it was alleged, and even upheld in court, that his victories had been rigged.[314]

The *Times* sniffed that his displays were no better than "a human circus".[315] Contradictory attacks alleged that he was a savage and an impostor. After Deerfoot dined at Trinity College, *Bell's Life in London* spluttered that it was "a monstrous and absurd offense against all the laws of decency and good taste".[316] Another journalist censured Deerfoot for being no more a savage than himself[317] and a defender could only mitigate his primitivist displays as being no worse than a "harmless conceit".[318] But primitivism was the basis of his public appeal and one of his managers, George Martin, informed the press that Deerfoot was related to "the notoriously cruel and occasionally cannibalistic Iroquois nation."[319]

Off the running track, Deerfoot was continually pestered to privately enact primitivism. He was an enthusiastic drinker and one evening in Worcester's *Yew and Young-un* inn, he was again importuned to demonstrate a war whoop and war dance. After first demurring and then warning spectators not to be frightened, Deerfoot reluctantly commenced and then warmed to his task. So consumed did he become that "the Indian appeared gradually to lose control over his actions ... his eyes glared with rage; his whole frame seemed to dilate with passion." Suddenly he seized one of the awe-struck revelers: "with a wilder, louder and shriller whoop ... whirled him round as though he had been a feather weight, and fixed him between his knees as if in a vice." Merry-makers were suddenly frozen as:

> in a moment the fatal knife was unsheathed, in another it was whipped round the patient's head, like a housewife cuts paste for the lid of a pudding; the third moment with a hideous yell of exultation, that scarcely masked the dull sound produced by the rending of skin from fleshy fibre, the scalp of the unfortunate was frantically brandished in Deerfoot's hand.[320]

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[313] White runners were hired to compete against Deerfoot. He competed in over 150 races in a year and, to appear before 150,000 people, ran in four hundred exhibitions in four months. For this and his decision-making responsibilities, see Lovesey, *Kings of distance*, pp.30-32.

[314] Article from the *Era* (London), reprinted in *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 20 December 1862. Journalists nevertheless acknowledged that "as a long-distanced pedestrian, he is certainly no impostor, like Genaro the Spaniard, or Tonowando, the crossing sweeper": *Illustrated Sporting News*, 22 March 1862.

[315] Article from the *Era* (London), reprinted in *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 20 December 1862.

[316] Undated quote from Lucas, "Deerfoot in Britain", p.15.

[317] Cited by Lucas, "Deerfoot in Britain", p.14.

[318] *Illustrated Sporting News*, 22 March 1862. Anthropologists were unaware that Native American skills in long-distance pedestrianism reflected the important ceremonial, religious and record-keeping functions of runners in their societies, see Peter Nabokov, *Indian running*, Capra Press, USA, 1981, pp.1-20.

[319] Quoted by Lovesey, *Kings of distance*, p.31.

[320] Contemporary account from *Worcester Chronicle*, quoted by Lovesey, *Kings of distance*, p.28.

The victim fled from the pub in agony, with Deerfoot hurling the scalp after him. The "scalp" turned out to be a wig and his "victim" a collaborator. No doubt Deerfoot enjoyed his blood-curdling practical joke against public expectations of Redskin savagery and confounding audience assumptions of their safety.

After discovering that he had been exploited, Deerfoot discharged his manager and performed frantically so he could quickly leave Britain with as much money as possible. [321] He returned to America with over one thousand pounds with which he bought 30 acres of woodland to secure the future of his children.[322]

A quarter of a century after he faded from celebrity, Deerfoot's public reappearance illustrated the connection between different contexts for exhibiting race. In 1893, the old man agreed to be displayed at the Columbian Exposition at Chicago's World Fair. He was triumphantly introduced by the New York State delegation as "Chief Lewis Bennett, known to the world as Deerfoot".[323] Three years later he died on the reservation at Cattaraugus, his birthplace. His career as an indigenous sporting performer illustrated many themes which confronted his successors, but seems a happier ending than most - no death in exile; a successful return; and some financial security after removing his managers.

Native American Lacrosse

In the year preceding the Aboriginal tour, Captain W.B. Johnson exported from Canada a troupe of eighteen Iroquois Indians to introduce lacrosse in England. W.G. Beers' European rules aimed to establish a respectable sport, resolve disputes and eradicate Indian lacrosse supremacy.[324]

Beers was troubled by Indian lacrosse superiority, which he attributed to primitive physicality: "we [white men] may wish for the hereditary sagacity of the Indian who plays mainly by instinct ... and the wind for running, which comes as natural to the red-skin as his dialect."[325] Because "the Indian can never play as scientifically as the best white players" he expected that rational programs of training would enable whites to compensate for natural Indian advantages. But just in case, Beers added Rule IX, Section 6: "No Indian must play in a match for a white club, unless previously agreed on." The rule transformed lacrosse history "by depriving its indigenous creators of proper recognition and participation for more than a century."[326]

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[321] Five years later, mindful of the impending Aboriginal cricket tour of England, *Sydney Sporting Life* reprinted from an 1866 English sporting magazine some retrospective reflections on Deerfoot. It viewed him as a "very amusing gag" who was a victim of unscrupulous management: "On muscular Christianity", *Sydney Sporting Life*, 9 March 1867. Reprinted from *Sporting Magazine*, (England), December 1866.

[322] Lucas, "Deerfoot in Britain".

[323] Lucas, "Deerfoot in Britain", p.17.

[324] During the Prince of Wales' Canadian tour in 1860-61, he had viewed a 25 per side demonstration game between whites and natives. Following a rules dispute, the match was awarded to the whites: Beers, *Lacrosse: the national game of Canada*, Sampson Low, London, 1875 (orig. 1868), xv.

[325] Beers, *Lacrosse: the national game of Canada*, vii.

[326] Vennum, *American Indian lacrosse*, p.264.

A month after Beers wrote his rules, Captain Johnson and the 18 Iroquois arrived in England to demonstrate the game from which they were being excluded in their own country. Under the patronage of Lord Ranelagh, their first British exhibition was a private entertainment for a selected audience of gentlemen, press and a few ladies in the private drill ground of His Lordship's Middlesex Corps at Beaufort House. An Indian team wearing blue athletic drawers played another in red and "their picturesque costume … embellished with feathers, add greatly to the effect of the scene."[327] Moccasins appear to have been the basis of their native costuming, although the chief of each side wore feathers and other ornaments.[328] After the match, nine Indians competed for prize money in a one-mile race, but disappointed expectations that they would be expert runners.

Without instantly recognisable metonyms of their culture, one artist failed to portray American Indian otherness.[329] Another captured a keen contest for the ball, while the noses, eyes and feathers of the players conveyed a sense of Native American identity, surrounded by the gazes of prosperous top-hatted men and a handful of hoop-skirted women.

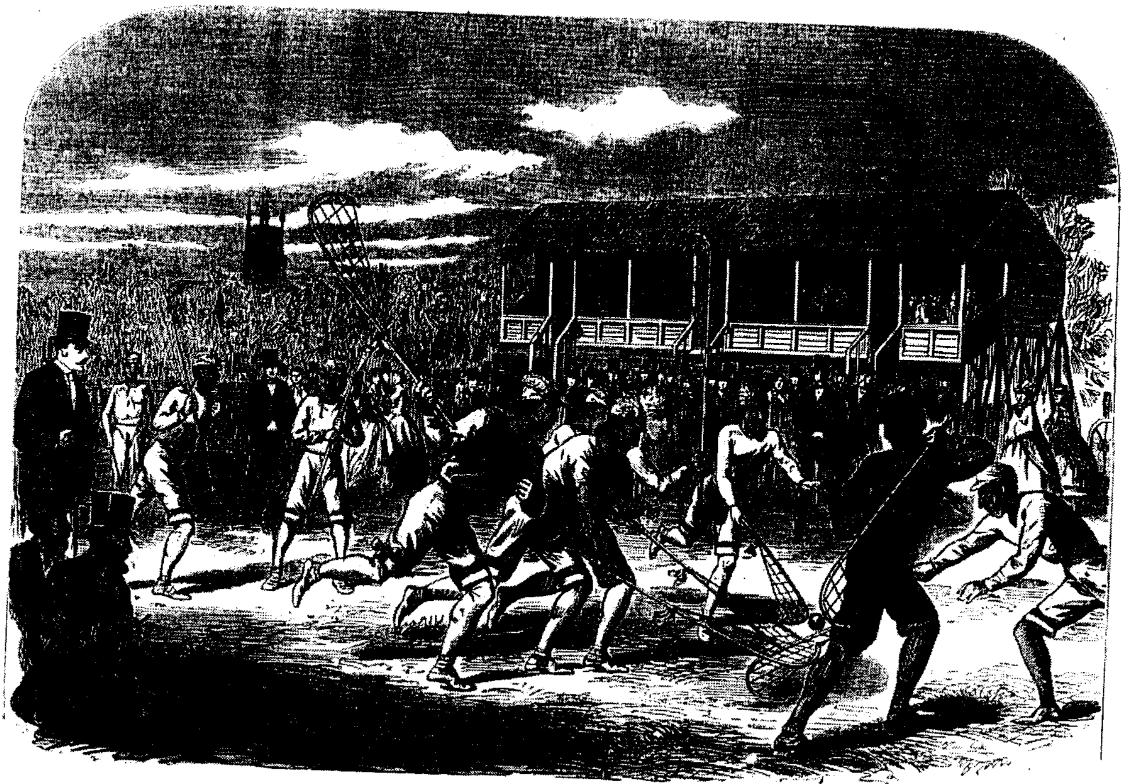

Illustration 37: Lacrosse at Beaufort House, 1867[330]

[327] *Illustrated Sporting and Theatrical News and Record of Literature and Fine Arts*, 10 August 1867.
[328] *Field*, 3 August 1867.
[329] *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 10 August 1867.
[330] *Illustrated Sporting and Theatrical News and Record of Literature and the Fine Arts*, 10 August 1867.

Like the Aboriginal cricketers eight months afterwards, it was arranged for the Native Americans to perform at Lord's. An MCC Committee meeting on August 8 authorised "a Red Indian entertainment at Lord's on such terms as the Secretary might arrange."[331] They also scheduled a public appearance at Beaufort House,[332] and their performance at the Crystal Palace was described as "exciting ... beautiful and interesting to the lookers-on."[333]

An unusually intimate report of the Crystal Palace performance appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, written by one "Peter Possum", presumably a visitor from Australia.[334] Possum suspected the Indians were impostors, because the "Irish Ojibbeways who visited England some time ago have made me suspicious of the nationality of imported specimens on Mr. Catlin's protégés." He doubted the Iroquois were full-bloods, in which case they could not authentically represent primitivism. "Perhaps they had all Indian blood in one side in their generally burly frames", he conceded, "but I am inclined to think that they were about as much 'wild savages' as the people who stared at them."

Queen Victoria was one who stared when seven warriors and two squaws commenced their performance by singing *God Save the Queen* "in a 'harmony' not unlike the subdued howl of the wolves saying grace for a good dinner." Singing like wolves was insufficient evidence: "nevertheless I distrusted them."

The two squaws particularly troubled him. Their clothing and hair was of the English type, but the real problem was that they flirted.[335] A fair, plump squaw "had a pair of big black laughing eyes, with which, moreover she ogled all and sundry as boldly as any English barmaid." Flirting was a civilised, if saucy, female art. As promise without consummation it was delayed gratification, a facility inimical to primitive peoples.

The primitivist performance was male-only, their "rather stagy-looking Indian costume" consisting of red and blue-skirted tunics with metal badges, fringed leggings, moccasins and plumed headdresses. Thumping tambourines and shaking rattles:

> the warriors circled crouching, they buried their tomahawks, they brandished them, they gesticulated earnestly with their bows and arrows, they cried 'whoop!' and 'ha!', they wreathed in a drunken dance, they joined in a land-locked line which was swung round ... and then, shouting 'whoop!' and 'ha!', they once more scampered off, kicking their own behinds.

It was too brief for spectators who believed "they were not getting much for their money." Worse still, it strengthened Possum's suspicions because they openly laughed during their performances: "Both men and women enjoyed the joke of their performances too much to

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[331] MCC Committee Minutes, 8 August 1867.

[332] As foreshadowed in the *Field*, 3 August 1867.

[333] *Aethenaeum*, No. 2123, 4 July 1868, p.18.

[334] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 November 1867.

[335] The diaries of Molly Spotted Elk, a Penobscot Indian performer in the 1920s, explain that flirting was a strategy to divert racial abuse. On stage in Europe, "a front row couple made fun of us. I flirted with the fellow and the girl became silent." See Bunny McBride, *Molly Spotted Elk: a Penobscot in Paris*, University of Oklahoma Press, Oklahoma, 1995, p.49.

be genuine 'wild Indians'. They could hardly keep in their laughter while performing, and rushed out jostling one another, at the wings to burst into a plainly audible guffaw."

Since they undoubtedly *were* Indians, what caused the laughter? Quite possibly it was simply enjoyment and sheer high spirits. Or, perhaps, were they laughing at the stereotyped representation of savagery that they were called upon to perform?

Afterwards, the correspondent followed two warriors and two squaws on foot to the cricket ground for their lacrosse exhibition. Dressed in English garb and lugging their equipment in bulging carpet bags, the warriors permitted "the ladies to lounge along empty-handed." It strengthened Possum's doubts because primitive races were notorious for treating women with contempt but soon, "one of the men appeared to remember that [his behaviour] ... was scarcely in keeping with the Indian character and passed his bag to a squaw." When the "Indian belles's" assertive flirtatiousness was reciprocated by throngs of spectators inside the cricket ground, a disapproving Possum resolved the unseemly display as best he could: "Whether the love of flirting was caused by the American or European blood in her veins I cannot say".

Possum adjudged lacrosse to be "the best game out", better than football, golf, or even cricket. To attract Englishmen to take up the game, the players wore blue or red athletic tights, eschewing the native apparel they had worn at Crystal Palace. The 1867 tour did spark the birth of lacrosse in England[336] but as a mass entertainment, the lacrosse exhibitions appear to have created patchy public impact.[337]

Native Americans were again brought to England to demonstrate lacrosse in 1876 and 1883. The tours used more imaginative costuming, increased the prominence of Indian cultural identifiers like tomahawks and war-dances, and employed the contrasting device of inter-racial competition. The 1876 Indians played at cricketing venues used by the 1868 Aborigines, such as Kennington Oval and Deer Park. Posters advertised their performances of the Green Corn dance in addition to lacrosse.[338]

An 1876 illustration of the game between an Indian side and the white Montreal Club[339] (below) is a marvellous depiction of racial identity and difference.

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[336] Within a year, cricket and football players had formed lacrosse teams, with Richmond, Blackheath and Civil Service clubs competing against each other: *Field*, 6 June 1868.

[337] Vennum, *American Indian lacrosse*, p.266, describes the tour as a "great success". In comparison with the Aboriginal tour, I remain doubtful, based on the apparent rarity of large public audiences, its sparse coverage in English newspapers, and the opinions of several knowledgeable authorities on British lacrosse with whom I have spoken.

[338] Advertising poster reproduced in Vennum, *American Indian lacrosse*, p.269.

[339] *Bell's Life in England*, 17 June 1876.

Illustration 38: Native Americans vs. Montreal Club, Hurlingham, 1876 [340]

The 1883 tour was commercially ambitious, lasting 12 weeks and performing throughout England, Scotland and Ireland.[341] Illustration 39, also from Hurlingham, depicted the Prince and Princess of Wales being entertained by the Indians as Chief Big John Batiste gestured impressively in full-feathered costume and decorated, buckskin-fringed greatcoat. He was an imposing figure but the tour symbolised white dominance in lacrosse rather than Indian achievement. A satisfied report noted that though the Iroquois team "contained some of the most noted of the aboriginal players ... they were inferior to the Montreal gentlemen."[342] With over 60 English teams in five counties, the Indians had been rendered redundant to lacrosse in Britain and North America, relegated to colourful relics which illustrated its primitive origins.

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[340] *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 10 June 1876.

[341] *Boys' Own Paper*, 1883, p.142.

[342] *Boys' Own Paper*, 1883, p.142.

Illustration 39: Hurlingham 1883, the past of lacrosse leaves the stage [343]

The 1867 lacrosse tour had resembled earlier traditions of exhibiting indigenous performers, being substantially directed at elite patronage rather than maximising mass audiences. [344] The results of the games were irrelevant and in seeking to make lacrosse appropriate for British sportsmen, the exhibitions did not offer competitive sport, authentic Indian lacrosse or imaginative show-business. Costuming and performance faintly and inconsistently reflected the most popular tropes of Indian primitivism, such as war paint, war dances, weaponry, nakedness, full feathers and bells.

Possessing the considerable advantages of an existing infrastructure, an established game and the unprecedented novelty of Aborigines in England, the Aborigines' spectacular shows the following year more successfully commodified racial difference, offering spectacular entertainment and exciting a mass public with dramatically contrasted images of primitivism and transformation.

[343] *Illustrated London News*, 23 June 1883.

[344] The public potential of the lacrosse tours were also hindered by being a new and foreign game. There was no English infrastructure to promote performances and lacrosse was suspected as a potential summer competitor to cricket: *Bell's Life in England*, 9 September 1868.

SECTION 2

MUSTERING THE TEAM AND CONSTRUCTING

AN ABORIGINAL SHOW

CHAPTER 5

FROM SQUATTER DISPOSSESSION TO METROPOLITAN COMMODITIES – THE GURNETT CONTRACT WITH THE ABORIGINAL TEAM

This Indenture made the Eighth day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand Eight hundred and sixty seven Between William Reginald Hayman of Lake Wallace in the West Wimmera District of the Colony of Victoria Gentleman of the first part
Unamurriman
commonly called or known as "Johnny Mullagh"
Yellana
commonly called or known as "Johnny Cuzens"
Unaarrimin
commonly called or known as "Harry Jellico"
Murrumgunarriman
commonly called or known as "Jemmy Tarpot"
Bullenchanach
commonly called or known as "Harry Bullocky"
Arrahmunyarrimun
commonly called or known as "Peter"
Pappinjarrumin
commonly called or known as "Paddy"
Balkinjarrumin
commonly called or known as "Sundown"
Jallachmurrimiun
commonly called or known as "Dick"
Mijarrak
commonly called or known as "Lake Billy"
Cungewarriman
commonly called or known as "Billy Officer"
Bilvayarrimin
commonly called or known as "Watty"
Brumbunyah
commonly called or known as "Tommy Redcap"
Lingurgarrah
commonly called or known as "Harry Rose" and
Bripumarriman
commonly called or known as "Charley" and
Jungagellmijuke
commonly called or known as "Dicky Dick" of the second part and William Edward Brougham Gurnett of the City of Melbourne in the Colony of Victoria aforesaid Gentleman of the third part Whereas the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett has made arrangement with the said parties

Illustration 40: the Gurnett contract of Aboriginal indenture.

Journey to the metropolis

Accompanied by Australia's pre-eminent cricketer, Thomas Wentworth Wills, a team of Aboriginal cricketers, from the Jardwadjali, Wotjobaluk and Gunditjmara peoples of far western Victoria, had travelled from Lake Wallace station outside the tiny town of Edenhope, population 180. At 5am on 20 December 1866, they boarded two coaches in Dunkeld, 35 kilometers east of the regional centre of Hamilton with its population of 2,400.[1] The Aborigines, who had previously appeared only in remote local matches, were on their way to Melbourne, an entertainment metropolis whose population was rocketing towards 200,000.[2]

The Aboriginal cricket team was the brainchild of young English immigrant William Hayman, a pastoralist and sportsman from Lake Wallace South station in the remote Wimmera, Victoria's most westerly administrative region. As early as August and after they played only a few minor matches, Hayman had sent photographs of the Aboriginal team to Melbourne to initiate negotiations with Roland Newberry, groundsman of the MCG. Amazed that the Aborigines were "in proper costume and quite civilised in appearance",[3] Newberry and Hayman agreed on "a speculation"[4] and after several hitches, arranged for a two day match at the Melbourne Cricket Ground beginning on Boxing Day. After being hired by Hayman, Tom Wills travelled to the western districts in mid-November to coach the Aboriginal team and captain them during their tour.

The commercial prospects of "the most novel event that has ever been offered to the lovers of cricket" were sufficiently alluring for Wills to leave his post of coaching the Corio Club and drop out of Australia's major domestic contest, the Inter-Colonial match between Victoria and New South Wales.[5] It was apparent even to the unworldly Wills that the Aborigines were a money-making proposition: indeed soon after leaving to coach them, he warned the cricket correspondent of the *Australasian*, "Longstop" (W.J. Hammersley) that "some speculator is at work, trying to upset present arrangements, and secure the blacks for his own particular ends."[6] From Lake Wallace Wills reported that he coached them six hours a day, probably refining their knowledge of the recent innovation of round-arm bowling, and improving their batting techniques for Melbourne.[7]

En route to their metropolitan debut they arrived at midnight in Skipton where they were refused accommodation by the owner of the *Ripon Hotel*. Reaching Ballarat the next morning, the

[1] *Warrnambool Examiner Almanac for 1869*, in *Hamilton Spectator*, 27 June 1868.

[2] It increased from 125,000 1861 to 191,000 in 1871: Wray Vamplew (ed.), *Australians: historical statistics*, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon, Sydney, 1987, p.41.

[3] Presumably the photo reproduced by Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, Plate 17, between pp. 96 & 97. They were dressed in orthodox cricketing whites and wielded no native implements.

[4] *Hamilton Spectator*, 15 & 18 August 1866.

[5] *Geelong Advertiser*, 19 November 1866.

[6] *Australasian*, 8 December 1866.

[7] Information from Tom Wills, *Geelong Advertiser*, 5 December 1866.

Aborigines shyly practised at the local cricket ground before an unaccustomed audience.[8] It was noted that they displayed quick eyesight and insensitivity to pain, attributes typically associated with Aborigines, showing "a total disregard of what white cricketers would estimate as severe blows with the ball."[9] They took the evening train to Melbourne, probably their first experiences of rail travel and the metropolis.

They lost decisively to the Melbourne Cricket Club but the debut was a commercial triumph. A sensational first day crowd estimated as high as 15,000 and matched only by the first appearance of the English cricket team, had parted with their shilling entry fee to see the Aborigines.[10] The *Hamilton Spectator* observed that the "the speculation must have been a complete success", trusting that the Aborigines might "reap some benefit from the cash they have helped to earn."[11] They had become a valuable commodity in Australia's major city. More importantly, they were a potential goldmine in the international marketplace for entrepreneurs who realised that British audiences who had flocked to Deerfoot and would soon see American Indian lacrosse, could be augmented by armies of cricketing supporters. A shadowy speculator, William Edward Broughton Gurnett, was first to pounce.

On 8 January 1867, less than three weeks after boarding their coaches in western Victoria, the Aborigines signed one of the most remarkable contracts in colonial Australian history (Appendix A).[12]

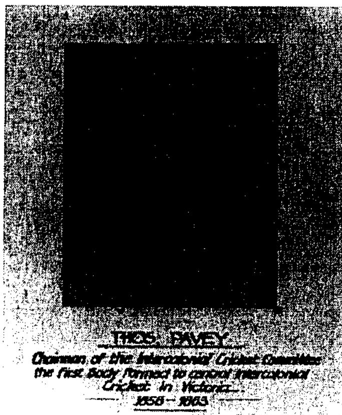

Illustration 41: Thomas Pavey.[13]

Signed, sealed and delivered by Gurnett in the presence of Melbourne solicitor and cricket administrator Thomas Pavey (left), the document committed the Aborigines to an exhibition tour of England and the continent. It marked their transformation from dispossessed tenants and seasonal pastoral workers in their own country to international indentured labour; from occasional recreational sportsmen to Show Aborigines subject to gruelling intensity of travel and performance schedules designed to maximise profits. It is unlikely that any of the Aborigines were then literate[14] but they were under the unoffical protection of William Hayman.

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[8] *Geelong Advertiser*, 24 December 1866.

[9] *Ballarat Post*, 22 December1866, reprinted in *Hamilton Spectator*, 26 December 1866.

[10] *Argus*, 24 December 1866.

[11] *Hamilton Spectator*, 2 January 1867.

[12] For additional discussion of the contract, see David Sampson, " 'The nature and effects thereof were ... by each of them understood': Aborigines, agency, law and power in the 1867 Gurnett contract", *Labour history*, No.74, May 1998, pp.54-69. For a reproduction of the Gurnett contract, see Appendix A of thesis. From secondary sources, Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.51 concludes that 12 Aborigines signed the contract in Melbourne. Other Aborigines who were listed were still in the Wimmera.

[13] Pavey photograph, courtesy Jena Pullman, Melbourne Cricket Club.

[14] Contrary to a claim in the *Geelong Advertiser*, 26 October 1867. If any of the Aborigines had learned to read, management would have included it with the other civilised accomplishments which they publicised in England, like their facility with spoken English and the ability to dance quadrilles and play cribbage. Mosquito (James Cousens) may have become literate at Framlingham mission after returning from Britain.

The Gurnett contract

There were three parties to the contract. The first was William Reginald Hayman Esq, Gentleman of Lake Wallace in the West Wimmera District of the colony of Victoria; the second part "Mesrs Unamurrinam and others"; while W.B. Gurnett Esq, Gentleman of the City of Melbourne, was the third part. The first page of the indenture, in graceful copperplate hand, listed Unamurriman, "commonly called or known as Johnny Mullagh" and the fifteen others of the second part. Neither Esquires, nor Gentlemen, their places of origin were unspecified. After Mullagh came Yellana "commonly called or known as Johnny Cuzens"; Unaarriman (Harry Jellico); Murrumgunarriman (Jemmy Tarpot); Bullenchanach (Harry Bullocky); Arrahmunyarrimun (Peter); Pappuijarrunin (Paddy); Balkinjarrunin (Sundown); Tallachmurrmuin (Dick); Mijarruk (Lake Billy); Cungewarriman (Billy Officer); Bilvayarrimin (Watty); Brunbunyah (Tommy Redcap); Lingurgarrah (Harry Rose); Bripmuarriman (Charley); and Jungagellmijuke (Dicky Dick [sic]).[15]

Hayman and the Aborigines were contracted by Gurnett to "proceed to Sydney England Scotland Ireland and France and to such other place or places as the said William Edward Broughton Gurnett shall determine on for the purpose of playing at Matches at Cricket and of Engaging and joining in such athletic and other sports as the said William Edward Broughton Gurnett shall direct or deem desirable."

Hayman stood to make handsome financial gains for devoting "the whole of his time and attention" to the cricket matches and other sports, acting as umpire and obeying Gurnett's directions. He was to be paid one thousand pounds by Gurnett when he and the Aborigines returned to Victoria in addition to five percent of net profits plus full travelling and accommodation expenses.

The Aborigines had much less to gain and the conditions they faced were stringent. On return to Victoria, their payment was to be fifty pounds each, five percent of Hayman's fee. In contrast to Hayman's percentage of the profits, each Aborigine was to receive seven shillings and sixpence per week for pocket money plus travel expenses and clothing. The Aborigines' lodgings were to be only such as would be "suitable to their condition in life", a stipulation predominantly referring to race rather than class. Nevertheless, the recompense exceeded the seasonal fifteen shillings per week which they earned for washing and shearing sheep.[16] It may have been racial exploitation but it must have appeared to be relatively lucrative exploitation and it offers one simple explanation of why the Aborigines decided to go to Europe (leaving aside for the moment that they would never receive their fifty pounds windfall).[17]

Their contractual obligations were demanding. Unlike Hayman, they were not going "home". For the indentured period of one year, they and Hayman and three other Aboriginal

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[15] There were optional spellings for all the Aborigines' names (see Chapters 17 & 18), but Charley was not Charley Dumas but King Cole, who died in England.

[16] *Geelong Advertiser*, 5 January 1867; *Hamilton Spectator*, 12 September 1866.

[17] The meticulous ledger maintained by George Graham, one of the tour backers, would have recorded such a payment.

players to be added would be at the disposal of Gurnett to proceed to wherever he specified and take part in whatever sports he decreed. They were to "place themselves under and submit to the direction supervision and orders" of Gurnett "or such person or persons as he appoints." There was no minimum number of matches, no specified rest periods and except through illness "no-one ... shall absent himself from any of the said matches, exercises or sports without the consent" of Gurnett or his agent. No idleness, public criticism or defiant conduct was permitted: they were prohibited from "any other act matter or thing calculated to prejudice or injure or prevent the said matches exercises or sports from taking place and proving remunerative."

A specific clause related to drunkenness. They were required to "behave with such sobriety and regularity as shall be necessary to the proper and effectually carrying out and performance of all matches"'. Since Hayman must have known that some of the Aborigines were already alcoholics, this was an onerous stipulation.[18] The payment of all Gurnett's promised "presents" to the Aborigines were:

> upon the express condition that if any one or more of the persons constituting the said parties hereto ... shall fail, neglect or refuse to comply with any one of these covenants, conditions or agreements then these matters and all things herein contained shall as far as concerns the person or persons so failing neglecting or refusing as aforesaid be absolutely null void and of no effect.

The contract, therefore, provided pretexts for avoiding payment. Any act of defiance, laziness, drunkenness, disputed illness, apathy - any act of contrary individuality - could have been construed as a breach of the agreement which absolved Gurnett from each fifty pounds payment.[19]

Gurnett and Hayman were speculating they could reap profits from the low cost of Aboriginal labour and the interest of British and Australian audiences in Aborigines. But it would have been demeaning for a gentlemanly British sportsman to admit that he was seeking to earn profits from the display of Aborigines. Even after their lucrative debut and having committed himself and the Aborigines to the terms of the Gurnett contract, he publicly denied self-interest, disingenuously asserting that he and his friend Tom Hamilton "considered ourselves amply repaid

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[18] The letter by Mounted Constable Thomas Kennedy on 15 August 1867 to his Superintendent at Portland contains the most vivid evidence of the ravages of alcohol on them: Public Record Office, Victoria, VPRS 3991, Unit 283, File No. 67/10514. Hayman would certainly have been aware of the scope of the problem from his personal knowledge of the Aborigines, information from other pastoralists and common racial discourse.

[19] Had Gurnett intended to renege on post-tour payment he would have been supported by a rare instance of Aboriginal civil action in colonial courts. In 1811, Governor Macquarie had referred to a magistrate the complaint of an Aboriginal crew member who had not been paid for a financially unsuccessful voyage. Treating the voyage as a joint speculation, Alexander Riley found against the Aborigine, on the basis of English common law which "prevented recovery by those who failed to complete any part of their obligations even if they had done most of what they had promised." Bruce Kercher, *An unruly child: a history of law in Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Australia, 1995, p.3.

for the personal trouble we have taken by the uniform good conduct of the blacks under circumstances of great temptation and excitement".[20]

His hypocrisy was understandable. In their attempts to stop the tour, the Protection Board would accuse management of speculating in Aborigines. Even in the Wimmera an enemy publicly accused Hayman of "Barnumism", of "parading and umpiricising eleven taught black cricketers over the face of the globe ... under false pretences."[21] While management displayed varying levels of concern for the welfare of the Aborigines under their control, the tour was emphatically not a philanthropic exercise designed for Aboriginal betterment. Like most others who took indigenous people to Britain for display, their primary motivation - not necessarily their only one - was profit.

Aboriginal rights?

Less than three years previous, the Statute of Evidence Act had granted Victorian Aborigines the right to give evidence in court despite their non-Christian standing.[22] The unusual act of making Aborigines party to a legal contract could therefore be construed as elevating their status.[23] But incorporation of Aborigines by the intimidating, alien and unsympathetic mechanisms of colonial courts in the ideological climate of the time was a double-edged sword.[24] Did the contract function predominantly as an assurance of Aboriginal agency and entitlements? Or was it primarily a document which capitalised on existing racial and cultural inequalities, secured the Aborigines to an ambitious, penniless entrepreneur, and was designed to deflect criticisms that they were being exploited and endangered by speculators?

Part of the answer can be inferred from Gurnett's use of the surviving copy of the contract. On February 11, Gurnett calculatingly forwarded it to Sir Redmond Barry, senior judge of the Supreme Court of Victoria, whose activities had led to his description as "unofficial standing counsel for the Aborigines".[25] The contract, Gurnett suggested, "would be of assistance in furthering the interest which you take in this interesting matter".[26] As well as confirming the legality of Gurnett's control over the Aborigines, Barry's endorsement would have rebutted

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[20] Letter by William Hayman, *Australasian*, 16 February 1867.

[21] *Hamilton Spectator*, 23 February 1867.

[22] Statute of Evidence Act, Section 42, 27 Vic.No.197, assented 20/4/1864, McCorquadale, *Aborigines and the law: a digest*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Australia, 1987, p.80.

[23]For advice and suggestions relating to the contract I am grateful to Mark Harris of the Centre For Koori Studies, School of Humanities, Gippsland Campus, Monash University; and Professor Garth Nettheim of the University of NSW. They are not responsible for my conclusions.

[24] Andrew Markus, *Australian race relations 1788-1903*, Allen & Unwin, Australia, 1994, p.45. Previously, Barry had attempted to defend Aboriginal rights by limiting white jurisdiction over them, contending that for an Aboriginal defendant a purely non-Aboriginal jury did not constitute a verdict by peers. In R. v Bob Bon, he argued that in purely inter-Aboriginal disputes, colonial law did not apply because Aborigines had neither been conquered nor had they acquiesced in settler domination: McCorquadale, *Aborigines and the law*, p.225.

[25] Peter Ryan, biographical article on Barry, *Australian dictionary of biography*, Vol. 3, 1851-1890, Melbourne University Press, 1969, p.110.

[26] Letter by W.E.B.Gurnett to Sir Redmond Barry, attached to Agreement relating to the engagement of Aboriginal cricketers, 8 January 1867, La Trobe Library, Melbourne, Box 114/5, H2081. Acknowledgments to the State Library for their kind permission to cite and reproduce portions of this document, henceforth referred to as Gurnett.

charges that the Aborigines were being financially exploited, exposed to alcoholism and might die or be stranded in England.

In view of his written opinion against the legality of the fraudulent Batman contract which acquired 600,000 acres of Aboriginal land at Port Phillip for a handful of trinkets, Barry had good reason to suspect the intent of contracts involving Aborigines. [27] The certification by Pavey, the solicitor, that "the contents of the said Indenture were previously … explained to them and that the nature and effect thereof were … by each of them understood" is reminiscent of Sartjee Baartman's contract. Was it explained to the Aborigines that if they got too drunk to perform on demand they might not be paid? Were they warned about the unfamiliarity of European customs and conditions and the dangers of its climate? The rigours of the work schedule? That if anything happened to Hayman they would be alone and perhaps helpless? That their interests should have been safeguarded by a bond guaranteeing their return fares and payments?

But Barry had apparently abandoned public activities in support of Aboriginal rights. [28] It is unknown whether he responded to the Gurnett contract.[29]

Although Gurnett proved incapable of fulfilling his obligations, the contract had historic ramifications for the history of Anglo-Australian cricket. A week before the contract was signed, an influential group of cricket identities met at Tattersall's in Sydney. They aimed to anticipate the Aborigines and become the first Australian cricket team to tour England. Charles Lawrence, Tom Wills, William Caffyn, Conway, Cosstick, Thompson and Gregory were included in the proposed team. Plans for England were adopted but a visit to India was defeated by a small majority.[30] However, public confirmation of the Aboriginal contract and touring schedule scuttled plans for a white Australian tour.[31] Because of fears that simultaneous tours would result in financial disaster, the first white Australian team to England was delayed for a decade.

Eight Aboriginal signatories to the Gurnett contract were to perform for British audiences, but Aboriginal performance for European scrutiny in Australia had long been a product of the processes of colonisation.

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[27] He argued that as nomads, Aborigines were not entitled to sell land they did not possess: Anne Galbally, *Redmond Barry: an Irish-Anglo Australian*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1995, pp.53-54. The exploitative Batman contract extended to the forgery of purported Aboriginal signatures: Alastair H. Campbell, *John Batman and the Aborigines*, Kibble, Australia, c.1988, p.105.

[28] His most recent activities included inspiring the compilation of a dictionary of Aboriginal dialects and commissioning sculpted casts from the faces of living Aborigines for presentation to the British Museum in 1869: Galbally, *Redmond Barry*, pp.154-156.

[29] Galbally, *Redmond Barry*, pp.54-55. Thanks to Anne Galbally for additional advice on Barry, his exit from Aboriginal legal issues and response to the Gurnett contract.

[30] *Geelong Advertiser*, 3 January 1867.

[31] *Geelong Advertiser*, 11 February 1867.

CHAPTER 6

ABORIGINAL PERFORMANCE AND THE MATERIAL REPRESENTATION OF PRIMITIVISM IN AUSTRALIA

The option of Aboriginal performance

Aboriginal performance for Europeans, a manifestation of difference and domination, was originally an informal aspect of colonialist interaction between Aborigines and settlers. As dispossession and dispersal removed the spectacle of primitivist Aboriginal existence from metropolitan view, the representation of Aborigines became increasingly public and commodified. During the second half of the nineteenth century in south-eastern Australia, Aboriginal performance was shaped by the increasing colonialist interest in Aboriginal identity and the diminishing range of choices available to Aborigines.

To those who controlled Aboriginal administration in the Victorian government, failed attempts at assimilation mandated the abandonment of efforts to integrate Aborigines into lower echelons of the white urban and rural working class. [32] The policy implication was to segregate Victorian Aborigines in rural areas: there they were forced to manoeuvre between two mutually anatagonistic forms of European domination that controlled their lands and directed their lives. On one hand was a system of missions and reserves controlled by the Board; on the other, landowners and squatters.

Comprised of humanitarians and parliamentary representatives, and receiving reports from honorary correspondents in the field, the seven person Aborigines Protection Board[33] was dominated by its secretary, Robert Brough Smyth, a diligent participant in European scientific debates and admirer of Darwin.[34] Although he excoriated the colonisation of Hawaiians and the "brutal murder" of Tasmanian Aborigines "by the whites who invaded their soil",[35] his policies

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[32] Until the middle of the century, it was commonly assumed that Aborigines might be capable of fulfilling respectable professions at this level. Henry Reynolds, "Aborigines and European social hierarchy", *Aboriginal history*, Vol.7, 1983, pp.124-133.

[33] The Central Board Appointed to Watch Over the Interests of the Aborigines was established by the Victorian Government in 1860. It replaced the Chief Protector of Aborigines (1838-1849) and the Guardian of Aborigines (1850-1860) and was to be superseded in 1869 by the Central Board for the Protection of the Aborigines. In line with common practice, my text co-identifies the 1860 and the 1869 bodies as the Board, the Protection Board or the CBPA.

[34] He was elected to the Linnean Society of London in 1874 (*Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol.6, 1851-1890, Melbourne University Press, 1976, p.162). His collection of papers in the Latrobe Library includes a receipt from the Society for his resubscription; a letter from Charles Darwin thanking him for Victorian geological data; observations on the natives of India; and drafts of lectures on ethnology, evolution and geology (Robert Brough Smyth Papers, Manuscript Collection, La Trobe Library, MS8781, Box 1176(b) and Box 1176, 3(b); Robert Brough Smyth papers, MS 8781, 1176/4(c).

[35] In a public lecture to the Working Man's Club in Sandhurst, 1886: Robert Brough Smyth papers, Box 1176/4, pp.27-29.

were shaped by certainty that universal processes of natural selection inevitably led to racial extinction.[36] In the interim, policies pursued by the "half-mad bureaucrat"[37] aimed to curtail white exploitation of their inferiors.

The Board energetically opposed Aboriginal employment, exploitation and dissipation - including as performers. It is arguable that the policy had a contrary effect. Confining Aborigines to reserves and discouraging Aboriginal skills and practices increased their novelty value as commodified spectacles.

It is necessary to be cautious, however, when conceiving of nineteenth century performance as an option for Aborigines. Certainly it was work, often skilled work, and because of its intermittent, mobile nature and bohemian atmosphere, it may have been more congenial than work which involved static and continuous work discipline. But apart perhaps from circuses, the first form of public performance in which Aborigines made their mark from the 1840s,[38] nineteenth century Aborigines were unable to establish a career from their performances. For most Aborigines, public performance was an occasional or single venture, a result of short-term ambitions of a white entrepreneur, protector or squatter. In such cases, it was not so much an *alternative* to their relationship with colonial authority which controlled their living conditions and land, as an *extension* of it.

Thomas Bungeleen and the futility of assimilation

The Thomas Bungeleen assimilation experiment was a microcosm of racial forces which constricted Victorian Aboriginal options in the 1860s. Bungeleen's life ended as the Aboriginal cricket team was established in the Wimmera and to the Protection Board, his case symbolised the folly of permitting Aborigines to work in an open environment with whites. The Board's foundation 1861 report explained Bungeleen's case in pedagogical detail to establish racial generalisations of Aboriginal limitations and justify protectionist segregation as Victoria's Aboriginal policy.

Thomas was the son of Bungeleenee, a tribal "chief" who died in imprisonment after being victimised as a result of sexual hysteria surrounding the supposed abduction by Aborigines of the "White woman of Gippsland".[39] Thomas, six months old when his father died, was orphaned when his mother "soon became diseased".[40] He and his brother were placed into institutional care and at the age of four offered by William Thomas, the Guardian of Aborigines,

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[36] For instance that even the superior "Maori himself is doomed and he knows it. Just as the white man is displacing him - so the Norway rat is displacing the Polynesian rat ... the English fly is displacing the dreadful native blow-fly...[and] the English clover is killing the native fern": Robert Brough Smyth papers, Box 1176/4, p.21.

[37] The unkind reference is to Brough Smyth's career in the Mining Department, rather than the Protection Board: *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 6, 1851-1890, pp.162-163.

[38] Mark St. Leon, *Spangles and sawdust: the circus in Australia*, Greenhouse, Australia, 1983, pp.13, 26, 36, 43, 50, 59, 70, 93. It is likely that Aboriginal circus performers were less in demand for racial display than for their skill and the availability of orphaned ot "stolen" Aboriginal children as circus apprentices.

[39] *Report on the Protection of Aborigines 1861*, Australian Archives, B332, p.8; Lucy Anna Edgar, *Among the black boys: being the story of an attempt at civilising young aborigines of Australia*, Emily Faithfull, London, 1865, p.37. An account of the white woman of Gippsland furore is in Michael Cannon, *Who killed the Koories?*, Heinemann, Melbourne, 1990, pp.205-217.

[40] *Report on the Protection of Aborigines 1861*, p.8.

to the care of Reverend E.M. Hinkins of Moonee Ponds. Hinkins adopted the boys and sought to treat them on the same footing as his own children.[41] In 1856, Thomas's brother suffered an exemplary death of Christian conversion.[42]

Thomas, explained the Board, "presents all the marks of the pure Australian, and in mental capacity, disposition and character, is probably a fair type of the race".[43] As he had been taught from infancy by government and missionary institutions, had learned to read and write, and been raised by a caring white father he was a *tabula rasa*: "an opportunity ... to the Board of proving to the world that the Aborigines of Australia are degraded rather by their habits, than in consequence of the want of mental capacity."[44]

When an attempt was made to enrol him in school, entry was denied. Private tuition by a schoolmaster failed when "it was found that ordinary means of coercion were quite ineffectual to compel habits of obedience to industry."[45] Transfer to the *S.S Victoria* for training as a seaman convinced the Board that "the difficulty of educating and imparting instruction to an Aboriginal who, whatever may be his natural and good qualities, is not yet without many of the characteristics of the savage, is very great."[46] Thomas Bungeleen had capacity for improvement but the fatal Aboriginal "dislike of work and restraint of every kind" and their frustratingly "happy, playful, kindly nature" made it doubtful whether "any of them are capable of sustained labour, such as is requisite to obtain knowledge to fit them for the business of civilized life."[47] He was taken to work in the office of the Minister of Mines when he died of fever in 1865, already an alcoholic and still in his teens.[48] As the decade developed, Brough Smyth and the Board hardened their insistence that it was counter-productive to permit Aborigines to enter productive work or urban life.[49]

Between the authority of protectors and the piety of Christian assimilationists, a piteous trace of Thomas Bungeleen's voice emerged, evoking the traumatic psychological consequences of assimilation experiments which isolated Aborigines from their people and inculcated European superiority. Hinkins recalled that Thomas:

> could not bear to be reminded of his colour, and, when a boy, would often run to me after washing his hands vigorously, and holding them up for my inspection, say, 'I think they are getting a little whiter - are they not, father?'

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[41] E.M. Hinkins, *Life among the native race*, Haase, McQueen & Co., Melbourne, 1884, pp.75-78.

[42] Lucy Anna Edgar, *Among the black boys*: being the story of an attempt at civilising young aborigines of Australia, Emily Faithfull, London, 1865, p. 113. Like Willie Wimmera (Chapter 3), he was ministered by Reverend Chase.

[43] *Report on the Protection of Aborigines 1861*, p.8.

[44] *Report on the Protection of Aborigines 1861*, p.8.

[45] *Report on the Protection of Aborigines 1861*, p.9.

[46] *Report on the Protection of Aborigines 1861*, p.9.

[47] *Report on the Protection of Aborigines 1861*, p.9. In *Life among the native race*, Hinkins vigorously disputed the Board's conclusions about Bungeleen's occupational failures and despite severe illness William Thomas critically annotated the Board's report (William Thomas, letter to Redmond Barry, 8 November 1861, re biographical sketch of Thomas Bungeleen, Latrobe Library, MS 6333, FB6, Box 297/2).

[48] Edgar, *Among the black boys*, p.115; Hinkins, *Life among the native race*, p.78; reference to alcoholism: Cannon, *Who killed the Koories?*, p.216.

[49] *Sixth Report*, "Appendix 2, Report of R. Brough Smyth from Coranderrk", 16 November 1867, p.19; and *Sixth Report of Board* to Parliament by James MacBain, 1869, Australian Archives, B332, p.8.

Hinkins did not analyse the despair expressed in his dead Aboriginal son's contempt for his own body. He added only that he still kept a walking stick which Thomas "broke over a lad's back for calling him a *blackfellow*."[50]

Rejection of assimimilation, segregation of Aborigines and white obsession with the primitivist significance of Aboriginal bodies confirmed that European representation would continue to emphasise racial difference and the limits of Aboriginal transformation.

Fool kings, mimicry and transformation

Illustration 42: Bungaree costumed for performance[51]

The first noteable form of Aboriginal performance for Europeans was employing comedy and mimicry to carve out a space as "fool kings" patronised by the conquering white society.[52] If Bennelong can be regarded as its first noteable practitioner, Bungaree, the great Kuring-gai navigator and diplomat, was reputed to be its first fully realised domestic exponent.[53]

Ostentatiously dressing, enunciating and gesturing to exaggerate the dandyism and decorum of European elites, it was a deeply ambivalent form of transformative imagery.[54] Whether its adoption by Aborigines is interpreted as imitation, accommodation, capitulation or parodic resistance, it was a manifestation of inequalities in power between Aborigines and invaders. The ambivalent role of the self-parodic racialised jester, simultaneously reflecting, deflecting, entrenching and capitalising on European ideologies of racial superiority, was similarly important in other colonised peoples' relations with white dominance.[55]

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[50] Hinkins, *Life among the native race*, p.73 (italics in original).

[51] Painted by Augustus Earle, 1826 now in National Library of Australia. Reproduced in Smith, *King Bungaree*, Plate 6.

[52] Bernard Smith, *The spectre of Truganini*, Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1980, pp.36-39.

[53] Keith Vincent Smith in *King Bungaree: a Sydney Aborigine meets the great Pacific explorers*, Kangaroo Press, Australia, 1992, pp.155-158 questions the authenticity of Bungaree's reputation for mimicry.

[54] For descriptions of a Bungaree performance, see Dr. Oldfield in the *South-Asian register*, December 1828, quoted by Smith, *King Bungaree*, p.150.

[55] For example, Hawaiians and Raratongans satirising European military manoeuvres and staging orgies to mock the Church (Vilsoni Hereniko, "Representations of cultural identities", p.411 in K.R Howe, Robert C. Kiste & V. Lal Brij (eds), *Tides of history: the Pacific Islands in the twentieth century*, Allen & Unwin, Australia, 1994); and pygmies at the St. Louis World Fair parodying the marching bands (Phillips Verner Bradford & Harvey Blume, *Ota Benga: the Pygmy in the zoo*, Bantam, USA, 1992, pp.27-28. In *Sambo: the rise and demise of an American jester* (Oxford University Press, England, 1986), Joseph Boskin traced its long, complex and important history in African-American relations with whites. See also the ferocious polemics in African-American history about the "Sambo" behaviour of happy-go-lucky slaves in Peter Novick, *That noble dream*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, pp.480-487.

It is necessary to recognise two aspects of the practice. Firstly, that Aboriginal exponents *knowingly* adopted mimicry, having learned that white responses of amusement, delight and derision earned skilful performers money, goods, status and social access otherwise difficult to obtain. It was a rational response to conditions of town and metropolitan subordination once colonists no longer required Aboriginal men for anything other than observation and entertainment, and Aborigines had become dependent on European goods, money and favour. Bungaree's courage, initiative and intelligence indicates that "fool-kings" were not stupid or craven Uncle Toms:[56] it could be a strategy of adaptation by those Aborigines who were sufficiently shrewd and audacious to capitalise on their appreciation of European preferences and prejudices.

Secondly, despite pleasing their audiences, the performances confirmed European perceptions of Aboriginal inferiority. In European eyes, clowning and mimicry confirmed native childishness and mocked the incongruity of Aborigines adopting civilised dress and decorum.

Popularising racial science and primitivist representation in Australia

Glover's study of the foundations of Australian racial science explained early anthropology as part of the colonising project. By attributing Aboriginal extinction to the operation of scientific laws on a backward race,[57] anthropological theory exculpated colonialist policies and attracted financial assistance from colonial governments, universities, museums and other public institutions.[58]

Journalism transmitted simplified explanations of racial science - evolution, progress, racial hierarchy - into popular currency.[59] Primitivist tropes, racial science and their application to Aborigines were further disseminated by forms of theatrical,[60] literary,[61] visual,[62] and material

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[56] Bungaree adopted the role in the 1820s, once whites no longer required his skills as navigator, linguist and diplomat.

[57] Richard Glover, Scientific racism and the Australian Aboriginal 1865-1915: the logic of evolutionary anthropology, BA Hons Thesis, University of Sydney History Department, 1982, pp.12-16.

[58] Glover, Scientific racism and the Australian Aboriginal 1865-1915, pp.8-9.

[59] For example: "The ancestors of Adam", *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 17 January 1863; "Inferior Races", *Empire*, 26 November 1867, reprinted from *Daily News* (London), 20 September 1867; "Aspects of Savage Life", *Ararat and Pleasant Creek Advertiser*, 2 July 1867, reprinted from *Chambers' Journal* (London); "The Darwin Theory", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 September 1868, reprinted from *Liverpool Albion* (England); "British Association for the Advancement of Science", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 October 1868.

[60] Eric Ervin, *Dictionary of the Australian theatre 1788-1914*, Hale & Ironmonger, Sydney, 1985, pp.9-10 and Richard Waterhouse, *From minstrel to vaudeville: the Australian popular stage 1788-1914*, New South Wales University Press, 1990, p.100. Waterhouse explains that theatrical representation of Aborigines reflected the conventions of American minstrelsy.

[61] James Brunton Stephens' *To a black gin*, satirised Darwinism by ridiculing the evolutionary connection of hideous Aboriginal womanhood with European feminity, see J. Brunton Stephens, *A convict once and other poems*, George Robertson & Co., Melbourne and Sydney, 1888, pp.128-132. Charles Harpur, an enemy of the squattocracy and a better poet, was more sympathetic in *The Creek of the Four Graves* and *An Aboriginal mother's lament* (c. 1867) which expressed grief over the Myall Creek massacre of 1838 (reprinted in *The poetical works of Charles Harpur*, edited by Elizabeth Perkins, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1984, pp.161-172 and 368-369 respectively).

[62] The visual attention devoted to Aborigines in the *Illustrated Melbourne Post* conspicuously exceeded the scant attention devoted to verbal representation in the non-illustrated press.

representation. As Aborigines were driven from cities, [63] reduced to begging and drunkenness in towns and supposedly neared disappearance in rural areas, their primitivism and imminent extinction became an established literary genre in the popular press.[64]

Material representations of racial science and Aboriginality were assembled in museums and intercolonial exhibitions with increasing prominence from the 1860s.[65] The Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition of 1867 focused on Australian industry but some ethnological curiosities were also displayed in the fine art gallery.[66] Photographs of Truganini and 15 other Aborigines represented the decay of the Aboriginal race. The new Museum of Ethnology was more comprehensive. Its collection of Aboriginal boomerangs, shields and spears, it was suggested, would be of great interest to students of Antipodean history "when the Aborigines of Australia and the South Sea Islands have become extinct or have merged in the common Anglo-Australian nation."[67]

Sydney's Australian Museum, established in 1827, had reorganised its phrenological collection of the 1830s and 1840s along Darwinist lines in the 1860s.[68] The west wing of its elaborate new building housed a confident exhibition entitled "The Osteology of Man". A collection of bones explained that humanity consisted of five races including Caucasian or Iranian and Malayan (including Aborigines). It exhibited the perfect skeleton of a female Aborigine from Pine Mountain, Queensland, near photographs of skeletons of the genus *homo* and the *Troglodytes Gorilla*. Fifteen photographs of Aborigines were arranged beside the skeleton of an Aboriginal woman from the Clarence River and a hundred assorted skulls in shelves, most of them primitive races but including a few Europeans, including a notorious murderer.[69] Another section contained artefacts characteristic of primitive African and Polynesian races.[70] A banner stretched outside, advertising that the museum displayed "The Native blacks in their wildest state and showing their progress from utter barbarism to the highest state of civilisation."[71]

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[63] For the expulsion of Aborigines from Sydney and Melbourne for offending bourgeois virtues of decorum, modesty and civility, see George Morgan, Urban life and Aboriginality in nineteenth century Sydney, paper presented to the Australian Historical Association Conference, University of Sydney, 8 July 1998.

[64] For poems depicting Aboriginal primitivism, see George Gordon McCrae, " Mamba (the bright eyed): an Aboriginal reminiscence ", *Ararat and Pleasant Creek Advertiser*, 30 July 1867 and "The story of Balladeadro", *Argus*, 7 March 1867. Henry Kendall's *The last of his tribe* (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 September 1864) was the most notable example of melancholic acceptance of Aboriginal extinction. For a parody, see "Reminiscences and reflections of an Aboriginal Chieftain" by T.B. Shortfellow, *Australian Journal* (Melbourne), 26 May 1866. A. Patchett Martin, a leading Australian literary figure, concluded in 1898: "You cannot write epics on the Australian blacks; you might as well compose a sonata on a monkey" (Leonie Kramer [ed.], *The Oxford history of Australian literature*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1981, p.283).

[65] Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and collectors*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, pp.82-91.

[66] *Argus*, 24 January 1867.

[67] *Leader* (Melbourne), 27 April 1867.

[68] Valda Rigg, "Curators of the colonial idea: the museum and the exhibition as agents of bourgeois ideology in nineteenth-century NSW", *Public history review*, Vol.3, 1994, pp.188-203.

[69] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 October 1868.

[70] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 October 1868.

[71] Brian McKinlay, *The first royal tour 1867-1868*, Rigby, Australia, 1970, p.138.

Private performances of Aboriginal primitivism

In discussing the relationship between captured Inuits and the sixteenth century English navigator John Frobisher, Stephen Greenblatt asked what it meant "for the Eskimo to perform his own culture as a kind of theatrical demonstration for the gaze of his captors." He suggested that it made an opaque alien world more comprehensible, involving "a co-operation which is also a co-optation, since the co-optation has nothing reciprocal about it, and the captive remains that." Greenblatt's conception of captivity extends beyond enforced physical confinement, to comprise a metaphor for representation without reciprocity: "The native seized as a token and then displayed, sketched, painted, described and embalmed is quite literally captured by European representation."[72]

Performances of Aboriginal skills were made comprehensible by interpreting them as primitive precursors of civilised European cultural forms. Hunting was viewed in terms of leisured European sport and the corroboree as a form of theatre.[73] If using Aborigines as scientific data increased systematised racism, another consequence was that Aborigines became more interesting and valuable as objects. By the time Charles Darwin visited Australia, Aborigines had learned they could earn European commodities by entertaining white people with displays of primitive skills.

In the course of the *Beagle* voyage Darwin and his company were on the banks of the Nepean in January 1836 when 20 Aborigines passed by carrying spears and other weapons. An interested Darwin seized his opportunity: "By giving a leading man a shilling they were easily detained and they threw the spears for my amusement", using a woomera and spearing a cap set 30 yards away. Noting that they spoke some English, made acute observations, were skilled at tracking and partially clothed, Darwin assessed them as "some few degrees higher in civilization, or more correctly a few lower in barbarism" than Tierra del Fuegians.

Two months later, when he was in King George's Sound, Western Australia and two Aboriginal tribes were visiting, Darwin arranged for them to perform "a 'Corrobery' or dancing party."[74] "Mr. Darwin ensured the compliance of all the savages by providing an immense mess of boiled rice, with sugar, for their entertainment", Fitzroy noted.[75]

Darwin's description captures the power of primitivism for cultured Englishmen:

> It was a most barbarous scene, and to our ideas without any sort of meaning; but we observed that the [Aboriginal] women and children watched the whole proceeding with the greatest pleasure ... the ground trembled with the heaviness of their steps and the air resounded with their wild cries ... the group of nearly naked figures viewed by the light of their blazing fires, all moving in hideous harmony, formed a perfect representation of a festival among the lowest barbarians.[76]

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[72] Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvellous possessions: the wonder of the new world*, Clarendon Press, England, 1991, pp.113-114.

[73] Andrew Sayers, *Aboriginal artists of the nineteenth century*, Oxford University Press, Australia, 1994, p.6.

[74] *Charles Darwin's Beagle Diary*, p.411.

[75] Quoted in *Charles Darwin's Beagle Diary*, p.412.

[76] *Charles Darwin's Beagle Diary*, p.412.

A dramatic visual perspective of the relationship between Aboriginal performance and European observation was captured by the British explorer-illustrator, Thomas Baines.[77] Baines' sketch of an incident during Augustus Gregory's Northern Australian expedition of 1855-56 takes us outside the normal frame of performance, depicting the mutual wariness and overt relations of power which underlay primitivist performances for whites in remote and frontier areas.

Illustration 43: The caution of performance beyond the frontiers. [78]

A group of Aborigines dressed in ragged white men's clothing, danced for one of the explorers. He observed their performance intently, and although his stance expressed confidence and control, he was sufficiently distrustful to keep his rifle in hand, barely lowered from the dancing bodies. Aboriginal women and children stood behind him, one cautiously holding a spear, but the technological disparity in weaponry makes apparent the inequality of power.

Public performances of primitivism

As Europeans interpreted Aboriginal hunting in terms of field sports, Aboriginal corroborees were recontextualised in terms of European theatre.[79]

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[77] See Ian McLean, *White Aborigines: identity politics in Australian art*, Cambridge University Press, Australia, 1998, pp.46-49 for an interesting discussion of Baines.

[78] From Russell Braddon, *Thomas Baines and the North Australian expedition*, William Collins in association with the Royal Geographic Society, Sydney, 1986, p.157.

[79] Andrew Sayers, *Aboriginal artists of the nineteenth century*, Oxford University Press, Australia, 1994, p.6.

The attractions for the first evening's performances in 1856 at Melbourne's *Queen's Theatre*, were a light comedy, *Charles II*, a comic pantomime, *Harlequin King Blear and his Three Daughters*, a farce, *The Irish Tiger*, and *CORROBOREE: Native Blacks will introduce their celebrated War Dance, Songs &c.*[80] The Grand Corroboree was the major attraction, enticing packed houses to pay three shillings for a box, two shillings for the pit and a shilling for the gallery. Six Woiworung Aborigines had been brought from the Murrumbidgee to sit on stage under a *mia mia* and enact a program of Aboriginal primitivism. Critics found the "Old Man" corroboree, the "Kangaroo Corroboree" and a third unique dance "characteristic" but impossible to describe, apart from their "violent muscular exertion." Recent immigrants were particularly well represented in the audience, "conceiving it to be a treat to witness the natural dances of the Aborigines."[81]

Despite agreeing that the normal critical framework was inapplicable, the *Herald* disparaged Aboriginal singing and dancing in comparison to European performers. The scantily clad performances were described as "an irregular succession of wild gesticulations, leapings, shoutings and cries" which the audience acclaimed with "tremendous laughter and applause." The critic described the strange feelings of the civilised audience as it "looks at these poor black fellows, sitting under their mia mia of tea-tree and witnesses their ... grotesque performances" of songs and dances once common in that area.[82]

"Poor black fellows" indeed! By the following year, only 17 Woiworung were said to survive.[83] Apprehensive of the performers' "irregular habits" and susceptibility to alcohol, management solved the problems by "locking them up and keeping a strict watch over them",[84] treatment repeated with Aboriginal performers at the 1938 sesquicentary re-enactment of Cook's arrival in Sydney.[85] The Woiworung performances, anticipated as a theatrical coup, ended, suddenly and without explanation, on January 4.

Outside the metropolitan area, a similar format was performed in a better setting, a cricket ground. A Professor Prescott staged "a real corroboree of aboriginals" supplemented by a fireworks display at Ballarat's Western Cricket Ground in 1867. A crowded audience saw a dozen male Aborigines perform, decorated with white paint and closely observed by their "prompter" and lubras. The dancers and lubras accompanied the performance with clap-sticks but civilisation had augmented the ancient corroboree by dressing the performers in leggings and a garment likened to a kilt. The setting was illuminated by coloured lights which lent an operatic effect to the "diabolic manoeuvres".[86]

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[80] *Argus*, 3 & 4 January, 1856.

[81] *Argus*, 3 January 1856.

[82] *Herald* (Melbourne), 2 January 1856.

[83] Richard Broome, "Victoria", pp.121-167 in Anne McGrath (ed.), *Contested ground: Australian Aborigines under the British crown*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1995, p.134.

[84] *Herald* (Melbourne), 2 January 1856.

[85] Jack Horner & Marcia Langton, "The day of mourning", pp.29-35 in *Australians: 1938* (a volume of *Australians: a historical library*) Fairfax, Syme & Weldon, Sydney, 1987, p.29.

[86] *Geelong Advertiser*, 3 April 1867.

Aboriginal primitivism was also commodified in an ethnological freak-show setting. A "curious specimen of humanity", an Aboriginal *Tribe of Hairless Men*, was brought to Sydney for display by a squatter on the Balonne, at the head of the Darling. They were said to speak a unique dialect and were completely hairless, despite doubters pointing out that Aborigines were known to burn their hair as a ritual of mourning. Occurring about the time that the Aboriginal team returned from Britain, the item was of sufficient interest to British readers to print in the successor to *Australian News for Home Readers.*[87]

Illustration 44: The tribe of hairless men.

Maori Warriors

Exotically illustrated for their impending performances in Melbourne, the remarkable story of the Maori Warriors demonstrated that Australian metropolitan centres of the 1860s were sufficiently lucrative to become a market for the importation of elaborate primitivist entertainment.

[87] *Illustrated Australian News*, 22 February 1869.

Illustration 45: Maori Warriors. [88]

The Maori were brought to Sydney in June 1862 by Dr. McGauran, formerly provincial government surgeon for Auckland, whose venture as an entrepreneur of New Zealand's indigenous peoples would drive him into debtors' prison. [89] The troupe of 21 Maori made a sensational debut at the refurbished Royal Lyceum Theatre on July 19. Their stage performances were incorporated into two plays featuring white actors, *Whakeau (The Pakeha Maori)* and *Rangatira Wahena (The Maori Queen)*. [90] Dramatising the contrast between Pakeha civilisation and Maori primitivism, the Maori performances - war dances, chants, hakas, songs, rubbing noses, launching a canoe, playing games with balls[91] - were the highlights of the clumsy, melodramatic plays.

Initially, McGauran was so dubious of the Maoris' capacity to dramatise their own culture that he provoked mirth by accompanying them on stage as a ludicrous " 'painted savage' ", prompting their movements at close hand.[92] The "intensity" and "vigour" of the Maori men, women and children, "every vein, every muscle and every article swell[ing] with warlike impetuosity"; their eyes appearing "to be forcing themselves from their sockets ... as they become excited in the dance"[93] allayed his fears. As they gained experience, the Maori grew in confidence, on stage and off.

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[88] *Illustrated Melbourne Post*, September 20, 1862.

[89] *Aucklander*, 26 December 1862.

[90] A third drama written by R.P. Whitworth. *Haie Waikonaitai* (the Chieftainess of the Taiwaika) was performed less frequently, see *Empire*, 1 September 1862.

[91] *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 26 July 1862; *Empire*, 19 July 1862.

[92] *Empire*, 21 July 1862.

[93] *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 26 July 1862.

So successful were the performances as entertainment and educational instruction[94] that they were described as the greatest theatrical success in Sydney's history.[95] After an extended season they were due to depart for Melbourne when the following advertisements appeared in Sydney's *Empire*:

> THE NEW ZEALAND WARRIORS.-
> CAUTION TO THE PUBLIC.- I hereby caution all persons against harbouring or employing all or any of the Maories or aboriginal natives of New Zealand, who have been lately performing at the Lyceum Theatre, as the whole of the said Maories are under written agreement to me for the term of three years. The said Maories have been paid by me the full amount of their wages according to the said agreement, so far as they have demanded the same; and several of them have received advances from me to a considerable amount on account of their future earnings. I intend, if necessary, to take the proper legal steps to compel the said Maories to fulfil their engagment with me; and I will prosecute to the utmost extent all persons harbouring, employing or decoying away the said New Zealanders.
> (Signed), T.F. McGauran
> Sydney, 6th August, 1862.[96]

On August 26, "to suit the tastes of those who object to the drama and the stage, as the best mode of illustrating the many peculiarities of the Maori race" McGauran advertised a lecture in Sydney's Temperance Hall. He was accompanied by two "civilised and highly intelligent Chiefs" who provided "living illustrations of the 'Manners and Customs' of that singular warlike and interesting people."[97] The full troupe played three more nights at Sydney's *Lyceum*, perhaps part of a final severance agreement from McGauran, prior to departing for Melbourne.

But on September 4, a Sydney publican, Edward Byrne wrote to the *Sydney Morning Herald* complaining that some of the "New Zealand Warriors" had entered his *Burrangong* hotel semi-naked and drunk, behaving violently and offensively towards a female customer and others. They laid siege to the bar until six policemen overcame the main perpetrator and took him to the watchhouse after a violent struggle.[98]

With a new manager, the Warriors hurriedly slipped away, rapidly becoming "the most popular actors in Melbourne."[99] Then, with another new manager and less elaborate staging, they repeated their triumphs in Victorian country and regional centres.[100] A *Ballarat Star* reviewer noted an important factor in the appeal of primitivist performances: "it is difficult to realise that

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[94] *Empire*, 23 & 25 July 1862.
[95] Advertisement in the *Empire*, 26 July 1862.
[96] *Empire*, 7 & 9 August 1862.
[97] *Empire*, 26 August 1862.
[98] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 September 1862.
[99] *Argus*, 25 September 1862.
[100] See *Bell's Life in Victoria*, 11, 18 & 25 October, 8 November 1862; *Geelong Advertiser*, 30 September 1862; *Talbot Leader* 7 & 11 November 1862; *Mount Alexandra Mail*, 14 November, 1862.

we are viewing and listening in perfect safety".[101] In Melbourne, later in the year, they performed war dances and chants in the *Cremorne Gardens* before huge audiences, in company with a trapeze artist and a British-American circus.[102]

Their history in Australia demonstrates that the export of indigenous performers, like the racial appeal of primitivism, was a colonialist phenomenon with global dimensions and a diverse range of performance contexts. The Maori Warriors had performed as racial spectacle in dramas, as living illustrations of a lecture, as regional stand-alone performers and accompanied by circus acts. They passed from one manager to another and discovered the real function of a contract for performers who signed cheaply and later discovered their value in the entertainment metropolis. The hazards for entrepreneurs were considerable too, a problem which increased the tendency to exploit indigenous performers. With exploitation, opportunity and alcoholic temptation in volatile combination, dramatic conflicts - the contract, the hotel brawl, the imprisonment - illustrated the ambivalence of life as touring Show Primitives. Their stories, however, became known only from the perspective of white complainants.

In 1866, 10 Maori performers who had performed war dances and athletic feats in NSW and Victoria were stranded in Australia with their wives when their English manager sailed away with their funds.[103] But they were not the Maori Warriors, who, with yet another manager, had sailed from Australia to perform in Britain.

The Duke of Edinburgh and Aboriginal spectacle

The major public event during preparations of the Aboriginal team for England was the royal tour of Albert, the Duke of Edinburgh, 23 year old second son of Queen Victoria and fourth in line to the throne. Not only the first royal tour of Australia, it was also the most dramatic, climaxed by a failed assassination at Clontarf and the execution of its Fenian perpetrator James Farrell.

The Duke had arrived in Adelaide on 31 October 1867, in command of the steam frigate, *Galatea*. Amid gauchely pompous, uninhibited and drunken displays of colonial fealty, [104] Prince Albert revealed a sympathetic interest in Aborigines, the most exotic and imperilled of his subjects.[105]

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[101] *Ballarat Star*, 16 October, 1862.

[102] Alec Bagot, *Coppin the Great: father of Australian Theatre*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1995, p.240; *Bell's Life in Victoria*, 20 December 1862, 3 January 1863.

[103] D.O.D. (Charles Dod), *Early memories of Queenscliff*, List Hickie, Geelong, 1931.

[104] The radical English journal, *Reynolds' Newspaper*, 19 January 1868 was scornful of Australian fawning towards the Duke of Edinburgh, which it contrasted to the colonies' democratic pretensions.

[105] A letter on *Galatea* stationery in December requested Government information on twenty-five areas of interest. Item 23 was the *Present condition of aborigines, if any in neighbourhood* (Victorian Public Record Office, VPRS 3991, Box 344, R129). The Chief Secretary forwarded the request to the Board, requesting a "Report shewing the present condition and number of the Aborigines in the colony " (Chief Secretary, Letters Outward, No 3420, 23 December 1867, Victorian Public Record Office). It was submitted by Brough Smyth on January 2 (letter from Brough Smyth to Chief Secretary, VPRS 3991, Unit 333, File No 129, S68).

As colonial authorities strove to impress the Prince with displays of colonial culture and distinctive Australian entertainment, the tour became a showcase for public and private performances of Aboriginal primitivism, gaudy material representations of Aboriginal iconography and morbid scrutiny of the passing of a race.

The tour diary of Reverend John Milner, chaplain of the *Galatea*, noted that while returning along the Eastern Murray to Adelaide the Royal party came upon as a "sort of stage", which they proceeded to view as a primitive drama. It was 12-foot square on forked posts and "upon the stage were five [Aboriginal] bodies, wrapped in pieces of native matting fishing-nets and blankets", dried by fire for several weeks as the relatives mourned. The names of the dead were not mentioned and the bodies were left for several years before burial. Untroubled by any sense of intrusion, the Royal party viewed the scene of death and lamentation with ethnographic curiosity. The scene became a metaphor for the future of a race:

> The bodies on their stage, with the small native encampment by the weeping willows, and the vast extent of bare country stretching away all the banks of the Murray far to the northward, had a dreary, sad look, which was quite in keeping with the idea that the race was fast passing away.[106]

In January, reality replaced metaphor. "During our stay in Hobart town", wrote Milner, "we saw 'the last man' of the native race."[107] He omitted mention of 'the last woman': Truganini and William Lanney (King Billy) were both transported to a Regatta to be introduced to the Prince as the rarest of living ethnographic specimens.[108] Milner cited the 1867 Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition as evidence for his view that "frightful atrocities were committed by both races against each other, and the number of aborigines began steadily to decrease ... At first, the aborigines were harmless enough, but this did not protect them from maltreatment by the whites."[109]

Victorian bric-a-brac created as tribute for Albert commonly featured stereotyped Aboriginal iconography. A casket presented to him in Adelaide was ornamented with a world globe, fern leaves, the arms of the city, sheep and cattle and groups of emus and kangaroos. At each corner stood an Aborigine, arm extended, in the act of throwing a boomerang.[110] A casket adorned with similar Aboriginal motifs was presented to the Prince in Sydney.[111]

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[106] Rev. John Milner & Oswald Brierly (illustrator), *The cruise of HMS "Galatea" 1867-68*, W.H. Allan, London, 1869, p.188. They found the stage on 16 November 1867.

[107] Milner, *The cruise of HMS "Galatea"*, p.343.

[108] Brian McKinlay, *The first royal tour 1867-1868*, p.125.

[109] Milner, *The cruise of HMS Galatea_*, p343.

[110] *Age*, 19 October 1867.

[111] Milner, *The cruise of HMS "Galatea"*, p.373.

Living Aboriginal entertainments were also provided. At Lake Alexandrina, white residents assembled Aborigines to perform a corroboree for the visitors,[112] Milner describing it as "a dance which surpasses all others in singular and dramatic effect."[113] An illustration, *The Kuree Dance as Witnessed by the Duke of Edinburgh in South Australia* was printed for British readers.[114]

Illustration 46: "Kuree dance" for the Duke of Edinburgh.

Other rural centres hoped that corroborees would entice a Royal visit. In Buninyong, the Protector, a Mr. Porteus, announced his preparedness "to supply forty aboriginals to afford this novel entertainment to a royal visitor."[115]

In light of these Aboriginal performances, it would have been surprising if the Victorian Board for the Protection of Aborigines had not become involved. At a meeting in October which sought to prevent the English tour of the Aboriginal cricket team, the Board considered "the proposals of some persons to encourage corrobborees and the like during the visit of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh." It unanimously resolved:

> that the Central Board should not sanction any arrangements which would lead to the Aborigines assembling in large numbers in the centres of white population - both because it would probably unsettle them and betray them into excesses which would be highly injurious.[116]

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[112] McKinlay, *The first royal tour*, pp.43-44.

[113] Quoted by McKinlay, *The first royal tour*, p.143.

[114] *Illustrated Australian News (for Home Readers)*, 26 November 1867.

[115] *Ballarat Courier*, 20 September 1867.

[116] Minutes of the Central Board for Aborigines, 11 October 1867, Victorian Public Record Office, B314.

Queensland was different. On his arrival in Brisbane, an amazing spectacle masterminded by a Mr. Petrie from Pine River startled the Prince:

> suddenly, to the surprise of everybody, a party of fifty or sixty aborigines made their appearance and took up a position in two lines between the military and the steamer. They were got up in a most picturesque manner, being in full war-dress - naked to the waist, armed with spears, waddies, boomerangs, &c.,their faces and upper portions of their bodies smeared over with white and various coloured clays, laid on in streaks and spots, and their hair ornamented with white feathers.[117]

Another group of Aborigines mounted the arch, their bodies "like so many bronze statues among the foliage which decorated it." Although racial violence was rife on Queensland frontiers, they were obviously tamed savages and "all combined to produce a very lively and pleasing effect."

Aboriginal performers: stage props?

In his acclaimed spatial history of Australia, Paul Carter suggested that the mobility of Aboriginal society has lent itself to physical and representational manipulation:

> Their wandering state has made the Aborigines easy to manipulate rhetorically as well as physically. Their occasional nature has made them the servant of white occasions. They have been moved about on the stage of white history with the ease of stage props - in order to create an effect, to authenticate a vision.[118]

The image of passivity is misleading.[119] Glimpses of Aboriginal intent and instances of resistance have emerged from white records of Aboriginal display. At the South Australian corroboree for the Duke of Edinburgh, Aboriginal women insisted on maintaining dignity equal to white women. Complaining that the organisers expected lubras to dance naked for the royal party, an Aboriginal woman refused with unanswerable eloquence: "What for we do it, more than white women?"[120]

The cheeky refusal indicates that Aborigines may have seen the British crown as more sympathetic to their plight than white settlers and local authorities. It was a reasonable supposition

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[117] Milner, *The cruise of HMS Galatea*., pp.383-384.

[118] Paul Carter, *The road to Botany Bay*, Faber, England, 1987, pp.343-344.

[119] As early as his seminal work on Aboriginal history, Stanner cautioned that Europeans have "badly misinterpreted, as inertia and parasitism, what in fact were their opposites - a people's will to survive somehow, under any conditions." W.E. Stanner, "After the dreaming", pp.198-248 in W.E. Stanner, *White man got no dreaming: essays 1938-1973*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1979, p.244.

[120] Quoted by McKinley, *The first royal tour*, p.43.

which might have been encouraged by the activities of British humanitarians and Aboriginal expectations of maintaining access to Crown lands.[121] Documentation *by* Maori and Native American performers in Britain confirms that they viewed their appearances before royalty as an opportunity to personally appeal for redress of their grievances.[122] Aboriginal appeals and diplomatic gestures to the British crown and its representatives have been a consistent feature of Aboriginal political action.[123]

A week after the Aboriginal cricket team performed before the Duke of Edinburgh in Sydney, the phrasing of a suggestion for a corroboree implied that Aborigines actively sought a Royal performance. In a letter to the Colonial Secretary, G. Thornton began his proposal as follows:

> Sir,
> There are at present in and about Sydney, a great many Native Blacks - who have come from various parts of the colony to see 'the Queen's Son' - they have a great desire to see, and also to be seen by him - this feeling is a species of true loyalty which I should like to see acknowledged and encouraged - they are also desirous of being permitted to show His Royal Highness one of their 'corrobborees' [sic] - now I should not like to have their return to various districts - disappointed.[124]

He suggested that the Aborigines "(the males only)" should be feasted and presented with a blue shirt and pair of trousers. The Colonial Secretary agreed to provide funds of up to 150 pounds to fund a Royal corroborree in Hyde Park March as long as 100 natives were present.[125] The occasion was aborted when the Prince departed suddenly for Queensland.[126]

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[121] For a discussion of Crown lands and Aboriginal expectations arising from their proclamation, see Heather Goodall, *Invasion to embassy: land in Aboriginal politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972*, Allen & Unwin/Black Books, Australia, 1996, pp.44-56.

[122] See Black Elk and Jenkins' Maori performers, Chapter 15.

[123] Instances in Bain Attwood & Andrew Markus (eds), *The struggle for Aboriginal rights: a documentary history*, Allen & Unwin, 1999 include: Petition from Tasmanian Aborigines to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, 17 February 1846, pp.38-39; presentation and address for Queen Victoria on the marriage of her son by a deputation of Victorian Aborigines, June 1863, pp.43-45; petition to the departing Victorian Governor by Coranderrk Aborigines, March 1886, pp.48-50; petitions to the Governor of New South Wales by Maloga Aborigines, 1881 and 1887, pp.51-52. In 1898, Framlingham Aborigines made known their intention of writing to the Queen to protest against the Board's dispersal policies, Critchett, *Untold stories*, pp.146-147. For additional detail on the 1863 presentation to the Queen, see *Bell's Life in Victoria*, 30 May 1863.

[124] G. Thornton to Colonial Secretary, 13 February 1868, NSW Archives Office, Secretary's Correspondence 68/1002.

[125] Letter to G. Thornton, 21 February 1868, NSW Archives Office, Secretary's Correspondence, 68/1002.

[126] *Leader* (Melbourne), 29 February 1868.

Even for less sympathetic local officials, Aborigines used public performance as a political device. When the Premier and other colonial officials were entertained by corroborees in Deniliquin in 1867, Aborigines used them to demand redress of their grievances. A corroboree with a conspicuously high attendance of Aborigines was "specifically dedicated to the 'Gubberment' as the blacks call it." As they danced before the fire on a moonlit night, an Aboriginal leader called on the Treasury to address funds to their plight, shouting "Burree-burree - big one corrobboree [sic] - blenty of money - Gubberment sit down here". An obese Aboriginal woman danced up to the equally obese Premier and extending her stomach, cried: "Budgeree your Gubberment - you like it mine." After every dance, they passed a hat around the dignitaries, pointing out the level of available government funds and calling for negotiations: "Blenty ob money - Gubberment sit down here."[127]

[127] Geelong Advertiser, 7 March 1867, reprinted from the *Pastoral Times*.

CHAPTER 7

THE WIMMERA: PASTORALISTS, ABORIGINES, LAND AND SPORT

Map 1: Western Victoria.[128]

A pastoralist Pax Britannica

The west Wimmera of the 1860s was a region dominated by Scottish and English settlers who had taken up recently expropriated Aboriginal land to pursue their fortune in the flourishing pastoral district.[129] Its remote, unfamiliar conditions were difficult for settlers and many squatters succumbed as a result of seasonal fluctuations, diseases and constant disputes over land legislation.[130] Successful settlers compensated for their privations by recreating pleasures familiar to the British gentry. They and their employees transformed the physical and social environment, constructing mansions, planting lush orchards and exotic plants on their estates.[131] The families of

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[128] From Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, following p.96.

[129] For information on pioneer squatters, see Thomas Young, *Pioneer station owners of the Wimmera*, Dennys, Lacselles Ltd. Annual, August 1926, pp.52-66.

[130] J.M. Powell, "Regional migration in eastern Victoria, 1870-1900, pp.39-46 in J.M. Powell (ed.), *The making of rural Australia, environment, society and geography: geographical readings*, Sorrett, Melbourne, 1974. See Terese Hamilton, *A squatting saga: a Scottish pioneering family in the West Wimmera 1836-1927*, Arden Press, Victoria, 1991, pp.31-31, 40-41 for a picture of the harshness of squatting life.

[131] "Bush wanderings", *Hamilton Spectator*, 14 April 1866.

prominent settlers who taught cricket to Wimmera Aborigines - Edgar, Officer, Hayman, Fitzgerald - dominated the local magistracy, controlled large property runs, organised campaigns to extend the railway line from Ballarat and officiated over the cricket, athletics and horse-racing bodies of the district.[132]

Map 2: Squatter's runs, the Wimmera, c.1847.[133]

Sport was an important element of British culture transplanted to the Wimmera. Lowland Scottish settlers[134] created athletics carnivals entitled Caledonian Games, much to the annoyance of non-Scots.[135] Settlers noted with satisfaction that the standard of athletics during the annual meeting at Harrow, a busy settlement 33 kilometres south-east of Edenhope, alleviated fears of

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[132] *Hamilton Spectator:* 31 January 1866; 5 December 1866 (athletics and horse-racing); 16 March 1867 (magistracy); 18 May 1867 (rail).

[133] From Les Blake, *Wimmera: a regional history*, Cypress Historical Backgrounds No. 6, Melbourne, 1973.

[134] Margaret Kiddle, *Men of yesterday: a social history of the western districts of Victoria, 1834-1890*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1961, p.14 estimated that two-thirds of western districts pioneer-settlers were Scots, primarily Lowlanders.

[135] *Hamilton Spectator*, 16 December 1869.

"the degeneration of the European race" in the unfamiliar Wimmera climate.[136] The preponderance of powerful squatters from comfortable middle-class British roots [137] ensured the social approbation of cricket. A proposal by Hamilton Cricket Club for a regular Saturday half-day holiday for watching and playing cricket earned the support of the *Hamilton Spectator*, despite the danger that it might encourage union agitation.[138]

Edenhope, on the shores of Lake Wallace, was a small town of 180 people,[139] which took pride in recent improvements such as comfortable meals and accommodation for workers, a moderation of its notoriety for heavy drinking and increased convictions for "selling grog to the blacks."[140] Entertainment was mostly home-grown, but the Original Albino Minstrels brought their "Negro Extravaganzas, Burlesques, Lectures &c" to the Commercial Family Hotel at Hamilton.[141] The Hamilton Athletic Society furnished its own "Ethiopian Entertainment" including the most favoured "Nigger Melodies".[142]

Sixteen year old William Reginald Hayman had emigrated to the west Wimmera in 1858 from sheep-farming country in Axminster, Devon. [143] He was part of a successful family migration, his uncle John Perham Hayman having arrived in the mid 1840s, working as overseer at Bringalbert before taking up management of the run at Lake Wallace South.[144] The family background was pastoral as well as pastoralist: the Haymans had been doctors and clergymen for nearly 300 years.[145] Hayman boys had attended Rugby School and together with worldly ambition brought to the squatting districts their attachments to cricket, sporting manliness and philanthropy.

The Anglicisation of the Wimmera by the introduction of British flora and fauna was abetted by the activities of Acclimatisation Societies. They flourished from the middle of the century and were particularly influential in Victoria, despite Melbourne's *Leader* warning that European importations threatened the existence of native fauna and indigenous humanity. "We have very nearly got rid of the black man," it admonished, "and now we have an Acclimatisation Society carrying on a war against the native races of birds and beasts." It argued that if the choice lay between "the bill-bird and the sparrow and between the lyre-bird and the pheasant, we should unhesitatingly decide in favour of the native game", but did not extend its conclusions to human settlement.[146]

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[136] *Hamilton Spectator*, 10 January 1866.

[137] Peter Taylor, *Station life in Australia: pioneers and pastoralists*, Allen & Unwin, Australia, 1988, pp.4-5.

[138] *Hamilton Spectator*, 6 October 1866.

[139] Hamilton, *A squatting saga*, p..23.

[140] Letter to the editor by William Sykes, *Hamilton Spectator*, 5 February 1868.

[141] *Hamilton Spectator*, 6 June 1866.

[142] *Hamilton Spectator*, 15 December 1866.

[143] Information on the Hayman family courtesy of Bruce Hayman, Melbourne, 4 February 1999.

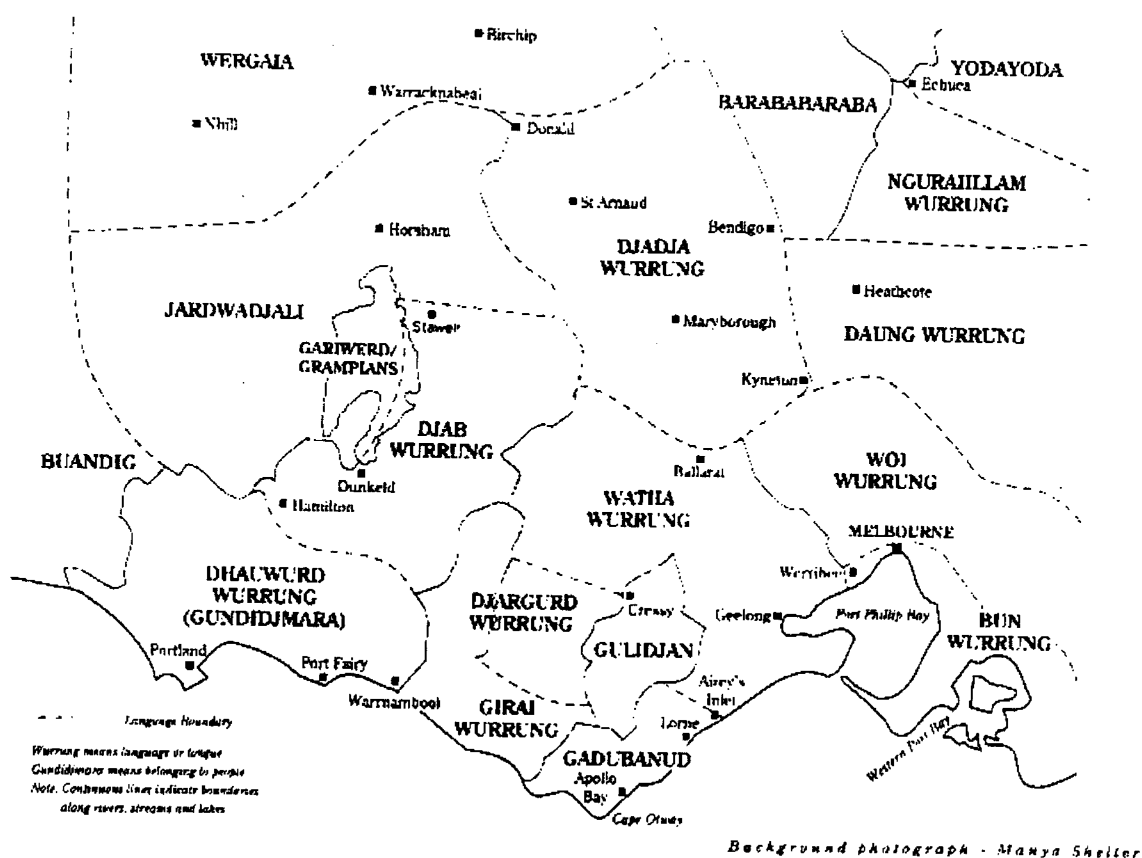
[144] Terese Hamilton, *A squatting saga.*

[145] See E.O. Hayman, Archdeacon Hayman, ms. of Church of England (Diocese of Melbourne) Historical Society, courtesy of Bruce Hayman. William's younger brother Reginald rose to become Archdeacon of Ballarat after emigrating to the squatting districts in 1875.

[146] *Leader*, 6 February 1869.

By the 1860s, Aborigines were of minor concern in the public life of the Wimmera. The *Hamilton Spectator*, a defender of Eyre at Morant Bay,[147] railed against harassment of pastoralists by swagmen,[148] but found no Aboriginal nuisances to complain about or achievements to commend. Most mentions of Aborigines were trivial tales of humorous denigration, usually reprinted from other districts.[149]

ABORIGINES: INVASION, DEFEAT, ADAPTATION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL



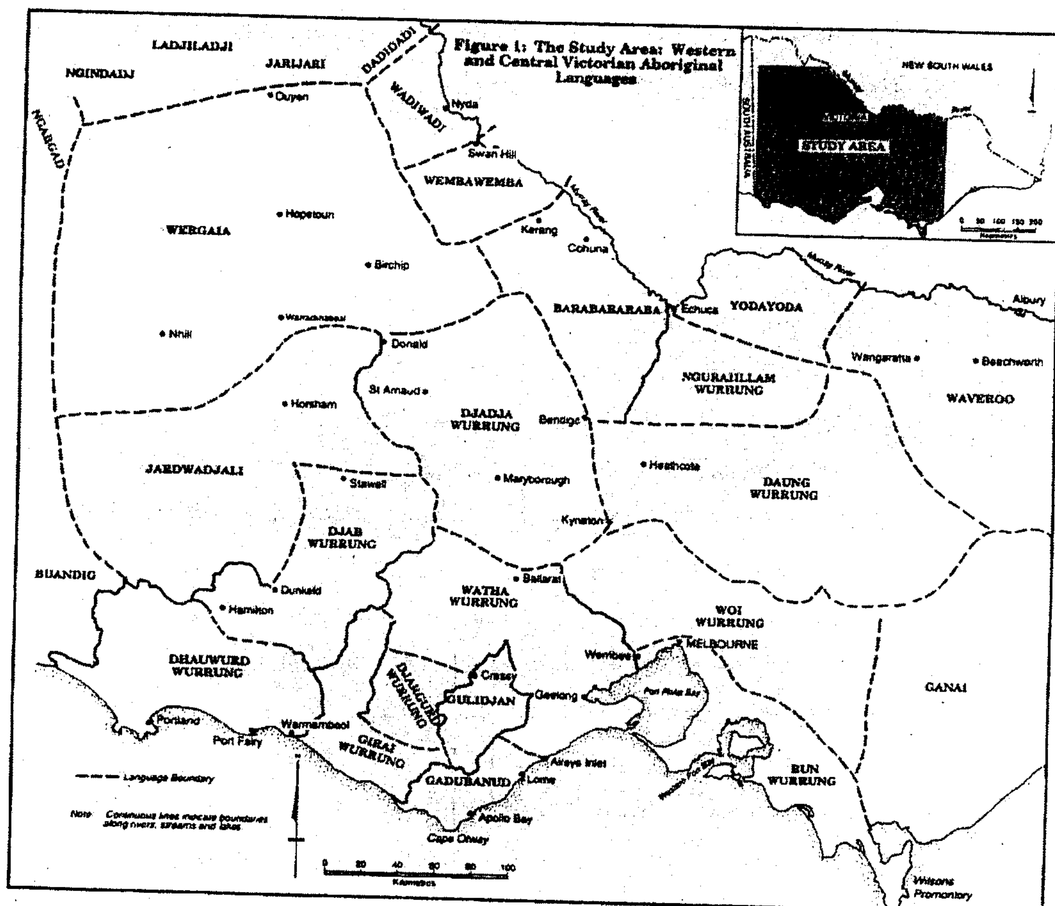
Map 3: Aboriginal boundaries of western Victoria.[150]

[147] *Hamilton Spectator*, 24 January 1866; 3 March 1866.

[148] *Hamilton Spectator*, 8 December 1866 and elsewhere.

[149] In *Hamilton Spectator*: disparaging descriptions of an Aboriginal Queen Mary begging for tobacco, 11August 1866; childish Aboriginal attempts to copy a hypnotist, 24 November 1867; limitations on the ability of Aborigines to absorb Christianity, 5 September 1868; Aborigines trying to kill a ticking watch because they thought it was alive, 5 December 1868; Aboriginal incapacity to offer testimony in court, 16 December 1869.

[150] From Brambuk Living Cultural Centre, *A journey through time*, Victoria, c.1997, p.4.



Map 4: Aboriginal languages of western and Central Victoria.[151]

A few decades of frenzied colonisation ravaged Aboriginal cultural systems which had developed over tens of thousands of years.[152] Western Victorian Aborigines had established extensive networks of fish traps and permanent stone constructions dating back 2,500 years - one north of Harrow was described as capable of containing forty people. They were suddenly and permanently abandoned when European colonisation deprived them of access to water.[153]

Aborigines in the Wimmera and throughout Victoria were assumed to be on the irreversible brink of extinction.[154] Although the catastrophe was generally attributed to evolutionary processes, Edward Curr, a squatter, protector and observer of Aboriginal culture, submitted that "Were they as valuable commercially as short-horned cattle or merino sheep, there would be no fear of them dying out. The fact is that we have protected but never really wished to

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[151] From Ian D. Clark, *That's my country belonging to me*, Heritage Matters, Melbourne, 1998, iii.

[152] Accelerator Mass Spectometry analyis suggests that Gariwerd (the Grampians) has been inhabited for at least 22,000 years and there is evidence of occupation at Billimina (Glen Isla), a significant rock art site , more than 9,000 years ago: Josephine Flood, *The riches of ancient Australia: an indispensable guide for exploring prehistoric Australia*, pp.225-228.

[153] Critchett, *A distant field of murder*, Melbourne University Press, Victoria, 1990, pp. 57-67; Flood, *The riches of ancient Australia*, pp.216-219.

[154] Even the humanitarian John Green, who questioned the assumption in 1868 (CBPA, *Sixth Report*, 1868, p.9) soon admitted that all guardians now agreed Aborigines would quickly become extinct (CBPA, *Eighth Report*, 1872, p.9. Green's letter written 23 July 1872. A similar conclusion from another guardian, Mr. W. Jamieson of Mildura, June 1871 in CBPA *Seventh Report*, 1871, p.22.

save them from extermination." The cause was settler-capitalism, not natural science: "The Anglo-Saxon in Australia, as elsewhere, does not foster weakly races. He wants their lands. He is thinking of riches." [155]

Dispossession

Their dispossession began only 15 years before William Hayman joined his uncle at Lake Wallace South. The Aborigines who comprised the cricket team were William's contemporaries, mostly born in the 1840s and primarily of the Gunditjmara (or Dhauwurd wurrung), Wotjobaluk (or Wergaia) and Jardwadjali peoples.[156] Research suggests that at the time of European settlement the Gunditjmara consisted of 56-59 clans and five to eight distinct Djargurd wurrung dialects; the Wotjobaluk of 20 clans and upwards of three Wergaia dialects; and the Jardwa people of 37 clans and upwards of four Jardwadjali dialects.[157] Ownership, renewal and management of the land was primarily maintained by the clan unit.[158] There was considerable overlap between the different tribal languages - 70% of Wergaia vocabulary was common with Jardwadjali and 90% of Jardwadjali common with Djab wurrung.[159]

Dispossession and violence forced Aborigines to replace their belief that the newcomers were Aboriginal relatives who had returned after death (*ngammadjidj*) with a secular appreciation that they were non-Aboriginal invaders.[160] Dispersal was so rapid that it is difficult to identify with certainty the clan and tribal identities of the Aboriginal team. All but Twopenny and Dumas were usually described as originating from western Victoria, but as Tiger, Cuzens and others were sometimes identified as South Australian Aborigines, it is plausible that some came from the other side of the colonial border, perhaps Buandig, to the west of the Gunditjmara and Jardwadjali.

The invasion and conquest of their lands began about the time of the team members' birth and proceeded during their childhood. The Gunditjmara conducted fierce struggles but the Eumeralla Wars crushed effective resistance from the late 1840s.[161] The first shooting of a Jardwa

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[155] Minutes of Evidence of Royal Commission on Aborigines, Victorian Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 76, 1877-78. Cited by Peter Corris, "Racialism: the Australian experience", *Historical studies*, October, 1973, p.752.

[156] Ian Clark, *That's my country belonging to me*, pp.45-74 has argued that the naming of Gunditjmara and Wotjobaluk tribes is based on faulty ethnographic information. He suggests replacing Gunditjmara with Dhauwurd wurrung and Wotjobaluk with Wergaia. I have retained the tribal names Wotjobaluk and Gunditjmara because it conforms to the usages and preferences of Aborigines to whom I have spoken and who identify with those groups. Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp. 30 and 73, suggested that Madimadi (Tindale's Marditjali) formed the bulk of the team. Clark offers a detailed critique of Tindale and in *That's my country*, p.54, argues that Mardidjali was a dialect of Jardwadjali or perhaps Wergaia. In David R. Horton's frontispiece map of Aboriginal Australia in Graeme Davison, John Hirst and Stuart MacIntyre (eds), *The Oxford companion to Australian history*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1998, Madi Madi territory is north-east of Wergaia, separated by Latje Latje, Dadi Dadi and Wadi Wadi.

[157] Clark, *That's my country belonging to me*, pp.75-94.

[158] Clark, *That's my country belonging to me*, pp.20-21.

[159] Clark, *That's my country belonging to me*, pp.67-74.

[160] Clark, *That's my country belonging to me*, pp.127-140.

[161] Jim Poulter, The spirit lives: a short history of the Gunditjmara people of Victoria's western district, no date, Victoria, 2493/9, ms.11958, La Trobe Library, p.8; Ian D. Clark, *People of the lake: the story of Lake Condah mission*, no publication details, Victoria, c.1996, p.8.

occurred in 1836 near the future site of Edenhope[162] and after an 1841 massacre by settlers, armed resistance was broken within the decade by the deployment of Native Police.[163] The conquest of the Wotjobaluk (or Wergaia) and the occupation of their lands was completed during the same period.[164]

While the future cricketers were youths, pastoral occupation deprived Aborigines of the most productive areas of land, fractured kinship relations, disrupted their capacity to biologically reproduce and decisively weakened their control of the environment. Aborigines transmitted much of their language and culture. Parents showed children their birthplaces, sites to which they were to return before death.[165] But cultural maintenance was fractured as access to Aboriginal land and its resources was severely restricted. The flora and fauna was fundamentally altered and surviving Aborigines, ravaged by disease, had less time to spend in the production process.[166] Their ability to obtain food, remain on their land and practise modified aspects of their cultural life depended on varying relations with the new landowners and Aboriginal usefulness as pastoral labour.

As the Aboriginal cricketers approached manhood, the Protection Board created Aboriginal reserves in the area. Founding legislation in 1860 had imposed six responsibilities on the Board. Most important was "the protection of the Aborigines residing in the colony of Victoria" by policies specified as recommending the proclamation of reserves and supplying Aborigines with rations and other implements.[167] Aborigines frequently opted to alternate between a reserve and privately owned land, depending on their economic and cultural needs and their relations with individual pastoralists and missionaries.

Missions

Lake Condah mission station was established in 1867, the cricket-loving David Edgar having been one of the first Europeans to occupy the land in 1841.[168] Gunditjmara lived on the mission, managing to retain access to traditional sites on their land, and some Jardwa people moved there also.

Further south-west, Framlingham, near Warrnambool, was established in 1865, when the Board authorised the Church of England to occupy the site. Many of the residents were Girai wurrung, whose country bordered the Gunditjmara and who also resided on Framlingham. After the Church surrendered responsibility for the reserve, the Board closed it in 1867 and attempted to relocate its residents to Lake Condah. Seventy Aborigines refused to go. Many of those who were

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162 Clark, *That's my country belonging to me*, p.115.

163 Jardwadjali entry by Ian D. Clark, in *Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia*, vol.1, p.513.

164 Terri G. Allen, *Wotjobaluk: Aborigines of the Wimmera River system*, published by author, Hopetoun, Victoria, 1976.

165 Clark, *That's my country belonging to me*, p.106.

166 Ian D. Clark, *Nineteenth century capitalist expansion and the Aborigines of western Victoria: a Marxist problematic*, Monash University, Department of Geography and Environmental Science, Working paper No.25.

167 VPRS 4467, Reel 1, Aboriginal Affairs Records, Australian Archives, Melbourne.

168 Ian D. Clark, *People of the lake: the story of Lake Condah mission*, c.1996, Victoria, p.8.

relocated returned to Framlingam after it was reopened in 1869 following Aboriginal appeals, but the Board had established its policy of dispersing Aborigines from their country.[169]

The success of Ebenezer Mission, founded by the international activities of Moravian missionaries,[170] resulted from a bizarre accident of history. An earlier Moravian mission at Lake Boga from 1850 had failed, following opposition from local squatters and failure to convert a single Aborigine.[171] Victoria's Lieutenant-Governor La Trobe, whose family were Britain's most powerful Moravian officials, granted Reverends Hagenauer and Spieseke permission to establish another mission in the Wimmera.[172] In 1858, Hagenauer and Spieseke arrived in Melbourne via London where they visited the La Trobe family who gave them a tract on converting Aborigines.[173] They chose a mission site in 1859 by the Wimmera River, granted to the missionaries by a redeemed Horatio Ellerman, who had added the land to his Antwerp station in the raid which murdered Willie Wimmera's mother in 1846.[174]

Hagenauer directed Aborigines that as the land belonged to Christ, they were prohibited from practising corroborees on the important ceremonial site. The Moravians had sporadic but indifferent success and resistance to Christianity increased, the Wotjobaluk painting their bodies red and white and insisting "No more prayer".[175] On 2 May 1860, Hagenauer was teaching the New Testament to Aboriginal children when he decided to read them, in his thick German accent, the tract he had been given in London. It was the story of Willie Wimmera in England, whose dying breath urged missionaries to teach Christ's words to his brothers and sisters in Australia. The rapt attention perplexed Hagenauer until an older Aboriginal youth interjected. " 'That was Jim Crow' ", he explained:

> 'I was with them when his mother fell dead to the ground after the ball had entered into her heart. That [pointing to one of the youths] is his little brother, and outside in the camp is his old father, Dowler, and all of us are his cousins. Close to where this hut stands, under the shade of the tree, were children were sitting with our mothers, when the white man's ball killed Jim's mother; and down near the corner of the garden is where she was buried.'[176]

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[169] Clark, *That's my country belonging to me*, p.47.

[170] The formal name of the Moravian Brethren was *Unitas Fratrum (The Church of the United Brethren)*. It was established by persecuted Bohemian Protestants in 1722 and specialised in missions in outlying colonised regions, having a ratio of one missionary to 60 members, contrasted to one in 5,000 for the rest of Protestantism: John Harris, *One blood: 200 years of Aboriginal encounter with Christianity, a story of hope*, Albatross, Sydney, 1990, p.159.

[171] Patricia Franklin, Ebenezer: a new song: cultural interaction in the Wimmera with particular reference to Ebenezer Mission Station, 1842-1886, Honours Thesis, Department of History, Latrobe University, 1984, pp.15-16.

[172] Harris, *One blood*, pp.159-160.

[173] Harris, *One blood*, p.191.

[174] See Chapter 3 for Willie Wimmera's life and death in England.

[175] Franklin, Ebenezer, a new song, pp.20-21.

[176] Hagenauer's recollections, quoted by Also Massola, *Aboriginal mission stations in Victoria*, Hawthorn Press, Melbourne, 1970, p.37. This and a similar Moravian version of the story are quoted by Franklin, Ebenezer a new song, pp.25-30.

A weeping Hagenauer planted a tree by the grave: the Willie Wimmera tract was the unintended spark of successful missionary work among the Wotjobaluk.[177] By 1863, between 30 and 100 Wotjobaluk attended Ebenezer in addition to Jardwadjali. The most famous Wotjobaluk convert, renamed Nathaniel Pepper when he was baptised in 1860, was Willie Wimmera's cousin.[178]

Adaptation and survival

Although some cultural practices survived, the destruction of the economic basis of their society made adaptation unavoidable and rendered Aborigines dependent on their relations with European pastoralists and missionaries.

The decline of traditional structures and direct pressure from civilisers led some Aborigines to adopt European rites. European marriages between Aborigines were unusual enough to provoke widespread press coverage.[179] Internal struggles between resistance and adaptation were waged within Aboriginal communities. It was generally concealed from whites but when colonial authorities became involved their power abetted adaptation and intimidated resistance.[180]

Overt rejection of European power was sporadic but fruitless. An Aborigine named Tommy, charged with horse-stealing at Beechworth Court, was defended on the basis that the court lacked jurisdiction over him. As the territory had not been acquired by either occupation of a deserted land, purchase or conquest, the colony "belonged not to the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, but to the aborigines of Australia."[181] As courts of the 1860s were not prepared to bring down a Mabo judgement, it was more promising for Aborigines to accept European authority and manoeuvre within it, perhaps by exploiting ideologies of Aboriginal inferiority. When Billy and King Jerry were charged with drunkenness in Geelong, their plea - that as Aborigines they were unable to remember who sold the alcohol to them - minimised their responsibility and protected their supply.[182]

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[177] I am indebted to Anne Brown of Seymour, who has exhaustively researched the history of Willie Wimmera for a prospective novel. A telephone interview of 19 March 1999 supplemented information in Massola, *Aboriginal mission stations in Victoria*, pp.32-40 and Harris, *One blood*, pp.191-195.

[178] Phillip Pepper with Tess de Araugo, *You are what you make yourself to be: the story of a Victorian Aboriginal family 1842-1980*, Hyland House, Melbourne, 1980, pp.9-18. Phillip Pepper was devoted to Hanenauer and followed him to Ramahyuck Mission, Gippsland.

[179] As in the wedding at Colac in 1867 between Annie and Jim Crow (not the Jim Crow of the Aboriginal team or the Jim Crow who became Willie Wimmera). *Geelong Advertiser*, 30 August 1867; *Warrnambool Examiner*, 30 August 1867; *Leader* (Melbourne), 31 August 1867.

[180] Near Port Macleay across the South Australian border, several young Aborigines had been persuaded to marry by the agent of the Aborigines' Friends Association, George Taplin. Older Aborigines threatened with sorcery and ritual punishment those who were married or baptised. When tribal Aborigines removed a young married Aboriginal woman to Towajeri Island, Taplin, two other white men and her Aboriginal husband brought her back after overcoming the visible anger of a large number of Aborigines led by a prominent elder. The rejectionists shook their spears but Taplin attributed their capitulation to a lack of courage and unwillingness "to get into hot water." He recommended government protection of those who wished to be converted. *Geelong Advertiser*, 12 February 1867.

[181] *Geelong Advertiser*, 26 July 1867.

[182] *Geelong Advertiser*, 27 November 1866.

Aborigines: sport and working for the white man

It has been suggested that before colonisation, Aborigines participated in games bound by few rules, primarily for enjoyment rather than competition or results.[183] British sport appears to have been more attractive to Aborigines than other European pursuits. Writing of his experiences as a Gippsland missionary in the 1850s, John Bulmer wrote that as a result of natural athletic aptitudes, encouragment by whites and an aversion to work, young Aboriginal men were "growing up with a great love of sport", zealously training to enter regional athletics events.[184] Harry Rose, excluded at the last moment from the Aboriginal tour to England, had distinguished himself in the Mount Talbot football team against Balmoral and participated against whites in the Caledonian Athletics carnival at Harrow as the team sailed for England.[185]

As hunting and shooting were still considered elemental sports, an English tradition viewed hunter-gatherers as natural, "savage sportsmen". From the early days of settlement, gentlemen British colonists had identified similarities between aristocratic blood sports and Aboriginal hunting.[186] The fostering of cricket by an English tour of Australia in 1861 was depicted as a missionary enterprise (below), with British masters inculcating cricket civilisation in white and Aboriginal boys.

Illustration 47: Bringing cricket civilisation to the Australian bush. [187]

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[183] From Michael Salter, Games and pastimes of the Australian Aboriginal, M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1967, cited in Richard Cashman, *Paradise of sport: the rise of organised sport in Australia*, Oxford University Press, Australia, 1995, p.17.
[184] Alastair Campbell (compiler), *Victorian Aborigines: John Bulmer's recollections, 1855-1908*, Occasional Papers, Museum of Victoria, Anthropology and History Series No. 1, Melbourne, 1992, p.67.
[185] *Hamilton Spectator*, 5 September 1866 (football); *Hamilton Spectator*, 9 January 1868 (athletics).
[186] James Urry, "Savage sportsmen", in Donaldson & Donaldson, *Seeing the first Australians*, pp.51-67.
[187] Illustration reprinted in David Frith, *The pageant of cricket*, MacMillan, Melbourne, 1987, p.106.

The number of west Wimmera pastoralists who taught cricket to Aborigines in the early and middle 1860s suggests that it was inspired by structural factors rather than individual whim. Johnny Mullagh learned cricket on Edgar's Pine Hills station before moving to Fitzgerald's Mullagh station and was taught round-arm bowling by Edgar's oldest son; Bullocky learned from Charles Officer of Mount Talbot station; Cuzens from David Affleck at Rose Banks station; Tarpot by Mr. McLeod of Benyeo station; Sundown at Maryvale; Jellico and a number of others by Tom Hamilton at Bringalbert.[188] William Hayman claimed to have taught Peter.[189]

As with encouraging Aborigines to play cricket on mission stations like Coranderrk and Poonindie, it is likely that pastoralists assumed cricket was an "antidote to Aboriginality",[190] contributing to civilisation and work discipline. But more important factors for Wimmera pastoralists were their geographic isolation, the importance of seasonal Aboriginal labour[191] and the desire by settlers to create a familiar environment by transplanting British culture.

The addition of Aboriginal cricketers increased the number of players in sparsely populated regions. Persistent labour shortages in the Wimmera had made Aboriginal shearers and sheep-washers an important component of the labour force.[192] Some were paid only rations. [193] A few like those employed by the Officers at Mount Talbot where at least five of the Aboriginal cricketers worked, were paid equal rates to white shearers.[194] Although Aboriginal workers wanted money - at Coranderrk, Aborigines refused point blank to even milk cows unless they were paid[195] - personal obligation was used by both sides of the labour contract. Aborigines established kinship ties to white employers and potential benefactors; [196] employers also deployed personal obligation - the "silken cord" instead of the "iron fetter" as it was described in Hobart by Alexander Maconochie.[197] In either case, the importance of Aboriginal labour facilitated their incorporation as cricketers.[198] English traditions suggested that the manorial master should encourage the most lowly elements of the village class structure to participate on the cricket field.

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[188] *Hamilton Spectator*, 6 & 23 February 1867.

[189] "A Cricketer" alleged Peter played cricket years before and Hayman falsely claimed credit for teaching him (*Hamilton Spectator*, 23 February 1867).

[190] Tatz, *Obstacle race*, p.52.

[191] Richard Broome, "Aboriginal workers on south-eastern frontiers", pp. 202-215, *Australian Historical Studies No.103*, October 1994.

[192] Pastoralists' need for Aboriginal labour and desire for sexual relations with Aboriginal women sharpened their opposition to missionary activities and the proclamation of Aboriginal reserves: Harris, *One blood*, p.163-166.

[193] *Geelong Advertiser*, 24 May 1867 in an article on Aboriginal labour on the Murray. It pointed out that despite their "unreliability", Aboriginal workers had allowed squatters to survive, and were especially valuable as they had to be paid only by flour, tea and sugar.

[194] From inspection of Mount Talbot day books, Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.36. It is worthwhile noting that equal piece-work wages did not necessarily mean equal conditions in accommodation, food or treatment.

[195] See correspondence from John Green to Brough Smyth, 29 January 1869, CPBA, *Sixth Report*.

[196] Henry Reynolds, *With the white people*, Penguin, Australia, 1990, pp.96-98.

[197] From *Murray's Review*, Hobart, 16 January 1838. Quoted by Reynolds, *With the white people*, pp.48-49.

[198] Nevertheless, Whimpress points out that it is was rare for pastoralists to incorporate Aborigines into cricket and suggests that *Cricket walkabout* exaggerated its incidence. Bernard Whimpress, *Passport to nowhere: Aborigines in Australian cricket 1850-1939*, Walla Walla Press, Sydney, 1999, pp.67-83.

The pattern emerged in other areas where Aborigines were working as pastoral employees and could no longer be considered a threat to settlers or stock. Aborigines learned cricket on the Glenelg.[199] On the Lachlan five Aboriginal cricketers, Boologal Jackey, Jackin Dubby, Denny, Booley and Wellington, were sufficiently accomplished to challenge the same number of Deniliquin whites to a match in 1862. "It would be an act of genuine kindness in the members of two or three of the chief clubs in the colonies if they were to take a few of these aboriginal boys and train them to cricket", suggested a *Pastoral Times* article reprinted in the *Sydney Mail*. The cheapness of Aboriginal labour reinforced the suggestion: "the cost would be nominal", it concluded.[200]

[199] Letter by T.G. Hamilton, *Hamilton Spectator*, 2 March 1867.
[200] *Sydney Mail*, 6 September 1862, from *Pastoral Times*.

CHAPTER 8

HAYMAN, WILLS AND THE ABORIGINAL CRICKET AND ATHLETICS TEAM

Formation of an Aboriginal team

It was not unique to the Wimmera, then, for Aborigines to learn cricket or impress settlers with exceptional ability. Mullagh quickly stood out and Johnny Cuzens starred in an Edenhope team, including Hayman and Hamilton, which defeated Mallee in January 1865.[201] The novel aspect was that William Hayman and Tom Hamilton of Bringalbert station encouraged a larger group of Aborigines to practise every Saturday with the newly formed Edenhope Cricket Club and then "organised them" into an Aboriginal eleven.[202] With Mullagh as captain, Hayman and Hamilton arranged for them to play two matches against Edenhope, the second in February 1866.[203] Before they travelled to play against the local Hamilton and Balmoral clubs in March, it was decided that the team should have a white captain and Tom Hamilton took over from Mullagh.[204]

Hayman may have originated the Aboriginal team as an entertaining local experiment but it is clear that once he realised the outstanding abilities of Cuzens and Mullagh, he foresaw the financial possibilities of an all-Aboriginal team under white captaincy. [205] A mixed team would not have been a racial spectacle for white audiences but the appointment of a black captain would have offended the assumed need for white control of Aborigines..

The *Hamilton Spectator* seized on the Aborigines' match against Hamilton to acclaim the influence of local squatters on Aborigines and express their hostility to Aboriginal reserves and missionaries. It proclaimed that the match represented "the highest instance of developed civilization which has yet been achieved with the blacks", and approvingly reported assertions that by teaching cricket, local squatters had "done more to civilize the aborigines than all the missionaries who have laboured among them in Victoria." Officer, Hayman, Hamilton and others deserved congratulations for "a most successful piece of philanthropy."[206]

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201 *Hamilton Spectator*, 18 January 1865.

202 Letter by William Hayman, *Australasian*, 16 February 1867 and letter by T.G. Hamilton, *Hamilton Spectator*, 2 March 1867.

203 *Hamilton Spectator*, 27 January1866 briefly reported the return match.

204 *Hamilton Spectator*, 27 January 1866 and *Australasian*, 16 February 1867.

205 In the initial photograph of the Aboriginal team sent to Melbourne in 1866, a white man named Gibson is identified as their "umpire/backer", see illustration 17, Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, between pp.96 & 97.

206 *Hamilton Spectator*, 21 January 1866.

The Hamilton match established the initial format of their program. Mullagh, Cuzens and other Aboriginal cricketers excelled in sprinting and high jumping contests against white competitors and showed outstanding ability in cricket ball-throwing contests. After the match, most of the defeated Hamilton cricket team snubbed a dinner with the Aborigines and were criticised for their actions, an affront to English cricketing traditions.[207]

Arrangements for a Melbourne match on November 8 had been completed by August.[208] Hayman, suddenly apprehensive, acknowledged that "he fears the capacity of the blacks has been overrated"[209] and arranged to hire Tom Wills as coach and captain. It was a prudent step for a team which had played only four local matches.

In September, the Harrow correspondent of the *Hamilton Spectator* gleefully reported the failure of the Melbourne arrangement. Being lionised as "black wonders" would unsettle and overexcite the Aborigines, inflating their egos and disturbing "the dull life which they were accustomed to". The journey was expected to exacerbate existing health problems as many of the Aborigines, especially Tarpot, were severely ill. And besides, the Aborigines were required for seasonal sheep-washing and shearing,[210] an indication that before they travelled, Hayman would find it necessary to come to an arrangement with the pastoralists on whose runs they lived and worked.

Once the causes of the postponement were resolved and their debut rescheduled,[211] Wills sailed from Geelong to Portland *en route* to Lake Wallace on November 20.[212] In December he notified W.J. Hammersley that he was pleased by the progress of his "black sheep".[213] After the Aborigines thrashed a weak Lake Wallace XVI he wrote to Geelong lauding Mullagh's triumph - "not bad, eh?", he demanded in his nervy, abrupt style, predicting that the others would be "good average bats" by December 26.[214]

At least 12 Aborigines accompanied Wills to Melbourne: Mullagh, Cuzens, Bullocky, Dick-a-Dick, Peter, Jellico, Billy Officer, Tarpot, Paddy, Sundown, Watty and Lake Billy. Two of the team he had trained were unable to make the trip: Neddy, later to be renamed Jim Crow, was "away" and Sugar had recently died.[215]

Tom Wills

In cricketing terms, the engagement of Tom Wills was prestigious but unsurprising. Although still among the colony's leading cricketers, he was nearing the end of his sporting pre-eminence and had no alternative career. But in the light of his family history Wills was an amazing appointment.

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[207] *Hamilton Spectator*, 24 March 1866.

[208] *Hamilton Spectator*, 15 August 1866.

[209] *Australasian*, 18 August 1866.

[210] *Hamilton Spectator*, 12 September 1866.

[211] The cause of the postponement may have been the unavailability of the MCG and the possible arrival of an English team: *Australasian*, 24 November 1866.

[212] *Australasian*, 24 November 1866.

[213] *Australasian*, 8 December 1866.

[214] *Geelong Advertiser*, 5 December 1866.

[215] *Australasian*, 15 December 1866.

Horatio Spencer Wills, Tom's father, was a pioneer Victorian squatter whose relationships with Aborigines have reasonably been characterised as unusually benevolent and enlightened.[216] On his 120,000 acre run at Lexington, he sought to establish an accommodation with local Aborigines, learning their language, rewarding them for their labour, knowledge and help, and permitting them to hunt on their traditional lands. But the frontier imposed severe limitations on the racial philanthropy of practical, ambitious pastoralists.

In 1841 he and two of his men "went to deal with the Aborigines" who had killed a Wills employee.[217] Wills and his men later killed two Aboriginal women.[218] In 1842, he wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, demanding that special constables be empowered to act against dispossessed Aborigines who had arrived on his land. [219] Wills argued that "it is utterly impossible to deal with such characters as you would with Whites. To suppress the incursions of distant Tribes, forcible means must be resorted to." Governor Gipps believed that Wills was liable "for firing with intent to murder" but no action was taken.[220] Like other pastoralists, he agitated against the policy of retaining land for Aboriginal reserves, contending it was harmful to the economic interests of individual squatters and the colony as a whole.[221]

After selling his Lexington holdings for 35,000 pounds Horatio was happily married, eminent and comfortable until his expanionist energy was lured by Queensland's new squatting frontiers. In 1860, he bought huge leases on the Nogoa River and led a party of 25, some livestock and 7,600 sheep on an epic eight month trek to his new property, Cullinlaringo.

Frontier wars were raging but Horatio eschewed force as "the blacks ... beyond our run were a fine lot of fellows and very kind ... We'll try to keep friends with them".[222] Having reached Cullinlaringo, he refused to keep Aborigines away from the camp or maintain an armed guard. On 17 October 1861, he, ten other men, three women and five children were massacred by Aborigines, probably accidental victims of Aboriginal retribution for murders by other squatters.[223]

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[216] For example in C.E. Sayers, A land so exciting, La Trobe Library, MS 8951, Box 2698/1(d); John Mulvaney, *Encounters in place*, University of Queensland Press, 1989, Chapter 15; and David Frith, *By his own hand: a study of cricket suicides*, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Australia, 1990, pp.173-175.

[217] Critchett, *A distant field of murder*, p.125.

[218] Critchett, *A distant field of murder*, p.249. Wills also alleged that an Aborigine attempted to rape and abduct his wife (Critchett, *A distant field of murder*, p.96) but the incident and its role in the chain of hostilities is unclear.

[219] Mitchell Library, New South Wales, Governor's despatches to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Vol. 39, April -July 1842, ML A 1228, CY Reel 661.

[220] Michael Cannon, *Who killed the Koories?*, Heinemann, Victoria, 1990, pp.96-97.

[221] Mitchell Library, New South Wales, Governor's despatches to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Vol. 39, April -July 1842, ML A 1228, CY Reel 661.

[222] Undated letter by Horatio Wills to his sons in material accompanying ms. by Sayers, A land so inviting.

[223] A proposition which was being argued by liberal opinion within a few years of the massacre: see "The Black Question", letter to the editor of the *Port Denison Times*, written by A.L. McDougall of Baulkham Hills, 26 March 1867, reprinted the *Empire*, 30 April 1867.

Tom, Horatio's first child, was born in 1836. Socially isolated as a child by the conditions of squatting life, he made playmates of Aboriginal boys, learning to use their language and native weapons.[224] Although he earned fame for his exploits as a cricketer, footballer and co-inventor of Australian rules, recreation and bursts of activity remained more congenial than the relentless work ethic of the indefatigable father whom he accompanied to Cullinlaringo. Tom had maintained his ease with Aboriginal companionship, Horatio writing at the beginning of the journey in Victoria, "We have 2 young native companions - so tame and gentle - Tom caught them when up country at the shearing."[225]

At the time of the massacre, Tom was away from the camp seeking provisions. He returned to discover the carnage and wrote a disoriented, heart-rending letter to his cousin, Colden Harrison:

> I have not time to go into particulars I can only say that all [underlinings in original] our party except 6 have been slaughtered by the blacks on the 17th I am in a great fix no men if we had used common precautions all would have been well - my poor Father ... I want a good man up here that thoroughly understands sheep ... Do all that can possibly be done and as soon as possible in the shape of shepherds good resolute men - that will shoot every black they see Cullinlaringo is a fine station ... I shall [not] spare a lot of them when I see the black devils again.[226]

He soon wrote that over 60 Aborigines had been murdered in retribution. His mother was informed that 300 were killed by settlers and 70 by native police.[227]

Tom was incapable of maintaining the implacable vendetta. In an 1863 letter to his brother from Rockhampton, he gave a peculiar account of his reaction to an accusation by a Mr. Rutherford: "Bless my soul you are not Tom Wills and I said I used to be at any rate - after some time he got up in rather an excited state and said Mr Tom Wills you have not done your duty to the memory of your Father - you have let the blacks come up to your station - I simply said I was not aware of the fact, and he replied that he was - I said again - very well you know better than I do - so he walked off". [228]

Six years after the massacre, having been removed as manager of Cullinlaringo by his father's estate, he was hired to captain the Aboriginal cricket team.

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[224] From letter by his brother, Horace Wills, published in a Victorian newspaper following Tom's death, and collected by David Wills-Cooke.

[225] Undated letter by Horatio Wills in material accompanying ms. by Sayers, A land so inviting.

[226] Letter from Tom Wills to H.C.A. Harrison, probably 24 October 1861.

[227] Mulvaney, *Encounters in place*, p.103.

[228] Tom Wills to brother Cedric Wills, 21 December 1863, courtesy of Brian Wills-Cooke.

THE FIRST TOUR OF VICTORIA AND NSW:

DECEMBER 1866-APRIL 1867

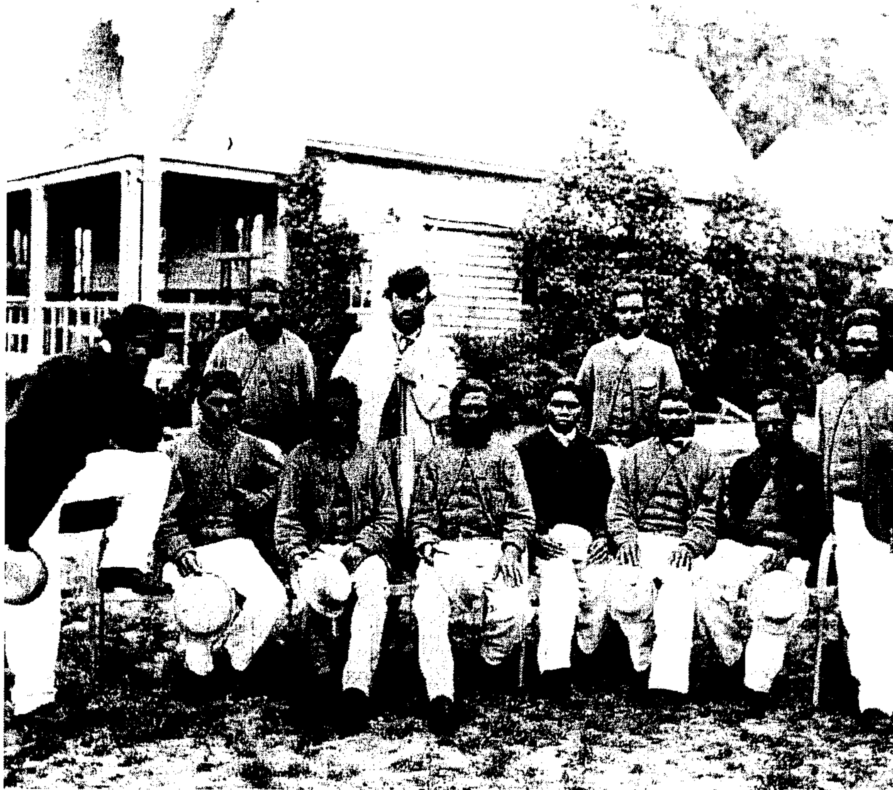

Illustration 48: December 1866. Rear, left to right: Tarpot, Tom Wills, Mullagh. Front, left to right: King Cole (leg on chair), Jellico, Peter, Red Cap, Harry Rose. Bullocky, Cuzens, Dick-a-Dick (standing).[229]

A brief outline

The tour was an unmitigated catastrophe on every conceivable level.

Some Aborigines died and most of the remainder suffered from serious illness or cricketing injuries. It was a financial schemozzle, characterised by managerial incompetence, deceit, treachery and internecine litigation culminating in imprisonment. The entrepreneurs of the team became locked in a dispute with the Board over control of the Aborigines. Ostensibly a debate over the cricket team, its implications extended to broader policy issues: the capacity of Aborigines to survive in European society and whether they were better served by increasingly repressive government protection or the probability of unregulated exploitation by squatters and other employers. Only appeals to charity ultimately enabled the Aborigines to return to the Wimmera.

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[229] Melbourne Cricket Club Museum, M86, courtesy Jena Pullman.

After their Boxing Day debut at the Melbourne Cricket Ground was concluded by a scratch game on December 28, the Aboriginal team made six further Victorian appearances before departing for Sydney. They were in Geelong on January 4-5; at Collingwood, January 11-12; in Bendigo on January 18-19; at Heidelberg on January 29; in Ballarat on January 31; and back at the Melbourne Cricket Ground against a weaker team on February 8-9. Mostly minor affairs, the Aborigines lost only their first game and at Ballarat. Mullagh and Cuzens were universally recognised as outstanding cricketers at the highest level. They and the competent Bullocky were selected to play for a Victorian side against Tasmania in January.

Supposedly *en route* to England, the team sailed for Sydney in mid-February and played against the Albert Club at Redfern on February 21-22. They played eight more matches: against Maitland from March 1-3; Newcastle on March 4; Albert Seconds XV on March 12; Manly Beach on March 16; Albert Club on March 18; Wollongong on April 5-6; Parramatta on April 9-10; and a NSW XI on April 22-23. After returning to Victoria, they participated in a benefit athletics carnival in Melbourne on May 4 and played against a XVII of Portland on May 9 before disbanding. They lost their first two matches, drew the third, won the next four and lost the last two in NSW before defeating Portland. As in Victoria, most of the team was not good enough to succeed against strong opposition, but regular match practice and the first-class stature of Mullagh, Cuzens and Tom Wills made them superior to irregular, local and second-class teams.

The tour primarily represented the Aborigines in a mode of transformation. Dressed in orthodox cricketing apparel and competing in European cricket and athletics, the appearance and demeanour of the Aborigines was hailed as an alternative method of civilising Aborigines. Comments which contrasted its success with the failure of Christian missionaries and Victoria's Protection Board echoed squatter and land-owner resentment against the expenditure of Government money and the allocation of reserve land for Aborigines.

This chapter will not describe the details of the cricket and athletics competitions: off-field events were immeasurably more consequential and dramatic.

Debut

London's *Times* observed that except for the summer sunshine a British visitor would feel little sense of discomfiture in Melbourne or Sydney because unlike the Cape, Mauritius, New Zealand or Canada, there was "no indigenous or foreign population … to stamp the crowds with any novel character."[230] Respectably attired Aboriginal cricketers were a unique sight and their debut at the Melbourne Cricket Ground was eagerly anticipated because of its "very novelty".[231] A huge crowd hoped to see something extraordinary.

Unfortunately, out of an unwarranted fear of defeat, the Melbourne Cricket Club disgraced itself by bolstering its team with two first-class ring-ins, including an exponent of slow

[230] Reprinted *Argus*, 2 January 1867.

[231] *Herald* (Melbourne), 26 December 1866.

bowling, a style which the Aborigines had not encountered. Using the most derogatory language which could be associated with colonial gentlemen, the *Age* condemned the Melbourne Club for the "unmanly and thoroughly un-English way the blacks have been treated." They owed more consideration to "the remnants of the old possessors of the soil ... whose kindred have dwindled down to an almost imperceptible number",[232] but sympathy could not restore cricketing credibility.

The *Argus* noted that the Aborigines had been found "not good enough to make a stand against Europeans, and ... it would hardly bear repetition for spectators."[233] On the second day, less than a third of the first day crowd turned up as the "interest of the match has considerably subsided now that the manner of the aboriginal has been seen, and the superiority of the white men determined."[234]

Although the cricketing performances of most of the side were unremarkable, a few compensated by displays of showmanship. Tarpot was a gifted athlete who delighted crowds with his exuberance, including turning back somersaults on the fall of a wicket. He and Dick-a-Dick were unrivalled in competitions for running backwards. Jellico and Bullocky, who were said to delight inquisitive spectators with their wit, were noteable among those who "converse with freedom with those curious enough to engage them in conversation."[235] While onlookers crowded the Aborigines at practice, Cuzens reportedly remarked to Bullocky, "Dese Melbourne people got no manners." Bullocky, the "funny man of the team", responded, "Manners! How they know 'bout manners, they never on a station."[236]

A string of "black jokes" were attributed to Jellico. Asked why he didn't ask Wills to teach him reading and writing, he replied: "What usy Wills. He too much along of us. He speak nothing but blackfellow talk." When he was addressed by a European in pidgin, Jellico demanded "what for you no talk to me good Inglis. I speak him as good Inglis belonging you" and rounded on Tarpot: "big one fool that fellow. He not know him Inglis one dam."[237]

They are easy to dismiss as completely apocryphal but an incident in Geelong suggests that Jellico was acknowledged both as a humourist and the most socially confident of the team in dealing with Europeans. During luncheon interval speeches, "loud calls were made for Jellico, the witty man." After some persuasion, he stepped forward "and said in a feeling manner, 'I thank you gentlemen for your kindness.' "[238] His speech was almost identical with one made in England by Dick-a-Dick (were both suggested by Hayman?), another "fool king" whose engaging exuberance concealed an ingenious awareness of what Europeans found entertaining. At the Fitzroy Bowling

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[232] *Age*, 27 December 1866. Condemnations of their unscrupulousness was widespread: *Geelong Advertiser*, 28 December; *Australasian*, 27 December 1866 and elsewhere.

[233] *Argus*, 27 December 1866.

[234] *Age*, 28 December 1866.

[235] *Geelong Advertiser*, 29 December 1866.

[236] *Geelong Advertiser*, 28 December 1866.

[237] *Hamilton Spectator*, 23 January 1867, from *Bendigo Advertiser*.

[238] *Geelong Advertiser*, 7 January 1867.

Club, Tarpot, Jellico and Dick-a-Dick particularly impressed observers with their skill in adapting to another European pursuit.[239]

From the beginning of their Melbourne visit, the Aborigines suffered health problems. A number of the team, including Dick-a-Dick, fell victim to a measles epidemic and a variety of other complaints.[240] Bullocky, Tarpot and Jellico did not play in Ballarat because they were too ill to travel from Melbourne.[241] Mullagh batted in Melbourne with a hand cut almost to the bone by an axe.[242] The wound was aggravated by several blows with the ball and he was again injured in Ballarat.[243] In Melbourne, Cuzens received a severe blow on the head and was hurt on the hand "and elsewhere" in Ballarat.[244] Access to alcohol aggravated the misadventures. A *Hamilton Spectator* correspondent cautioned that the Aborigines might somehow benefit from visiting Melbourne, if Hayman could "prevent them from running riot at the public houses,"[245] but within the week, Bullocky had been arrested for being drunk and disorderly. He was sentenced to 24 hours imprisonment by the Richmond Bench.[246] After the contract for the English tour had been signed and while the team was in the throes of measles and alcohol problems, Hayman rushed away to Hamilton "to pick a few emergency darkies" and supplement his depleted troupe.[247]

Despite the *Australasian's* belief that "the healthy savage can from habit sustain many privations which the white man would sink under",[248]doubts were expressed whether the constitution of the Aborigines would survive the physical demands of the voyage to England.[249] It was "at best doubtful whether the aboriginals would keep their health in so rigorous a climate as that of England", since the change from bush to city life had already caused most to suffer serious illnesses.[250] An English visitor at their Sydney debut in February recalled a few years later that Wills had been fearful the English climate would be too cold for the Aborigines.[251]

Problems in Victoria: the show, the Board and Gurnett

The tour was in deep trouble as a commercial venture. The cricket was less entertaining than its publicity promised; it was under public pressure from the Protection Board; and its financier, Gurnett, was unfinancial.

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[239] *Argus*, 1 January 1867.
[240] *Herald* (Melbourne), 9 February 1867; *Argus*, 25 February 1867.
[241] *Geelong Advertiser*, 1 February 1867; and *Australasian*, 2 February 1867, abridged from *Ballarat Star*.
[242] *Geelong Advertiser*, 29 December 1866.
[243] *Herald (*Melbourne), 29 December 1867; *Herald* (Melbourne), 9 February 1867.
[244] *Herald* (Melbourne), 29 December 1866; *Geelong Advertiser*, 2 February 1867.
[245] *Hamilton Spectator*, 2 January 1867.
[246] "Return showing the number of aborigines confined in Her Majesty's Gaols and Lock-Ups for the year ending 31st July 1867", *Sixth Report of Board*, 1869, p.47.
[247] *Leader* (Melbourne), 19 January 1867.
[248] *Australasian*, 5 January 1867.
[249] Geelong Advertiser, 14 February 1867.
[250] *Argus* Supplement, 25 February 1867.
[251] W. Glanville Wills, *There and back again: an account of a short visit to Australia*, Barras & Blackett, Sheffield, 1871, p.35.

By February, audiences dropped off alarmingly. In their final match before leaving Victoria, the *Herald*, explaining the poor attendance at the MCG, commented: it "would be most uninteresting as far as cricket is concerned except that the blacks are engaged in it."[252] The *Geelong Advertiser* noted that attendances at Aboriginal matches had quickly declined because "the novelty of the thing has somewhat worn off."[253] Crowds were postponing their arrival until the athletics competitions which critics began to describe as more interesting than the cricket.[254]

Fearing the entrepreneurs would abandon them in England, the Board convened a special meeting "to consider what steps should be taken to prevent certain speculators from engaging the services and removing from the colony some twelve or fourteen Aborigines."[255] A February 12 letter by the Board's Robert Brough Smyth to Victoria's Chief Secretary, James McCulloch requested government assistance to prevent the removal of the Aborigines "unless the speculators give a sufficient guarantee for their proper maintanance while abroad and their safe conduct and return."[256] The Chief Secretary replied that he was unaware of any powers by which the Governor or government could impose any conditions. If the Board could "suggest any legal course by which this object can be accomplished the Chief Secretary will be glad to adopt it."[257]

The following day, one of Gurnett's cheques bounced and he was arrested for debts incurred in Victoria.[258] Distinguishing the "black team [from]... ordinary performers for the public amusement", the *Leader* demanded that the Board act to protect the Aborigines. Plucked from "a state of almost primitive simplicity", they would be unable to protect themselves without reliable guardianship and it would be "positively cruel" to expose them to professional dangers in England. The tour deserved support only if it benefited the entire Aboriginal race, not if it were "a purely mercenary speculation." Victoria's reputation for generosity towards Aborigines could not be endangered by "the probable sacrifice of a group possessing peculiar claims on our protection."[259]

Gurnett extricated himself by some sort of settlement and with Hayman, Wills and the Aboriginal team immediately decamped to Sydney.[260]

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[252] *Herald* (Melbourne), 9 February 1867.

[253] *Geelong Advertiser*, 11 February 1867.

[254] *Herald* (Melbourne), 11 February 1867; *Geelong Advertiser*, 7 January 1867.

[255] Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Central Board for Aborigines, 12 February 1867, Australian Archives, Melbourne, B314.

[256] Public Record Office, Victoria, VPRS 3991, Unit 283, File 67/10514.

[257] Public Record Office, Victoria, VPRS, Unit 283, File No. 67/10514.

[258] *Age*, 14 February 1867; *Weekly Age*, 15 February 1867; *Leader*, 16 February 1867.

[259] *Leader*, 16 February 1867.

[260] Some reports claimed the Board demanded a surety of 500 pounds from Gurnett for the safe return of the Aborigines to their homelands (*Leader*, 16 February 1867; *Bell's Life in Victoria*, 16 February 1867) and that Gurnett actually paid the bond before the team left for Sydney (*Australasian*, 27 April 1867). This is doubtful because the Board had no power of compulsion but it is possible that Gurnett forwarded a worthless cheque as surety.

Sydney: incompetence to collapse

The Sydney debut was against the Albert Club, whose general committee discussed at length "whether the cricketers generally of the colony should be invited to take part against the darkies". After deciding that a club eleven should participate,[261] the first day of the match repeated the triumph and shortcomings of the Aborigines' Melbourne debut. Thanks to effective advance publicity, a public holiday, subsidised transport to the ground and the patronage of the Governor, it was well attended, some spectators travelling from the Hawkesbury.[262] During the luncheon interval, Wills introduced the Aborigines to the Governor and his wife. The Aborigines offered three cheers to which Sir John Young reciprocated: "Lady John Young and I wish you good luck and good health."[263] They sorely needed both.

As in Melbourne the Aboriginal side, with three leading players including Wills, could not successfully compete against a strong cricket team. The important difference was that cricket and athletics was supplemented by displays of boomerang and spear throwing and an exhibition by Dick-a-Dick of fending off a cricket ball with native weapons.[264]

The organisational fiasco accelerated. When the team was still in Melbourne, Wills had arranged with Messrs. Penman and Jarrett (a.k.a. Gurnett?) for the Aborigines to play at the Domain from January 17-19. On arriving in Sydney, Wills dishonoured the arrangement.[265] Hayman and Wills were arrested during the match and Wills was imprisoned at Gurnett's instigation. On the security of Charles Lawrence and a Mr O'Brien of Tattersalls, Wills was released and the Sydney debut proceeded.[266] Jarrett (Gurnett) sued Hayman and Wills for 350 pounds expenses before a compromise was reached - but only after Gurnett had been arrested at the instigation of his Melbourne creditors.[267] He negotiated to take the Aborigines to Brisbane, where a meeting of cricketers at the Café de Paris accepted his demand of 100 pounds plus expenses for them to play at the end of March.[268] Hayman's influence on the Aborigines foiled the plan and it was confirmed in April that the English tour would be postponed because of enrepreneurial insolvency.[269]

Meanwhile, an acrimonious exchange of allegations from the former business partners diverted Sydney and Melbourne newspaper readers. Gurnett charged that "Mr Lawrence and my late agents" had been attempting to "get these men [the Aborigines] out of my hands" since

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[261] *Bell's Life in Victoria*, 9 February 1867.
[262] *Empire* (Sydney), 22 February 1867.
[263] *Empire* (Sydney), 22 February 1867.
[264] *Empire*, 22 &23 February 1867.
[265] *Empire*, 2 March 1867.
[266] *Australasian*, 23 February 1867; *Empire*, 2 & 7 March 1867.
[267] *Empire*, 2 March 1867.
[268] *Leader* (Melbourne), 30 March 1867. Gurnett probably hoped to find a way to spirit the Aborigines from Brisbane to England.
[269] Surmised *Empire*, 2 March 1867; confirmed *Empire*, 20 April 1867.

they arrived in Sydney. Hayman, he claimed, refused to go to England and had set out to prevent the team from doing so.[270]

Hayman countered that he had received permission from the property owners in the Wimmera "to take these blacks to Melbourne" and "permission again from the settlers to take these men to Europe, they stipulating that I should not leave them under any circumstances and agreements to the above effect were entered into between myself and Mr Gurnett."[271] Hayman's allegation that Gurnett defaulted on his financial obligations is convincing; likewise his charge that Gurnett lied in claiming to have booked cabins and a steward on the *Sabraon* for the team's voyage to England.

A truly shocking allegation also rings true:

> in the presence of his friend, his and my own solicitors, he proposed to me to persuade the blacks to go with him and myself to Europe, to lead these poor unfortunate men to believe I was going with them, and when the ship was about starting to return on shore, for which service he offered me 500 pounds.[272]

It is obviously to Hayman's credit that he refused. Even if one of his reasons was obligation to fellow pastoralists, there is no doubt that he believed his role involved guardianship over the Aborigines.

Having broken with Gurnett, Hayman was unable to return the team to Victoria. Charles Lawrence organised an Easter benefit match at the Albert Ground to pay for the return of the "poor fellows".[273] The team was now billed as "Aboriginals with Messrs. WILLS and LAWRENCE" and the advertised attractions were: "The blacks will throw the boomerang, spear, dodging the cricket ball, and various other sports."[274]

Retreat to the Wimmera and death

The team returned to Melbourne and the MCG donated their ground on May 4 to fund the Aborigines' return to Lake Wallace.[275] Tarpot, Dick-a-Dick and Cuzens starred in European athletics and novelty events like the backward sprint. There were exhibitions of spear and boomerang throwing and Dick-a-Dick dodged cricket balls.[276] The cricket match was cancelled and the *Australasian* summarised the lessons of the tour: "There is no doubt that at cricket the blacks are a failure, as with the exception of Mullagh, Cuzens and Bullocky, they do not play well enough to create interest."

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[270] *Australasian*, 4 May 1867, reprinted from the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

[271] *Australasian*, 4 May 1867, reprinted from the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

[272] *Australasian*, May 4, 1867, reprinted from the *Sydney Morning Herald*. If Pavey was one of the solicitors, it emphasises that the Gurnett contract was a confidence trick on the Aborigines.

[273] *Argus*, 27 April 1867.

[274] *Empire*, 20 April 1867.

[275] After arriving in Geelong on April 30, Hayman had unsuccessfully attempted to persuade Corio to organise a benefit match with the Aborigines to aid him and Wills (*Geelong Advertiser*, 25 April & 1 May 1867).

[276] *Empire*, 11 May 1867.

After thanking the public for the sympathy which would enable him to take the Aborigines home,[277] Hayman called on Tom Hamilton to captain the Aborigines in a meaningless match against Portland.[278] At least one of the Aborigines, Watty, got very drunk in Portland and again in Coleraine, although Hayman thought he was healthy at breakfast. A man named Sheppard was driving the Aborigines to Lake Wallace in a cart and became worried enough about Watty's complaints of a pain in the side to consider leaving him at a station. It is possible that the determination of Aborigines to die in their birthplace convinced Sheppard to continue.[279] Just out of Edenhope, Tarpot called on Sheppard to stop because Watty was dead.[280]

Paddy and Jellico died soon after their return from the effects of the tour. The others were penniless and despite press reports which extolled their sobriety many of the team had been continually drunk.[281]

RACIAL NOVELTY AND THE IMAGERY OF TRANSFORMATION - SUCCESS AS PHILANTHROPY, FAILURE AS COMMODIFICATION

Novelty, incongruity and extinction

Throughout its existence, the appeal of the Aboriginal team was racial: "the novelty of the thing."[282] Although it was initially hoped that there would be some extraordinary ability or peculiarity in their play, the "novelty of a match with aboriginal players was in itself a great attraction"[283] because of the incongruity of their dressing and behaving like civilised Englishmen.

No other primitive race had become proficient in "this purely British game", not even the "Redskins of America ... although our Australian aborigines are said to stand lowest in the social scale".[284] The Sydney Mail recognised that large attendances could not be attributed:

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[277] *Australasian*, 11May 1867.

[278] Wills was out of the picture: by June, he was again playing football with Geelong (*Geelong Advertiser*, 14 June 1867 and following).

[279] In 1886, when dying and coughing up blood, Tommy Ware, a Djab wurrung, refused to be taken to Ballarat Hospital because he insisted on dying in his country: Clark, *That's my country belonging to me*, p.108.

[280] *Leader*, 1 June 1867 from details of the inquest.

[281] Letter from Mounted Constable Kennedy, Public Record Office, Victoria, VPRS 3991, Unit 283, File No. 67/10514.

[282] *Bells' Life in Victoria*, 29 Dec ember 1866.

[283] *Australasian*, 2 February 2 1867 (of the game v Ballarat).

[284] *Sydney Sporting Life*, 9 February 1867.

to an expectation of seeing particularly fine cricket: it would rather be due to a curiosity to see how a team of players belonging to a race not distinguished by aptitude for the game, more than other wild tribes, would shape in contrast to those who have had the advantage of civilised life from birth.[285]

The team was consistently praised for its civilised deportment. Commendation rested on the extent to which they were *unlike* Aborigines, on and off the field.[286] They were "far superior in appearance to the natives whom we have been accustomed to see from time to time";[287] intellectually superior to most of their race;[288] and unusual for their sobriety and decorous language.[289] Their appearances surprised and delighted thousands "who had been accustomed to see very different specimens of the aboriginal tribes of Australia."[290]

In Geelong their approval was sealed by rejecting Aboriginal affiliations on a personal level. Humanitarians were delighted that the Aboriginal team "show no fealty, or even recognition of King Jerry, whose spelter chain and brass insignia of majesty they regarded with contempt, and to the other few blacks left in our midst they designed hardly a recognition of their existence, far less approaching anything approaching to fraternity."[291] It was not surprising: Aborigines of western Victoria and Geelong Aborigines further east had "no intercourse whatsoever"[292] and the European institution of kingship was alien to Aboriginal culture.

Bell's Life in Sydney extolled the team's athleticism, intelligent, shiny black faces and ivory teeth:

in fact they are more like 'good-looking niggers' than Australian natives ... their manner and deportment unassuming and almost gentlemanly. In short, it is scarcely possible to believe that they belong to the same family of bipeds as those wretched, dirty, rum-drinking loafing vagabonds whom we are too often accustomed to see knocking about our streets, and even in the bush it is rare to meet with such favourable expressions of black humanity."[293]

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[285] *Sydney Mail*, 23 February 1867.

[286] *Weekly Age*, 4 January 1867. *Bell's Life in Victoria*, 29 December 1866 contrasted them to the "degraded specimens generally met with near the metropolis".

[287] *Herald* (Melbourne), 27 December 1866.

[288] *Geelong Advertiser*, 29 December 1866.

[289] *Geelong Advertiser*, 5 January 1867.

[290] *Bell's Life in Victoria*, 29 December 1866.

[291] *Geelong Advertiser* report, reprinted *Warrnambool Examiner*, 11 January 1867. King Jerry (Dan Dan Nook), one of the few surviving Geelong Aborigines, walked into a police station in 1866 to complain that his land had been expropriated without compensation: he was thrown out and accused of drunkenness (information courtesy of written communication with Ms. Lou Lane of Geelong East, an indefatigable researcher of Geelong Aborigines). Generally ridiculed as an indigent, but a shrewd and insolent urban drunk (*Geelong Advertiser*, 17 December 1868), he had earned praise by sitting through a lecture in Queenscliff on the life of Cardinal Wolsey (*Argus*, 19 March 1859) but in 1867 was lampooned for arranging to present the Duke of Edinburgh with a copy of Bunce's *Language of the aborigines* (see "Deputation of members from the Eucalyptus District", [cartoon lampooning King Jerry's Aboriginal royalty], *Melbourne Punch's Almanac for 1867*; and [satirical article], *Melbourne Punch*, 12 December 1867.

[292] Clark, *That's my country belonging to me*, p.67.

[293] *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 23 February 1867.

The "almost" gentlemanliness of their manner was a telling insight: the possibility of approximating, but the impossibility of bridging racial difference are the twin elements whose tension dramatises images of transformation.

The supposed inevitability of extinction allowed the Aboriginal team to be promoted as a never-to-be-repeated offer. Hayman underlined the point in a letter to the *Australasian*: "these men are literally and truly the last of their race, and in a few years the aboriginals will have ceased to exist in the West Wimmera District.[294] William Hayman's uncle, John P. Hayman of Lake Wallace, concurred: "they are literally the last of their tribe, those now left up country being merely a few old men and lubras."[295] Another report emphasised it was certain they would remain "the last of their tribe", because, "unfortunately [they] have no lubras."[296]

The claim was ridiculed by Hayman's Wimmera enemy who labelled him as "Barnum No. 2" for his "last of the tribe" publicity. Writing from Hamilton, he scoffed that: "at present a young, healthy aboriginal boy and girl are busy practising cricket under the window at which I am writing."[297] But newspapers accepted the macabre reason for attending: the public should "view this matter in its proper light and not miss the opportunity of seeing what in all likelihood will never again come in their way."[298]

Political implications of Aboriginal transformation

The imagery of cricketing transformation was sufficiently dramatic to imply ramifications for colonial policy towards Aborigines.

Their decorous behaviour at a Geelong luncheon organised by Tom Wills' mother prompted a suggestion that the civilisation of the Aboriginal team could guide the efforts of Exeter Hall philanthropists. British evidence of the "remnant of a decaying nation whose extinction is at hand ...would supply fine text work for missionary enterprise."[299] Metropolitan commentaries supported the *Hamilton Spectator* contention that here was proof that the private intervention of squatters achieved more for Aborigines than missionaries or the Protection Board.[300] The *Leader* argued that had missionaries adopted the policies of the MCG's curator-entrepreneur Newberry, they may have been more successful with "this vanishing race."[301]

In proposing the Aboriginal cricket team as an alternative to colonial Aboriginal policy, two Melbourne editorials and a letter to the editor explained their racial assumptions. In an eerie precursor of present-day attacks on Aboriginal welfare dependency, the *Leader* argued that progress could only be made in civilising "inferior races when you have succeeded in

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[294] *Australasian*, 16 February 1867.
[295] *Australasian*, 9 February 1867.
[296] *Geelong Advertiser*, 5 January 1867.
[297] *Hamilton Spectator*, 23 February 1867.
[298] *Sydney Mail*, 23 February 1867.
[299] *Geelong Advertiser*, 8 January 1867.
[300] *Hamilton Spectator*, 21 March 1866.
[301] *Leader*, 29 December 1866.

stimulating their ambition." The activity of philanthropic entrepreneurs had, "by awakening their ambition in one direction at least ... broken down that stolid animal content which is the most stubborn obstacle to the reform of savage life."[302]

The policy promised success because sport recognised the racial assumption that Aborigines' bodies could be developed better than their minds. A few days after being among the audience at their Melbourne debut, "Eucalyptus", a settler on the Murray, wrote to the *Age* on December 29. Their display proved the folly of wasting funds on Christianising Aborigines. It was obvious that Aborigines "make better cricketers than Christians", so Aboriginal policies should abandon missionary instruction.[303] Pointing to some missionary progress at Coranderrk, the *Age* qualified Eucalyptus's sweeping conclusion but the *Australasian* concurred. Aboriginal skill in cricket meant that "the best argument that could be adduced in favour of the aboriginal race has now been brought forward ... It has been proved now ... that the blackfellow has an extraordinary readiness for picking up a knowledge of cricket, however deficient he may be in other respects."[304]

To Sydney's radical-liberal *Empire*, the cricket venture represented a new moment in Aboriginal policy by inaugurating friendly competition between two races, the conquering and the conquered. Aborigines had already adapted to lives as seamen and Native Police, but the enterprise of "philanthropic" gentlemen demonstrated they were capable of adopting civilised habits without military trappings. They would be lionised in England and further radical reform was needed so Aborigines could "throw off the habits of the savage."[305]

A Melbourne *Herald* editorial pondered the ramifications of Aborigines' sporting ability. It acknowledged that "we who have undertaken to colonise Australia with a new race" had made errors and only "improved [them] off the face of the earth." However, it should be recognised that it was never possible to regenerate or wholly civilise such a degraded race. Their performances indicated that they could have:

> been made serviceable in the lower walks of civilisation, where also they might have learned something concerning the nature of the spiritual part of their humanity and the duties and obligations imposed by providence.

More effective protection might have developed them into happy " 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.' "[306] The *Leader* trenchantly expressed why sympathetic acceptance of Aborigines as sportsmen and physical performers was consistent with racial ideologies of intellectual and spiritual inferiority. Wills had accidentally succeeded in reaching "their moral

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[302] *Leader*, 5 January 1867.

[303] Letter and editorial commentary, *Weekly Age*, 4 January 1867.

[304] *Australasian*, 29 December 1866.

[305] *Empire*, 20 February 1867.

[306] *Herald*, 31 December 1866.

susceptibilities, by first regarding them as mere bodies, with only such a latent germ of spirit as may be developed into a soul."[307]

One public contribution stood alone for its anti-colonialist implications. An open letter by "A Native" began by lauding Wills for performing an unprecedented service to the Aboriginal race and humanity as a whole. He had done more than demonstrate that Aborigines were capable of improvement: the team's existence was living condemnation "of the foul treatment they have received at the hands of the whites." It was implausible and unimportant whether they could compete at cricket because the team was selected from so few survivors:

> the men you would have picked have been shot down like dogs by the usurpers of their hunting grounds, who led on by the demon of greediness and gain, wantonly destroyed the old occupants of their runs.

It was important to take them to England, not as evidence of the civilising efforts of colonisation, but because the intelligence of these rare survivors demonstrated that squatters "and not their victims … [were] the very basest of God's creatures."

This surprisingly contemporary passage is a reminder it is not anachronistic to criticise the racial attitudes and practices of the tour. "A Native" charged that Wills, too, would deserve condemation if he continued the practice of "nicknaming" the players. It demanded: "Have not these blacks names of their own, that you call one Tarpot, another Bullocky, and a third Lake Billy, Cuzens, Peter or Dick-a-Dick?" To restore Aboriginal dignity it was vital to:

> cause our barbarian nicknames to give place to the more legitimate and euphonious names by which your men are all known to each other, and by which they called when they received the spear at the age of manhood in the secret meetings of their nearly obliterated tribes.

This did not happen and the tour of England would disappoint "A Native's" hopes that it would provoke "a cry of shame … [to] ring from one end of civilised Europe to the other against our injustice and brutality."[308]

Cricket and athletics: the failure to commodify race

Racial novelty attracted audiences but both aspects of their original displays, cricket and athletics, (Illustrations 49-50[309]) failed to sustain interest.

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[307] *Leader*, 5 January 1867.

[308] *Empire*, 27 February 1867.

[309] Cricket: *Illustrated Melbourne Post*, 24 January 1867; athletics: *Illustrated Australian News*, 28 January 1867.

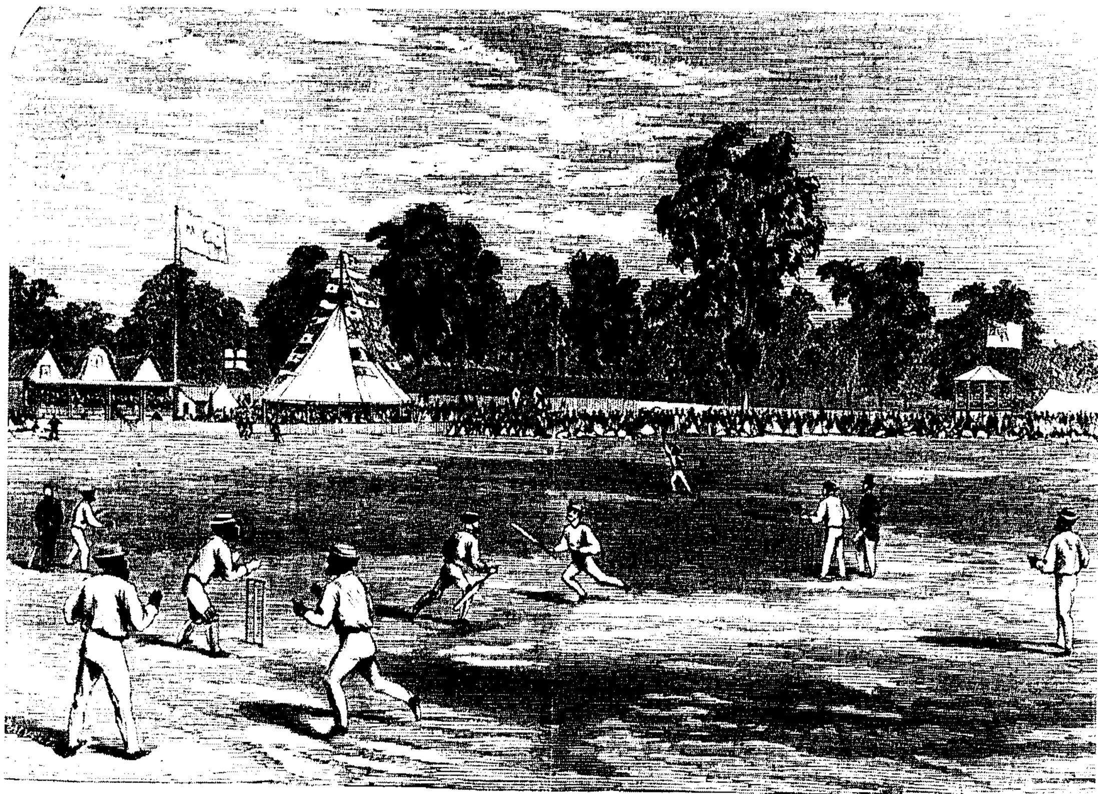

Illustration 49: Aborigines fielding at MCG

Illustration 50: Dick-a-Dick leading hurdles race at MCG

The transformational imagery of Aboriginal cricket was quickly recognised to have failed as a spectacle. Aside from the idea of racial incongruity, little was visually distinctive about an Aboriginal cricket team dressed in "most correct cricket costume - white flannel shirts and trousers [and] ... different coloured broad ribbons on their hats".[310]

With their bodies concealed by white European clothing, and behavioural manifestations of primitivism replaced by cricket's decorous restraint, the tropes which popularly defined Aboriginal identity almost disappeared. Aside from their hands, faces and comical names, nothing identified them as Aborigines. But for their colour, "which is decided enough, proclaiming them true natives without any admixture of white blood", spectators may have thought that whites were playing.[311] The orthodoxy of cricket performance and apparel disappointed expectations that they might provide gimmicry akin to famous English matches between players with one leg and players with one arm.[312] "There was nothing very notable in the play of the natives", it was sadly concluded.[313]

An obviously subdued report of their Sydney debut described: "an orderly and intelligent lot of men … [who], being neatly dressed in European costume had nothing to distinguish them beyond their complexion and physiognomy." Their European physiques were an additional let-down: "Their average stature and build is about the same as that of their white competitors, nor in their uniform do they exhibit an unusual length of limb such as is said to characterise the physique of Australian blacks."[314] The writer established racial difference by detecting a typical Aboriginal lassitude, but lethargy has never been a great crowd pleaser.

There was nothing racially distinctive about touring cricket teams competing in athletics during their matches - the 1873 English touring team to Australia also supplemented their matches with athletics displays. Contrary to the English cricketers though, the athletics of the Aborigines, became more appealing than their cricket once it was demonstrated that they did not have a first-class team.[315] At Geelong, "much more interest was felt in the sports ... These were decidedly the chief attraction."[316] Attendance increased as the cricket neared its end, because the prospect of the athletics was more attractive.[317] Even in the Sydney success, "unquestionably the largest attendance" was attracted by athletics on the last day.[318]

The athletics displays did not costume the Aborigines any more imaginatively than the cricket and neither did they showcase distinctively Aboriginal activities. Why then did they promise to overshadow the cricket?

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[310] *Australasian*, 29 December 1866.
[311] *Australasian*, 29 December 1866.
[312] *Geelong Advertiser*, 27 December 1866.
[313] *Australasian*, 2 February 1867.
[314] *Sydney Mail*, 23 February 1867.
[315] *Australasian*, 29 December 1866.
[316] Report from *Geelong Advertiser*, reprinted in *Australasian*, 12 January 1867.
[317] *Geelong Advertiser*, 7 January 1867.
[318] *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 2 March 1867.

Whereas most of the Aborigines were described as cricketing failures, they rated more highly as athletes.[319] Cuzens and Mullagh were outstanding at both pursuits; Dick-a-Dick, Tarpot, Jellico, and the Rose brothers were excellent athletes. An intriguing article inspired by their debut suggests that athletics interest was stimulated by its implications as an inter-racial measuring stick. Unlike cricket, running and jumping were seen as culturally universal activities and could therefore be applied as a comparison of inter-racial physiological abilities.

The *Australasian* proposed what it described as an inter-racial "Olympic games".[320] It noted that whereas only the champion Mullagh displayed significant skill in cricket, most "whites could not hold their own against the blackfellows" in running, jumping and throwing a cricket ball. The Australian racial Olympics should include white amateur athletes and a geographically diverse range of Aboriginal tribes, so that racial comparisons would be more valid. The results would ensure that regimens of gymnastic science counteracted "the physical degeneracy of our race" which might ensue from an enervating climate to which white people were unaccustomed.

The events would concentrate on running and leaping because they minimised racial bias. Aborigines needed no tuition in these activities and "though the real son of the wilderness is not so strong as the white man" athletics constituted the *only* aspect in which they were not inferior:

> Our youth of the desk or workshop, or even of rural occupation, are at too great a disadvantage compared with the wild hunter ... Elasticity of limb and quickness of sense are the sole advantages possessed by the savage over the average civilised man ... It is right that our Aboriginal neighbours should share in exercises which are their own as well as ours, and in which, unlike all other things, we are not their masters.

Yet European athletics still proved inadequate as a showcase of Aboriginal identity. The events simply looked no different to European athletics meetings.[321]

It quickly became clear that paying spectators did not want to see Aborigines looking and behaving like white men. To survive as a commercial proposition, elements of distinctively Aboriginal primitivism were added to cricket and athletics. After tentative experiments during the first tour, they were rehearsed, refined, recast, recostumed and restaged during the second tour until imaginative contrasts of primitivist and transformational Aboriginal identity were prepared for British audiences.

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[319] *Australasian*, 11 May 1867.

[320] *Australasian*, 5 January 1867.

[321] *Leader*, 5 January 1867.

CHAPTER 9

CHARLES LAWRENCE CONSTRUCTS AN ABORIGINAL SHOW

Charles Lawrence

Following the call for charity which funded the ignominious retreat of Hayman and the team to the Wimmera, and despite the deaths of Watty, Paddy and Jellico soon afterwards, Hayman's project of taking a team of Aborigines to England hardly faltered. The driving force was the intervention of Charles Lawrence, who after arranging the release of Wills from gaol, usurped the captaincy of the team and persuaded more substantial entrepreneurs to replace Gurnett.

Born in Middlesex in 1828, Lawrence was an English professional cricketer who had starred against the famous All-England XI for Scotland, organised a travelling Ireland team and became a key figure in the improvement of Australian cricket. In 1861, he was a member of the first English team to tour Australia. When most of the team returned to England, Lawrence was hired to coach the Albert Club in Sydney for 300 pounds a year for three years.[322] When the Aboriginal team arrived in Sydney, Lawrence, still a leading cricketer but nearing the end of his pre-eminence, was running the *Pier Hotel* at Manly.

It is likely that Lawrence was involved in preparations even before the team left Victoria. As a leading light in the proposed white Australian team which attempted unsucessfully to anticipate the Aboriginal tour of England,[323] he must have keenly followed the Aborigines' progress. Wills and Lawrence had known each other since 1854, having played with and against each other in Ireland.[324] Considering Lawrence's expertise and extensive cricketing networks in England and Sydney, it would be surprising if Wills had not sought the help of an old cricketing comrade.[325] It would have been still more remarkable for the ingenious Lawrence not to have sought involvement, for as Wills would discover, the most credible of Gurnett's allegations is that Lawrence immediately sought to usurp captaincy of the team. He had ample opportunity because the team stayed at his Manly hotel.[326]

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[322] Biographical details from W.J. Goold, "Charles Lawrence - The "Old Master' ", *Newcastle and Hunter District Historical Society Monthly Journal*, New Series, Vol.5, No.4, January 1951; Edward Liddle, "Charles Lawrence", *The Journal of the Cricket Society*, Vol. 10, No. 1, August 1980; and Charles Lawrence's own recollections, "The Lawrence papers", published in *Wisden Cricket Monthly*, July to November 1989.

[323] See thesis Introduction.

[324] As a lad, Tom Wills was sent to England by his father for education at Rugby School where he developed his cricketing skills.

[325] They had a volatile relationship. In 1863 Lawrence captained New South Wales against Victoria, when a controversial run-out led to an irascible exchange of letters in the *Sydney Morning Herald* with Wills, the Victorian captain. Johnny Moyes, *Australian cricket: a history*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1959, p.115.

[326] *Warrnambool Examiner*, 1 October 1867.

Where Wills was impulsive, rash, impatient, an Australian nationalist torn between amateurism and professionalism and prone to bouts of folly, despair and alcohol, Lawrence was a survivor and tactician, a shrewd English professional able to solve difficulties by finding ingenious, opportunistic solutions and turning them to his benefit. Lawrence knew that for touring professional elevens, cricket was a business whose entertainment had to conform to public expectations in order to survive.

His experiences as an English professional had given him an accurate knowledge of the playing strength of English cricket and an insider's awareness of the preferences of English audiences. Aware of Aboriginal cricketers on the Lachlan and the success of Deerfoot and the Maori Warriors in England,[327] Lawrence understood that the primary asset of the team was racial novelty. From the time of his initial involvement its presentation was reconstructed to emphasise racial difference. He later claimed, probably with the wisdom of hindsight, that one of his motivations for remaining in Australia from 1861 was to profit from Aboriginal cricket:

> I thought I should soon make a fortune, for I had an idea or a presentiment, after I had seen the blacks throw the boomerang and spears, that if I could teach them to play cricket and take them to England I should meet with success.[328]

New management: Hayman, Lawrence, Smith, Graham

Lawrence's first problem was to find alternative means of finance. The tour of England was no longer an immediate prospect and he helped to organise further matches against the Albert Club and Manly to pay for their return to Lake Wallace. The financial returns were disappointing but one of the players for the Manly team was George Smith, a local government politician. Smith and his cousin George Graham, a solicitor, would soon replace Gurnett as financiers of the team.[329]

Wills must have felt he was being squeezed out. Lawrence and Wills both played for the Aboriginal team in several of the games in New South Wales. After only one Sydney match, *Bell's Life in Sydney* recommended on March 2 that Lawrence should lead the Aborigines to England because he was a better model of cricketing technique. In Wollongong in early April, Lawrence captained the Aboriginal team. Their Easter benefit at the Albert Ground was organised by "Mr Lawrence and other gentlemen", very possibly Smith and Graham.[330]

By July, Graham and Smith had assumed financial control, having paid 25 pounds for Lawrence to travel to Edenhope, and a total of more than 500 pounds to Hayman in August and

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[327] Advertisements which carried Lawrence's name appeared in Sydney newspapers adjacent to their stories: Maori Warriors story near advertisement for Albert Cricket Club Ball, *Empire*, 19 July 1862 and elsewhere; Aboriginal cricketers on the Lachlan story near Lawrence Cricketing Depot advertisement, *Sydney Mail*, 20 September 1862. Deerfoot was a household name.

[328] Charles Lawrence, "The Lawrence papers", *Wisden Cricket Monthly*, November 1989, p.37.

[329] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp.58 & 67.

[330] *Australasian*, 27 April 1867, reprinted from *Sydney Morning Herald*.

September.[331] On arriving at Lake Wallace, Lawrence set out to reconstruct the Aborigines' performances and refocus them from images of transformation to contrasting demonstrations of primitivist Aboriginal skills and a more colourful presentation of cricket.

Under Lawrence and Hayman and financed by Smith and Graham, the reorganised team played five matches in Victoria and six in New South Wales before leaving for England. In Victoria, they played at Edenhope on August 28; against XVI of Warrnambool on October 2-3; against Mortlake on October 5; and twice against Corio, on October 10-11 and 18-19. At Point Henry, a surprised Wills received a letter from Lawrence announcing that he was "now in control of the Aborigines" and asking him to arrange matches for them against Wills' team.[332] He did and the Aborigines cheered him when he came in to bat[333] but Hayman, in his usual position as umpire, controversially adjudged him LBW to Lawrence.

All the Victorian matches were minor affairs, ruined by teeming rains. In New South Wales, the matches against Wollongong on November 6-7; West Maitland on November 11; Singleton on November 14; Newcastle on November 15-16; and Bathurst on December 26 were equally inconsequential. The real business of the tour was escaping from the Protection Board and preparing and rehearsing the show which they would take to England. It culminated in the only major performance of the tour on February 4-5 at Sydney's Albert Ground, a full-scale Royal preview of their English shows.

CONSTRUCTING THE SHOW

Primitivist displays in the first tour

After their audiences declined in Victoria, Aboriginal displays were incorporated from their first Sydney appearance. It is unknown whether Lawrence initiated them. It is certain, at least, that he quickly recognised that distinctively Aboriginal performances could redeem the financial prospects of the venture, and that he set out to increase their prominence and improve their presentation.

At the end of the day's play in their first Sydney match, a newspaper account described "some very extraordinary displays of skill in throwing the boomerang and spear and defending themselves from missiles hurled at them [which] gave unqualified satisfaction."[334] A well-heeled visitor from England was amazed by the exhibitions, realising that they would be a "first-rate speculation, for crowds will go to see them wherever they went."[335] Another boomerang and spear exhibition was given at the end of the athletics following their match

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[331] From Graham's ledger, cited in Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp. 61, 68-70.
[332] *Geelong Advertiser*, 12 September 1867.
[333] This and other Geelong match references, *Australasian*, 12 October 1867.
[334] *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 23 February 1867; *Empire*, 23 February 1867.
[335] W. Glanville Wills, *There and back again*, p.35.

against the Albert Club seconds.[336] In their return game against Albert Club, Sundown and Dick-a-Dick excelled with the boomerang[337] and there was a brief exhibition of boomerang throwing at Wollongong.[338] By the Easter benefit match organised by Lawrence, dodging the ball and spear and boomerang throwing had become advertised attractions.[339] Boomerang and spear throwing was retained in their last Victorian performance in Portland on their way back to Lake Wallace.[340]

Imperfections

The Aboriginal displays during the first tour were exciting but unpolished and experimental, more successful as cultural evocations than developed performances. Still dressed in plain European athletics tights or cricketing clothes, their costuming did not evoke the rude apparel of savages or display naked black bodies.

They trialled various forms of display. In Sydney, Dick-a-Dick placed a hat on a post behind him and threw the boomerang high in the air to curve around and split the hat in two. He stuck a bamboo in the ground and using a woomerah, cleaved it in two with his spear.[341] At their Melbourne benefit, the Aborigines attempted to throw a spear through a 2 foot 6 inch hoop 30 feet away but none came nearer than 6 feet from their target. They were unable to return the boomerangs within 20 yards of the thrower. Only Dick-a-Dick's dodging and parrying excited the audience but despite the applause, he "showed no sign of pride or gratification."[342] He still had to learn the consummate showmanship which would provoke delight.

Despite the attraction of boomerangs in flight, "throwing the spear was a failure, the spears being bad; and the boomerang throwing was hardly satisfactory either" remarked the *Australasian*, blaming the defective quality of the implements.[343]

The shortcomings would be remedied by diligent rehearsal, attention to costuming and staging, and incorporating Aborigines who were expert with native weapons but had no pretensions in cricket. The important lesson was that the team were better drawcards as professional Aborigines than run-of-the-mill cricketers.

Primitivist performance in the second tour

Intensive practice in Lake Wallace established spear and boomerang throwing as a central component of their performances.[344]

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336 *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 2 March 1867.
337 *Empire*, 19 March 1867.
338 A.P. Fleming, *The international Aboriginal cricketers v. Illawarra: a record of "the grand cricket matches" played at Wollongong, N.S.W. April and November, 1867*, Wollongong, 1968, p.8.
339 *Empire*, 20 April 1867.
340 *Australasian*, 11 May 1867.
341 W. Glanville Wills, *There and back again*, p.35.
342 *Leader*, 11 May 1867.
343 *Australasian*, 11 May 1867 (describing the Portland performance).
344 *Australasian*, 12 & 26 October 1867.

During a protracted stay in Warrnambool, Lawrence explained the plans. He expected the Aborigines would perform for the Duke of Edinburgh in Melbourne; leave Sydney for China in December to play matches in Hong Kong; arrive in London in May and leave England for Melbourne in August. He stipulated that professionals would be excluded from their matches but recognised that if they still could not defeat the English at cricket, they would "certainly astonish Britain in other games, such as throwing the boomerang, spear and cricket ball."[345]

In Warrnambool, the demonstration of boomerang and spear throwing overshadowed their cricket and athletics. Dick-a-Dick's ball-dodging was postponed for a spear-throwing competition between Lawrence and the Warrnambool captain but Lawrence's attempts were so dismal that the experiment was abandoned.[346]

In Geelong, Aboriginal displays again overshadowed the cricket. The distances traversed by the boomerangs were astonishing and spectators demanded more, a mimic fight with spears displayed remarkable accuracy and Dick-a-Dick's dodging of three balls thrown at full speed was described as extraordinary. The *Geelong Advertiser* confidently foresaw that in England "these exhibitions will be the means of drawing thousands to see the matches, &c. which it is proposed to play."[347] After a Wollonging performance, it was predicted that although the Aborigines would be outclassed by the best English cricketers, their demonstrations of spears and boomerangs would create intense excitement.[348]

Their growing skills were supplemented by the new costumes Lawrence had designed. If there was nothing distinctive about the techniques of Aboriginal cricketers, he ensured that their uniforms were amazing. Their "correct" white flannels had been supplanted by a garish show-business creation, "very taking to the eye, the uniform being scarlet shirts, with a broad blue band over the shoulders, and white trousers, each being distinguished by different coloured caps." It was "a good arrangement, as it is so difficult to distinguish one [Aborigine] from the other".[349]

During their first tour, the *Leader* had observed it was a fiction that Aborigines possessed innate skill with their implements.[350] Now, their primitivist expertise had been developed by months of practice.

Involvement of Aboriginal audiences

The attendance of a local Aborigine during the first Wollongong game had underlined the importance of rehearsal. Paddy "the well-known member of the Illawarra tribe" also

[345] *Warrnambool Examiner*, 1 October 1867.
[346] *Warrnambool Examiner*, 8 October 1867.
[347] *Geelong Advertiser*, 21 October 1867.
[348] Quoted by Fleming, *The international Aboriginal cricketers v. Illawarra*, p.9.
[349] *Australasian*, 26 October 1867.
[350] *Leader*, 11 May 1867.

demonstrated the boomerang and, embarrassingly, threw it much better than the team.[351] The appearance of interested Aboriginal spectators became an intriguing consequence of the performance of Aboriginal skills.

In the audience at the Albert Ground, Redfern, on their first Sydney tour, Aboriginal men and women, and some "half-castes" with their companions intently watched boomerangs and spears being thrown and Dick-a-Dick dodging missiles with his shield and loewell.[352] The journalist imagined their forerunners, "without the humanising influence", watching the same events in the same place 80 years before. During next day's repeat performance, an Aboriginal spectator from the Barwon or Bogan joined in the exhibition and also hurled the boomerang.[353]

In Geelong during the second tour, King Jerry and his followers came to observe. The local paper was delighted to note that street children of Geelong admired the best Aboriginal cricketers but tormented Jerry and uncivilised local Aborigines. [354]

Primitivist performance: problems and precautions

Primitivist performances excited audiences but tended to alarm philanthropists who supported the team because of the civilising evidence of cricket. To avoid being condemned as exploitation, speculation or degradation, tours by primitive peoples were expected to contribute to their civilisation and display their transformation.

At its first sight of the Aboriginal displays in Melbourne, the *Leader*, which had lauded the civilising significance of Aboriginal cricket, was appalled by the spectacle. It was dismaying that the "so-called sports necessitated the mens' reducing themselves, so far as costume went, to trunk hose and skull caps" and degrading that 500 spectators "loitered around pertinaciously in the rain and mud" to watch the "contending 'athletes' as they are now called."[355] It was prudent not to perform their full British show in primitivist costume until immediately before departure.

During the waggon journey with Lawrence from Lake Wallace to Warrnambool, the Aborigines hunted oppossums and kangaroos. They gave private performances of corroborees for Lawrence and for sailors on board ship at Warrnambool.[356] Although they were popular Aboriginal displays, corroborees were difficult to constitute as sport and were excluded from their public performances. It is possible, however, that Lawrence or Hayman organised the Aborigines to give similar private performances in England for the pleasure of select patrons.[357]

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[351] Fleming, *The international Aboriginal cricketers v. Illawarra*, quoted from *Illawarra Mercury*.

[352] *Empire*, 23 February 1867.

[353] *Empire*, 25 February 1867.

[354] *Geelong Advertiser*, October 11, 1867.

[355] *Leader*, 11 May 1867.

[356] *Warrnambool Examiner*, 1 October 1867.

[357] This was recognised as common practice when visiting primitives and their management were invited to fashionable social gatherings in Britain. Jenkins' Maori Chiefs regularly performed dances and chants at exclusive private parties in London in 1863 and Jenkins knew it was a tacitly acknowledged condition of their access to prestigious events (see Chapter 15).

Primitivist performances would have exacerbated alarms, expressed in two cartoons,[358] that the veneer of Aboriginal cricket disguised rape and violence against settlers. In Illustration 51, the pun on "fast" (meaning bowling and intemperateness) referred to Aboriginal attacks against settlers: the Aborigine's real weapon is not the civilised cricket ball but the murderous boomerang. The two frames of Illustration 52 were a tirade against indulging Aboriginal savages in England. In the first, gullible England philanthropists serve pampered Aborigines, deluding themselves that the primitivist apparel cloaks a Noble Savage. In the second frame, white Australian settlers are victims of the real nature of Aboriginal rape, pillage, alcoholism and murder. A ravaged woman, her bodice ripped open to the midriff and head laid back in agony, bears the ultimate cost of foolish sentimentalism over Aborigines.

Illustration 51: A *fast* young man

[358] Unsourced cartoons courtesy of Ruby Langford Ginibi's collection of humour by and about Aborigines.

ENGLAND.—BLACKFELLOWS AT HOME.

AUSTRALIA.—BLACKFELLOWS AT HOME.

Illustration 52: Blackfellows at home in England and Australia.

In view of racial paranoia on one hand and allegations of exploitation on the other, it was prudent for Lawrence and Hayman to ensure they portrayed the tour as a civilising mission. In Warrnambool, the most complete performance of their show before Sydney, they used a credulous journalist[359] to explain the benefits of the tour. It would elevate the minds and ennoble the characters "of even our neglected, untutored aborigine", who was internationally renowned "as an ignorant, unlettered, uncivilized savage." Although endorsing the missionary effects of Reverend Chase, Lawrence suggested that contact with English cricket and "their association with our race" in social life would ennoble Aborigines and elevate their desires more than book-learning. On Sunday morning, at the Aborigines' request, Lawrence conspicuously accompanied nine of the team to the Church of England at Warrnambool.[360]

The sobriety, modest demeanour and intelligence of the Aborigines impressed correspondents in Geelong and Warrnambool. Lingering in Warrnambool because of rain, they spent evenings dancing and respectably amusing themselves in a room of the Victoria Hotel. Dick-a-Dick learned cribbage, draughts and billiards, skills for which he was praised in Geelong three weeks later.[361] The Aborigines showed gratitude for Lawrence's kindness and looked like a large travelling family.[362] The evidence of a week in Geelong led another journalist to rebut allegations about their dissipation, but the Board would not be placated.[363]

THE BATTLE WITH THE BOARD RESUMES

Parliament, police, Protectors and Melbourne Cricket Club

In Melbourne, Chief Secretary McCulloch argued that the law should be amended to grant powers sought by the Board. In Legislative Assembly debate on April 10, he outlined Brough Smyth's correspondence with the Attorney General. McCulloch agreed it was "unwise to allow Aborigines to be taken to England to make a show of; but under the state of the law, the Government had no power to interfere." Therefore, "any Bill dealing with the aborigines should give power to the Government to prevent aborigines being taken away to another country, there to be left - when the purpose of those who took them had been accomplished - possibly to starve."[364]

On August 15, Mounted Constable Thomas Kennedy wrote from Edenhope Station to H.R. Barclay, his Superintendent in Portland. His letter, motivated by an assumption that the

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[359] He claimed the Aboriginal team could match any in the world on the evidence of Lawrence's assurances and the defeat of a Warrnambool team whose 16 batsmen were dismissed for 19 in the first innings and 24 in the second.

[360] *Warrnambool Examiner*, 4 October 1867.

[361] *Geelong Advertiser*, 26 October 1867.

[362] *Warrnambool Examiner*, 1 October 1867.

[363] *Geelong Advertiser*, 18 October 1867.

[364] *Victorian Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 3, 10 April 1867.

Board would again attempt "to stop this Speculation in the Blacks", gave an entirely impious picture of Lawrence's relationship with the Aborigines.[365]

Kennedy described the consequences of Lawrence's arrival on Aborigines who were "in comfortable employment with the surrounding settlers - clothed well fed and comfortably lodged and paid for their labor."[366] It is easy to attribute the alcoholic ravages of the first tour to Wills' problems[367] but Kennedy's account implicates Lawrence and, by inference, Hayman:

> Twelve of them are now mustered and since their advent here the majority of them have been drunk ... the promoters of this cricketing scheme take no steps to prevent the supply of liquor ... the consequence is a great deal of drunkenness and other disorderly conduct - Three of them are now locked up on those charges."[368].

Gaoling Aborigines for drunkenness and charging whites for supplying alcohol was a policy supported by philanthropists.[369] Kennedy was laying grave allegations: accusing Lawrence of deliberately using liquor as a device to lure susceptible Aborigines.[370]

Noting that some of the fourteen potential tourists were already suffering from chest disease and fearing that half would die, Kennedy wanted the tour stopped, regardless of Aboriginal desires. He acknowledged that his:

> remarks may be met by saying - that the Blacks are going of their own free will - but he is aware what a potent reasoner a glass of grog is with a blackfellow and he firmly believes that it is this love of grog and the facilities with which he is supplied that prompts the Black to leave his home.[371]

In early October, the Chief Commissioner of Police forwarded Kennedy's report to Brough Smyth. On October 14, Brough Smyth sent it to the Chief Secretary with an additional enclosure from Dr. Molloy of Balmoral, an honorary correspondent for the Board. Noting that Molloy had advised that the first tour resulted in three deaths, Brough Smyth appealed for

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[365] Letter from Mounted Constable Kennedy, Public Record Office, Victoria, VPRS 3991, Unit 283, File No 67/10514.

[366] Letter from Mounted Constable Kennedy.

[367] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.71: "It was fortunate for the Aborigines that Lawrence, a moderate drinker, had replaced Wills".

[368] Tommy Bullock, Charley Rose (King Cole) and Jemmy Bullocky were listed as being cautioned for drunkenness by Edenhope court on 15 August 1867: "Return showing the number of aborigines confined in Her Majesty's Gaols and Lock-Ups for the year ending 31st July 1867", *Sixth Report of Board*, 1869, p.49.

[369] Among the prosecutions of whites for selling liquor to Aborigines: in Talbot, *Argus*, 12 September 1867; in Ballarat, *Geelong Advertiser*, 4 March 1867. To protect their sources, it was common for Aborigines charged with drunkenness to collude in the defence of accused white suppliers. For instance, Billy and King Jerry pleading the innocence of Mrs. Brown, a Geelong hotelier, *Geelong Advertiser*, 17 December 1868; Billy claiming that being an Aborigine he could not remember where he obtained his alcohol, *Geelong Advertiser*, 27 November 1866

[370] Bullocky, Harry (Henry) Rose and Billy Officer were most repeatedly listed as being charged with drunkenness: "Return showing the number of aborigines confined in Her Majesty's Gaols and Lock-Ups for the years ending 1867 and 1868", *Sixth Report of Board*, 1869, pp.49-50; for the year ending 31 July 1869, *Seventh Report of Board*, 1871; for the year ending 31 December 1871, *Eighth Report of Board*, Appendix XIII.

[371] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p .71.

Parliament to take immediate steps "to prevent interference by such persons as Lawrence with the Aborigines."[372] The government had been granted no additional powers and this time the Chief Secretary's *Index of Letters Received* did not record a response to the Board's proposal.[373] The Board played its final card, an appeal to public opinion.

It despatched its protest and Molloy's letter to Melbourne newspapers which were published on October 17. Molloy declared it was his duty, as an honorary correspondent of the Board and also as:

> a medical man well acquainted with the constitutional condition of these blackfellows, to protest against their being used - or rather 'used up' - in such speculative ventures ... I use the term 'used up' advisedly because it is highly probable that very few of the team will ever return from England, where the change of climate and the inevitable increase in their habits of dissipation will prove fatal to most of them.[374]

Yet - amazingly in view of his catastrophic prognosis - Molloy equivocated. He indicated that he would happily support a tour of England "if the trip was undertaken for the purpose of improving the status and ameliorating the degraded state of these aborigines, and for raising them in the scale of the human family."[375] His fundamental objection was to the purpose of the tour: "that its 'sporting' character will be carried out unfettered by religious or moral considerations." It was a remarkable demonstration of the pervasive influence of racial ideology on humanitarians: as they could interpret the death of a terrified Aboriginal boy in England as triumph of Christianity, the likelihood of a group of Aboriginal cricketers dying in Britain was worthwhile as long as it contributed to their civilisation.

Molloy used Aboriginal extinction, an outcome on which supporters and opponents of the tour agreed, as a final argument. As "the most select representatives" of the "remaining few" natives of the district, they merited special protection; support from "all right-minded persons in putting an end to the heartless proceedings of speculators who unscrupulously endanger the lives of the blacks for the sake of sordid gains."[376]

Despite having scheduled matches in Victoria, Hayman and the team were preparing to flee. Lawrence remembered that the decision was occasioned by "a notice (which) appeared in a Melbourne newspaper that the Blacks protection Society was urging upon the Government to prevent the Blacks playing cricket and leaving the Country".[377] Furthermore, the Melbourne

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[372] Office of the Central Board for the Protection of Aborigines to the Chief Secretary, October 14, 1867. Public Record Office, Victoria, VPRS 3991, Unit 283, File No. 67/10514, Item 454.

[373] Victorian Chief Secretary, Index of Letters Received, 1867, Public Records Office, Laverton, Registry Book January - December 1867, p.481, Progressive No. 10514. Previous correspondence on the matter, p.43 and p.70, Progressive No. 1548.

[374] *Age*, 17 October 1867.

[375] *Age*, 17 October 1867.

[376] *Age*, 17 October 1867.

[377] Lawrence ms.1, p.61.

Cricket Club's rejection of proposals for a royal performance gave them one less reason to stay in Victoria.

Management had approached the Melbourne Cricket Club for permission to perform cricket, athletics and Aboriginal skills for the Duke of Edinburgh.[378] Wills' friend Hammersley, originally a proponent of the team, savaged the proposal by belittling their cricket:

> We have had, I think, quite enough of aboriginal cricket for some time to come; and I hope that the MCC ground will not be granted ... for Mullagh's batting and Cuzens' bowling excepted, they are a very shady lot.[379]

On October 11, Melbourne Cricket Club confirmed that the Duke would watch white, colonial-born "Natives", captained by Wills, against the "Rest of the World". In an obvious rebuff to the Aborigines' show, it explained that the match would be "the best that could be played - from a cricket point of view".[380] The event was a flop.

Flight

Using the ruse of a fishing holiday at Queenscliff on October 22, the team absconded from Victoria to Sydney on the *Rangatira*. It was a well-planned escape. On October 7, George Smith had slipped away from Warrnambool to Queenscliff[381] where one of Hayman's cousins, Charles Dod lived. Dod recalled the steamer being detained at the heads for a day or two before the Aborigines boarded after a pleasant afternoon with Queenscliff cricketers.[382] They were free from the Victorian government; hoping for a royal premiere of the full show in Sydney; and en route to England, leaving in the lurch the organisers of matches they had contracted to play in Sandhurst and Ballarat.[383]

There had been several changes of Aboriginal personnel. It was reported that Harry Rose, Twopenny and Neddy (Jim Crow) would return to Lake Wallace instead of going to Sydney.[384] It is easy to dismiss them as drunks, but if it were simply a matter of protecting or punishing those with alcohol problems, Bullocky would also have been left behind. The three did have drinking problems but issues of intractability and defiance may have been involved. Twopenny and Jim Crow rejoined the team to Sydney and England; the one who did not, Harry Rose was a dissident, an activist in the Gunditjmara's struggle to prevent the Board dispersing them from Lake Condah.[385]

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[378] *Australasian*, 21 September 1867.
[379] *Australasian*, 14 September 1867.
[380] *Argus*, 14 October 1867.
[381] *Warrnambool Examiner*, 8 October 1867.
[382] D.O.D. (Charles Dod), *Early memories of Queenscliff*, pp.88-89.
[383] Sandhurst, 2,4, & 5 November; Ballarat, 7, 8 & 9 November. See *Ballarat Courier*, 17 October, 1867.
[384] *Geelong Advertiser*, 23 October 1867.
[385] Critchett, *Untold stories*, p.244. See Chapter 17 for additional material on Harry Rose.

Tarpot, who would certainly have been a star in England, opted out of the tour firstly because he had recently married and then because of illness. There is no way of knowing if he wanted to go, but he had been seriously ill during the first tour and Watty had died in his arms. Like Harry Rose, he was to live a relatively long life.[386]

Editorial responses

The weight of editorial opinion blamed the Board for the flight of the team. The *Age* derided protectionist concerns, commenting that if the Aborigines "are being 'used up' there is nothing perceptible of it in their bodily or mental calibre." They were, it enthused, "as temperate as anchorites, as jolly as sandboys and as supple as deer, and certainly capable of testing the climate of Europe as thousands of others from hotter climates, who have flourished there to a good old age."[387] The *Argus* admitted that Aborigines had died as a result of the first tour but, trusting in the gentlemanly qualities of Hayman and Lawrence, doubted whether the English climate would hurt an Australian native.[388]

The *Geelong Advertiser* was vitriolic. The Board was a waste of money and should be disbanded: Aboriginal improvement was due to squatters and not the Government. While the Board enabled lazy Aborigines like King Jerry to roll around drunk in the streets, the Aboriginal team "would despise to 'eat the bread of idleness' ".[389] Management had been forced to protect its investment: the Board "should ... not have dilly-dallied ... until the speculators had lost some five or six hundred pounds ... and then come forward and tell them 'you shall not have a chance of regaining your losses'. "[390] It is apparent that management astutely fed information to the press, a feature of its success in Australia and England.

The *Warrnambool Examiner* ridiculed the Board for concentrating on a trivial matter while the condition of Aborigines in Victoria was a disgrace.[391] To the *Ballarat Courier* the Board were little more than "mere state pensioners" with "large philanthropic frills". While it acknowledged that "tricks" had been played with other indigenous peoples, the Aborigines were safe with a gentleman of substance like Mr. Smith, especially in England, "the nursery of progress and the abolisher of slavery".[392]

The *Leader* was more thoughtful. It ridiculed the Board's "corporate sentimentality" and condemned it for achieving little more for Aborigines than the distribution of rations. But the flight of management from public opinion made them suspect that people who had "been utilising the blacks as an investment ... are ready to resort to anything for the gratification of

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[386] Tarpot died in 1900, aged 57; Harry Rose in 1916 aged 69, both in their own country. Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket Walkabout*, pp.157-158.

[387] *Age*, 21 October 1867.

[388] *Ballarat Courier*, 18 October 1867 reprinted from the *Argus*.

[389] *Geelong Advertiser*, 26 October 1867.

[390] *Age*, 24 October 1867.

[391] *Warrnambool Examiner*, 25 October 1867.

[392] *Ballarat Courier*, reprinted in *Warrnambool Examiner*, 29 October 1867.

their own selfish interests." It was difficult to decide between " 'speculators' "who really have done something for the blacks, and the 'protectors' who have done nothing but denounce a project, which under certain circumstances, might be not only innocent but meritorious."[393]

Who was right?

Aboriginal agency was not a real issue for any of the white protagonists. All assumed that Aborigines were incapable of effectively managing their lives. The question was whether their control should be vested in a statutory government body or the pastoralists-cum-speculators on whose lands they were "permitted" to live. The dispute revolved on whether Hayman was entitled to protect the Aborigines in England, or whether it was legitimate for the Board to protect the Aborigines from speculators: Were adult Aborigines public or private wards?

Hayman's public defence of his actions revealed his attitude on the real agency of Aborigines, as contrasted to their formal position as contractual partners. He justified his authority on the basis of receiving permission from the property owners in the Wimmera "to take these blacks to Melbourne" and "permission again from the settlers to take these men to Europe". [394] He cited their 50 pounds entitlement but not their having signed: the real legal rights in his mind, were between the property owners, himself and Gurnett. He accepted that without the permission of the station-owners the Aborigines did not have the right to travel to Melbourne or sign a meaningful contract, let alone journey to England. In Hayman's eyes, control over the Aborigines had been legitimately transferred to him by the pastoralists. Tellingly, he did not need to argue the rights of pastoralists over "their" Aborigines - it was established practice and self-evident common sense to Australian colonists.

Hayman's perspective offers an alternative solution to the mystery of the bond. Subsequent correspondence confirms that Hayman assured his family that a bond compelled him to ensure the Aborigines returned from England.[395] It is persuasive evidence: in private and long after the dispute subsided, Hayman had nothing to gain by inventing a bond. But the Queenscliff subterfuge and Lawrence's explanation make no sense if a bond were lodged. It is inconceivable that the entrepreneurs would not have publicised their payment to the Board in order to deflect criticism.

It would, however, have been consistent with Hayman's view of the control of the Aborigines for him to personally lodge bonds with the pastoralists on whose runs they lived. Without appearing in Graham's ledger or government documents, they would have indemnified the pastoralists against the loss of their property, compensated them for being deprived of seasonal labour and concentrated Hayman on ensuring their safe return.

In terms of its charter of protecting Aborigines, the Board was justified in attempting to prevent the tour, certainly without the payment of a substantial bond. Under Hayman, the Aborigines had not been paid for their first tour; management had skipped out of matches they

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[393] *Leader*, 26 October 1867.

[394] Originally in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Reprinted *Australasian*, 4 May 1867.

[395] Letter from C.A. Hayman to E.E. Bean, 14 December 1933. It was sold to the Melbourne Cricket Club as part of Lot 245, Phillip Auctions, MCG, November 1997.

had contracted to play in both tours; they had insufficient funds to return the Aborigines from Sydney to Melbourne or Melbourne to Lake Wallace; and they were prone to flee across colonial borders whenever their investment was endangered.

Concerns about the Aborigines' health in England were well-founded. Hayman had attempted, generally with success, to conceal from public knowledge, the Board or philanthropic organisations any serious problems with the Aborigines' well-being. Crises were identified only as a result of an inquest, the enquiries of honorary correspondents and the initiative of Kennedy, the local policeman. Outside Victoria, the Board were unable to monitor Aboriginal health or their desire to return. It was unlikely that even death would induce entrepreneurs to cancel a tour while they could still recoup their investment from the performances of the remainder.

The Board may have been influenced by recent exploitation of travelling Aboriginal workers. Its Fifth Report in 1866 recorded the futile complaints of Aboriginal drovers who had been duped into taking livestock from Gippsland and the Murray to Melbourne. They had "worked ... rather as slaves than servants" because once they completed their work, the employers reneged on wages they had promised and abandoned them in the city. In reality, Aborigines had no legal rights and the Board was powerless to compel payment.[396]

Opposition to the tour was justified but ideologies of racial inferiority led the Board to systematic policies of repression, dispersal and destruction of families. A month after the flight from Queenscliff, Brough Smyth prepared a report from Coranderrk which reinforced his belief that teaching useful trades to Aborigines compounded their exploitation. As Aboriginal transformation could only be partial, the civilised Aboriginal worker would inevitably suffer the jibes and pity of uneducated whites: "he would always be regarded as an inferior - as a creature that by some extraordinary act of nature had come to be nearly like other men."[397] As a consequence of inera :dicable susceptibilities, Aborigines would be contaminated by contact with dissolute lower-class whites and manipulated by scheming white employers.[398]

Their exploitation was the product of "peculiarities of the Aboriginal mind, and the trust they repose in those who have the care of their interests, and the perfect reliance they place in persons in authority who make promises to them".[399] Aboriginal agency was a chimera because "implore him as we may, it is doubtful whether he would ever be self-reliant and able to exercise self-control."[400] Aborigines, "although sharp and cunning enough in small matters ... are as a rule unreliable, untruthful and sadly wanting in energy, perserverance, self-reliance

[396] *Fifth Report of Board*, 1866, Australian Archives, Melbourne, p.17.

[397] *Sixth Report*, Appendix 2, Report of R Brough Smyth from Coranderrk, 16 November 1867, p.19.

[398] *Sixth Report of Board to Parliament* by James MacBain, 1869, Australian Archives, Melbourne, p.8.

[399] *Sixth Report*, Appendix 2, Report of Brough Smyth and John McKenzie, 26 October 1868.

[400] *Sixth Report*, Appendix 2, Report of Brough Smyth from Coranderrk, 16 November 1867. To prevent the possibility of Aboriginal moves towards self-management, the Board removed the popular John Green from his administrator's post at Coranderrk in 1875.

and other qualities which fit men to compete successfully with their fellows in the battle of life."[401]

It took government two and a half years to enact powers which would have prevented the tour. In November 1869, the *Natives Protection Act* made it an offence to "remove or attempt to remove or instigate any other person to remove any Aboriginal from Victoria without the written consent in that behalf of the Minister."[402] The augmented functions of the Central Board for the Protection of Aborigines included deciding where Aborigines or their tribes could reside, prescribing the terms of contracts between Aborigines and Europeans and controlling certificates which allowed Aborigines to earn a living.[403] An Executive Council of 1871 made invalid any Gurnett-type contract: "No contract with any Aboriginal for any service or employment for a longer period than three months shall be of any validity as against such Aboriginal ... unless such contract shall have been approved by the Board".[404]

It proscribed Aborigines being exhibited outside the colony or being exploited by contracts whose implications they were poorly equipped to understand. It also outlawed opportunities to work as drovers, circus performers and other occupations which might take them outside Victoria. The consequences of policy driven by racial ideology culminated in the notorious Victorian Aboriginal legislation of 1886 which expelled able-bodied "half-castes" from Aboriginal reserves - sundering Aboriginal families, destroying the economic potential of Aboriginal farming units, dispersing Aborigines from traditional lands and preparing for "full-bloods" to drift into extinction.[405]

ROYAL PREMIERE, SYDNEY: THE SHOW IS COMPLETE

The Australian premiere of the full Aboriginal show was astutely targeted for the Duke of Edinburgh who indicated his interest in "native sports" which would be "the greatest novelty to him".[406] Headquartered in Sydney and camped at "Undercliff", the Manly home of team financier George Smith,[407] the team appeared in Wollongong, West Maitland, Singleton and Newcastle during November while management prepared the groundwork for the royal performance.

Rehearsals, costuming, English negotiations and preparations were all-consuming, for the team's only recorded appearance in the 11 weeks prior to their royal performance was a Boxing Day match in Bathurst. Lawrence busied his fertile mind designing wild new costumes

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401 *Seventeenth Report*, 1881, cited in 1957 Report Upon the Operations of the Aborigines Act, 1928.

402 Quoted in *Seventh Report of Board*, Appendix X, Section 6, p32. Australian Archives, Melbourne, B332.

403 VPRS 4467, Reel 1, Aboriginal Affairs Records, Australian Archives, Melbourne.

404 *Seventh Report of Board*, Appendix X, Section 6, p33, Australian Archives, Melbourne, B332.

405 Richard Broome, "Victoria", pp.121-167 in Ann McGrath (ed.), *Contested ground, Australian Aborigines under the British Crown*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1995, pp.141-142.

406 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 November 1867. Signed by "Boz", the well-informed letter appears to have been written by an intimate or member of management.

407 Charles Swancott, *Manly 1788 to 1968*, Sydney, 1968, p.56.

and rehearsing the team for its now choreographed show. Walter Denny created a huge transparency which was illuminated outside the Government Printing Office in Phillip Street for the royal festivities. It contrasted an illustration of the Aboriginal team playing cricket with "a picture of the blacks in their wildest state – thereby showing their progress from the utter barbarism to the highest state of civilisation to which they have attained."[408] The Prince was to see a highly innovative presentation, incomparably more diverse, exotic and sophisticated than the cricket match supplemented by a few athletic events which had created a sensation in Melbourne on Boxing Day 1866.

A crowd of 4,000 attended the Albert Ground to watch the cricket team billed as "Lawrence's Aboriginals". Resplendent in red Garibaldi shirts, they easily outclassed a mediocre Army and Navy side supplemented by Gregory and Caffyn. When the Prince appeared in the main stand at half-past three, "the blacks were mustered in front, with Lawrence at their head, and gave three hearty cheers, concluding with their own peculiar yell of victory."[409] The next day's performances with the Aborigines "attired in a picturesque costume characteristic of their country" were expected to comprise the "far more interesting portion of the programme."[410]

Lured by the "native sports", the crowd doubled. Cricket had been relegated to a curtain-raiser: the match was abandoned so the main event could begin. Athletics began at half-past two with a sprint race and some high jumping. On the arrival of the Prince, Dick-a-Dick warded off cricket balls and the Aborigines returned to their tent to prepare for the premiere of their new show.

With Lawrence at their head, the team marched from the tent in military single file. Let Lawrence's reminiscences describe their garb and the core of a typical performance:

> they are all dressed in their native costume Black fitting tights with Possum skin trunk Cabbage tree hat with lyrebird feathers ... they march out in order and halt in line each having Boomerang and Spears and at the word I give a flight of twelve spears are thrown for the first assault there again until each one has thrown six when they give a yell and divide, equal number against each other, after the battle by throwing at each other warding them off with their shields they then meet at the centre of the ground and throw their boomerangs. [411]

Here were the generic elements of exotic primitivism and metonymic implements specific to Aboriginality. The black tights simulated nakedness; the mock fights and yells, martial savagery. Yet they were tamed savages, acting under the overt discipline of their white

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[408] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 January 1868, also *Empire*, 4 January 1868. This was probably the display which had been mounted in the Australian Museum. Thanks to Stephen Gapps for these newspaper references.

[409] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 February 1868.

[410] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 February 1868.

[411] Lawrence ms. 1, p.67.

leader; Aborigines who had publicly demonstrated their fealty to the Crown whose colonisation had civilised them and accepted them on its playing fields.

In native costume and supplemented with an initial "battle cry", Dick-a-Dick performed his ball-dodging.[412] Advancing ever closer towards towards the ball-throwers, wielding his shield and leowell, "the excitement becomes very great [as] Dick works himself forward and gets quite close to them and gives a yell which causes such a hearty response for Dick's novelty and pluck."[413] During training at Lake Wallace, Lawrence had conceived a trick of his own, balancing cricket balls thrown from a distance on his bat: an Englishman performing a trick with *his* native implement.

The Aborigines also demonstrated the "kangaroo rat race, which was quite a novelty even to old colonialists."[414] The "kangaroo rat" was an Aboriginal weapon, the weet-weet, designed for hunting birds and small animals.[415] Consisting of a wooden knob at the end of a flexible handle, it was flung along the ground "skimming along the surface for a hundred and fifty yards and at such a pace that it requires quick vision to keep them in sight."[416]

The rich programme offered show-business colour, popular racial instruction, cricket, primitive Aboriginal skills and amusing novelties. It contrasted Aborigines as savage warriors, civilised cricketers and precocious athletes.

From his long experience, Lawrence realised that his Aboriginal cricket team would not be good enough to provide an interesting contest for first class English teams. He knew too that the outstanding qualities of Mullagh, Cuzens and himself would be too good for run-of-the mill local elevens. But this would no longer matter. With cricket providing an infrastructure, a show-space and the transformation imagery to establish a contrast for climactic primitivist displays, the mobile museum of living Aboriginality with royal endorsement, sailed to England on the *Parramatta* three days after their command performance.

An earlier report claimed that the Aborigines were anxious to travel to England, which "having adopted the colonial phrase, they call 'going home.' "[417] It is possible they adopted the phrase to imitate or please Hayman and Lawrence; inconceivable that Aborigines thought of England in that way. Like Bennelong and Yemmerrawanyea, they were described as embarking "not only without reluctance but in good spirits", [418] but their leisurely performing life in Australia provided no indication of the experiences or intensity of their working lives in England. Their expectations of the environment and working life which awaited them depended entirely on information imparted by their managment.

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[412] Lawrence ms. 1, p.67.
[413] Lawrence ms. 1, p.68.
[414] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 February 1868.
[415] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.123.
[416] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 February 1868.
[417] *Argus*, 25 February 1867.
[418] Graham ledger, (iv).

They had been told they would be "lionised" in England[419] and it was reported they hoped to "make a reputation" which would enable them to work as professional cricketers on their return.[420] The possibility applied to Mullagh and Cuzens: others may have been attracted by the lure of freedom, the promise of new experiences, or an expectation of continuing access to alcohol.

More concretely, they were again under contract. An article with information supplied by Lawrence and Hayman confirmed that at the outset of the second tour each of the Aborigines signed a written agreement for the tour of England.[421] As the originally contracted guarantee of fifty pounds per head was confirmed to the English press late in 1868,[422] it appears the Aborigines signed an amended form of the Gurnett contract, with the provisions for Hayman and the Aborigines remaining intact, Smith and Graham replacing Gurnett, and Lawrence somehow written in. The promise of fifty pounds on their return and a level of trust in Hayman and Lawrence are the only Aboriginal expectations of which it is possible to feel confident.

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[419] *Empire*, 20 February 1867.

[420] *Argus*, 25 February 1867.

[421] *Warrnambool Examiner*, 1 October 1867.

[422] *Eastbourne Gazette*, 30 September 1868.

SECTION 3

ABORIGINES ABROAD 1868:

IMAGES OF PRIMITIVISM AND

TRANSFORMATION

THE PENNY ILLUSTRATED PAPER

REGISTERED AT THE GENERAL POST OFFICE FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.

No. 349 | LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 6, 1868. | Vol. XIV.

SPORTS OF THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES AT KENNINGTON OVAL.—SEE NEXT PAGE

Illustration 53: Premiere of sham fight with spears, the Oval, 28 May 1868.

CHAPTER 10

PRIMITIVIST IMAGES, ADVANCE PUBLICITY AND TRAVEL TO ENGLAND

Frozen photographs and primitivist thrills

The *Penny Illustrated Paper* of 6 June 1868 depicted the Aborigines performing their sham fight with spears on the final day of their sensational English debut at Kennington Oval, London from May 25-28.

The artist's vision (Illustration 53) captures a spectacle of energy and violent motion, of primitive bodies and unique weapons. It is a striking contrast to the evocative yet frozen cricketing portraits which have hitherto represented the Aboriginal performances in Britain. The charming and sedate transformational representations, such as the Bootle photograph below,[1] portray the Aborigines in their eccentrically incongruous cricketing costumes. These famous photographs have given latter-day readers a partial and misleading impression of their performances and their appeal to British audiences.

Figure 54: Aboriginal cricketers at Bootle with Shepherd (sitting) and Lawrence.

[1] The same photograph appears in both P.C. Massen, *The Bootle Cricket Club: Bootle Cricket Club 150th Anniversary 1833-1983* Souvenir Book, England, 1983 and P.N. Walker, *The Liverpool competition: a study of the development on cricket on Merseyside*, Countywise Ltd, England, 1988. William Shepherd is the lounging Englishman; Lawrence the other white player. The Aborigines appeared in Bootle from 30 July to 1 August and 10-12 September 1868. A similar photograph sold at Christie's Australia Cricket Memorabilia Auction in Melbourne on 13 May 1998 was inscribed G.A. Brooking, 6 Comley Aveenue, Egremont, Liverpool.

Cricket walkabout reproduced three photographs of the Aborigines in England, all of them in cricketing costume.[2] They, and team photographs in Australia, have been reproduced in countless cricket, sporting and Aboriginal histories. Often juxtaposed with English and Australian cricketing teams of the same era, the images created a dominant image of sporting integration. Although the Aboriginal faces and dark hands are distinctive, many cricketing costumes of the era were comparably quirky and the photographs fit comfortably within the engaging individuality of mid-Victorian cricket. Thus we have always imagined them primarily as cricketers - Aboriginal cricketers certainly - but not as racial showmen.

Yet it was their *show*, a multifaceted representation of otherness within established racial tropes of primitivism and transformation, which ensured the sustained success of their performances in England.

The *Penny Paper's* illustration challenges our understanding of English audience perceptions of the Aboriginal tourists. It is true the spear-throwers do not look very much like Aborigines but few Britons had an accurate idea of the specific appearance of Aborigines. More importantly, the illustration successfully rendered the familiar imagery of primitivism. In their cricketing performances, racial difference was a constant irony, yet the visible markers of Aboriginal identity were obscured. Here they could scarcely be more vividly prominent. Primitivist imagery defines their identity and that of the spectator, separating audience and performer into binary racial opposites.

What was the audience seeing? Unlike in a cricket game, they were perceiving the Aborigines *as* Aborigines, or, at least, as they *imagined* Aborigines to be. The show may have been artifice, but it could claim sufficient authenticity to inform, excite and entertain curiosity-seekers, ethnologists, naturalists, and archaeologists. It provided seemingly direct images of an exotic race, their implements and way of life. Spectators were seeing primitive masculinity: an all-male group of powerfully muscled warriors, titillatingly near-naked, yet colourfully costumed. Skilled use of primitive weaponry situated them near the beginnings of human evolution and evoked the life-and-death struggle for survival of unimproved peoples in a pre-civilised world.

To Rev. John George Wood (1827-1889), an influential author and lecturer on natural history,[3] European attire vitiated Aboriginal identity. On seeing the Aborigines, first in their street clothes and then their cricket costumes, Wood was disappointed. He lamented that "dressed in grey, or clad in the cricketer's attire, there was nothing remarkable about them, and in fact they seemed to be very ordinary persons indeed." It was an entirely different matter once they changed into primitivist costume:

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[2] Two were similar to the Bootle team portrait above. One was located in an autobiography of W.G. Grace; the other from the team which played Nottingham Commercial at Trent Bridge from 3-5 August. Finally there was a remarkably early photograph of the Aborigines in a cricket match in Derby in September. See Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, plates 24, 28 and 27 respectively.

[3] Sally Mitchell (ed.), *Victorian Britain: an encyclopedia*, St. James Press, London, 1988, p.871.

> But with their clothes they threw off their commonplace look, and attired only in tight 'fleshings' dyed as nearly as possible the colour of the black skins, with a piece of fur wrapped round their loins and a sort of fur cap on their heads, they walked with a proud, elastic step that contrasted strangely with their former gait.[4]

So powerful are the metonymic associations of clothing that Wood made a point of insisting that costuming did not merely *signify* the change from civilisation to primitivism, it *contributed to the process* of transformation: "It may perhaps be said", he continued, weighing objections to his point of view, "that the change of demeanour was only the natural result of removing the heavy clothing and giving freedom to the limbs." Not so, he insisted: when professional English athletes wearing light athletic gear competed against the Aborigines, "no such improvement took place, and if anything they looked better in their ordinary dress."[5]

Their costume suggested nakedness, a defining image of primitivism. An account of the same performance explained that for their ..."warlike pastimes the Australians had cast aside their cricketing costume in favour of close-fitting black woollen suits, which gave them, at some distance, the appearance of being clad in strict aboriginal fashion, with only the short trunks or draws of kangaroo or other kind of skin that a savage would wear."[6] The crowning touch, "a head-dress of two long feathers, cressed in a peculiar and not ungraceful curve" suggested the familiar imagery of American Indians.

The show climaxed with characteristic devices associated with primitivism - black bodies, weapons, costumes and martial activities. There was no doubting the racial authenticity of the Aborigines themselves and audiences thrilled at their courage in the face of mortal danger. Their spear-throwing and sham fights appeared to risk death.

A vivid description of the premiere "spear-hunting" performance pictured by the *Penny Illustrated Paper* was printed as a valedictory article nearly five months later: "The ten blacks arranged themselves all in a line, just a few yards from where we stood; and Lawrence went out to the centre of the Oval to time them. On a signal from him, they all threw spears a distance of about 120 yards."[7] Five of them ran to where the spears landed, and:

> picking them up, began throwing them back, taking aim at the other five. It was wonderful to see the coolness of the fellows under such deadly fire, for almost every spear would have killed its man had he not evaded it by nimbly stepping aside, just in time to escape the blow of the spear, as it came to the ground and struck the spot where he stood."

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[4] Wood, *The natural history of man*, George Routledge & Sons, London, 1868-70, Vol.2, p.3.

[5] Wood, *The natural history of man*, Vol.2, p.3.

[6] *Gravesend and Dartford Reporter*, 6 June 1868.

[7] *Illustrated Sporting and Theatrical News*, 10 October 1868.

The audience was swept up in the excitement: "One man was loudly cheered for having allowed one of the spears to come as close as could be to where he stood, striking the ground about two inches from him." It was, explained the same journalist, "an exhibition of their prowess … intended to illustrate the manner in which they hunt the kangaroo."

Reverend Wood imagined that using their weapons transformed primitive races into savage and irrational warriors:

> the very fact of quivering the spear acts on the Australian warrior as it does upon the African. The whirring sound of the vibrating weapon excites him to a pitch of frenzied excitement and while menacing his foe with the trembling spear, the warrior dances and leaps and yells as if he were mad - and indeed for the moment he becomes a raving madman.[8]

Though defeated by a powerful Surrey team on Monday and Tuesday, the debut of their primitivist show on Thursday immediately established that brilliant Aboriginal performances would thrill racially inquisitive English audiences and sustain a profitable tour.

Pre-Arrival Publicity

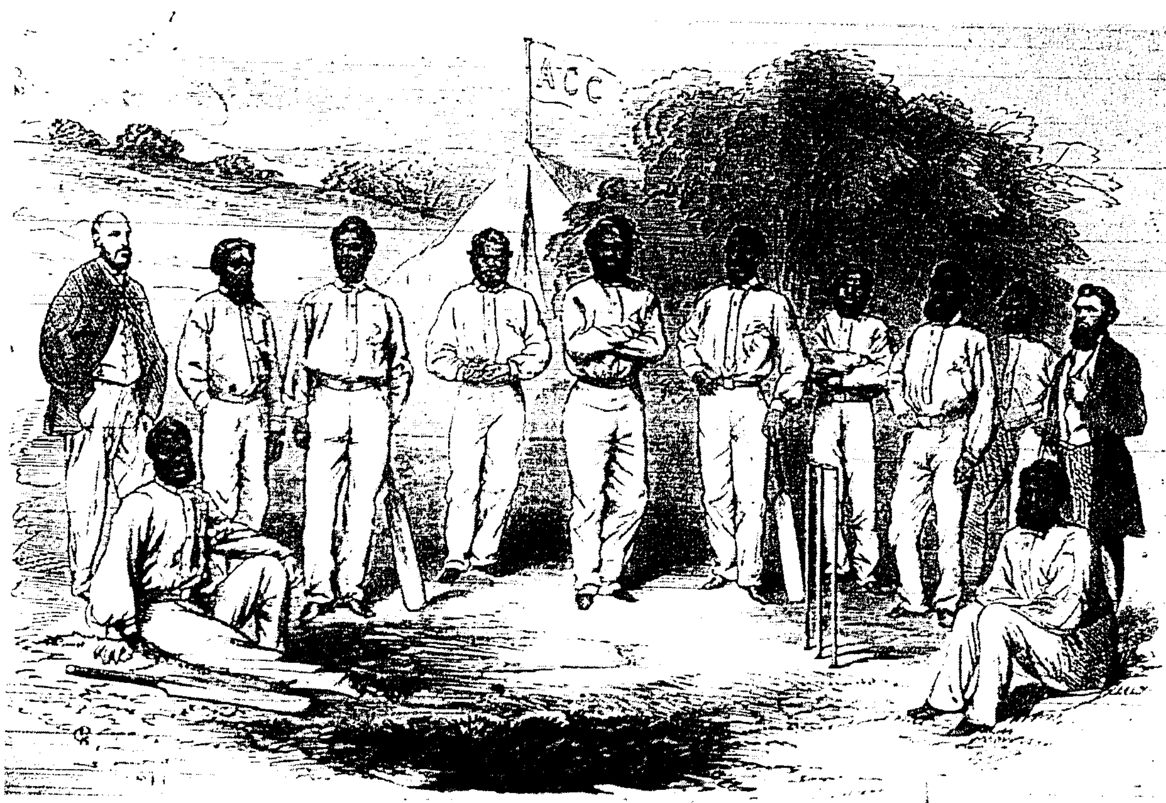

Illustration 55: Flanked by Wills ("Captain") and Hayman ("Umpire"), the players are listed as Officer, Sugar, Jellico, Cousins, Neddy, Mullagh, Bullocky, Tarpot, Sundown, Peter.

[8] Wood, *The natural history of man*, Vol.2, p.45.

Prior to the Aborigines' arrival, London's *Sportsman* identified the tour as a recognised mode of entrepreneurial display: "It seems now to be an established custom", it observed, "to import annually some sporting novelty from the colonies. Thus, last year, we had the Indian La Crosse players from Canada, and this season we are to have the Aboriginal cricket players from Australia." It expected the importation of indigenous sporting novelties in the Deerfoot tradition would continue: "our next imported novelty is likely, I hear, to be an Indian runner from Canada. I can't spell his name, and forget his time, but I can vouch for the fact that both are very extraordinary."[9]

British interest in Aborigines determined that they would be objects of curiosity - if not, the tour would be an abysmal failure - and publicity ensured that they arrived in England as minor celebrities. The above illustration was printed in the *Australian News for Home Readers*, 27 December 1866 and would have appeared in Britain by February.

Substantial information appeared in British newspapers more than a year before their arrival. *Sporting Life* featured reports of the Aborigines' early matches in Victoria, reprinted from *Bell's Life in Victoria* and the Melbourne *Argus*. The Aborigines v. Melbourne Club was allocated six times more print space than the most important representative sporting contest in Australia, the Victoria v. New South Wales match of the same date.[10] The Melbourne Club v. Ten Aborigines with T.W. Wills game was, likewise, more newsworthy than the subsequent N.S.W. v. Victoria match.[11] By April 1867, English papers had printed plans for bringing the Aborigines to England. One report thought it "very doubtful" that they would reach fruition because of the Protection Board's demand of a 500 pounds bond.[12]

In October, *Sporting Life* commented wearily that the only Australian cricketing items of any interest to English readers concerned the "inevitable Black cricketers" and their renewed plans to visit England. As they were now backed by two Sydney businessmen, it saw "little doubt" that the Aborigines would tour Europe the following year and Lawrence's publicity became a bit outlandish: "he [Lawrence] says there are three or four of the darkies quite as good as Mullagh and Cuzens".[13] "Using Up the Aborigines", the Board's appeal to prevent the tour, was printed in the *Illustrated Australian News* of 26 October 1867.

In an error of judgement that would cost the entrepreneurs dearly, they failed to engage as agents Spiers and Pond, the caterers and promoters who had reaped a fortune from organising the

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[9] *Sportsman*, 9 May 1868.

[10] *Sporting Life* (London), 16 February 1867.

[11] *Sporting Life*, 16 March 1867.

[12] *Sporting Life*, 17 April 1867, citing *Bell's Life in Victoria* on the question of the bond.

[13] *Sporting Life*, October 16, 1867.

first English cricket tour to Australia.[14] Advance arrangements and publicity were personally organised in England by E.P. Hingston, originally of Liverpool who would take a 5% cut of the revenues, and Hayman, who arrived ahead of Lawrence and the team.

As the Aborigines approached England, publicity began to focus more precisely on what the English public should expect. By establishing their racial status, the appeal of the tour was broadened beyond cricket. As if to forestall possibilities that the tour might imply an indictment of British colonisation for the expected extinction of a race whose representatives looked able, healthy and intelligent, readers were forewarned that they would witness atypical Aborigines who had been improved by colonialism. Though "they will be a novelty in our cricket fields, I am told they will afford but an imperfect idea of the character of the Australian aborigines in their ordinary condition. We shall not see 'the noble savage as wild in the wood he ran'."[15]

The tour would demonstrate that British settlement had produced surprising benefits to Aborigines: "although hitherto looked upon as untamable, there seems to be hardly any limit to their capacity for things requiring precision of sight, steadiness of hand and activity of body", enthused a journalist.[16] Their abilities did not extend to European capacities for creativity, constructive leadership, self-management or abstract thought but they had been taught intriguing British skills - speaking English, playing billiards, cards, draughts, "and one is a considerable violinist."[17] The key to their advancement was European paternalism. Lawrence's patient compassion had ensured "the devotion of his pupils, the docility of whose nature was only to be reached by kindness."[18]

Images of transformation paid homage to the influence of British colonialism, but essential elements of their racial nature ensured the tension of incongruity would remain. Playfully evoking a cunning savage waiting in ambush, a journalist chortled at the imagery of primitive predators on English cricket fields: "Fancy being bowled by 'Old King Cole', stumped by 'Jim Crow', or caught by 'Bullocky', who, grinning and showing his white teeth, has been watching his opportunity for the last half-hour."[19]

Newspapers predicted that they would be unable to compete successfully with first-class English teams,[20] a problem anticipated by Lawrence's preparations.

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[14] Letter from George Graham to *Sporting Life*, written 14 January 1869 and published soon after, Graham ledger, p.122.
[15] *Sportsman*, 1 April 1868.
[16] *Sportsman*, 9 May 1868.
[17] *Sporting Life*, 1 April 1868.
[18] *Sportsman*, 9 May 1868.
[19] *Sportsman*, 9 April 1868.
[20] *Sportsman*, 9 May 1868.

The Voyage to England

After setting sail on February 8, Lawrence and the 13 Aborigines spent three months on board the *Parramatta*. The Aborigines lived in a separate cabin between first class and steerage and Lawrence's memoirs describe a comfortable and amusing voyage: "It was a pleasant one and the Black (sic) became great favourites." Lawrence encouraged them to trust in Captain Williams, who invited them into his cabin for reassurance and prayers, continuing the childlike religious instruction which Lawrence had begun in Australia.[21]

To judge from Lawrence's recollections, the *Parramatta* became a floating mission station. In addition to basic Christianity, Lawrence attempted to teach the Aborigines to write but was disappointed the literacy lessons "did not last long for they soon became tired and amused themselves in drawing trees Birds and all kinds of Animals".[22] Consistent with infantilist tropes of racial ideology, he attributed their failure to childlike frivolity and exhaustion from mental exertion. It is better appreciated as a response consistent with the behaviour of all exiles.

British emigrants to the colonies reproduced familiar elements of their homeland by importing British culture and objects. Colonised peoples in exile were deprived of the power to transform the social and natural environment of their unfamiliar living spaces. Diasporic visual art was a common response: "ledger drawings" by Native Americans who depicted buffalo and other characteristic elements of their homeland when they were imprisoned or exiled are the best-known examples of this genre.[23] The Aborigines could not expect to see their native plants, animals, sites and peoples for a year. Their drawings, a manifestation of Aboriginal determination to maintain cultural survival and identity, were a rational solution to loss of place. In the middle of a vast ocean, in the early stages of a long and uncertain separation from everything that had defined them, re-creating familiar "trees Birds and all kinds of Animals" was surely a source of familiarity and comfort. Learning to write promised only nebulous benefits.

They occupied themselves with drafts and cards, playing games with children, sharing crafts with women and becoming "great favourites with the ladies."[24] As a result of the kindly attentions, wrote Lawrence, "they soon lost all fear of the Sea Voyage ... for they thought the Captain was so good that the Ship would never sink."[25] To judge from his reminiscences, the Aborigines were petted and contented celebrities of the long voyage.

One of the passengers was the humourless Reverend Henry Nisbet, a sedulous diarist whose account of the voyage occupies 20 hand-written pages. Nisbet shared religious duties with

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[21] See Chapter 14.

[22] Lawrence ms.1, p.63.

[23] Alvin M. Josephy Jr, *500 nations: an illustrated history of North American Indians*, Hutchinson, London, 1995, p.19.

[24] Lawrence ms.1, p.63.

[25] Lawrence ms.1, p.63.

Captain Williams, one reading a litany, the other preaching a sermon. In view of the intensive religious instruction supposedly devoted to the Aborigines by Williams and Lawrence, it is remarkable that Nisbet did not mention the presence of such prized objects of missionary zeal. On March 16, he grumbled about "a racket in the saloon by part of the company performing Christy Minstrels - with blackened faces and hands - the place filled with passengers and crew too I suppose as spectators who increased the noise very considerably."[26] We can only wonder what the Aborigines made of it, and how the audience associated blackface farce with real black passengers.

Even in mid-ocean the ingenious Lawrence managed to advertise his enterprise to the passengers on another ship.[27] A diary kept by a passenger on the *True Briton*, also en route to England, reads:

> March 27th. Becalmed with the *Parramatta* Four Miles astern of us. Captain Williams and three of her Passengers, amongst whom was Mr Lawrence who is taking 13 of the Australian Aboriginees (sic) home with him, to show their science in Cricket and Native Sports. They that is the Captain and the three passengers came about ten o'clock, stayed an hour and a half and returned to their ship again.[28]

There is reason to wonder if the comfortable passage described by Lawrence, a confident and experienced trans-oceanic seafarer, was as easy for the Aborigines.[29]

Nisbet recorded that the *Parramatta* passed close to icebergs on February 29; that it was cold and chilly on March 13, and that a gale on March 16 was so alarming that the boats were brought on deck.[30] These were uncomfortable experiences for European travellers, but none was unexpected. The conditions were unforeseeable for the Aborigines and other indigenous performers found the experiences of their voyage distressing.[31]

In 1880, a party of eight Inuit were taken to Europe at the instigation of Carl Hagenbeck, who made a business out of importing and exhibiting primitive peoples. For a week of the one month voyage from Labrador to Hamburg the Inuit were sorely seasick. During the worst of a climactic storm, a scream was heard on board. It was found to emanate from Tiggianiak, an Inuit shaman. A contemporary engraving portrayed Tiggianiak, standing erect in the face of the maelstrom, in peril of being swept to his death, gesticulating defiantly and bidding the storm away.[32]

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[26] Rev. Henry Nisbet, Diaries, Mss 3093/12, Item No. 3, Dixson Library, p.255.

[27] Lawrence did not mention the incident in his reminiscences.

[28] Transcript of a diary held in the National Library of Australia, ms. 8933, courtesy of Graeme Powell, Manuscript Librarian. The diarist was probably S. Roberts.

[29] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.88 favourably compare the comfort offered to the Aborigines by Lawrence's "solicitude" with difficulties faced by Irish immigrants who made the ocean crossing. It is an inappropriate parallel. Irish were familiar with climatic conditions and seaboard experiences they would face; were choosing to emigrate to improved prospects in countries with large Irish diasporas; knew the language and culture they would experience; and were not racial novelties relegated to the base of racial evolution.

[30] Nisbet, Diaries, pp.247-254.

[31] See also Chapter 15 for Maori accounts of their distress during their 1863 voyage to England, unhappiness which was not appreciated by their missionary guardian-entrepreneur, Jenkins.

[32] See title page for illustration by Otto Below in J. Garth Taylor, "An Eskimo abroad, 1880: his diary and death", *Canadian Geographic*, October-November, 1981, Vol.101, No.5, pp.39-40.

Another indigenous voyager was Black Elk, an Oglalu Sioux. Born in 1863, he travelled to England in 1886 to perform in Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West show and as an old Holy Man, recounted his life story to John Neihardt, a Nebraska poet.[33] Ignoring relatives who implored him to stay, Black Elk departed and, "left our people crying there, for we were going far across the big water".

When the shipboard Sioux could see "nothing but water, water, water ... we were told that we were going very fast. If we were, I thought that we must drop off where the water ended; or maybe we might have to stop where the sky came down to the water." It was plainly a terrifying experience: "We were all in despair now and many were feeling so sick that they began to sing their death-songs."[34] Perplexed by unfamiliar shipboard sleeping arrangements, frightened and sick, the natives faced ridicule as "at first the Wasichus [Whites] laughed at us." The women and some men cried "because it was terrible and they could do nothing." Black Elk rejected a life-jacket: "Instead I dressed for death, putting on my best clothes that I wore in the show, and then I sang my death song."[35] Familiar components of their existence, bison and elk, were being exported for the show. They died, and "the Wasichus threw them in the water. When I saw the poor bison thrown over, I felt like crying, because I thought they were throwing part of my people away."[36]

The voyage of the *Parramatta* was not as turbulent, but the unfamiliarity of trans-oceanic seafaring must have caused Aboriginal apprehensions, fears and difficulties unimagined by European fellow-travellers.[37] Lawrence remembered the Aboriginal voyagers were upset by news of the attempted assassination of the Duke of Edinburgh and their separation from Captain Williams, factors which reflected Lawrence's own concerns and his understanding of Aboriginal dependence. The responses are nevertheless credible: Williams and the Prince had established themselves as Aboriginal benefactors and the travellers were likely to be grateful for kindness and support.

Nearing land after three months at sea, the Captain assembled the Aborigines to impart last minute counsel. It could hardly have reassured them:

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[33] Black Elk could speak only in Sioux. In 1930, Neihardt travelled to Black Elk's house for an extended visit with his daughter, Enid, a skilled stenographer. Black Elk's son, Ben, was the interpreter and Enid kept an accurate record of the conversations. They are preserved in the University of Missouri, Historical Mss collection. Neihardt rendered "the spirit" of Black Elk's story from Enid's transcripts. See, Introduction by Vine Deloria Jnr. to *Black Elk speaks: Being the life story of a Holy Man of the Oglalu Sioux*, told through John G. Neihardt, University of Nebraska, 1979 (originally 1932).

[34] *Black Elk speaks*, pp.216-218.

[35] *Black Elk speaks*, p.219.

[36] *Black Elk speaks*, p.220.

[37] This was confirmed in recollections by Hayman's daughter: letter from C.A. Hayman to E.E. Bean, 14 December 1933, sold to the Melbourne Cricket Club in Lot 245, Phillip Auctions, MCG, November, 1997, see Appendix C. Serious illness might have also occurred: it is unknown whether Sundown, Cuzens, and others succumbed to sickness soon after arriving in England or on the *Parramatta*.

you will meet with as many thieves and vagabonds as hairs on your head and they will tell you that you are very cleaver [sic] and then ask you to have some drink and then rob you so don't have anything to do with them but do just what Mr Lawrence wishes you to do for he knows what bad men there are in London.[38]

It was ironic advice, for Williams was probably unaware that Lawrence stood accused of luring them to England by feeding their susceptibility to alcohol. Regardless of any trepidation about what awaited them, they must have eagerly looked forward to reaching land.

The tour of England: summary and crowds

Thirteen Aborigines landed in England on May 13. King Cole, Mosquito's brother, died on June 24; Sundown and Jim Crow, both ill, sailed home in August. The remaining ten - Mullagh, Cuzens, Mosquito, Dick-a-Dick, Charlie Dumas, Redcap, Bullocky, Twopenny, Peter and Tiger departed on the *Dunbar Castle* on October 25.They had spent 167 days in England.

Twelve days were spent in training, publicity and acclimatisation prior to their first match and seven days elapsed between their last public appearance and their departure. Of the intervening 148 days of travelling and performance, there were 21 Sabbaths on which public performances could not be scheduled. Therefore, the team's management had 127 days available for their public performances in Britain. Only 10 or 11 of these days were not so allocated.[39] They appeared in 48 separate engagements, 47 of them involving cricket and their other displays, comprising 116 days of work. Many of the days off were occupied by travel.

Only a handful of British residents had seen living Aborigines before 1868. By tour's end crowds in excess of 200,000 had watched them at their public performances.[40] Most would have imparted first-hand impressions and anecdotes to friends, family and acquaintances. They, in turn, would have disseminated second and third-hand stories. Many others read about the tour and viewed illustrations or photographs.

No single influence on British perceptions of Aborigines and their place within racial discourse could compare with its scope, authenticity and immediacy. Nothing else would be comparable until the development of moving pictures, newsreels, television and air travel.

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[38] Lawrence ms.1, p.65.

[39] Saturday July 25 is unclear. It would have been unique for management to have missed the opportunity for attracting an audience on a Saturday, but I have found no record of a public performance.

[40] My estimates, necessarily a rough approximation (see Appendix B) are based on crowd estimates and comparisons in newspaper reports and the gate taking figures in Graham's ledger. The gate takings by themselves are not reliable indicators. Spectators were often allowed in at half price after a certain time; on some occasions considerable numbers of spectators were admitted gratis; sometimes tickets were sold for two or three days at an inclusive price; at other times, crowds barged in without paying.

Geographically, the tour was comprised of three parts. From their May 13 arrival, through their first match from May 25, to the end of their tenth appearance at Hastings ending on June 24, the Aborigines stayed and travelled in the south-east of England.

From their June 26 appearance at Halifax, their 11th, to the end of their 34th match at Bootle which finished on September 12, they travelled through the north, with the exceptions of a bizarre dash to Wales for an appearance in Swansea on July 6 and 7 and a long journey for an engagement in Norwich from July 22 to 24. Matches 26 to 29 from August 17 to 29 took them to the north-west, at North Shields, Newcastle, Middlesbrough and Scarborough.

Thirdly, they returned to the south for the final leg of the tour, by way of another singular booking in Witham, Essex from September 14-16. From September 17 to October 17, when rain had set in and the cricket season was really over, management crammed in a dozen matches in 31 days. It all appeared to conclude on October 17 as it had begun on May 25, at Kennington Oval against Surrey, but most of the team were dispatched all the way to Plymouth to go out with a whimper, an unsuccessful athletics exhibition on October 19.

The northern leg and the combined southern legs of the tour each comprised 24 engagements. According to my estimates in Appendix 2, about 210,000 English spectators saw the Aborigines perform, 108,000 attending the southern legs and 102,000 the northern. Considering the inexactitude of attendance figures, this difference is meaningless. More significantly, on the 65 days when cricket was the featured attraction, 93,450 spectators attended, or an average crowd of less than 1500 a day. On the 47 days when 'Aboriginal sports' were featured, 117,050 attended, an average of just under 2,500 a day. After the first cricketing appearances of the Aborigines in the south, when their playing strength was unknown and spectators hoped to see something sensational, audiences for the demonstrations of Aboriginal primitivism - usually from the afternoon of the last day - were consistently higher than for the cricket.

The following chapters will not detail each performance or match. They will convey the demands of the schedule faced by the Aborigines and highlight crucial turning points of the tour. I will discuss perceptions of their performances rather than results of cricket matches, an issue which was rarely of paramount importance to spectators, match organisers, or maybe even the teams. As audiences were more interested in the Aborigines *as Aborigines* rather than as cricketers, the chapter following the chronological coverage of the tour will analyse texts which interpreted their Aboriginality.

CHAPTER 11

SENSATIONS IN THE SOUTH : CELEBRITY AND TRAGEDY, MAY 13 - JUNE 24

After 12 days training and publicity, the first section of the tour consisted of 10 games and performances in 31 days. On 23 days they played cricket, competed in athletics or performed. They had eight days off: four Sundays, the Wednesday of the Derby, a Thursday, and a Wednesday-Thursday in succession.

This brief period included all the major public triumphs of the tour and its worst tragedy. It confirmed the relative cricketing standards of the Aboriginal team. By establishing that performances which foregrounded Aboriginal primitivism most consistently attracted the English public, it demonstrated that Lawrence's shrewd reconstruction of their show in Australia had created the conditions for commercial survival.

It was substantially the most popular part of the tour. Almost 75,000 spectators attended the first 10 engagements, as against 125,000 for the next 38.

From arrival to debut: practice and the observations of a Savage Club naturalist

On the night of May 12 the Aborigines sailed into the Thames, setting foot on English soil at 1am. They were met by the familiar figure of their "guardian",[41] William Hayman, who had been expecting their arrival for several days.

They were immediately taken to the *Bat and Ball* hotel for refreshments by its owner, Mr. Elt. Conveyed in a wagonette, they moved on to another Cobham hotel, the *Pickwickian Leatherbottle*, for further refreshments at 3am. Arriving at Town Malling (West Malling), Kent, at 5am, they were disappointed to find no-one awake in their lodgings at *The Bear* hotel.[42] Without delay the Aborigines were brought to the cricket field for practice in front of a critical audience.[43] They breakfasted at *The Bear* and were driven to the home of William South Norton, an influential amateur cricketer and the Honorary Secretary of Kent Cricket Club, to whose family Hayman was

[41] *Gravesend Journal, Dartford Observer and General Intelligencer*, 20 May 1868.
[42] *Maidstone Telegraph*, 16 May 1868.
[43] *Gravesend Journal, Dartford Observer and General Intelligencer*, 20 May 1868.

related by marriage.[44] Norton was to play for and against the Aborigines, his home in Town Malling was the operational base for the launch of the tour and his Kent connections were crucial throughout.[45]

Norton recalled that when, unannounced, the Aborigines "walked ... into my house after breakfast they caused a great deal of excitement and curiosity." They were immediate objects of private scrutiny: "They had a little refreshment, and my two young daughters were brought into the room to inspect the blackies. The little ones were not at all frightened", he added.[46]

In the afternoon, they were taken for another public practice session. Their first day on English soil was a harbinger of their next five months - a crowded schedule of travel and demanding work as professional performers, in front of a welcoming and constantly inquisitive public.

During their first week of public training, some observers assessed their cricketing abilities generously[47] but others noticed that Mullagh and Cuzens were far superior to the rest.[48] The *Maidstone Telegraph* expressed disappointment that the Aborigines did not measure up "to the reports that had been issued concerning them."[49] Part of the let-down was their unremarkable garb: "They appeared on the ground dressed uniformly in the ordinary Englishman's attire with turbans surmounted by scarlet cloth."

Their public practice sessions concentrated on cricket. A report which allowed that it would be "uncharitable to judge them by the high English standard of our national game" could only surmise that "no doubt they are more proficient in their own aboriginal sports, which they will display at various exhibitions."[50] But at least one observer was favoured with a first-hand display of their native accomplishments.

Initial publicity was crucial and one of the most interesting consequences was the visit by William Bernard Tegetmeier. Hayman and Hingston had contacted London journals, inviting them to inspect the Aborigines "on the quiet" at Town Malling and the *Field*, a well-connected gentlemen's sporting and recreational magazine, was an obvious target. Tegetmeier's observations were especially instructive because they did not focus on cricket: "I trust the Editor will not put this

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[44] W. South Norton, "Kent cricket, 1849-1870, and some reminiscences", pp. 45-68 in Lord Harris (ed.), *The history of Kent County Cricket*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1907.

[45] Willsher, the licensee of the *Queen's Head* inn which served as their London base, was a Kent professional (Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines", p.128). An 1867 photograph of the "Old Stagers", a sociable theatrical association of well-to-do Kent and I Zingari amateur cricketers included Fitzgerald, Hartopp, Ponsonby, Fellows, de Bathe, Leigh and Bentinck, names familiar as members of the MCC and Gentlemen's XIs which played against the Aborigines during the tour (Lieutenant-Colonel Newnham-Davis, Chapter XI, "The Old Stagers", pp.149-171; and Chapter XII, "The social side of the Canterbury week", in Harris, *The history of Kent County cricket*, pp.217-226. The photograph of The Old Stagers faces p.162).

[46] Norton, "Kent cricket, 1849-1870", in Harris, *The history of Kent County cricket*, p.64.

[47] *Gravesend Journal, Dartford Observer and General Intelligencer*, 20 May 1868.

[48] *Maidstone Telegraph*, 23 May 1868.

[49] *Maidstone Telegraph*, 23 May 1868 from observations on May 18.

[50] *Maidstone Telegraph*, 23 May 1868.

in the cricketing department", he suggested with hauteur.[51] The editor complied and his description of the Aborigines appeared under the customary heading for his column: THE NATURALIST by W.B. Tegetmeier.

Tegetmeier was proud of his status as a gentleman of science. In an admiring biography penned by his son-in-law, he was proclaimed to be "the final dictator in all relating to poultry" and "the first authority of the day in all relating to the pheasant",[52] in addition to his expertise in homing pigeons, bees and salmon breeding. He was a fellow of the Zoological Society, secretary of the most gentlemanly pigeon club, the Philoperisteron Society, and, for half a century, the *Field*'s leading naturalist and head of its poultry department.

He flaunted his collaboration and correspondence with Charles Darwin, whose 1868 work, *The variation of plants and animals under observation*, was indebted to Tegetmeier.[53] But his extensive writings were not confined by either his knowledge or sympathies. As leader writer for an English women's magazine, *Queen*, Tegetmeier characterised women's suffrage as "the worst hereditary disease that can afflict humanity ... the most marked result of female interference and senseless, sentimental agitation."[54] His opinions evidently qualified him as "the best authority on economics and female education."[55]

He was also a leading light of the Savage Club, founded 1857, whose name, its members pretended, simply honoured the eighteenth century London dramatist, Richard Savage. It was a jocular male association - "Bohemianism of a comparatively mild and harmless type"[56] - whose fashionable members were fond of presenting benefit performances dressed in the garb of primitive peoples. An illustrated frontispiece to its 1867 newsletter, the "Savage Club Papers", caricatured club members in Native American head dresses, native costumes, necklaces and tomahawks[57] and it published *Converting the Nigger,* a comic piece by the American humourist Artemus Ward.[58] Newspapers enjoyed the joke when Show Indians from Buffalo Bill's Wild West show were invited to appear at a Savage Club meeting in 1887.[59]

Tegetmeier was not a hostile racist: his personal and professional associations inclined to the ethnological and not the anthropological side of the racial divide. By the end of the tour,

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[51] *Field*, 23 May 1868.

[52] E.W. Richardson, *A veteran naturalist: being the life and work of W.B. Tegetmeier*, Witterby and Co., London, 1916, vi.

[53] For a review and some observations on this work, see "On some men of science and their guesses", by a Peripatetic, *London Society*, April 1868, pp.323-330. Tegetmeier's letters to Darwin are held in Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts and University Archives, NRA 11458, Darwin. For the relationship between Tegetmeier and Darwin, see Janet Browne, *Charles Darwin: voyaging*, pp.523-525.

[54] Richardson, *A veteran naturalist*, p.155.

[55] Richardson, *A veteran naturalist*, vi.

[56] "The Savage Club Papers", *Empire* (Sydney), 7 May 1867.

[57] Richardson, *A veteran naturalist*, pp.5-7.

[58] "The Savage Club Papers", *Empire* (Sydney), 7 May 1867.

[59] L.C. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the images of American Indians, 1883-1933* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1996, p.57.

however, his relationship with the Aborigines had exposed the emotional blindness of a well-meaning commentator whose abstract tolerance was rendered meaningless by emotional disengagement, scientific self-absorption and entrenched privileges of race and class.

As Tegetmeier's curiosity was ethnological ("I must confess to being more strongly interested in the study of their manners, their *physiques* and the use of their weapons" - italics in original), he devoted little time to watching "my fellow humans" practice cricket. The experience of dining with Aborigines, "for the first time in my life" interested him more. They were dressed in "ordinary" English clothing, and he was impressed that apart from the *faux pas* of mistaking a knife for a fork and eating mustard with their roast mutton, "their behaviour was not to be distinguished from that of well educated Europeans."[60]

Hayman boasted of their adeptness at draughts and billiards and Tegetmeier played cribbage with some of the Aborigines. He noted their skill in British games and social accomplishments to refute "the habit of speaking of the Australians as savages of so low a type that they are incapable of civilization". But it did not mean they were really intelligent: "they are admirable mimics, and readily adapt any pattern set before them."[61] Moreover, their civilised attainments were no more than a veneer: "incapacity for civilization is one thing and unwillingness to submit permanently to the restraints of civilized society another." Aborigines lacked the character and self-restraint essential to civilisation and Tegetmeier assumed that their ineradicable sexual compulsions would undo humanitarian attempts to permanently improve them.

One assumes that Tegetmeier had never seen an Aboriginal woman, but he found the impulses of Aboriginal men distasteful and inexplicable: "It is strange that these men, when they return to the colonies, will, in all probability throw off all these restraints and their European clothing at the same time, and take to the sweet society of unreclaimed 'gins'."[62] Aboriginal men, then, could best approach civilisation in conditions of exile, estranged from Aboriginal women and restrained from sexual relations with English ladies.

Following their meal, everyone adjourned to the meadow, but not for cricket. Tegetmeier was fascinated by their skilful demonstrations of native weapons including woomerah and spears, boomerangs, and brippee (or throwing waddy). The Aborigines chafed at the artificiality of confining the brippee to entertainment, and Tegetmeier noted the "eagerness with which one or two of the party hoped they might see a rabbit." Tegetmeier was no less disappointed that he did not get

[60] *Field*, 23 May 1868. The observation was part of a tradition. In the first years of the new colony, Phillip had invited Arabanoo to tea. Hunter, too, was surprised that the "decently clothed" Aboriginal man handled his cup and saucer as though accustomed to European dining. Cited by Andrew Lattas, "Savagery and civilisation: towards a genealogy of racism", *Social Analysis*, No.21, August 1987.
[61] *Field*, 23 May 1868.
[62] Graham ledger, iii

the opportunity of watching the Aborigines hunt. He noted their scars, assuming they were the effects of the leowells or fighting clubs.

He discerned a mysterious symbiosis between Aborigines and their intriguing weapons. Probably on the advice of Hayman or Lawrence, Tegetmeier reported that the ability to throw the boomerang "is said never to be acquired by any of the colonists, or even by their children born in the colony."

The naturalist collected specimens of their weapons and turned his newspaper office into a little museum. He invited interested readers to call into the premises of *The Field* to inspect them whenever it was convenient. He must have considered the weapons, the Aborigines, or both, to have been the property of their "guardian" because he thanked "the kindness of Mr. Hayman" for the loan.

No importation since "the ingenious George Martin brought Deerfoot from America"[63] had attracted such curiosity and every pundit predicted financial success for the venture. Their early schedule listed 11leisurely matches arranged by Hayman and Hingston, ending on August 15.[64] But on his arrival Lawrence immediately started working his cricketing contacts, attending the annual dinner of the Surrey Club. On the recommendation of the Surrey secretary William Burrup, William Shepherd, a minor Surrey professional, was engaged to travel with the team as umpire, assistant and emergency player-captain.[65]

Debut

The Aborigines' premiere at Kennington Oval was a success beyond all imagination. Having travelled to London, they stayed overnight in the *Queen's Head*, a hotel in the Borough.[66] They woke to storms so severe that disconsolate organisers discussed postponement until the morning changed to glorious sunshine.[67] On their way to the Oval, they were presented with bats and a copy of the *Cricketer's Pocket Book* by a manufacturer, Mr. S. J. Page, before arriving at the ground at 10:30, two hours prior to the start.[68] To combat nervousness, they went out to practice, but were immediately thronged by spectators who arrived at an "unusually early hour to scan the form of the Blacks."[69]

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[63] *Sporting Life*, 16 May 1868.

[64] *Gravesend Reporter*, 16 May 1868.

[65] William Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines" *Ayres' magazine*, 1919, pp.128-129.

[66] Graham ledger, p.6.

[67] *Maidstone Telegraph*, 30 May 1868.

[68] *Daily News* (London), 26 May 1868.

[69] *Daily News* (London), 26 May 1868 and Graham ledger, p.6.

The occasion had so gripped popular imagination that authorities were unable to cope. Four gatekeepers could not handle the flood of shillings from customers pressing past and many burst through the entrances without paying. Gangs of scalpers sold forged half-price tickets which harassed attendants prudently decided to honour.[70]

The day's takings of 264 pounds was easily a record for the Oval, and possibly any English cricket ground at the time. Between 7,000 and 10,000 spectators attended, not the 5,300 that an admission fee of one shilling would indicate.[71] The pavilion and concourse were packed and only for the most elite public school and university matches at Lord's had a ground been so encircled by carriages.

Despite rueing the spectators admitted free, Lawrence, Hayman, Graham and Smith must have been beside themselves with joy. A fortune seemed to be beckoning. For the apprehensive Aborigines it must have been an intimidating experience. Yet already the tour had nearly been overtaken by tragedy. Johnny Cuzens was so ill with enteritis that he had nearly died, and it was only on the eve of the match that he was pronounced out of danger.[72]

Had Johnny Cuzens died, would the tour have proceeded? Almost certainly, judging from the case of King Cole, although the loss of the brilliant Cuzens would have severely compromised the team's cricketing and athletic credibility. If Cuzens and *then* King Cole had died? Probably the same. They may have had to hire another English cricketer and some uncomfortable questions might have been asked about the well-being of the Aborigines in English conditions, but they were a long way from colonial jurisdiction.

At the Oval, the Gentlemen of Surrey won the toss and decided to bat. Before 12:30 the first professional Aboriginal performers to appear in England emerged to a cheering crowd. Dressed in their cricketing uniform of white trousers, red shirts with individually colour-coded sashes and blue caps adorned with an emblem of silver boomerang and cricket bat,[73] they waited at the wickets for the emergence of the Surrey Club opening batsmen, whom they greeted with "a regular volley of cheers, winding up with an unearthly screech."[74] This became known as their 'war

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[70] *Maidstone Telegraph*, 30 May 1868.

[71] *Sportsman*, 26 May 1868;. *Maidstone Telegraph*, 30 May 1868; Graham ledger, p.6.

[72] *Maidstone Telegraph*, 30 May 1868.

[73] *Maidstone Journal*, 1 June 1868.

[74] Maidstone Telegraph, 30 May 1868.

whoop' or 'war cry' and whether authentic or one of Lawrence's inspirations, it was consistent with the English public's expectations of Red Indians.

The second day's crowd was nearly as large, but by 6:30 on Tuesday, Surrey had won by an innings and seven runs. In Cuzens' absence, Lawrence, Bullocky and the outstanding Mullagh were the only successes. After he was dismissed for 73, spectators rushed the field to chair Mullagh off for a presentation and a "little palm-greasing" by the Surrey secretary.[75]

Mullagh's triumph aside, most reviewers were charitable or cautious rather than effusive: "any one who has not seen, any who does not believe that these dark friends from Australia can play cricket, is to go the first opportunity they have and judge for themselves."[76] It was reasonably hoped that they might improve, but there was disappointment their cricketing performances failed to match the anticipation.[77] Grandiloquent predictions that it would constitute "a new epoch in the history of cricket"[78] or a "new era in the history of its existence"[79] had faded. A month later, the *Sportsman* confirmed that "the first appearance of the Australian cricketers, of whose prowess fickle rumour had spoken such great things" had been a letdown: "Mullagh alone ... showed any pretensions to genuine cricket."[80]

There was a day's interval on Wednesday so the Aborigines could be taken to the Derby.[81] It was a social triumph for management and an "excellent advertisement" as the Aborigines journeyed to Epsom Downs in a wagonette and "shared the honours of the road with the Prince of Wales".[82] They must have enjoyed the hospitality, casting into doubt their supposed status as near-teetotallers, for their disappointing athletics performances back at the Oval on Thursday were attributed to the effects of the Derby outing.[83]

The gamut of promised novelties is indicated in the following advertisement,[84] although, "with the exception of the boomerang and spear throwing, the populist proceedings were only of an ordinary nature."[85]

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[75] Graham ledger, p.6.

[76] Graham ledger, p.6.

[77] *Times*, 27 May 1868.

[78] *Daily News* (London), 26 May 1868.

[79] *Bell's Life in London*, 23 May 1868.

[80] *Sportsman*, 27 June 1868.

[81] *Sporting Life*, 30 May 1868; Graham ledger, p.6.

[82] Gemse, "Cricket notes and notabilities: No. VII - Foreign and colonial matches", Graham ledger, p.122.

[83] Graham ledger, p.6.

[84] Courtesy of Lambeth Archives Department, Minet Library, Knatchbull Rd, London SE5 9QY, Surrey Cricket Ground, 1/576 R

[85] Graham ledger, p.6.

Illustration 56: Premiere poster of Australian and European sports.

Rustic frolics like the water-bucket race and picking up fifty stones 18 yards apart combined with the Aboriginal activities to create a program appropriate for festivals or country fairs. Most events passed with little comment and some did not attract sufficient interest to proceed at all. The appeal of the Aborigines in European sports was "not very wonderful"; not "at all comparable with their really magnificent displays with their special weapons."[86] Contests to test the distances cricket balls could be thrown were another minor crowd-pleaser. The Aborigines were usually victorious, repeatedly exceeding 100 yards. These, and Aboriginal efforts in European athletics, remained a subsidiary attraction. They demonstrated Aboriginal athleticism, but a more important function may have been as an avenue for gambling, a crucial element of Victorian sport.

By contrast, many spectators declared they "never saw anything more astonishing" than the boomerang displays, and Dick-a-Dick's dodging was "really marvellous".[87] Spear and boomerang-throwing evoked "warlike pastimes",[88] consistent with the imagined existence of savages. Boomerangs were the dominant metonym for Aborigines, "the strangest and most nationally characteristic of the exercises of the Blackfellows."[89] It was a "novel performance to most English spectators"[90] who had never seen boomerangs demonstrated as a lethal weapon of hunting or war.[91]

Spectators revelled in a frisson of personal danger appropriate for an encounter with primitivism. Boomerangs "came flying twice or thrice among the spectators, cutting one person's

[86] *Observer* (London), 31 May 1868.
[87] *Observer* (London), 31 May 1868.
[88] Graham ledger, p.6.
[89] *Gravesend and Dartford Reporter*, 6 June 1868.
[90] Graham ledger, p.6.
[91] *Gravesend and Dartford Reporter*, 6 June 1868.

hat nearly in half' and encouraging incredulity that they were sufficiently accurate for hunting, warfare, or use on English cricket grounds.[92] From the frequency of hair-raising accidents and near-misses which were reported, one suspects that management realised the publicity was useful, keeping the Aborigines in the news after their cricketing exploits staled.

Dick-a-Dick established his renown at the Oval and throughout the tour his performance never failed to entertain, amuse, challenge and excite. Naked but for his black skin-tight elastic dress and short drawers of opossum skin, lightly clutching a narrow shield in his left hand and L-shaped leowell in his right, his agility and skill defied the cricket balls pelted at his body. An extroverted sense of showmanship drew repeated applause and gasps of acclaim. He stood stock-still, coolly allowing balls to hurtle past within five centimetres of his head or body; languidly at the last second raised a slender shield to parry a ball hurtling at his face; lifted an arm to permit a missile to pass between limb and body; tilted his head to allow the ball to ruffle his hair; sank down to one knee; mugged, and even mocked his assailants by laughing, dropping his weapons dancing before them.[93]

Their appearance at Mote Park, Maidstone, seat of the Earl of Romney, was a prestigious social occasion. An Eighteen of the fashionable Mote Park Club had in 1867 played against the United South of England XI, a demonstration of the opportunities available to the Aboriginal side with the sudden decline of touring English professional teams. The Aborigines attracted the largest crowd ever to Mote Park,[94] drawn by "the great novelty of seeing men of color play (a thing by many thought at one time impossible)."[95] When attendance mushroomed for the anticipated displays of Aboriginal activities, the cricket match was unceremoniously abandoned so they could begin. Boomerangs flew above the heads of the enthralled spectators and returned to the throwers, but on one occasion lodged in a tree outside the ground.[96]

A week before their engagement in Gravesend, a newspaper advertisement (Illustration 57) emphasised the authenticity and exoticism of the attraction by individually listing the Aboriginal names, unlike the usual practice of noting that they were not "euphonious" to English ears.

The gala occasion was the Whit Monday holiday program in Gravesend, which attracted visitors from surrounding districts by boat, railway and carriage. Violin, concertina and cornet players, organ grinders, donkey rides, hired cabs, and sellers of ginger beer, tea and prawns plied their wares to holiday makers in packed streets.

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[92] *Sporting Life*, 30 May 1868.

[93] *Sporting Life*, 30 May 1868; Wood, *The natural history of man*, Vol.2, p.54.

[94] *Maidstone Journal*, 1 June 1868.

[95] *Maidstone Journal*, 1 June 1868.

[96] *South Eastern Gazette*, 1 June 1868.

GENTLEMEN OF KENT.

BLACK CRICKETERS
FROM AUSTRALIA!

KENT COUNTY GROUND, GRAVESEND.

Under the patronage of the Worshipful the Mayor (F. Leith, Esq.), Lieut.-Col. Stewart, M. A. Troughton, G. Wood, E. A. Hilder, Esqrs., &c., &c.

SPORTS,
AUSTRALIAN AND EUROPEAN,
Open to all Comers,
ON WHIT-MONDAY.

PROGRAMME.

100 yards Flat Race, £1.
Running High Jump, £1.
150 yards Hurdle Race, £1.
Standing High Jump, £1.
Throwing Spears, including Sham Fight by the 13.
Walking Two Miles (Handicap), £2.
Throwing Cricket Ball, New Ball.
Vaulting with Pole, £1.
Picking up Fifty Stones, 18 yards apart, £1.
Throwing Boomerangs by all the Natives.
440 yards Flat Race (Handicap), £3.
Water Bucket Race, 80 yards, £1.
Dodging Cricket Ball, by Dick-a-Dick, with Leowall and Shield.
100 yards Backwards, £1.
Laurence Feat with Bat and Ball.

Entrance, One Shilling to each event, to be enclosed to Mr. T. R. Elt (Bat and Ball) not later than 9 p.m., on Friday, the 29th.

TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY,
CRICKET MATCH,
BLACKS
v.
GENTLEMEN OF KENT.

BLACKS.	GENTLEMEN.
Jungunjinauke, Dick-a-Dick	W. S. Norton
*Arrahmunijarrimun, Peter	M. A. Troughton
Unaarrimin, Mullagh	G. M. Kelson
Zellanach, Cuzens	P. Hilton
Ballrinjarrimin, Sundown	C. B. Griffith
Brippokei, King Cole	W. Lindsay
Bonnibarngeet, Tiger	R. Lipscomb
Brimbunyah, Red Cap	R. B. Cooper
Bullchanach, Bullocky	E. A. White
Grongarrong, Mosquito	F. Ray
Jallachmurrimin, Jim Crow	Captain Boycott
Murrumgunarriman, Twopenny	
Pripumuarraman, Charley Dumas	

Admission 1s. Children Half-price. Carriages 2s. 6d. Horses 1s. 6d.
Caddel's Printing Press will be on the ground Tuesday and Wednesday.

ROSHERVILLE GARDENS.

Illustration 57: Advertisement using Aboriginal names. [97]

The centre of the festival was Rosherville Gardens, replete with a performing bear in a pit, weighing machines, devices to test strength and a burlesque show with dancers,. The expected figure of a blackface, pipe-clenching Aunt Sally, an attraction whose familiarity inevitably contributed to the popularity of Dick-a-Dick's ball-dodging, awaited "the onslaught of the attacking parties at three sticks a penny."[98] Aboriginal sports, the "most novel of the attractions" fitted comfortably in the fairground atmosphere.[99]

Despite "sympathy" from the huge crowds, the Aborigines fared poorly in the running and jumping contests, but once they appeared in black tights, skin girdles and feathered headdresses to display their native weapons their success was assured.[100] Following the conclusion of the cricket match against Kent two days later, popular demand brought repeat performances with boomerangs, spears and Dick-a-Dick's show.[101]

The Gravesend advertisement stipulated that entrance fees of one shilling were to be remitted to Mr Elt of Gravesend's *Bat and Ball Inn*. Elt, we can recall, had met the Aborigines on their arrival in England. Despite the personal acquaintance and the profits he was reaping, Elt had the audacity to write to the local Board of Guardians requesting them to supply charity bedding for the Aborigines' stay. He preferred to allocate his beds to paying, white holiday-makers. It outraged Graham. He underlined Elt's name on the press clipping which noted the rejection of his application and angrily scrawled "Blackguard" next to it.[102]

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[97] *Gravesend and Dartford Reporter*, 23 May 1868.
[98] *Gravesend Journal, Dartford Observer and County Intelligencer*, 3 June 1868.
[99] *Gravesend Journal, Dartford Observer and County Intelligencer*, 3 June 1868.
[100] *Gravesend Journal, Dartford Observer and County Intelligencer*, 3 June 1868.
[101] *Gravesend Journal, Dartford Observer and County Intelligencer*, 10 June 1868.
[102] Graham ledger, p.6.

Assessing their appearances, the *Gloworm* concluded throwing the boomerang was their "most interesting performance" although their cricket failed to measure up to the reputation that preceded them.[103] Cuzens made his English debut in the game against Richmond at Old Deer Park. The fastest of the Aboriginal bowlers and sprinters, the little man captured seven wickets in his first appearance after severe illness. A new grandstand was erected to accommodate the large attendance, one of whom was Sir William Denison, former Lieutenant-Governor of Tasmania and Governor of New South Wales.[104] Once again, the cricket match was abandoned so the Aboriginal displays could proceed on Saturday afternoon.

On Sunday they travelled 80 kilometres south to Brighton, to be met at the train station by Mr. Haseldean, owner of the *Olive Branch Inn*, and Mr. Hodges, lessee of the County Ground at Hove.[105] It was another record-breaking attendance,[106] although the Aborigines' management made a disastrous decision to reject an offer of paying 150 pounds against the entire receipts. 2,300 spectators on the first day and 2,800 on the second parted with a shilling admission. Another 2,000 subscribers and children were admitted without payment[107] to see one of "the curiosities of cricket ... owing to the fame, or notoriety, which had preceded one party of the players."[108]

Despite being defeated again, it was their strongest cricketing performance to date, though, inevitably, the attendance swelled for the exhibitions. At the end of the match they did not even have time to change into their Aboriginal costumes, but compensated by adding a spectacular performance with stockwhips. Their expertise, it was suggested, had been learned while working as drovers. Rapidly alternating between right and left hands, they cracked the short-handled whips with long cow-hide thongs and red-tipped tassel. Mullagh excelled in this too. He grasped several centimetres length of paper between his forefinger and thumb and split off thin slivers with deafening cracks of the lash, which could be heard far beyond the ground.[109] Not being a characteristically Aboriginal display, it failed to approach the popularity of boomerang and spear-throwing. [110]

They began their next match, against the Gentlemen of the Lewisham Club, without a day's break. Played on a poor, bumpy wicket at Lewisham Cricket Ground, it marked the Aboriginal cricket team's first English victory.

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[103] *Gloworm* (London), 3 June 1868.
[104] *Bell's Life in London*, 6 June 1868.
[105] *Brighton Gazette*, 11 June 1868.
[106] *Daily News* (London), 9 June 1868.
[107] Graham ledger, p.10.
[108] *Brighton Herald*, 13 June 1868.
[109] *Brighton Herald*, 13 June 1868.
[110] Graham ledger, p.10.

Illustration 58: Lewisham Cricket Ground, c.1868.

Taken from the pavilion steps by professional photographer Robert Hall, this photograph of Lewisham Cricket Ground *circa* 1868 may well be of part of the crowd for the Aborigines' performance.[111] Certainly it is an excellent depiction of the crowds of fashionable ladies and gentlemen, replete with carriages, which often ringed Aboriginal appearances. Their next match, once again without a day's break, was the most celebrated occasion of the Aborigines' tour.

Lord's

The Aborigines played the MCC at Lord's in their seventh match of the tour on June 13 and 14. The event has come to symbolise a crowning act of racial tolerance on the most prestigious sporting field of Empire, the ground on which Catlin's Iowa and the 1867 lacrosse troupe had already performed.

At the time of the Aborigines' arrival, the MCC was undergoing a momentous transformation. The MCC Committee was a microcosm of the old English ruling class which through the 1860s had been subjected to attack in the sporting press as being too closed and

[111] A suggestion by John Coulter, Lewisham Local Studies and Archives, Lewisham Library, London, who located the photograph. Its reference number is L/Neg 450.

unrepresentative to assume the right to legislate for cricket.[112] It responded in 1865 by increasing the size of its Committee, adding a president, secretary, treasurer and five trustees appointed for life. The change of policy increased membership from 650 in 1863 to 5,000 by the mid-1880s, although even by 1877, 14.7% of them still held a title.[113]

The key to its reorganisation was the triumvirate of Sir Spencer Ponsonby Fane; his brother, Sir Frederick Ponsonby, later the sixth Earl of Bessborough; and a young barrister, R.A. Fitzgerald, of Harrow, Cambridge and *I Zingari*.[114] Fitzgerald had become secretary in 1863 and in 1868 was appointed as their first paid secretary, at 400 pounds a year.[115] He had improved ground amenities, built the first public grandstand, increased admission charges, policed spectator behaviour and won the MCC security of tenure at Lord's. In response to criticism of low entertainment, the committee decided to make Lord's a more select venue by refusing its use to rustic and burlesque activities, like pony races, clowns, volunteer drills and novelty cricket.[116] The MCC's policy towards the Aboriginal performers would itself come to resemble a contortionist act.

Knowing that the cachet of a match at Lord's would open influential cricketing and social opportunities, management made approaches before the team arrived in England. MCC Committee minutes of 26 March 1868 reported receiving a March 24 letter from Hayman and Hingston. It proposed a cricket match at Lord's on May 20 "and on the following day an exhibition of spear and boomerang-throwing - jumping etc."[117] The Committee firmly decided "that the proposal be civilly declined, it being their opinion that the exhibition was not one suited for Lord's ground."[118]

Cricketing skill was not the reason for rejection as on May 18 - before the Aborigines played their first match - another committee meeting reconsidered the proposition regarding "The Blacks". It carried a motion moved by H. James and seconded by A.L. Smith:

> The Secretary be requested to write to the manager of the Australian cricketers and offer that they shall play an eleven of the M.C.C. on Friday and Saturday May 29 and 30, that no exhibition except the cricket match take place on the Ground."[119]

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[112] Derek Birley, *A social history of English cricket*, Aurum Press, London, 1999, pp.96-98. In 1860, 44% of the MCC committee were immediately related to a peer of the realm, while 6% were baronets. From 1860 to 1914, 82% of its presidents had been schooled at Eton or Harrow and 77% at Oxford or Cambridge. See James Bradley, "The MCC, society and Empire: a portrait of cricket's ruling body, 1860-1914", in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *The cultural bond: sport, empire, society*, Frank Cass, London, 1992, pp.27-46.

[113] Holt, *Sport and the British*, Oxford University Press, Oxford,1989, p.112.

[114] *I Zingari* was the most elite of the touring gentlemen's cricketing teams.

[115] Placing him among the top 2% of English income-earners: for a discussion of Fitzgerald's views, see Birley, *A social history of English cricket*, pp.98-99.

[116] Mike Marqusee, *Anyone but England: cricket and the national malaise*, Verso, London, 1994, p.68.

[117] MCC Committee minutes, 26 March 1868.

[118] MCC Committee minutes, 26 March 1868.

[119] MCC Committee minutes, 18 May 1868.

A powerful sub-committee of Hon. S. Ponsonby, R.A. Fitzgerald and H. James was formed to make the arrangements.[120]

The excision of extra-cricketing activities seemed to satisfy the Committee and on June 1, James reported the arrangements organised by the triumvirate. They had rescheduled the match for June 12 to 13 and resolved financial details. Base price admission was to be one shilling per day, the MCC was to pay all expenses, and the proceeds, including grandstand receipts, were to be shared equally between the MCC and the Aborigines' management.[121] The MCC drove a hard bargain: other cricket clubs demanded less than half of their 50%, some much less.[122]

On behalf of the Lord's Grand Stand Company (Limited), Fitzgerald notified the press of the details: "The directors beg to announce that on the occasion of the novel and interesting match between the Eleven Gentlemen of the Marylebone Club and the Australians", admission to the grandstand would be 2/6, reserved seats in the centre 5/-, and smoking boxes 2/6.[123] The MCC obviously expected that "novelty" would entice the privileged to pay premium prices.

On this occasion, describing the Aborigines as "the Australians" was more artful than it may appear. Deciding that preventing the Aborigines from performing their native skills was not sufficiently decorous, influential elements of the MCC determined to censor publicity which advertised their racial identity. The *Field* flayed the MCC for craven hypocrisy. "The black team had something about it sufficiently shocking as to call for its blotting out in the original hand-bills, and Australians took the place thereof", it sneered:[124]

> It would seem that the susceptibilities of the MCC are of a very tender kind. Now, in general as the public like to call a spade a spade, we also incline to the good old principle. Be it observed then, that the Australians announced to play at Lord's yesterday were the same that have made a great noise within the last month in an [sic] London.

At any rate, the MCC had finally evolved its policy towards the Aboriginal team. It had coolly declined to host Aborigines. Then it decided to allow them to play cricket as long as they did not perform their most popular primitivist displays. Next it decided that the MCC would play against Aborigines provided advertisements were not racially explicit. This firm and final position would be changed again.

Three or four thousand spectators attended Lord's on the first day. The home team included MCC Secretary Fitzgerald, Viscount Downe, the Earl of Coventry and Lieutenant-Colonel Bathurst. Appropriately then, the crowd composition was more glittering than usual, "including (in addition to the usual habitués of Lord's) a goodly sprinkle of the 'upper ten' and a large number of ladies in carriages, on horseback and on foot."[125]

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[120] Sir Henry James later became Gladstone's Attorney General.

[121] MCC Committee Minutes, 1 June 1868.

[122] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.136.

[123] *Bell's Life in London*, 6 June 1868.

[124] *Field*, 13 June 1868. As the sub-committee would have authorised the original "black" advertisements, other members of the Committee apparently censored public use of their own terminology - "the Black team".

[125] *Daily News* (London), 13 June 1868.

An illustration of the "upper ten" disporting themselves at the Eton-Harrow match at Lord's four years earlier enables us to picture the scene.[126]

Illustration 59: The "Upper Ten" at Lord's 1863-64.

Bell's Life in London commented that the "very fair" attendance for the cricket was "not quite up to what was expected"[127] but the expectation of Aboriginal displays packed the ground. By 5pm on the second day, when the MCC won by 54 runs despite Mullagh's heroic 75 and Cuzens' ten wickets, a crowd of at least 6,000 built up. The pavilion was full, the ring was up to eight deep, backed by elegantly dressed ladies. Over five hundred spectators teemed into the new Grand Stand.[128]

Lord's was under intense pressure to permit the Aboriginal performances. After congratulating the committee for thinking "it right to allow these subjects of the Queen to be

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[126] *Illustrated Times*, 16 July 1864.

[127] *Bell's Life in London*, 20 June 1868.

[128] *Illustrated Sporting and Theatrical News*, 20 June 1868.

welcomed in England on the principal exhibition ground", a previous day's newspaper pointedly advised that "a very general wish has been expressed that some of the Australian sports should be displayed after the match is terminated".[129] It trusted the committee would "not refuse their permission to that general desire" and they gave way. Spear and boomerang throwing delighted the audience, despite difficulties caused by the limited ground area. Finally, Dick-a-Dick was pelted with cricket balls by Hayman, Shepherd, and several volunteers until "the crowd broke into the ring, as at the Oval, and carried Dick-a-Dick to the dressing room on its shoulders."[130]

The blatant populism chagrined some starchy critics. The *Times* condemned "what may be called a travestie [sic] upon cricketing at Lord's" and its match report made no reference to the non-cricketing performances.[131] At season's end, a gentlemen's journal complained that it trusted Lord's would ensure that "twenty-two matches and similar burlesques of cricket, will soon be things of the past."[132]

The controversy resurfaced when the Committee reconvened. It remitted half the proceeds of the gate, 126 pounds eighteen shillings and threepence, to the managers of the Australian team. Then: "The Hon. C. Carnegie drew the attention of the Committee to the boomerang performance on the conclusion of the Black Match ... having taken place in violation of the Committee's rules." In response, the Hon. E.C. Leigh "stated that it was directly understood when the question was discussed, that in the event of the match terminating early, there should be a performance." No such understanding had been reflected in the minutes, but Fitzgerald accepted responsibility. He insisted "that such was the understanding" and asserted that "in compliance with it he had given the order." He added, that "the performance seemed to give general satisfaction and that the public would have been much disappointed if the sports had not taken place."[133]

Fitzgerald was right. Despite the censorship of handbills, the London public, whether landed aristocrats on horseback or workers who paid one shilling general admission, came to watch black men use Aboriginal weapons.

Prolonged decline

The MCC match, only the seventh of their itinerary, marked the apex of the tour. Lord's had opened many doors, earned them celebrity and ensured the Aboriginal team would be remembered as a remarkable part of cricket history, but it intensified the demands that would be made on them. Forty matches lay ahead, three and a half months of unbroken and exhausting commitments for a small troupe of Aborigines increasingly burdened by death, depletion, and homesickness.

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[129]Uunsourced report quoted by Major C.H.B. Pridham, "The first 'Australians'. The pioneer colonial touring team", *Cricketer Spring Annual, 1930*, London, p.11.

[130] *Illustrated Sporting and Theatrical News*, 20 June 1868.

[131] *Times*, 15 June 1868.

[132] *Baily's Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, Vol. 15, No. 102, August 1868, p.102.

[133] MCC Committee Minutes, 15 June 1868.

The let-down for the match against East Hampshire at Southsea was palpable. Attendances for the two cricketing days were moderate and there was hostility too, many objecting to paying a shilling for admission.[134] Two mishaps occurred. Lawrence was injured when struck on the finger while batting. On the better attended third (sports) day, Dick-a-Dick threw a boomerang that struck a hole in the ground and hurtled into the crowd, lacerating a gentleman's face. Owing to excited crowds pressing in on the performance, the boomerang exhibition was discontinued as were the 'kangaroo rats'. On June 20 *Bell's Life in London* commented that "bad luck seemed to attend them closely", but things had only begun to go wrong.

They left Portsmouth by the 7.10 train on the evening of Wednesday June 17.[135] After an overnight stay in London, they were expected to reach Bishop Stortford, 32 kilometres north of London on Thursday afternoon but did not arrive until Friday. [136]

The Bishop Stortford engagement was an afterthought which had not been part of the Aborigines' itinerary 10 days earlier.[137] A market town of 6,000 people, its big annual game was against the All England XI. In 1868, despite the decline of the professional touring elevens, it promised to be a vintage year, for on July 27, it would host the All England XI versus 10 Gentleman plus the incomparable W.G. Grace.[138] In terms of cricket, the Aboriginal visit was uncompetitive, but it had the advantage of being a "rare and interesting spectacle", appealing to "that portion of the public to whose minds 'ballers', 'shooters', 'drives', 'cuts', '1 b's' &c. are only dimly perceptible."[139]

The latecomers were met at the station by Mr. Patmore, proprietor of the *Railway Hotel*, and dressed in their mufti of coats and fur turban caps, were rushed directly to the cricket field in an open carriage. In the on-field tent where they dressed for play, they displayed "as cool and professional an air as if they had been all their lives cricketers".[140] Even a moment's privacy was denied them as they were "besieged" by curiosity-seekers insistent on entering their tent to peer at them or shake their hands. It had to be cleared so the Aborigines could exit for play to begin.

Strangely, the journalist divined that "they are exceedingly grateful for any little kindness shown to them, and as readily sensitive of an insult." It was an unusual observation: How could he have noticed these characteristics, or was he advised to be kind to the Aborigines and be careful not to upset them?

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[134] *Daily News* (London), 16 June 1868.

[135] *Portsmouth Times and Naval Gazette*, 20 June 1868.

[136] *Herts and Essex Observer*, 27 June 1868.

[137] Graham ledger, p.10.

[138] *Herts and Essex Observer*, 27 June 1868.

[139] *Herts and Essex Observer*, 27 June 1868.

[140] *Herts and Essex Observer*, 27 June 1868.

Owing to his injury, Lawrence was unable to play, although on the second day he performed his trick with the bat and ball.[141] William Shepherd, a professional but an ordinary player, was appointed captain rather than Mullagh and Bishop Stortford won the game. Over 2,000 spectators enjoyed the sports and the Aborigines left by the 7.47pm train on Saturday evening. It was reported that in addition to "the 'natives' who played there were three, if not four others who were present, viz., Jim Crow, Sundown and King Cole."[142] It was eerily prescient, for Jim Crow and Sundown would be too ill to complete the tour. Nor would King Cole survive but he was not at Bishop Stortford.

King Cole / Charles Rose / Bripmuarriman

Illustration 60: King Cole.[143]

Most of the patients listed in the Admission and Discharge Register of Guy's Hospital for June 1868 were poor workers.[144] There was a sole lawyer, presumably down-at-heel, but the rest of the occupations were labourer, leather-dresser, painter, pauper, nurse, sailor, brick-maker, servant and sugar-baker.

Only one was listed as having an alias. Admission No. 824 was "Charles Rose, alias King Cole": occupation, cricketer; aged 28; marital status, single. Admitted to Stephen Ward under the care of Dr. Wilks on June 22, he was not to emerge alive. The facing page lists details of his "Discharge & c". On June 24 he died as a result of acute pneumonia. His residence is listed as the *Queen's Head Inn*, in the Borough, South London. The column headed "Remarks" was left blank.

[141] *Hertford Mercury*, 27 June 1868. This rebuts Mulvaney & Harcourt's suggestion that Lawrence's hand injury was a ruse designed to allow him to stay in London and care for King Cole.

[142] *Herts and Essex Observer*, 27 June 1868.

[143] From the Dawson photographs of the Aboriginal team taken in Warrnambool 1867.

[144] Guy's Hospital Admission and Discharge Register, Greater London Record Office, Register H9,G7,B2/3, June 1868.

Peculiarly, the Deaths' Register of the hospital lists his admission as taking place one day earlier, on June 21.[145] He died at 9.30pm on June 24. In the column "By whom buried", the usual code is entered - "Fds", meaning 'friends', though they are unidentified. No inquest was held: it was necessary only if the cause of death, such as "smashed skull" or "poisoning by arsenic" (two cases listed near King Cole's), implied suspicion of criminality.

On June 19, the first day of the match in Bishop Stortford, King Cole had fallen seriously ill in the *Queen's Head Inn*, the team's lodgings in South London.[146] The outbreak of his illness explains his team-mates' delayed departure for the engagement. It also explains the comments on their receptivity to kindness, their touchiness to insults and apparent indifference to match preparations.

Medical attendance was called but failed.[147] There are few other details of King Cole's lonely and lingering death. He remained mortally ill at the *Queen's Head* on Friday 19 and Saturday 20 while the team played in Bishop Stortford. He lay ill at the inn on Sunday 21 and possibly Monday 22. The team would have returned on Saturday evening and presumably stayed at the *Queen's Head* with the stricken man. On Sunday or Monday, depending on which Guy's register is correct, he was removed to the hospital. By early Monday morning, the rest of the Aborigines travelled to Hastings for their next commitment. It is unclear whether they or King Cole departed the inn first. During the three days of this game, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday,[148] King Cole was dying in a hospital bed. One can only wonder at the thoughts of his comrades.

If it were any consolation, Hastings was a financial success, following the familiar pattern of the cricket being truncated for the more popular Aboriginal sports. The crowd vocally supported what one newspaper ironically called the "inferior race" in an atmosphere reminiscent of a "fair or carnival".[149] Lawrence's hand was still too injured for cricket but he travelled to Hastings and once again performed his bat trick.[150] William South Norton captained the Aborigines. A number of them performed whip tricks, cutting straws into short lengths, or flicking coins out of spectators' hands. They had to finish before 6pm to travel to Halifax.

It is probable that Hayman stayed with King Cole and that Graham was also heavily involved in the crisis. He collected press cuttings for each of the first 40 matches of the tour. The only omissions covered the period from June 12 to July 11. Of the eight engagements between Lord's and Bradford, Hastings was the only game for which he preserved clippings. If it is assumed that the reason was King Cole's fatal illness, signs of his malady appeared before June 19.

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[145] Guy's Hospital Deaths Register, Greater London Record Office, Register H9,G7,B26/1, June 1868.

[146] *Illustrated Sporting and Theatrical News*, 4 July 1868.

[147] *Illustrated Sporting and Theatrical News*, 4 July 1868.

[148] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.175 list it as a two day match but details in the *Sussex Express, Surrey Standard, Weald of Kent Mail, Herts and County Advertiser*, 27 June 1868 confirm that it was played on three days, from Monday June 22 to Wednesday June 24.

[149] *Hastings and St. Leonards News*, 26 June 1868. The single inverted commas were used by the newspaper.

[150] *Hastings and St. Leonards News*, 26 June 1868.

On the conclusion of their performance at Hastings, with less than four hours remaining in King Cole's life, the Aborigines continued with their schedule and set out on the long journey to Halifax for their first appearance in the north. Even in the throes of death and for his burial at Victoria Park cemetery,[151] the financial interests of the tour were deemed more pressing than the comfort, company and rituals of his fellows.

George Catlin described some of the rites which Native Americans performed for each other to ease the passage towards death; King Cole's helpless isolation and the experience of death in an alien land, must have been terrifying.

Could the loss of revenue from one or two games really have been that crucial? Perhaps the entrepreneurs were more concerned that the cancellation of performances would highlight his death and raise the general issue of endangering Aboriginal lives. Newspapers were provided with the most minimal details of the circumstances.[152] In view of the energetic publicity that management conducted on other occasions, it is apparent they intended to bury the issue as quickly and quietly as they had buried King Cole.

If English conditions were a decisive factor in his death, the judgement that "management cannot be held responsible"[153] is open to question. They may not have been directly culpable, but responsibility is a more complex issue. By Shepherd's account, the Aborigines' standard of accommodation in England was generous[154] and none of the uninquisitive journalists found fault with their treatment. But it is *not* possible to contend that illnesses exacerbated by English conditions were unforeseeable. Many other indigenous performers and visiting Aborigines had died in England, and the Protection Board had predicted catastrophe. Management elected to place their financial and social interests above the physical, emotional and spiritual well-being of the Aborigines. When predictable tragedy ensued, *some* level of responsibility must be assigned to those who determinedly chose to pursue their personal ambitions in the face of known risks to Aborigines for whom they assumed custodianship.

By any sane accounting, the death of King Cole, not the appearance at Lord's, was the most significant event of the tour. Victorian doggerel assured British readers that the Aborigines would be comforted by his body being deposited in a London cemetery:

> Now run out for nought in the innings of life
> By the grave of the good is he sleeping
> Yet sad are his comrades though reckon they well
> How safe is their mate in our keeping.[155]

With his burial the triumphant southern opening to the tour had ended.

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[151] *Illustrated Sporting and Theatrical News*, 4 July 1868.
[152] That King Cole, one of the Aboriginal cricketers, aged less than thirty, died in Guy's Hospital of inflammation of the lungs . See, for example, *Sussex Express, Surrey Standard, Weald of Kent Mail, Herts and County Advertiser*, 27 June 1868 which added the incorrect information that he had been removed to Guy's only after the conclusion of the match at Hastings.
[153] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.144.
[154] Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines, p.134.
[155] Marylebone Club, *Cricket scores and biographies Volume 10, 1868-69*, Longmans, London, 1878, pp.413-414.

CHAPTER 12

THE NORTHERN GRIND

JUNE 26 - SEPTEMBER 12

The northern section of the tour began in Halifax on June 26, 300 kilometres north of London, following the death of King Cole and the end of their appearance in Hastings, 90 kilometres south of London, on June 24. It entailed 24 matches in 79 days, concluding with their second match against Bootle, Liverpool, on Saturday September 12. Conducted in the shadow of tragedy, requiring longer travel between engagements, involving the violent arrest of an Aborigine and a controversy over racist exclusion, this segment of the tour must have been physically and emotionally exhausting.

They played and performed on 63 of the 79 days and travelled on many of the others. They appeared in the Midlands at Nottingham, Derby and Burton-on-Trent; journeyed as far west as Swansea; as far north as North Shields, almost to the Scottish border; and as easterly as Norwich. In the south, the Aborigines settled for a while in two familiar settings, *The Bear* in Town Malling and the *Queen's Head* in the Borough. They did not establish a northern home base with any familiarity. The teeming cities of the north, world centre of the industrial revolution, must have been remarkable experiences for Aborigines who until December 1866 had probably never seen a city of any kind.

Their cricketing prowess was sometimes ridiculed by harsh northern critics, but the appeal of racial novelty and their compelling exhibitions of Aboriginal skills enabled management to fill almost every day with public performance or travel. The August departure of Sundown and Jim Crow left no reserves and increased the strain on the remaining Aborigines.

From Yorkshire to Wales

The audiences of Halifax in the north of Yorkshire were more interested in the Aborigines' sports than cricket.[156] Tiger was credited with warding off cricket balls, a performance which was described as astonishing and entertaining.[157] As the Dawson montage of their performance

[156] Unsourced contemporary newspaper clipping, courtesy Don Ambrose, Lancashire County Cricket Club.
[157] *Halifax Guardian*, 4 July 1868.

specialties had photographed Tiger with a shield similar to Dick-a-Dick's[158] it is plausible that the identification was correct. If so, it reinforces the likelihood that this was less an individual trick of Dick-a-Dick's than an adaptation of a traditional Aboriginal activity.

On Sunday night they travelled to Blackburn for a match against East Lancashire from June 29 to July 1. It was the first of the Manchester textile satellites in which they would appear: Blackburn, Bury and Rochdale were one industry towns with populations ranging from 30,000 to 70,000.[159]

Curious spectators gathered outside their lodgings, the *Exchange Hotel* in King William Street, hoping to catch a glimpse of the natives.[160] Similar occurrences were not reported in cosmopolitan London, but did occur elsewhere in the north where racial exoticism was a rarer sight. Blackburn was not noted for cricket and to entice the relatively small number of spectators to return, a preview of boomerang throwing was offered at the end of the day's cricket.[161] For residents of Blackburn, spears were the more dangerous weapon. Charley Dumas, the most skilled and powerful of the Aboriginal throwers, was performing beyond himself. He had already propelled a cricket ball 137 yards 2 feet, then hurled a sharp pointed spear clear out of the ground and a long way over the wall, "much to the suspense of the spectators."[162] No fatality was reported.

A few days later in Rochdale, the Aborigines curved boomerangs around spectators and clumps of trees before they returned to the thrower. It gave journalists the opportunity of describing boomerangs as "the nearest approach to Paddy's description of the gun that would shoot round a corner"[163] but one young man was struck on the head and bled copiously. A Dr. Buckley found that no serious damage had been done.[164]

Within a few hours, the team boarded a Rochdale train en route to Wales. *St. Paul's* magazine thought cricket in the Principality was uncommon because "the Welsh are too much employed providing flannel for more enlightened districts".[165] But they were desperately keen to attract the Aboriginal team.[166]

Unable to afford management's demand of 200 pounds, the Welsh agreed that the Australians could collect all gate revenue in return for paying the expenses and remitting 20 pounds

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[158] See Dawson montage, illustration 1 and in Tiger section, chapter 17.

[159] P.J. Waller, *Town, city and nation: England 1850-1914*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1983, p.90.

[160] *Blackburn Times*, 4 July 1868.

[161] *Blackburn Standard*, 1 July 1868.

[162] *Blackburn Times*, 4 July 1868.

[163] *Rochdale Observer*, 4 July 1868.

[164] Graham ledger, p.25.

[165] *St. Paul's*, 1868, p.555.

[166] See Andrew Hignell, ***A 'favourit' game: cricket in South Wales before 1914***, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1992. I am grateful to Mr. Hignell, the Glamorgan County Cricket Club, and Mr John Jenkins of the National Library of Wales for their generous assistance in tracing details of the Aborigines' visit to Swansea.

to Swansea Cricket Club.[167] Aborigines in Wales were a compelling attraction: cheap excursion trains were arranged and tradesmen were urged to give employees a day off to attend the Brynymor Grounds from July 6 to 8.[168] Locals were encouraged to offer "a hearty reception to our fellow subjects from the antipodes",[169] who easily won the cricket.

The Cambrian explained that boomerangs were of particular interest because "from this wonderful weapon the propelling screw of our screw-steamers was designed"[170] and despite rain, a particularly healthy crowd attended the third day to marvel at "the most extraordinary feats of dexterity and precision."[171] The popular sale of Aboriginal portraits taken by Mr. Andrews, a well-known local photographer, was added testimony of Welsh interest.[172] The entrepreneurs, so doubtful about receipts that they refused free admission to the press,[173] reaped a 44 pound profit even after meeting the costs of transportation from Rochdale.[174]

The Gentlemen's scandal

Two days later they performed in Bradford, before the tour's only open scandal of racist exclusion. In the historic city of York, they were playing against the Yorkshire Gentleman's Club, who were certainly more skilled in cricket than their opponents. The Aborigines' fielding and bowling were criticised as mediocre. Cuzens was their only successful batsman, the rest "devoid of science", and "the game was therefore a hollow affair from first to last."[175] The Aboriginal team was weakened by Lawrence's absence, with Shepherd filling in as captain. They emphasised the "exercises in which they are singularly expert", earning enthusiastic applause for previews of spear and boomerang on each day.[176]

Scandal erupted at lunch on the first day of the game. It was reported that the Aboriginal team appeared at the luncheon tent but "found themselves excluded, nearly all the seats being filled." The Aborigines "took offence and left the tent, one of them (Mullagh) declaring he would not play again."[177] Spectators openly criticised the Yorkshire team and enthusiastically supported the Aborigines for the rest of the game. The snub was condemned by the *York Herald* as a flagrant

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[167] Hignell, *A 'favourit' game*, p.60.
[168] *Cambrian*, 26 June 1868.
[169] *Cambrian*, 26 June 1868.
[170] *Cambrian*, 26 June 1868. For an explanation of boomerangs and steamship technology, see Chapter 12.
[171] *Cambrian*, 10 July 1868.
[172] *Swansea and Glamorgan Herald*, 11 July 1868; *Cambrian*, 10 July 1868.
[173] *Cambrian*, 10 July 1868.
[174] Hignell, *A 'favourit' game*, p.60.
[175] *Yorkshire Gazette*, 18 July 1868.
[176] *Yorkshire Gazette*, 18 July 1868.
[177] *Yorkshire Gazette*, 18 July 1868.

breach of "the perfect equality on which all who indulge in the game have met at the wickets", [178] a myth that was fundamental to maintaining the harmonious cricketing involvement of working class and gentry in the north. It is a shame that no-one enquired why, under such conditions of "perfect equality", a merely competent white man had to captain skilled Aboriginal players like Mullagh and Cuzens: the point was that an *open* breach could not be tolerated.

Graham was outraged, including in his tour ledger an atrocious piece of printed verse, which insisted that discrimination had no place in cricket.[179] William Prest, the Yorkshire captain, launched a vigorous public rebuttal which convincingly accused the Aborigines' substitute captain of responsibility for the scandal.

Prest informed local newspapers that just after play had begun he found that no luncheon arrangements had been made for "the Australians" (he was careful not to refer to them as Aborigines). He delegated the responsibility to the secretary and another gentlemen who ordered lunch for the team. This was, he pointed out, beyond the usual disposition for professionals, for whom a biscuit or a sandwich usually sufficed. When Prest and another gentleman visited Shepherd, captain and manager in Lawrence's absence, to ascertain the Aborigines' preferences, Shepherd "said at once they would *much* prefer (italics in original) having a sandwich and a glass of beer as they were accustomed to do and had arranged tea at seven p.m. as usual."[180] Somewhat darkly, Prest commented that Shepherd added some "other reasons why he himself should prefer this course."

During lunch, Prest continued, two or three Aborigines left the ground and went to Ferrand's inn, where they were staying. They had not returned by the time play recommenced. At the ground, Prest immediately became aware of accusations that Yorkshire had snubbed the Aborigines. But, he alleged, Shepherd was the entire cause of the trouble: "it *may be* that Shepherd did not inform them of the invitation; but this is a matter between *him* and them - not us and them" (all italics in original). Prest insisted that injury was the reason Mullagh did not play the next day.[181]

With accusations rampant, Prest and the committee set out to minimise damage. When the Yorkshire chairman invited the entire Aboriginal team to dine next day, the offer was accepted and lunch was again ordered. When an anxious Prest and the chairman approached Shepherd to confirm

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[178] *York Herald*, 18 July 1868.

[179] Graham ledger, p.31: "Now Gents should be Gents and not snobs/But I am sorry to say/ The Yorkists refused the Blacks to lunch/ Until they done that day/ In Australia our cricketers were treated well/ And I'll be bound to say/ Every honest heart will say so/ In a handsome sort o' way."

[180] Prest letter dated 22 July in *Yorkshire Gazette*, 25 July 1868. The same report and letter were also published in the *York Herald*, same date. Courtesy Amanda Howard, Local Studies Librarian, City of York Council.

[181] Prest letter, *Yorkshire Gazette* and *York Herald*, 25 July 1868.

the arrangement, Shepherd informed them that the Aborigines, "though they had each individually accepted the invitation the night before", had instead arranged to dine by themselves in Ferrand's hospitality tent at the ground. Fearful of further scandal, the two gentlemen insisted on the Yorkshire committee defraying costs even if the Aborigines preferred their own arrangement.

Prest maintained that Shepherd was responsible for excluding the Aborigines and casting aspersions against them: "for several reasons (many of which I don't think it advisable to mention) their captain asked us *not* to press the invitation." Shepherd did not mention the incident in his account of the tour.[182]

If Prest were truthful, Shepherd had connived to prevent the Aborigines dining with the Yorkshire gentlemen. He falsely advised Prest that the Aborigines preferred to lunch alone, confiding that they were unfit to dine with gentlemen, possibly because of alcohol problems. Then he misinformed the Aborigines that the Yorkshire team had not provided for them in the luncheon tent. At their own or Shepherd's initiative, a group of Aborigines went to the inn and returned late, because of drink, anger from a belief that they had been snubbed, or simple unpunctuality. If this scenario is accurate, it remains possible that Mullagh refused to play, or threatened to do so, because of the Shepherd's misinformation. And perhaps this is how the scandal reached the press and spectators.

Manchester, Norwich, Yorkshire, Liverpool

Their next venue, a tiny ground in Longsight, Manchester, saw a comical, but recurring controversy. Spectators anticipated the "variety of performances by the Aboriginals illustrative of their mode of using their native weapons of war or the chase" would doubtless "prove far more interesting than their skill - no matter how creditable - in a game to the manner in which they were not born."[183] *Free Lance*, a semi-satirical Manchester journal, expressed mounting complaints against exorbitant admission prices for mediocre cricket at sub-standard grounds.

It protested that one shilling gained access to the best ground in England and "any club which exacts twice that amount for the privilege of witnessing inferior play should, at least, attend to the comfort of its visitors." Furthermore, as the Aborigines' audiences refused to respect class divisions, fights erupted when burly general admission spectators insisted on "amalgamation": "If they must charge 2s. - four times as much as at the Oval - why could not they at least take the precaution of sending their bloated aristocrats to the left, while the twelvepenny Hoipolloi were trundled off to the other side."[184]

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[182] William Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines".

[183] Graham,ledger, p.33.

[184] *Free Lance*, 18 July 1868.

Next to Bury, a manufacturing town 15 kilometres north east of Manchester, where a kinder estimate of cricketing abilities lauded the leading Aboriginal players and rebutted charges that their play was a "burlesque on cricket".[185] Nevertheless, at 7pm, the game was abandoned for the Aboriginal displays, at a time when the Aborigines needed only 12 runs and Vulcan United and Bury had to take three wickets to win. Lawrence's field placements were intriguing: a long-leg and every other fieldsman on the off-side to Mullagh's medium pace bowling; and no wicket-keeper except Cuzens as "third man up." The Aborigines were also on public display in the evening. After the first day's play, "The Black Cricketers" were advertised as an added attraction for the exhibition at Bury's *Athenaeum*, "Hamilton's Delightful Excursion to the Continent and Back Within Two Hours."[186]

Another long and hurried journey, this time to Lakenham in Norwich, interrupted their series of appearances in Yorkshire and Lancashire. Norwich was not a renowned cricketing area and the Aborigines enjoyed an easy victory. A substantial advertisement in the July 18 *Norwich Mercury* illustrated the prominence of the primary Aboriginal displays.

ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIANS *v.* CARROW.

THIS CRICKET MATCH

WILL TAKE PLACE ON THE

OLD LAKENHAM CRICKET GROUND, NORWICH,

On THURSDAY and FRIDAY, the 23rd and 24th JULY inst.

Several well-known Cricketers will contend against the Blacks.

THE CARROW BAND WILL ATTEND EACH DAY.

ON FRIDAY,

At the Conclusion of the Match, there will be AUSTRALIAN and ENGLISH SPORTS, in which the BLACKS will COMPETE.

BLACKS WITH BOOMERANGS.

BLACKS WITH SPEARS.

LAURENCE'S FEAT WITH BAT AND BALL.

DICK A DICK DODGING THE CRICKET BALL !!!!

ADMISSION, ONE SHILLING EACH. CHILDREN HALF-PRICE.

Wickets to be pitched at Eleven o'clock each day. (5820

Illustration 61: Aboriginal displays in Norwich.

[185] *Bury Times*, 25 July 1868.

[186] *Bury Guardian*, Public Notices Section, 10 July 1868.

An urbane account of their performance complimented the entrepreneurs for appreciating that British audiences would be fascinated by the Aborigines' play, physical appearance and remarkable performances with native weapons. The commentator shrewdly realised that the danger of watching boomerang throwing added to its appeal: "Several accidents that have attended the display of its eccentricities have made the boomerang an exciting part of the programme of these performers."[187] He sounded disappointed not to have witnessed any mishaps, but another observer chuckled that "now and then one of these erratic playthings would visit the spectators and 'skedaddle' was the immediate order."[188]

By this stage of the tour, regardless of whether the Aborigines were too good for their opponents, outclassed, or closely matched, cricket had been decisively overshadowed by their renowned displays of primitivism. In Norwich, they were "the principal attractions of the day";[189] at Nottingham, they attracted far larger crowds, despite many attending the cricket in the hope of seeing "the expected peculiarities in the darkies' play;[190] and even in Bootle where they defeated the locals and were rated "an exceedingly good set of cricketers", the English athletics were more attractive than the cricket and the Aboriginal displays better value than both.[191]

After finishing in Norwich on Saturday evening, Sunday was occupied with the journey back towards the West Riding of Yorkshire. They must have been tired when they arrived at their destination in the town of Keighley, population 12,000, 10 kilometres north-west of Bradford. It was 8pm and hundreds of curiosity-seekers had long been waiting at the station to assess the unusual visitors. On Monday morning early-bird spectators eagerly anticipated their arrival at the ground. Even the inquisitive Keighley cricket team arrived on the playing arena well before 11:30. Wild rumours were abroad regarding the physiognomy and disposition of the Aborigines. When they arrived, changed and emerged from their small wooden tent in cricketing apparel, they "were received with applause, all being agreeably disappointed with their appearance, they looking much better in every respect than what a local representative has represented them to be."[192]

The strain of their itinerary was telling. Cuzens and Mullagh, of whom so much was demanded, were too ill to bat. Keighley considerately offered to go in first, and Hayman and Shepherd substituted in the field. The Aborigines were now demonstrating boomerang throwing at the end of the first day and the beginning of the next. Under difficulties, Mullagh and Cuzens starred with the bat. And on Tuesday evening, with the Aborigines needing 22 runs to win with 2 wickets remaining, a finish which would be expected to enthrall the 3,500 spectators, the match was once again ended for Aboriginal displays.

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[187] *Norwich Mercury*, 29 July 1868.

[188] Graham ledger, p.39.

[189] *Norwich Mercury*, 29 July 1868.

[190] Graham ledger, p.43.

[191] Graham ledger, pp.41-42.

[192] *Keighley News*, 1 August 1868.

On Wednesday they travelled to the rapidly expanding Bootle, which, despite economic inseparability from giant Liverpool, was fiercely protective of its local identity.[193] Mullagh was still too ill to appear in the athletics, one event of which was restricted to soldiers from the 7th Fusiliers.[194] But the display by primitive warriors, the Aboriginal sham fight, again proved more interesting. It "gave an excellent demonstration of native warfare" and convinced observers that the ten Aborigines clad in black tights, skins and feathers were hurling spears and throwing boomerangs just "as they might have done on the banks of the Murray or the Darling."[195]

Sunday was again a considerable journey, this time south-east from Liverpool to Nottingham. Then back north-west to Manchester for a return appearance in Longsight, where they reversed a previous defeat. Shepherd recalled that at one of their Longsight appearances, Mosquito performed a whip trick where he cut the end of a clay pipe out of Shepherd's mouth. When an officious card-seller brusquely demanded that Mosquito repeat the trick with him, the offended Aborigine responded by deliberately cutting off the tip of his nose "as clean as if done by a razor."[196] No other source verified the story.

Arrest, illness and alcohol

At Sheffield, the pressure came to a head. A Monday start was interrupted by a downpour and they played in front of a sparse crowd. At the end of play the Aborigines went out in the rain to demonstrate their boomerangs. Mullagh and Cuzens were lauded, but Bullocky, as at Lord's was unable to play.

The cause, it was implied - and the implication was directed more broadly than at Bullocky alone - was "predilection for firewater and a native indolence."[197] It is interesting that the problem was not concealed; the report smacks of management exasperation at Aboriginal drunkenness and reluctance to perform on demand. Reproducing one of the characteristic tropes of racial inferiority, the accusation of "natural indolence" was a remarkable charge in view of the incessant performance and travel demands fulfilled by the Aborigines. It implies that they were perceived as doing so reluctantly and that management had to confront an unwillingness to meet commitments.

Immediately after a highly successful sports Wednesday at Sheffield in which Peter excelled with the whip, the team departed for Dewsbury in the West Riding of Yorkshire. When the Dewsbury game began on Thursday morning, Tiger was in Sheffield Town Hall, appearing before Magistrate R.N. Philipps Esq.

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[193] Waller, *Town, city and nation*, pp.3, 78-79.

[194] Perhaps looking somewhat similar to the illustration of the Volunteers' event at the more prestigious venue of Alexandra Park that same year (see Chapter 4).

[195] Graham ledger, p.42.

[196] Shepherd ledger, p.131.

[197] Graham ledger, p.47.

He was facing a charge of assaulting Police Constable Capel. There were two reports of the incident.[198] At 2am in King St, the police found Tiger drunk and disorderly. The earlier of the accounts claimed that P.C. Capel "persuaded" him to go home, whereupon Tiger "turned on him and knocked him down." According to a more detailed statement at the hearing, Capel tried to arrest Tiger for creating a disturbance but Tiger "stoutly resisted his apprehension." Another officer came to help Capel, whereupon " 'the black' assaulted both the officers very violently", knocking one down and attempting to strangle him. After "a good deal of force on the part of the constables", Tiger was taken "with difficulty" to the Town Hall, possibly semi-conscious. The first report pithily stated that "Tiger got his head broke" and then asked for the assistance of a doctor, who dressed his wounds.

Tiger was fined 20 shillings and costs but said nothing. Mr. Philipps proclaimed his leniency "considering the peculiar circumstances of the prisoner's case, and considering that he was a man of weak intellect", but sternly admonished Tiger that if he repeated the offense, a gaol sentence in Wakefield would end his "cricketing career". To the hilarity of the courtroom, the secretary of the cricket ground explained that Tiger had escaped from the Aborigines' lodgings, punning that Tiger fielded at long slip and as they thought he was safe in the hotel, he had given *them* the slip. The fine was paid immediately and all but Tiger enjoyed the fun. As the report of the hearing does not mention the presence of the Aborigines' management, it is likely they were involved in whatever crisis led to the return of Jim Crow and Sundown to Australia.

The Aborigines who arrived in Dewsbury, a town of 30,000, must have been upset and dispirited. Their cricketing performance was poor and the local press were pitiless. The *Huddersfield Examiner* grumbled that the match between the Savile Club "and these men proved a very hollow affair, and possessed little interest".[199] Another journalist complained that although the arrival of the Aboriginal cricketers in England had created a sensation, "anticipations had been prematurely formed which had never been realised ... to contest them with good English cricketers, or to place them before a discriminating English public, is simply, excepting for the novelty of the thing, a farce." Yorkshire was so accustomed to good cricket it was "madness to bring before us an indifferent team" and it would surely prove to be a commercial failure.[200]

The promoters responded by placing an advertisement emphasising those "wonderful Australian feats, with the Spear, Boomerang, Shield, &c." which were expected to draw a larger attendance on Saturday.[201] They did, but there was fresh disappointment when "the promise on the

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[198] Both reports from Graham ledger, p.47.

[199] *Huddersfield Examiner*, 22 August 1868.

[200] Graham ledger, p.50.

[201] Graham ledger, p.49.

programme that Dick a Dick should 'dodge the cricket ball' was not fulfilled."[202] No explanation was advanced, but he was well enough to play cricket and won the cricket ball throwing competition by hurling it 108 yards and 2 inches.

Dewsbury was a low point of the tour. It also signalled the final appearance of Jim Crow. He and Sundown, who had been so wretchedly ill that he played only twice, sailed from England in August. There was no public discussion of the circumstances and the event is still shrouded in mystery. *Cricket walkabout* persuasively suggests that an expense of 22 pounds 7.6 to the "secretary's account" in Graham's ledger paid for their fares to Australia.[203]

Then there were ten

From this point on 10 Aborigines remained and each was expected to appear in all of the remaining 22 engagements. On the few occasions when one did not, an additional white man, usually the ubiquitous Shepherd, was used as a replacement.

The Aborigines, Tiger in particular, might have been relieved to temporarily leave Yorkshire. They spent 10 days in the north-east, a region whose undeveloped cricketing traditions were likely to be less censorious.

Firstly to North Shields, where the Tyneside Cricket Club was favoured with a generous benefactor, Mr. G.H. Shum Storey. The club was proud of its fine, level patch of turf at Preston Rd and specifically for the visit of the Aborigines, Shum Storey donated a magnificent two floor grandstand, 80 feet long, 22 feet deep, 25 feet high and costing close to 600 pounds.[204] Unfortunately the first day's attendance was small and when rain hampered proceedings on the second, Dick-a-Dick dodged cricket balls to entice a return on Wednesday. On what was scheduled to be the final sports day, 1,000 spectators enjoyed a rarity for the tour, a gripping finale to the cricket. The Aborigines achieved the difficult target of 166 runs with only two wickets remaining and left the ground at 6pm to loud applause.[205] An extra day was added for the sports and an even larger crowd, including the elite from surrounding towns and districts, relished the Aboriginal displays on Thursday.[206] As soon as they finished at North Shields on the evening of August 20, the remaining Aborigines, accompanied by Shepherd and George Smith, travelled east to lodgings in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Mrs. Donald's *Crown and Thistle Inn*.[207]

It is likely that Hayman, and possibly Graham, were taking the invalids Sundown and Jim Crow towards London for their return passage to Australia. The *Parramatta*, still under Captain

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[202] *Huddersfield Examiner*, 22 August 1868.
[203] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp.144-145.
[204] *Newcastle Daily Journal*, 22 August 1868.
[205] *Shields Daily News*, 20 August 1868.
[206] *Newcastle Daily Journal*, 21 August 1868.
[207] Graham ledger, p.53.

Williams, was due to sail from the East India Docks on August 25[208] and a Captain Williams had played for the Gentlemen of Sheffield against the Aborigines during the Tiger and Bullocky fiascos two weeks earlier. It would have been some consolation to provide Jim Crow and Sundown with a familiar figure on the voyage, which arrived in Sydney on November 24.[209]

Of the 10 survivors in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Mullagh was indisposed and although Shepherd was present, he acted as umpire. Shum Storey played as a substitute for the Aborigines. The Gentlemen of Newcastle were too strong in the rained-out match, but "the appearance of the Australians in the field was interesting."[210]

On Monday the "Antipodean darkies" began their appearance in Middlesbrough, their last of their trio of appearances in the north-east. Mullagh was still unable to play "and very ill he looked as he strolled occasionally round the field."[211] He was replaced by Shepherd. A disappointing crowd on the first day was redeemed by a large attendance on the second, with many ladies and strangers arriving from surrounding towns, "doubtless attracted by the "spooarts" as the correct card-retailer styled them."[212] Top scorer for the Middlesbrough side was James Treadgold, who emigrated to Australia in the 1880s becoming a Leichhardt Council alderman before moving to Vaucluse. As an old man in 1927, Treadgold wrote a brief letter of cricketing reminiscences to an Australian newspaper. "I claim to be the only man living who played against the first Australian cricket team to visit England in 1868", he declared with obvious pride.[213]

After finishing on Tuesday, they caught the Wednesday noon train to Scarborough. The cricket club of the spa, seaside resort and entertainment centre of East Yorkshire was enterprising, hard-nosed and entrepreneurial,[214] and the novelty of presenting "a good three days amusement by the Aborigines"[215] proved a tremendous success. There was an excellent crowd on the first day; disappointing numbers on a cold, windy second day;[216] and a record-breaking 4,000 for "Native Sports" on the third.[217] It was "the most interesting proportion of the proceedings ... by the

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[208] *Times*, 21 August 1868.

[209] Passenger lists of poorer passengers were frequently incomplete and it is not conclusive that Jim Crow and Sundown do not appear on lists for the arrival of the *Parramatta* in Sydney (Shipping Masters Office, Passengers Arriving, 26 October 1868-June 1869, Reel 421, X119-120, State Library of NSW). Neither were they among the names in Shipping Arrivals, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 November 1868, which listed the first class passengers by name, but not the second and third class passengers.

[210] *Newcastle Daily Journal*, 22 August 1868.

[211] *Middlesbrough Weekly News and Cleveland Advertiser*, 28 August 1868.

[212] *Middlesbrough Weekly News and Cleveland Advertiser*, 28 August 1868. Mr. Ray Baker, Middlesbrough cricket historian, to whom I am indebted for his researches on the match, explains that 'spooarts' is local dialect for sports, and is still used by local news vendors.

[213] Ray Baker, History of the Middlesbrough Cricket Club, limited edition, 1989. I contacted James Treadgold's grandson, Mr. Geoff Kenny, but Treadgold left no other records of his experiences with the Aborigines.

[214] Ian Hall & John Found ***Cricket at Scarborough***, Breedon Books, England, 1992, pp.29-30.

[215] Contemporary Scarborough newspaper quoted in Hall & Found, *Cricket at Scarborough*, p.28.

[216] Graham, ledger, p.58.

[217] A small advertisement in the *Scarborough Gazette*, 22 August 1868 announced that prices for the Castle Yard Ground were one shilling each day, two shillings for all three days, and sixpence after 4pm..

Aborigines, who dressed in their native costume, performed feats with spears and boomerangs with a precision and grace which was both pleasing and surprising to behold."[218] On Sunday they travelled to Hunslet, just south of Leeds, for their final Yorkshire engagement on Monday 31 August and Tuesday September 1. The Hunslet crowds were moderate for the first day and a half but very large after dinner for the boomerang throwing.[219]

"Second-rate professionals"

Critics dismissed the status of matches after August. "The month of September usually introduces us to a legion of small impromptu matches, chiefly arranged for the benefit of second rate professionals," explained *The Sportsman*, "while the three England elevens also keep the ball rolling until the middle of October." In 1868, these were weakened further, because on September 22 a team of English professionals sailed from Liverpool for a tour of America. The matches that remained were "in no way to be regarded as samples of genuine or first class cricket, but merely as an adjunct to the more legitimate portion of the season."[220]

The Aborigines had rarely been regarded as a "legitimate" cricket team and the opposition that they would face hereon was considerably weaker than it had been earlier in the tour. Starting from the game against Scarborough, they won seven of their 19 matches and lost only four; whereas of their first 28 games to August 25, they had lost 10 and won seven. Their next six appearances were in six different counties.

Immediately following the Hunslet display on Tuesday evening, they travelled south for the next day's engagement at the Derbyshire County Ground. During his performance on Thursday, Dick-a-Dick was struck on the shoulder by a ball hurled by one of the South Derbyshire Gentlemen, Mr. Richardson.[221] On Thursday night they journeyed to Lincoln. A crowd of several hundred attended on Friday morning, but four to five thousand spectators "at the least" cheered the Aboriginal sports on Saturday afternoon.[222] Being struck had not robbed Dick-a-Dick of his bravado. Four or five cricketers threw at him and a spectator named Tommy was confident he could hit the Aborigine, but Dick "merrily grinned at and defied them as the balls whizzed past him" or were deflected by his shield.[223]

In 1861, 1865 and 1869, All-England XIs had appeared in Burton-on-Trent.[224] It was the Aborigines' next venue and although Monday's weather was perfect the crowd was

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[218] Contemporary Scarborough newspaper quoted in Hall & Found, *Cricket at Scarborough*, p.28.
[219] Graham ledger, p.60.
[220] *Sportsman* (London), 22 August 1868.
[221] Graham ledger, p.61.
[222] Graham ledger, pp. 63-64.
[223] Graham ledger, p.64.
[224] From a brochure of the Burton Cricket Club, courtesy Stuart Bourne, Honorary Secretary, Burton Cricket Club.

disappointing.[225] On Tuesday spears and boomerangs thrilled the crowd, the attendance was immense, the neighbourhood elite swarmed in and 70 pounds was taken at the gate.[226]

They had seemed to be following a purposeful southerly route, a logical path in the direction of the end of their tour in the south. But on Wednesday they took a long north-westerly lurch to a return match in Bootle, an unnecessary drain on a depleted and exhausted team. Mullagh scored 129 runs in the match and at the end of the second day's play was presented with a purse of 50 shillings for his performances. The crowd cheered as Mr. Clegg, overlooking W.G. Grace, declared Mullagh the best all-rounder in England. Attendance was substantially smaller than their first Bootle appearance and only the boomerangs made it worthwhile. As usual, they attracted most of the audience; so on a windy day when the crowd were warned about the dangers and organisers were advised to stop, it was decided to continue. A boomerang thrown by Mullagh soared into the crowd, inflicting a severe head wound.[227] Only the spectator's hat brim saved him from worse consequences, but the incident reached the major London press,[228] providing useful publicity for a tour whose novelty had waned. Somehow the accident seems an appropriate conclusion to their long and difficult schedule in the north.

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[225] *Burton Weekly News and General Advertiser*, 11 September 1868.

[226] *Burton Weekly News and General Advertiser*, 11 September 1868.

[227] Graham ledger, p.67.

[228] *Times*, 14 September 1868; *Field*, 19 September 1868.

CHAPTER 13

BLOOD FROM A STONE: SEPTEMBER 14 - OCTOBER 26

Beginning with the appearance in Witham from September 14, the final part of the tour consisted of 13 matches plus the non-cricketing exhibition in Plymouth on October 19. They were called on to perform on 30 out of 36 days. Total crowds dwindled to 34,000, considerably less than half the average for their first southern leg and markedly down on their northern attendances. Some of the matches were financial failures, ruined by rain and repetition of a once sensational novelty in London's competitive entertainment marketplace.

Deep into the English cold and damp, which exacerbated lung infections known to be perilous to their health, the Aborigines performed on every single day except the five Sundays. It is inevitable that fatigue and illness drained the depleted 10 man troupe during this relentless coda to the tour.

Anti-climax and a series of farewells

They made the long journey from Liverpool to London on Sunday. Early Monday morning they set out for Witham, an antiquated village in Essex. Their train arrived at 10:30 and within the hour, they were taken to the ground to begin play. Witham prided itself on being a thriving market town, but to the *Field* it was a matter of wonder "how these Aboriginals found their way into this somewhat remote district of Essex."[229] A local benefactor, Robert Partridge, had paid to bring them to his estate in Witham House, and constructed a grandstand for the occasion. Tents were erected and the town closed its shops on Tuesday afternoon to encourage everyone to attend the "gala". The match and European athletics continued on Wednesday[230] but Witham's preferences were similar to cosmopolitan London and the industrial north: "As cricket is no uncommon exhibition at Witham, and some of these athletics wore a badge of novelty, the number of spectators to the ground was, considering the locality, very large, and ... a deep ring of anxious spectators was formed."[231]

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[229] Graham ledger, p.70.

[230] *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 18 September 1868.

[231] *Field*, 19 September 1868.

On Thursday, they reappeared in Hove, where they had performed more than three months before. As it seemed impossible to play deeper into winter and it was expected that extinction would prevent another tour, each performance assumed added significance.[232] A Sussex journalist urged readers not to miss the spectacle of the Aboriginal sports, particularly the boomerangs: "no mere words can convey an adequate description of their marvellous performances - they must be seen to be appreciated", he gushed. [233]

The excitement was augmented by cautioning spectators to remain vigilant and stay clear to avoid a recurrence of the Bootle accident.[234] Dick-a-Dick found that he was better able to protect himself with leowell and shield than a cricket bat. While batting, he was "crippled" by a ball which cut open his forefinger.[235] But it might have been the Aborigines' best cricketing performance of the tour. Their skills were well admired, particularly their often mediocre fielding, and they were on top of the Gentlemen of Sussex (96 and 7 for 113 vs. 74) when rain curtailed play. Neither "time permitted, nor inclination manifested itself to proceed further"[236] because the crowd of over 2,000 on the Saturday had come for the highlight, the Aborigines performing in native costume.[237]

The press were advised that as soon as they finished their English itinerary, the Aborigines would tour America.[238] There is no doubt their performances would have attracted hordes of American spectators. But the absence of a prominent cricketing infrastructure might have situated their primitivist exhibitions in freak show contexts and increased their likelihood of dying abroad.

Up to London, where the Ivanhoe Cricket Club organised a game beginning on Monday against Eleven Gentlemen of Blackheath at Westcombe Park. It provided the last tense result of the tour, the Aborigines losing by 14 runs in front of a crowd augmented by free admission for Greenwich Pensioners.[239] On Wednesday and Thursday, they were on the other side of the Thames, against the Gentlemen of Middlesex at Islington. It reverted to a familiar scenario, a prospectively close finish abandoned at 4pm[240] to "afford the London public the last opportunity but one of witnessing the Australian sports."[241]

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[232] *Field*, 26 September 1868.
[233] Graham ledger, p.72.
[234] *Brighton Herald*, 19 September 1868.
[235] *Brighton Observer*, 25 September 1868.
[236] *Field*, 26 September 1868.
[237] *Brighton Observer*, 25 September 1868.
[238] *Brighton Observer*, 25 September 1868.
[239] *Kentish Mercury*, 26 September 1868.
[240] *Daily News* (London), 25 September 1868.
[241] *Field*, 26 September 1868.

CRICKET.
1868.

SURREY CRICKET GROUND,
Oval, Kennington.

A GRAND MATCH
WILL BE PLAYED ON
MONDAY, AUGUST 24th,
AND FOLLOWING DAYS.

SURREY
v.
YORKSHIRE.

SURREY.	YORKSHIRE.
C. Calvert. Esq.	A. Walker, Esq.
H. Willis, Esq.	Atkinson.
Bristow.	Emmett.
Griffith.	Freeman.
Humphrey.	Iddison
Jupp.	Lockwood.
Pooley.	Stevenson.
Mortlock.	Rowbotham.
Sewell.	Webster.
Stephenson.	West.
Southerton.	Thewlis.

Admission - SIXPENCE.
Stumps Drawn at Seven o'Clock.

FAREWELL MATCH,
September 24th, 25th, and 26th,
GENTLEMEN OF THE SURREY CLUB,
v.
AUSTRALIAN BLACK ELEVEN.

Illustration 62: Cricket poster, "Farewell" v. Surrey, September 24-26.[242]

On Friday and Saturday they were back at the Oval for the second of three appearances against the Gentlemen of Surrey. It was their supposed finale and encouraged by this belief, a big crowd turned up on Saturday.

But a belated report noted that their ship was detained and their final match was now to be another Oval appearance against Surrey on October 16 and 17.[243] Graham's ledger noted that Burrup, the Surrey Secretary was paid 75 pounds 9/- for arranging the matches.[244]

Every appearance took on the quality of either a Melba-like valedictory tribute or an ill-considered afterthought. Management rewarded journalists for their co-operation in a return appearance at Mote Park, Maidstone. Invitation cards described it as a "Complimentary cricket match between the Gentlemen of the Press by the originators of the visit to England of the Aborigines of Australia, Messrs Hayman, Graham and Smith."[245] On Monday and Tuesday, the entrepreneurs entertained the press team at sumptuous lunches, chaired with aplomb by George Smith.[246] When the final day lunch toasted the health of the Aborigines, Dick-a-Dick stood up and "laconically but satisfactorily" responded in one sentence: "We thank you from our hearts." He was applauded loudly and sat down.[247] In the afternoon, the cricket was halted, the 1,500 crowd enjoyed the boomerangs and spears until darkness fell, the Town Malling spectators and the Aborigines gave each other three cheers, and the Aborigines were rushed to the station.

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[242] Courtesy of Jeremy Mailies, Brighton, England.

[243] *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 3 October 1868.

[244] Graham ledger, p.77.

[245] Quoted in *Maidstone Telegraph and West Kent Messenger*, 3 October 1868.

[246] *South Eastern Gazette*, 5 October 1868.

[247] *South Eastern Gazette*, 5 October 1868.

They were on their way to Eastbourne, a rapidly growing south coast resort seeking to attract wealthier holiday-makers,[248] for a match beginning the next day at noon. It was again advertised as their farewell appearance (below).

Black Cricketers at Eastbourne.

THEIR LAST MATCH IN THIS COUNTRY.

ON WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY,
SEPT. 30TH AND OCT. 1ST, 1868;
AGAINST 11 OF THE EASTBOURNE CLUB.
Wickets on first day at 12, second day at 11.

EUROPEAN AND AUSTRALIAN SPORTS
On the second day at 3 o'Clock.
EUROPEAN SPORTS (open to all comers) :—
100 Yards Flat Race. Running High Jump.
150 Yards Hurdle Race. Standing High Jump.
AUSTRALIAN SPORTS.
Throwing Boomerangs and Spears, including Sham Fight.
Kangaroo Rats. Lawrence's Feat with Bat and Ball.
Dick-a-Dick's Dodging Cricket Ball.

The following are the names of the Aboriginal Eleven:
Lawrence (Captain).

Bullockey, *maroon.*	Twopenny, *plain.*
Tiger, *pink.*	Peter, *green.*
Red Cap, *black.*	Dick-a-Dick, *yellow.*
Cuzens, *white.*	Mosquito, *magenta.*
Mullagh, *blue.*	Charley, *brown.*

Wolf's Band will be in attendance on the second day.
Admission to the Ground, 6d.; Reserved Seats, 1s.; Children under 12, half-price.
A cold Collation each day at 2 o'Clock.
N.B.—The ground having been let by the Committee to the managers of the Australian Cricketers, subscribers, as well as the general public, will be expected to pay at the doors.

Illustration 63: Advertisement, another farewell appearance[249]

Eastbourne anticipated "One of the most interesting events of late years … the introduction into England of a class of men whose habits are known to but few of us."[250] Excited sight-seers had to wait until 1:30 because the tight schedule made the Aborigines late, and a dispute had erupted.[251] The Aborigines' management attempted to prevent Shoesmith, a professional bowler, from playing against them, "as the Blacks do not play against professionals and they look upon Shoesmith as such." A peculiar compromise was negotiated. He played, but only on the condition he did not bowl until the Aborigines scored fifty runs.[252] The controversy might have been sparked by a wager on the first innings score, in which the local papers expressed an unusual degree of interest. Eastbourne had scored 67 and the Aborigines were at one stage 4 for 44. When the feared Shoesmith took the ball, he bowled 12 overs and took 2 wickets for 4 but the Aborigines scraped in by one wicket.

The match was curtailed on the final day for a farewell luncheon followed by the usual Aboriginal displays. Morris, the Eastbourne captain and a confectioner, supplied the food and "Dr. Hayman" toasted the health of the Aborigines, praising their conduct in England, wishing them a

[248] Waller, *Town, city and nation*, p.137.
[249] *Eastbourne Gazette*, 30 September 1868.
[250] *Eastbourne Gazette*, 30 September 1868.
[251] *Eastbourne Chronicle*, 3 October 1868.
[252] *Eastbourne Chronicle*, 3 October 1868.

safe journey home and "saying they ought to be much obliged to their guests for taking the journey to England."[253] The Aboriginal exhibitions resumed in hazardous winds, but the notorious boomerang throwing was performed because 3,000 eager spectators, including Mr. Sutton, of South Street, Eastbourne, were waiting. He was sitting on the western side of the ground enjoying the spectacle of the boomerangs curving gracefully in the air, until one of them, spent in its flight, was caught by the wind. It soared over the heads of the surrounding crowd and crashed into his face.[254]

Plans to tour America had by now been abandoned. Substantial preparations to winter in France were aborted[255] and journalists were advised that the Aborigines would return to Australia on the *Dunbar Castle*. The story, "we believe we are justified in saying", was that "besides their weekly wages, and ordinary expenses allowed them in England, they will each receive 50 pounds upon their return home."[256]

It was predictable that almost every October engagement was interrupted by wind and rain, but their schedule rolled on. They might have been grateful for a few days off, but a dismally unsuccessful fixture against Turnham Green on the Queen's Ground in New Road, Hammersmith occupied Friday and Saturday.[257] A total of 250 spectators attended the two days on a pitch better suited for pigeon-shooting than cricket.[258] On Monday and Tuesday it was Southsea in Portsmouth, where Twopenny's suddenly devastating bowling allowed the Aborigines to thrash a team which had defeated them before.[259] On Wednesday and Thursday, they performed for the first time in Southampton, where Twopenny repeated his bowling havoc. The *Southampton Times* panned the cricket and the sports: "the affair altogether was not of a very exciting character. In fact the blacks have by this time, become 'flat, stale' and may be unprofitable."[260] However, another journalist and 2,000 spectators on the final afternoon found the Aboriginal displays extremely entertaining.[261]

That night they travelled to Reading, the 'biscuitopolis' of Berkshire, for an easy win against a pitiful Fairbrother team the next morning. The crowd were "amused" by the Aborigines whose movements they observed closely and a demonstration of their "tricks" attracted a large crowd for the native displays the next day. A game between two scratch elevens, half black and half white, filled out the program.[262] But the ledger shows that profits were drying up,[263] a factor

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[253] *Eastbourne Chronicle*, 3 October 1868.

[254] *Eastbourne Chronicle*, 3 October 1868.

[255] Shepherd and his wife had been included in arrangements for France: Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines", p.134.

[256] *Eastbourne Gazette*, 30 September 1868.

[257] *West London Observer*, 3 October 1868.

[258] *County Chronicle*, 13 October 1868.

[259] *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 10 October, 1868.

[260] *Southampton Times*, 10 October 1868.

[261] *Hampshire Independent*, 10 October 1868; *Hampshire Advertiser*, 10 October 1868.

[262] *Reading Mercury, Oxford Gazette, Newbury Herald and Berkshire County Paper*, 10 & 17 October 1868.

[263] Graham ledger, p.89.

that loomed large in the decision not to winter in France. On Monday there were big crowds for three days in Godalming, including up to 4,000 on the final day, although this included school children who were admitted free.[264]

At last, it was nearly over and the next three days saw their third appearance at the Oval against the Gentlemen of Surrey, again advertised to wary readers as "positively the last appearance of the 'Blacks' in England."[265]

They had gone to the well often enough, and moderate crowds on the first day were boosted by free admission for children from the Licensed Victuallers and other metropolitan schools. George Smith had purchased bloodstock which he would take to Australia and announced that he would parade the horses on the ground.[266] Horseflesh is unreliable but Johnny Cuzens seemed a sure thing, management deciding to back him to win 25 pounds in a race against professional sprinters. At least five pounds of the wager was laid by a connection of the management who rewarded the triumphant Cuzens with ten pounds stake and winnings.[267]

Whether it was another opportunity for gambling profits, or an effort to eliminate one of the few places in England where the Aborigines had not performed, Lawrence set off at 10am on Sunday from Paddington to Plymouth with Mullagh, Cuzens, Redcap, Mosquito, and Charley Dumas. George Smith took his stallions on board the *Dunbar Castle* at Gravesend's East India Docks with Bullocky, Peter, Tiger and Twopenny.[268] There were no more cricket matches, so the Aboriginal drinkers and trouble-makers were no longer required to make up the numbers for a team.

In a bitterly cold wind at Plymouth on October 19, the others competed victoriously in English athletics and demonstrated their "novel and extraordinary performances" with native weapons. For their last public appearance on English soil, they gave a "clever and masterly" boomerang exhibition.[269] When the *Dunbar Castle* left Plymouth six days later the 10 remaining Aborigines of the 13 who had left Sydney on 8 February 1868 were aboard, together with Charles Lawrence, his sister and George Smith and his bloodstock. The passenger list shows they arrived back in Sydney on 4 February 1869.

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[264] *Daily News* (London), 15 October 1868.

[265] *Daily News*, 16 October 1868.

[266] Graham ledger, p.91. George Smith's father, Charles Smith, was a noted breeder of racehorses: personal communication re Smith family history from Noel Guiness of Illawong to David Sampson, 30 January 1997.

[267] Shepherd, "The tour of Auastralian Aborigines", p.133.

[268] *Sporting Life* (London), 21 October 1868.

[269] *Plymouth Morning News*, 20 October 1868. In a letter in 1933, Hayman's daughter claimed the team played the day before they left. The letter was sold to the Melbourne Cricket Club as part of Lot 245, Phillip Auctions, MCG, November 1997.

INWARD.

Dunbar Castle of London

London to Sydney New South

Of What Nation.	NAMES OF PASSENGERS.	Descriptio
rkney	Mr Chas Lawrence	
ncoln	Miss Lawrence	✓
Moray	Mr Geo Smith	
	" A St Clair	
tford	" N E Murray	
eden	Miss L Murray	✓
ndon	Mr & Mrs Jno Gray	✓ ✓
do	& 2 Children	1 male 1 female
Do	Ann Lowe	Servant ✓
ing bourne	Miss Watson	
folk	Dr & Mrs Milford	✓
land	& Child	
ex	Mary Dyer	Stowe
eden		
istol		
ymouth	Charley	
ndon	Mullagh	
ord	Cuzens	
ndon	Dick a Dick	
undee	Dumas	
dney	Red Cap	
don	Mosquito	
mburgh	Bullocky	
ondon	Tiger	
ighton	Peter	

Illustration 64: Passenger list, return to Sydney[270]

English summaries of the tour heartily congratulated the Aborigines more on their stamina and deportment ("their conduct has been characterised as most becoming") than the standard of their cricket, despite recognising a degree of improvement.[271] The *Field* commented that "two or three of these black visitors displayed an extraordinary aptitude for cricket … but no person who watched their varied performances minutely would think of placing them in the category of first rate players." The gentleman's journal disapprovingly recognised their demotic appeal: "The sensational element was largely infused into all they did."[272]

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[270] Archives Authority of NSW, Shipping Masters Office, Passengers Arriving 26 October 1868-June 1869, Reel 421, X119-120.

[271] *Sporting and Theatrical News*, 31 October 1868.

[272] *Field*, 7 November 1868.

The Sportsman treated their departure not as a farewell but an "epitaph". Its dismissal of their cricketing performances was overly harsh. But it did not forget the cost of the tour, and it made its point succinctly, especially if it is borne in mind that *all* non-European performance skills tended to be consigned as "novelties": " 'As a novelty, they were a success; as cricketers, a failure.' They leave one of their number - poor King Cole - in an English grave."[273]

[273] *Sportsman*, 30 September 1868.

CHAPTER 14

BRITISH PERCEPTIONS OF ABORIGINALITY AND RACE

The Aborigines' public performances, primitivist and transformationist, constituted the most direct form of their representation, consolidating and commodifying Aboriginal identity in British popular culture. Their observable off-field behaviour and clothing, combined with their structured, overtly mediated performances, identified them as primitives who had been improved by benevolent contact with European civilisation: "docile"[274] members of a race "hitherto looked on as untameable".[275]

This chapter will discuss racial attitudes to Aborigines expressed in white representation of their tour: spectator observation, journalists' articles, scientific discourse, cartooning and humour, and accounts of personal interaction. Documentation of the attitudes of two substantial components of their audiences, female and poorer spectators, remains scant.[276]

SPECTATOR OBSERVATION: WORKERS, WOMEN AND DIARISTS

Working people

On 13 June 1868, the *Sussex Express* published this unusual letter:

> What, I wun ter see the 'Stralians' leasways the niggers at cricket, as afor I went I dint believe as on dey was niggers, cos tis de gold as cums from dat kuntry. But dey was niggers, hem an aber (?) niggers, cep wun er our cheps as went dere unst, dey sed, and stoped dere tu. Tis cuross see ow dey cheps went on; boult tu, dey as did boul, purty midlin sharp sum an I can tel yer; and dey put er bak

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[274] *Manchester Guardian*, 20 July 1868.

[275] *Sporting Life* (London), 1 April 1868.

[276] Jonathan Rose, "Rereading the English Common Reader: a preface to a history of audiences", *Journal of the history of ideas*, Vol.53, No.1, January-March 1992, pp.47-70 is a commentary on bridging the gap between elite and published descriptions of popular culture and the responses of poorer groups. Invaluable guides for exploring working class perceptions are David Vincent, *Bread, knowledge and freedom: a study of nineteenth-century working class autobiography*, Europa, London, 1981; and John Burnett, David Vincent & David Mayall (eds), *The autobiography of the working class: an annotated, critical biography*, Vol.1, 1790-1900, Harvester Press, England, 1984. The evangelical respectability of most of the memoirists is still atypical of the working class.

jus as purty. Tawk bout naums de did av naums. Taint no muster dis or muster dat, but jes Tiger, Bullocky, an wat not, as ull see in the list. Owever dere mother kan no um is wat I wants ter no, dey be all party much like wun, dey be all blak and dats jes wat tis. Our passon tawks bout niggers and all sick like foke in sarmons, but dease cheps baint jes dat sort, dey jes can pla cricket sum an um, an dey cums from toder end o der wurl.

Wun as Went
June 9 1868
Jes put de stops in will yer[277]

Having attended the first day of their match against the Gentlemen of Sussex, 'Wun as Went' borrowed from the style of Artemus Ward, American vernacular humorist, to parody the racial perceptions of uneducated, semi-literate masses.

According to 'Wun as Went', the uneducated enjoyed the Aborigines as an obscure, unfamiliar variant of the 'nigger' whom they knew about from sermons and missionary exhortations. Despite being indistinguishable from each other because of their blackness, Aborigines were fair cricketers with funny names and well worthwhile seeing.[278] The ersatz worker's letter indicates characteristics of British spectatorship confirmed by other accounts: amused racial superiority and intense curiosity in Aborigines both as a unique race and a manifestation of generic black primitivism.

Lawrence recalled crowds assembling to cheer the Aborigines when they emerged from a bath, either because their colour was still intact or because modern hygiene was incongruous for primitives.[279] It is likely that throngs waiting at railway stations or crowding outside their hotel to catch a glimpse of the Aborigines included many who could ill afford the admission price to see their performances.[280] Like the journalist in Keighley,[281] they were probably disappointed that dressed in English mufti of overcoats and turban-like caps, the Aborigines failed to satisfy expectations of savagery.

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[277] Courtesy of Roger Davey, Archivist, East Sussex Record Office. This can be rendered as: "I went to see the Australians, at least the niggers at cricket, because before I went I didn't believe they were niggers, because it is gold that comes from that country. But they were aber? niggers said one of our chaps who went there once, and stayed there too. It is curious to see how they went on: they bowled, too, some of them pretty middling sharp I can tell you and they put her back just as pretty. Talk about names! They did have names! It isn't Mr. This or Mr. That, but just Tiger, Bullocky or what not, as you'll see in the list. How their mother can know them is what I want to know. They're all pretty much alike: they're all black and that's just how it is. Our parson talks about niggers and such folk in sermons, but these chaps aren't that sort. They just can play cricket and other things and they come from the other side of the world."

[278] 'Wun as went' wrote before they had performed their Aboriginal displays at Hove.

[279] Lawrence ms. 3.

[280] Graham ledger, pp. 9 & 39.

[281] See Chapter 12.

At Bootle, the uninhibited fascination of a little boy expressed the physiological curiosity, wonderment and apprehension which anticipations of Aborigines evoked in English spectators. Dick-a-Dick was fielding at long leg when:

> an intelligent looking boy of four or five years of age ... advanced from the pavilion side of the ground, armed with a stout walking stick, close up to Dick-a-Dick and stood looking at him with stolid wonder, but evidently quite prepared to act on the defensive in case the black man threatened hostilities. Dick-a-Dick seemed much amused, and pointed to the little man the danger he was in from the ball, but to no purpose, for his little admirer followed him from point to point until he had thoroughly satisfied himself on some problem in Dick's economy which had evidently puzzled him, then quietly returned to his friends.[282]

A common debit entry in Graham's ledger was payment for police to control excited spectators who frequently broke onto the field, jostling, surrounding and sometimes interrupting Aboriginal performances.[283] As management would have been reluctant to police the privileged, who in turn resented assertive jostling by the "hoipolloi",[284] boisterous crowd behaviour may be attributed to an intense working class curiosity in primitivism. Racial superiority did not take the form of hostility and crowd reactions included sympathetic support for the Aborigines, good natured mirth and laughter, and amusement at the names by which the Aborigines were known.[285]

Women

Aside from croquet and calisthenics, Victorian women were predominantly excluded from participation in sport.[286] Cricket was tightly gendered, exemplifying gentlemanly virtues deemed unsuitable for women.[287] Sporting crowds, too, were male-dominated, women being most prominent at sporting occasions which functioned as gala events, from the Eton-Harrow cricket match to seaside festivals, racing carnivals and country fairs. Primitivist displays and the novelty aspects of Aboriginal cricket attracted and legitimised an unusually prominent proportion of female spectators. [288] "Fashionable" women were particularly noted, lauded for the decorative aspect they contributed to the scenery.[289]

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[282] Graham ledger, p.42.

[283] For example, Graham ledger, pp.41and 48.

[284] *Free Lance*, 18 July 1868.

[285] Graham ledger, pp. 36 and 55. As in Australia, sympathetic support for the Aborigines was widespread.

[286] Middle and upper class women were to lead modern female sporting participation as part of a struggle to assert control over their own bodies: Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting females: critical issues in the history and sociology of women's sports*, Routledge, London, 1994, pp.106-107.

[287] McCrone, *Playing the game*, p.142.

[288] Graham ledger, p.10 (" a galaxy of beauty and fashion").

[289] Graham ledger, pp.10, 42,56,148 etc.

As the Aboriginal troupe was completely male and strongly masculinised, commended for their "manliness of disposition",[290] female spectators witnessed performances which were doubly gendered, as sport and racial display. Their English and Aboriginal activities exhibited qualities regarded as antithetical to femininity - power, speed, physical strength, courage, facility with weaponry, hunting, mock warfare, and cricket. The displays universalised gender roles. Women watched primitive black men from the Antipodes and respected masculine figures of their neighbourhood - polarised in other regards - competing in activities which shared masculine values and excluded civilised and primitive women.

Female spectatorship implied elements of yearning, similar to repressed longings which continue to underpin western fascination for exotic primitivism.[291] Constraints imposed on Victorian womanhood lent titillating dimensions to the spectacle of exotic semi-naked black men engaged in primitive combat;[292] and occasional reports hint that some Englishmen suspected it too.[293]

No intimate documentation of female responses to the Aborigines has emerged, but after witnessing a Wild West show and being presented to Black Elk and other semi-naked American Indians, Queen Victoria recorded her reactions of apprehensive titillation. The cowboys were "fine-looking people, but the painted Indians, with their feathers and wild dress (very little of it) were rather alarming looking, and have cruel faces ... Their War Dance ...was quite fearful, with all their contorsions [sic]". And, she concluded with a tremor, "they came so close."[294]

However female perceptions of Aboriginal men differed from male spectators, female onlookers could be comforted by the supremacy of civilisation. Like male working class spectators, they shared a sense of superiority rooted in white racial identity.

Diaries

Only cursory diaries by English observers have come to light, and none has involved sustained personal contact with the Aborigines.[295]

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[290] Graham ledger, p.56.

[291] See bell hooks, *Yearning: race, gender and cultural politics*, South End Press, Boston, 1990.

[292] Allen Guttman, *The erotic in sports*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1996 is a historical analysis of erotic implications of the body in sport. The burgeoning literature on Victorian sexuality includes Michel Foucault, *History of sexuality, Vol.1*, Random House, New York, 1978; Michael Mason, *The making of Victorian sexuality*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994; and James Eli Adams, "Victorian sexualities", in Herbert F. Tucker (ed.) *A companion to Victorian literature and culture*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1999, pp.125-137.

[293] For instance that a high proportion of the fair sex "appeared to take a great interest in the success of the dark men" Graham ledger, p.48.

[294] Quoted by Moses, *Wild West shows and the images of American Indians*, p.54 from Queen Victoria's Journal, 11 May 1887, the Royal Archives, Windsor Castle.

[295] Mulvaney & Harcourt located two brief observations of the touring Aborigines. They were also by Australian colonists visiting England: Mrs Mary Alsopp who took her two children to watch the Aborigines in Derby on September 3; and Samuel Winter from western Victoria who watched the Aborigines at Lord's. See *Cricket walkabout*, p.119 and footnote 1, p.130.

Denman Etherley Mason, an Australian colonist and active cricketer, was revisiting England in 1868. From his home county of Derbyshire on May 26, he recorded two sensational popular entertainments which had just occurred in London. One was the public execution of "Barret the Feinan [sic] prisoner ... It is stated that he died without a struggle". Without a pause, Mason continued: "The Australian black eleven cricketers played their first match in England against the all-England [sic] team yesterday ... The London Telegraph states that their [sic] was never was so much money taken at any time before on the cricket ground at Lords [sic] as on this occasion. Several of the blacks are unwell."[296]

On September 3, Mason visited Derby to watch the Aborigines. After Derbyshire's easy victory, he attributed the Aborigines' defeat to:

> their having to go through other sports on the same day, namely throwing the bowmerang [sic], sham fight and Dick a Dick dodging the cricket ball &c. which he accomplished in first rate stile [sic] four men throwing at him in turn at a distance of about 8 yards, each trying to strike him for about 20 minutes, but all failed to strike him, for he took care to guard each ball and on the following day Tuesday Sept. 7th and 8th the Blacks played at Burton on Trent, proving the best players in this match by 171 runs.

He commended Cuzens' bowling and the team's fielding, then concluded his entries on the Aboriginal tour: "One of the blacks died soon after they arrived in England."[297]

JOURNALISM

"Boomerang compliments"

Most articles were written by "cricket critics" for the sporting section of newspapers and concentrated on technical details of cricket: the fall of wickets, strokes played, runs scored, respectful enumeration of attendant dignitaries, a little local colour, an assessment of refreshments and amenities, and the result. Descriptions of Aboriginal displays were usually tacked on at the end.

Unlike Tom Molyneux's 1810 pugilistic challenge to Tom Cribb, the tour of the 1886 Maori Rugby team or Jack Johnson's humiliation of white heavyweight boxers from 1908, the Aboriginal cricketers did not threaten the athletic and psychological security of white masculinity. Their entertaining performances, moderate cricketing accomplishments and reserved public demeanour pleased English observers, conforming to expectations of black accommodation, subordination and tutelage. They earned praise for being "pleasant and well behaved"[298]; "very

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[296] Pp. 27-28 of typewritten transcripts from the diary of Denman Mason (henceforth Mason ms.) courtesy of a descendant, Mrs R. Roffe, Bilinga, Queensland. She and her family generously supplied notes regarding the life of Denman Mason and the Derbyshire town of Crich.

[297] Mason ms., p.30. On 12 April 1869 Mason recorded his journey to Derby to see another travelling exhibition of otherness: the Siamese twins, the American Giantess and the Circassian Lady (Mason ms. p.35.)

[298] *Burton Weekly News and General Advertiser*, 11 September, 1868.

polite and affable and appear to be a jovial lot of men"[299]; "manly, dignified and [with a] pleasantly confident gait and bearing."[300]

Fragmentary impressions and tidbits of detail supplemented the scant public knowledge of Aborigines and situated them in a schema whose racial hierarchies were accepted as common sense. Racial assessments were benignly condescending, reflecting colonialist magnanimity towards conquered peoples, who, having accepted their subordination, were welcomed as diverting entertainment. The journalistic tenor accorded to Phyllis Rose's metaphor which contrasts racial exoticism to hostile racism: "racists are threatened by difference, the exoticist finds it amusing ... Racism is like a poor kid who grew up needing someone to hurt. Exoticism grew up rich and a little bored."[301]

Primitivist and exoticist representation characteristically refract racial denigration by a technique of false or "boomerang compliments".[302] Magnanimous evaluations of the Aborigines typically consisted of patronising or complimentary assessments qualified by implications which reasserted primitive inferiority to white norms.[303] A comprehensive example was the *Brighton Herald* of June 13 which provided information about Aborigines for "one of the curiosities of cricket", their match against the Gentlemen of Sussex.

It began with a spirited rebuttal of denigration:

> A few years ago it was a very prevalent opinion - and probably is now among many persons - that the aborigines of Australia ranked lowest in the scale of humanity; that they had not the rudest elements of a mythology; and that their intellect was too sluggish for even the evolution of a superstition; that their social habits and characteristics were of the most degraded; their language of the rudest character; and that they lacked the intelligence to count the number of their own fingers! And, what was worse, that they could not be taught; their skulls were, in fact, too thick, so thick indeed, as not only to be impenetrable to instruction, but as impervious even to a bullet or a blow from a club as the hide of a rhinoceros.

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[299] *Maidstone Telegraph*, 23 May, 1868.

[300] *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 18 August, 1868.

[301] Phyllis Rose, *Jazz Cleopatra: Josephine Baker in her time*, Random House, New York, 1989, p.44, quoted by Robert Stam & Ella Shohat, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: multiculturalism and the media*, Routledge, England, 1994, p.21. The distinction between racism and exoticism is not necessarily as clear as Rose's useful metaphor makes it appear. Racial exoticism is better conceived as a contradictory manifestation of racism - especially its commodification - rather than as its negation.

[302] I have borrowed the idea and the term from Ella Shohat & Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: multiculturalism and the media*, Routledge, England, 1994, p.21.

[303] A few other examples: their "physiognomy is by no means unintellectual" (*Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 18 August 1868); observing them in cricket apparel and "speaking English tolerably well, ... it was hard to realise the savage by some supposed to be the most degraded in creation" (*Norwich Mercury*, 29 July 1868); they "are very far indeed removed from being an ill-looking or disagreeable set of men." (*South Eastern Gazette*, 18 May 1868). "They are mostly well-built men, save for an occasional want of development in the chest" (*Middlesbrough Weekly News and Cleveland Advertiser*, 28 August 1868).

Although only the final piece of racial hostility from the African frontier diverged from accepted tenets of racial science, the writer argued that modern knowledge of Aborigines had replaced such ill-informed bigotry.[304] But were they as good as whites? Not really: "A more intimate acquaintance, however, with the Australian has shown that, black as he is, he is not quite so black as he has been painted."

The article continued with ethnological information collected by the American Exploring Expedition to Sydney in 1839.[305]

Aborigines possessed a rudimentary mythology. They believed in a simple Supreme Being and a *Wandong* whom they feared and had recently been taught to call "devil". Their social organisation was primitive, familial, pre-tribal and polygamous. The men were jealous, barbaric and libidinous; women "merely ... an object of property to be sold or given away by relatives without the slightest consideration for any feelings she may have."

Having repudiated racial contempt, the author identified one Aboriginal talent: "they undoubtedly, in common with most savage nations, have a great partiality for athletic exercises and sports, and show a great skill in the handling of weapons." Even here, they were not "as a race, so well developed in a physical point of view as Europeans" and lacked endurance - "another fact in proof of their physique being below that of the European." Their cricketing ability displayed primitive peoples' facility for mimicry: "It is quite evident that their imitative powers are keen, for in play they exactly copy the position and style of their tutor" and in admiring Mullagh "it was jokingly said on the ground that Lawrence had brought Caffyn back, blacked up for the occasion."

After an ameliorative introduction, the article - devoid of hostility, cognisant of some scientific opinion and appreciative of Aboriginal performance - had, by a series of boomerang compliments, reasserted primitivist tropes and the racial subordination of Aborigines.

Racial purity and the elusiveness of Aboriginal identity

Because race was constructed as a function of discrete biological difference, it was important to reassure observers that the performers were *pure* Aborigines, undiluted by the 'blood'

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[304] For example, John Lubbock particularly emphasised the rudimentary nature of Aboriginal language, numeracy, religion and the degradation of their sexual behaviour. See John Lubbock, *The origin of civilisation and the primitive condition of man* (orig. 1870 with appendices from the late 1860s), University of Chicago, USA, 1978. Discussion of primitive languages pp.356-358. Similar material in John Lubbock, *Pre-historic times: as illustrated by ancient remains and the manners and customs of modern savages*, Williams & Norgate, London, 1865.

[305] A US navy convoy which included an ethnologist had stopped in Sydney in 1839. Its observations of Aborigines were published in 1846. See Hiatt, *Arguments about Aborigines*, p.81.

of another race. Behaviour which was "perfectly civilised" was a consequence of having been "brought up in the bush to agricultural pursuits as assistants to Englishmen."[306] The "managers make no pretence to anything other than purity of race and origin",[307] advised another journalist but the characteristics of their physical and behavioural purity proved elusive.

Dark skins denoted their inferiority[308] but casual observers could identify no remarkable physical features which differentiated them from Africans or even Europeans. Aboriginal physiques, if broadly inferior to Englishmen,[309] were pleasing but unremarkable. Some attempted to distinguish Aborigines from Africans by their noses, lips, foreheads, hands and feet[310] but hair was the most prominent physical feature by which they were differentiated. The most succinct definitions of Aborigines were that they "are of the ordinary type of blacks, with the exception of their hair, which is not woolley";[311] and that they closely resembled the "native African, with, perhaps, this exception, that their hair is not of that wiry, coarse and curly nature characteristic of the Indian."[312]

Management again intervened to rebut suggestions that facial hair betrayed racial impurity: "...the plentiful glossy black hair and whiskers of the majority suggest the admixture of other than the aboriginal blood in the veins of most of them, but ... Mr. Lawrence assured us all of his pupils are genuine aboriginals from different parts of New South Wales and Victoria."[313]

Unlike Australian cartoons which emphasised Aboriginal savagery against colonial settlers,[314] British humour used the Aborigines to depict generic racial stereotypes. When the minority Disraeli government stubbornly resisted its imminent displacement by Gladstone's Liberals in 1868, a cartoonist used the Aboriginal cricketers to make his point.

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[306] *Maidstone and Kentish Journal*, 25 May 1868.

[307] *Maidstone and Kentish Journal*, 25 May, 1868. For another reassurance of racial purity by Lawrence, see *Middlesbrough Weekly News and Cleveland Advertiser*, 28 August 1868.

[308] Although no-one could agree on their colour: "black as night" (*South Eastern Gazette*, 18 May 1868.); dark copper like an old penny (*Maidstone and Kentish Journal*, 25 May 1868); sooty brown (*Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 18 August 1868); as black or nearly as black as Africans (*Maidstone Telegraph*, 30 May 1868); and varying in shades of blackness (*Times*, 26 May 1868).

[309] *Maidstone and Kentish Journal*, 25 May 1868. *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 18 August 1868 noted that their physiques differed as much as a sample of Englishmen.

[310] *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 18 August 1868; *Brighton Herald*, 13 June 1868.

[311] *Brighton Herald*, 13 June 1868.

[312] *Swansea and Glamorgan Herald*, 11 July 1868. Facial hair was a positive feature because of its association with European masculinity: Londa Schiebinger, *Nature's body: sexual politics and the making of modern science*, Pandora, London, 1993, pp.120-125.

[313] *Middlesbrough Weekly News and Cleveland Advertiser*, 28 August 1868.

[314] See Chapter 9.

Illustration 65: Aboriginal and Jewish otherness.

Illustration 66: Aborigines as generic darkies.

Gladstone is the expectant wicketkeeper waiting behind the stumps for his victim, while the stubborn Disraeli, occupying the crease, is the subject of the caption, "The Native Who Cannot be Bowled Out."[315] At its simplest level, this harmless jibe contrasted Disraeli with the Aborigines' inability to resist English bowling. But there was a deeper racial implication. Disraeli's swarthy face and hands contrast to Gladstone's John Bull features and foregrounds the commonality of non-whiteness which co-identified the Jewish politician and Aboriginal cricketers as "natives".

A more degraded image of blackness appeared in an 1869 cartoon entitled "Blackballing a Member".[316]

This time, a black man was the wicketkeeper, complete with ring in the nose, thickened lips, broad nostrils, wide eyes, buffoon's stance and moronic expression. He, and his team-mate at square leg are depicted with the standard comic paraphernalia deployed to convey the racial inferiority of black men.

In an era of colonialist ascendancy and minstrel show mania, exotic races were regarded as funny and racial humour was rarely seen as offensive.[317] At Witham, a report evoked the gaiety inspired by the "long-hoped for visit of the 'blacks' - not as one might suppose the shoe-blacks, but the well-known original troupe of native Australian cricketers."[318] It continued to amuse the locals a year later when Robert Partridge organised another match, Braintree and Bocking Cricket Club against a visiting XI captained by a Mr. Blackie. *Tomtit*, a local satirical journal, found it irresistible to deadpan that while in 1869, "the Blackies" played at Witham House, "it will be remembered that last year also, the Aborigines attracted great numbers to the same grounds."[319]

[315] Reproduced from David Frith, *The pageant of cricket*, p.113.

[316] In *Percy Cruikshank's Comic Almanack*, reproduced by David Frith, *The pageant of cricket* , p.118.

[317] Although the British Tory press, particularly *Punch*, was attacked by liberal opinion for its contemptuous ridicule of Jamaicans and the Irish. See article from the *New York Tribune* republished in the *Empire* (Sydney), February 6, 1867.

[318] *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 18 September 1868.

[319] *Tomtit* (Chelmsford), 1869, p.7.

The festive atmosphere at Aboriginal matches was enlivened by brass bands who played through the day. Although the Aborigines were said to be "in the dark" about their prospects for Newcastle, they were assured of hearing the brass band play "the following appropriate selection of music", including " 'Good *bye* Sweetheart, good *bye*;' 2. There's a funny little Nigger (by permission of the Christy Minstrels); … and 7. "Batti, Batti,' (by Handle)."[320]

They were not malignant jokes but their currency suggests that racial witticisms were commonly directed at the Aborigines. The repeated "playing against the niggers" jokes of the first white Australian cricket tour to England 10 years later[321] were survivals, which white Englishmen and Australians continued to enjoy as a manifestation of shared racial privilege.

Aboriginal English speech was as elusive as their physical identity. When presentations were made to the Aborigines, it was customary for Lawrence or Hayman to respond on behalf of the team[322] and Dick-a-Dick's formal response at the cricket critics' farewell dinner, "We thank you from our hearts"[323] was the only utterance convincingly attributed to the Aborigines in England.[324] When journalists were about, the Aborigines spoke English "tolerably well".[325] Most were "moderately intelligible" in "broken accents",[326] although one was reported to have been "brought up in white society from a tender age, not even knowing any other tongue".[327]

Just as their physical features were equated with Africans, one article identified Aboriginal English with African-American slaves. At the same time, the "carefree darkie" image conveyed the intellectual backwardness and innumeracy attributed to Aborigines.

> They are utterly ignorant of their ages. No doubt they found themselves one fine day running about in the bush, and like Topsy, 'spected' they 'grow'd'. Lawrence one day asked Peter his age. He had noticed that he was running not very neatly, like a youth would do, and said to him, 'Peter, you must be getting old; how old are you?' to which Peter replied, 'Knows nuffin' about sich things Massa Charles.'[328]

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[320] *Newcastle Daily Journal*, 21 August 1868 (italics in original).
[321] See Introduction.
[322] For example at their second match in Bootle, Graham ledger, p.68.
[323] *South Eastern Gazette*, 5 October 1868.
[324] Other reports are highly dubious: Twopenny - "I never see such rum country as this; so hot one day and almost freeze the next (*Burton Weekly New and General Advertiser*, 11 September 1868); and a purported Aboriginal excuse for not making runs - "to quote their own words, they 'save their wind;' adding that if they run much they 'blow and can't hold the bat.' " (*Brighton Herald*, 13 June 1868).
[325] *Norwich Mercury*, 29 July 1868.
[326] Graham ledger, p.50. The claim that the Aborigines generally spoke English better than their native tongues (*Maidstone Telegraph*, 23 May 1868) is implausible.
[327] *Field*, 23 May 1868.
[328] *Brighton Herald*, 13 June 1868.

Aborigines and literary African-Americans

Collapsing Aboriginal identity into the world of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was more than a commentary on the pervasive influence of Beecher Stowe's anti-slavery melodrama. It exemplified the predisposition of European whiteness to fit Aborigines into a stockpile of existing racial stereotypes.[329]

To explain the two Aborigines whom it represented as the extremes of primitivism and transformation, the *Maidstone and Kentish Journal* likened them to two stereotypical African-American characters in the fictional representation of slavery . "Tiger", it explained, "more than any other of the others, shows the massive, broad and heavy features of his race ... rather more of the type of Mr. Boucicault's Pete in *The Octoroon* than of the fine young mulatto George Harris known to the reader of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*" Mullagh was "no inhapt [sic] realisation of Mrs Beecher Stowe's fanciful creation."[330]

English readers knew that George Harris, not the martyred Uncle Tom, was the non-white hero of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* A devoted Christian family man, handsome, literate, hard-working, an enterprising inventor and manager, George Harris was a *beaux-ideal* of non-whiteness. But he was not black: he was a light-skinned mulatto who was able to escape slavery by posing as a Spaniard, and whose civilised character could be explained by the influence of white blood. He spoke English like an educated white man and his racial identity was ultimately a matter of personal choice.[331]

In the person of Tiger, whose "broad and massive features" typified his race, Aborigines were identified with the characteristics of Dion Boucicault's Pete. In the Irish-American's 1859 play, *The Octoroon or Life in Louisiana,* Pete, formerly servant to a kindly master, the late Judge, was now "too ole to work, sa".

Pete was wont to hobble about the Terrebone Plantation with a mop and pail, fondly railing at mischievous negro children ("Dem little niggers is a judgement upon dis generation ... It's dem black trash, Mas'r George. Don't believe dey'll turn out niggers when dere growed - dey'll turn out

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[329] Marcia Langton has discussed the creation of Aboriginality by stereotypes and mythologies in texts: Langton, *'Well I heard it on the radio and I saw it on the television'*, Australian Film Commission, Sydney, 1993, pp. 32-40.

[330] *Maidstone and Kentish Journal*, 25 May 1868.

[331] After he escaped to Canada, Harris declaimed: "True ... I might mingle in the circles of the whites in this country, my shade of colour is so slight, and that of my wife and family scarce perceptible. But ... I have no wish to. My sympathies are not from my father's race but my mother's ... It is with the oppressed, enslaved African race that I cast in my lot; and if I wished anything, I would wish myself two shades darker, rather than one lighter." Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's cabin*, Blackie, London, 1963 (originally 1852), p.441. But a critic argues that the world of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* left even a mulatto with Harris's extraordinary gifts little alternative but to relocate his family to Liberia, see Susan Marie, "The rhetoric of race", pp.255-270 in Mason Lowance (ed.), *The Stowe debate: rhetorical strategies in Uncle Tom's Cabin*, University of Massachusetts, U.S.A., 1994, p.260.

sunthin' else"[332]). But when the once happy Terrebone slaves drooped despondently on learning they were to be sold, 'Ole Pete rose to the occasion:

> Dar, do you hear dat, ye mis'able darkeys; dem girls is worth a boat load of kinder men, dem is … for de pride of de family, let every darkey look his best for de Judge's sake - dat ole man so good to us … so dem strangers from New Orleans shall say, dem's happy darkies, dem's a fine set of niggars [sic]; every one say when he's sold, 'Lor' bless dis yer family.'

His rhetoric inspired the slaves to exultantly cry: "We'll do it Pete; we'll do it".[333]

Whereas Mullagh's Harris was remarkable because of his European accomplishments, Tiger's Pete was a stereotypical black inferior. His assimilation of civilisation was minimal; his nature and inclinations fitted him for white amusement and servitude. Mullagh's grace was compared to the English amateur George Anderson but Tiger was a tamed savage: "a really terrible fellow were he not as jolly and jocular as what we will call a civilised African is [sic] under favourable circumstances."[334]

Recourse to the racial imagery of slavery and African peoples reflects a feature of their representation in England: unlike the size of Pygmies or the bottoms of Hottentot women nothing about Aboriginal bodies, even black skin, was sufficiently sensational to define and commodify them. "About the men there appeared to be nothing extraordinary and were it not for their coloured visages, they might well be taken for a friendly home team", sighed the *Hastings and St. Leonards News* with disappointment.[335] Displays of their unique weaponry established Aboriginal identity.

SCIENCE: BOOMERANGS, STICKS AND ABORIGINAL INVENTION

The emblem of crossed boomerang and cricket bat which adorned their caps perfectly symbolised the dialectical dualism between the transformationist and primitivist aspects of their shows. The boomerang was the single object which identified the uniqueness of Aboriginal primitivism because, unlike other primitive implements, boomerangs appeared to have no equivalents in western or non-western societies.

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[332] Dion Bouicault, *The Octoroon: or life in Louisiana: a play in four acts*, John Dicks, London, c. 1862.
[333] Bouicault, *The Octoroon*, p.32.
[334] *South Eastern Gazette*, 18 May 1868.
[335] *Hastings and St. Leonards News*, 26 June 1868.

Because of their performance advantages, the Aboriginal shows demonstrated returning boomerangs instead of the larger hunting and fighting boomerangs more common in Aboriginal Australia. Returning boomerangs had been described by Europeans from 1802,[336] and Aborigines quickly discovered that fascinated white Australian settlers and visiting Englishmen were willing to pay to see them demonstrated.[337]

But returning boomerangs had rarely, if ever, been demonstrated effectively in England. In the 1830s, they were a fad at Dublin, Oxford and Cambridge universities,[338] and in the 1840s they became a British craze as "a toy of the most formidable kind".[339] For a brief while they could "be purchased at any toy shop in this country with full directions for use", but quickly disappeared because the English could not master the techniques to make them return.[340] English credulity was so great that one lady in London "believed that the Bomerang [sic] not only 'comes back,' but that it brings the duck, or whatever else it hits, back with it".[341]

British audiences were awed by the boomerang's gyrations and the humming noise it produced as it swirled through the air. A rhapsodic evocation of its flight, described it being:

> propelled forwards, skimming and twirling through the air, with a loud whirr; and when it has touched the ground with one end it instantly rises and continues to gyrate in the most wonderful manner at a great height."[342]

Like its Aboriginal throwers, it was conceived as a child of nature, endowed with willful and animate impulses: "now sailing like a swallow, now poising itself like a sky-lark, and now flying in circles like a pigeon, till it swoops like a hawk."[343] The spectacular performances stimulated controversy over the implement's inexplicable association with Aborigines. The conundrum reduced the *Norwich Mercury* to astonished bafflement. The boomerang was:

> "the most marvellous weapon of warfare or the chase to a new observer, and the most puzzling to scientific men, who would inquire how the profound principles displayed in its construction could have been discovered by these barbarians, or by what accident the use of so eccentric a missile could have been revealed to them."[344]

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[336] Philip Jones, *Boomerang: behind an Australian icon*, Wakefield Press, South Australia, 1996, p.106.

[337] John Lubbock was informed by Mr. Merry, a temporary resident in Australia, that he offered Aborigines sixpence for very time that they made a boomerang return within a five foot circle. They succeeded five times out of twelve. See Lubbock, *Pre-historic times*, p.352. Bungaree was an earlier exponent. See Keith Vincent Smith, *King Bungaree*, Kangaroo Press, Australia, 1992, p.67.

[338] Jones, *Boomerang*, pp.167-168.

[339] *Gravesend and Dartford Reporter*, 6 June 1868.

[340] *Brighton Herald*, 13 June 1868.

[341] Sir Thomas L. Mitchell, *Origin, history and description of the Bomerang Propeller: a lecture delivered at the United Service Institution*, T. & W. Boone, London, 1853, p.19.

[342] *Gravesend and Dartford Reporter*, 6 June 1868. This imaginative description was adapted by other journalists during the tour.

[343] *Gravesend and Dartford Reporter*, 6 June 1868.

[344] *Norwich Mercury*, 29 July 1868.

Witnesses to its hazardous and erratic flights resolved the issue by doubting that the capricious instrument was subject to Aboriginal control or predictable laws of motion.[345] The *Gravesend and Dartford Reporter* suggested a more popular solution - Aborigines *discovered* the boomerang because they were incapable of *inventing* it: their "untutored progenitors must have discovered by accident or instinct a seemingly paradoxical phenomenon on the law which governs projectiles."[346]

This was more than an insignificant and uneducated prejudice, for as we have seen, the folk prejudices of race and its scientific literature tended to bleed into, and feed off each other. Stimulated by the performances in 1868, the enigmatic implement provoked a lively debate at the highest levels of the British scientific establishment.

During their Oval debut, one of the spectators whose reason for attendance was scientific curiosity rather than sporting pleasure was Colonel Augustus Lane Fox who was to revolutionise archaeology by turning its attention from articles of aesthetic beauty to everyday objects.[347] He discussed the Aborigines' performance in an 1868 article entitled *Primitive warfare (II)*.[348] An 1867 companion article, *Primitive warfare I,*[349] explained the evolutionary framework of race and technology within which he viewed the Aboriginal shows and by which his museum would arrange and classify its objects. The lowest and earliest of four levels of human racial evolution - beneath even Bronze Age Africans, Malays and Tartars - were "the still more barbarous races of our times, the Australian, Bushmen and hunting races of Africa ... [analogous] to the stone age of Europe."[350]

Primitive races, he argued, should "thus be taken as the living representatives of our common ancestors in the successive stages of their advancement." His schema applied also to their material culture as "the slowness of their progression and their incapacity for improvement is proportional to the low state of their civilization." Such races and their implements were living fossils, anachronisms, the past frozen in the present, it being supposed that "they may have retained their arts with but slight modification" from the Stone Age. Aborigines were exemplary Stone Age survivals as throughout "the entire continent of Australia the weapons and implements are alike, and of the simplest form, and the people are of the lowest grade."[351]

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[345] *Brighton Herald*, 13 June 1868.

[346] *Gravesend and Dartford Reporter*, 6 June 1868.

[347] Philippa A. Levine, *The amateur and the professional: antiquarians, historians and archaeologists in Victorian England*, Cambridge University Press, England, 1986, p.34. Although Lane Fox was still twelve years away from inheriting the title which would permit his ennoblement to Pitt-Rivers and a further two years from endowing the famous museum which perpetuates his name, I will hereon describe him as Pitt-Rivers.

[348] Reprinted in Lt. Gen. A Lane Fox, Pitt-Rivers, *The evolution of culture and other essays*, edited by J.L. Myres, Clarendon Press, England, 1906.

[349] Also in Pitt-Rivers, *The evolution of culture and other essays*.

[350] Pitt-Rivers, "Primitive warfare I", p.50.

[351] Pitt-Rivers, "Primitive warfare I", p.51.

The loaded terminology confirms Tom Griffiths' observation that "Stone Age" is as much a metaphor and value judgement as it is a useful scientific term.[352] At the same time, it explains the imaginative appeal of the Aboriginal performances for British spectators. They were not simply viewing savages from far-off continents; they were gazing across time at their own Stone Age ancestors, who instead of huddling in caves were surrounded by rings of carriages and spectators, hurling Stone Age weaponry on British cricket fields.

Primitive warfare II, a paper delivered to the Royal United Service Institution, noted that a weapon named the "malgei" was "called ''leowel" by the visiting Aborigines.[353] Pitt-Rivers recognised the Aboriginal skill of parrying with their shields, adding that "one of the Australians now in this country" parried cricket balls hurled with force by three people simultaneously.[354] Not considering Aborigines in any more differentiated sense than a static Stone Age race, he was one of few observers who did not mention Dick-a-Dick's name: the cultural significance, drama and individuality of the performances eluded him.

"I saw the Australians, now exhibiting in Kennington Common (1868), throw their spears with the wamera [sic] nearly 100 yards extreme range", he noted, "but as they practised only for range, I had no opportunity of observing the accuracy of flight."[355] This was again unusual, since other viewers were amazed by the accuracy of their throwing. Pitt-Rivers' lifeless observation excises the excitement that thrilled non-scientific spectators.

Pitt-Rivers did not describe the boomerang performances. Instead, he sought to account for the creation of sophisticated technology by a primitive people "of the lowest grade". How had a Stone Age people produced an implement which had escaped their evolutionary superiors up to Victorian England?

His answer was that the boomerang was simply a stick. The "Australian boomerang", deliberately constructed and thrown to return, was of the same genus as the "Indian and African boomerangs", throwing sticks and clubs which happened not to come back. After all, he explained, "All savage nations are in the habit of throwing their weapons at the enemy ... Even apes, as I have already noticed, are in the habit of throwing stones."[356]

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[352] Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and collectors: the antiquarian imagination in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Australia, 1996, pp.55-56. Griffiths observes that describing Aborigines as 'stone age is rendered more problematic by the inappropriateness of its periodisation into Paleolithic and Neolithic. He notes that John Lubbock coined Paleolithic and Neolithic and that Robert Brough Smyth was responsible for pointing out that the European categories did not apply equally to Australia.

[353] Pitt-Rivers, "Primitive warfare II", p.125.

[354] Pitt-Rivers, "Primitive warfare II", p.137.

[355] Pitt-Rivers, "Primitive warfare II", p.133.

[356] Pitt-Rivers, "Primitive warfare II", p.122.

Sir John Lubbock, pioneering prehistorian, liberal reformer and Darwinist, disagreed.[357] His 1867 paper *On the primitive condition of man*, cited the boomerang as an innovation which refuted the degenerationist position that barbarians, fallen descendants of once enlightened ancestors, never "did or can raise themselves" without an external stimulus.[358] As the returning boomerang existed nowhere else, it was clear proof of an independent advance - though "a small one indeed" by "true savages".[359]

Pitt-Rivers defended his position, conceding only: "If it could be shown that the Australian weapon had been *contrived* for the purpose of obtaining a return flight, I should then agree with him in regarding the difference as generic."[360] It was clear, of course, that there could be no evidence that the boomerang had been "contrived" - that is, conceived in the abstract and fashioned to approximate that abstraction. The real issue, surely, was the capacity to recognise a technology, understand the features that make it work, and purposefully amend, construct and implement it.[361]

Predictably, Pitt-Rivers' "investigations ... show that this was probably an application accidentally hit upon by Australians ... so trivial as to regard it as not generically different" from throwing sticks. His "investigations", like those of journalists, were products of racial presumption and prejudice. As creatures of instinct, Aborigines were incapable of rational thought:

> it is evident that the principles of the flight of the boomerang ... *must* [my italics] have been entirely unknown to the savage; he can no more be said to have *invented* the boomerang than he can be said to have *invented* [italics in original] the art of sustaining life by nourishment. Instinct prompts him to eat; little better than instinct ... would have led to the adoption of such an instrument as the boomerang, purely through the basis of accidental variation.[362]

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[357] In John Lubbock, *Pre-historic times*, p.351 (published 1865 from earlier lectures), he had already described it as "the most extra-ordinary weapon, quite unique to Australia".

[358] Dr. Richard Whately, quoted by Lubbock, "On the primitive condition of man", 1867 paper to the British Association at Dundee, appendix in John Lubbock, *The origin of civilisation and the primitive condition of man*, p.325. Whately and the Duke of Argyll were the two degenerationists whom Lubbock was debating.

[359] Lubbock, 1867 Dundee paper in *The origin of civilisation and the primitive condition of man* p.332.

[360] Pitt-Rivers, "Primitive warfare II", p.125.

[361] A body of thought identifies similarities between science and the origins of successful living practices in East and West African, Aboriginal and Native American societies. It holds that they utilised scientific processes - empirical observation, inference and experimentation - to arrive at nutritional, environmental, technological, navigational and husbandry discoveries. The main differences are in the content of the discoveries and the processes of observing and recording their results and methodologies. See Robin Dunbar, *The trouble with science*, Faber & Faber, London, 1995, pp.35-57.

[362] Pitt-Rivers, "Primitive warfare II", p.125. Four years later Pitt-Rivers reiterated his opinions on the nature of the boomerang and of Aboriginal incapacity for independent development, although - perhaps influenced by their performances - he admitted that Aborigines "are found to be not only capable, but even quick in receiving instruction." See Colonel A. Lane Fox, "On the boomerang: Opening address by the President, Colonel A. Lane Fox", *Nature*, Vol.VI, 17 August 1872, pp.323-324.

Lubbock agreed that as one of the child-races of history,[363] Aboriginal development of limited technologies resulted from the "rudiments of intellectual perception ... The wielding of a stick is, in all probability, an act equally of primitive intuition, and from this to throwing of a stick and the use of javelins, is an easy and natural transition."[364]

Addressing the United Services Club 15 years before Pitt-Rivers, Sir Thomas Mitchell, Australian explorer, surveyor and inventor, argued from personal experience that Aborigines thoroughly understood the workings of the boomerang.

Mitchell was pursuing recognition for his patent of the "Bomerang Propeller", a device which improved the speed of steam-powered ships, and acknowledged that his invention was based on its principles.[365] After Robert Fitzroy of the *Beagle* argued that the motion of the boomerang was irrelevant to the screw propeller, Mitchell supplemented his rebuttal with Aboriginal testimony.

Brandishing three boomerangs which were on display at the United Services Club Museum,[366] Mitchell explained that they were all right screws, constructed to be thrown if they were held like a sickle. "A 'noble savage'," who was, said Mitchell:

> the best of authorities in this matter, I should think, in explaining to me why he held his missile sickle-wise, pointed out to me very plainly the twist in the lower or smooth side, (the *working face*, as mechanics would say of the propeller), and which smooth or lower side of the Bomerang is ever so, whilst the upper side is always rounded for strength, like the back of a propeller blade, and usually carved.[367]

British shipbuilders continued to appropriate innovative features of the Boomerang Propeller and Mitchell failed to make his fortune.[368] Observers of boomerang performances in 1868 knew of its contribution to marine technology. In Swansea, it was noted that the screw propeller had been adapted from the boomerang,[369] and at North Shields a journalist commented that the boomerang was "of the same form as the screw of a steamer ... and of very considerable scientific

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[363] Lubbock, *The origin of civilisation and the primitive condition of man*, p.360, responding to a rejoinder by the Duke of Argyll in *Good Words*, March, April, May & June 1868.

[364] Duke of Argyll, quoted by Lubbock in 1869 Dundee paper, appendix in Lubbock, *The origin of civilisation and the primitive condition of man*, p.339.

[365] William C. Foster, *Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell and his world 1792-1855*, Institute of Surveyors, NSW, 1985, p.449.

[366] Pitt-Rivers extolled colonialism as a progressive movement, not only because it brought all the remaining races of mankind under one civilization, but also because the co-operation of Britain's army, navy and scholars permitted the United Services Museum to form "a really systematic collection of savage weapons, not perhaps within the power of every other Institution in the world": "Primitive warfare II", p.143.

[367] Mitchell, *Origin, history and description of the Bomerang Propeller*, p.18.

[368] Foster, *Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell and his world*, p.471.

[369] *Cambrian*, 26 June 1868.

interest".[370] It would have been interesting for Pitt-Rivers or Lubbock to adopt Mitchell's methodology, get to know the Aborigines and *ask* the boomerang experts in their midst - Charlie Dumas, Dick-a-Dick, Twopenny, Sundown, Jim Crow, or Mullagh - what they understood of its workings.[371]

Witnessing their mastery of weaponry did not modify Pitt-Rivers' assumptions of Aboriginal inferiority. He criticised the "ethnologist and the anthropologist [who] compares the present condition of savages with that of the Europeans with whom they are brought into contact ", insisting on "the vast disparity of intellect between them … the savage incapable of education and civilization, and evidently destined to fall away before the white man whenever the races meet."[372] Advances in scientific understanding confirmed the folly of protecting the rights of colonised peoples by philanthropic legislation. However, because colonial authorities had not "made the races of mankind their study," they foolishly assumed

> that the work of countless ages of divergence is to be put to rights by Acts of Parliament, and by suddenly applying to the inferior races of mankind laws and institutions for which they are about as fitted as the animals in the Zoological Gardens.[373]

Sir Pelham Warner, pillar of the MCC, unashamedly revealed a bizarre consequence of the boomerang performances of 1868. In 1895, Cecil Rhodes was in England with Dr. Leander Jameson, conniving with the British establishment to approve the "Jameson Raid", his catastrophic invasion of the Transvaal the following year. Warner, then an undergraduate in his early twenties, was invited to sit next to the imperialist at an Oxford breakfast and recalled that "… this boomerang throwing by the Aborigines was not forgotten over twenty-five years later, at least by the great Cecil Rhodes." Rhodes had financed the first South African cricket side to tour England the previous year and remarked to the admiring Warner:

> 'They wanted me to send a black fellow called Hendricks to England!' I said I had heard that he was a good bowler, and he replied, 'Yes, but I would not have it. They would have expected him to throw boomerangs during the luncheon interval.'[374]

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[370] Graham ledger, p.52.

[371] Racial science could have given a reason for not asking. Because of the weakness of the savage, child-like mind, Australian Aborigines were reputed to always agree with questioners or give random answers to save themselves the trouble of thought: Lubbock, *The origin of civilisation*, 1912 edn, Longmans, Green & Co., London, pp.6-7.

[372] Pitt-Rivers, "Primitive warfare II", p.141. Pitt-Rivers extolled colonialism as a progressive movement, not only because it brought all the remaining races of mankind under one civilization, but also because the co-operation of Britain's army, navy and scholars permitted the United Services Museum to form "a really systematic collection of savage weapons, not perhaps within the power of every other Institution in the world": "Primitive warfare II", p.143.

[373] Pitt-Rivers, "Primitive warfare II", p.142.

[374] Sir Pelham Warner, *Lord's 1787-1945*, Harrap, London, 1946, p.60.

PERSONAL ACCOUNTS OF THE ABORIGINES

Racial perceptions of the Aborigines' public performances were complemented by off-field and more personal impressions of interaction with the Aborigines. There are four accounts: Lawrence's adventures with the Aboriginal team until they reached England; a brief narrative by the Kent amateur cricketing identity, William South Norton, on their arrival; William Shepherd's participant's recollections of their English tour; and W.B. Tegetmeier's end of tour reconsideration of the Aborigines after their relationship changed following his initial impressions at Town Malling.

Only Tegetmeier wrote for publication while the Aboriginal tour was fresh. The remaining three were reminiscences, written or published decades after the tour, enabling the authors to reorganise, reconsider and possibly reconstruct events and personalities. In chronological order of events they describe, each account will be examined to consider how its author's personal dealings with the Aborigines conformed to ideologies and hierarchies of race.

Lawrence

Lawrence's reminiscences were written around 1916, when he was in his mid-eighties.[375]

His narrative centres on the voyage to England and the beginning of their second tour in Victoria.[376] He created an exotic frontier adventure in western Victoria, with hair-raising episodes of coach hold-ups and accidents, the threat of ambush by wild Aborigines, and kindly Europeans bringing Christian civilisation to grateful natives. Lawrence wrote a pacy and vivid yarn, although his reliability is doubtful. In one of the few instances that can be checked, Lawrence's claims he was responsible for "forming an Aboriginal team" and "commenced to collect the blacks"[377] usurped credit for Hayman's activities.

Lawrence casts himself as the Aborigines' leader, able to share bush hardships but always their protector, judicious adviser and indulgent educator. He described Aboriginal bush competence during the eventful journey from Lake Wallace to Warrnambool, noting their ability to start a fire and cut down trees to make bark shelter after the wagon got bogged in a storm. He wrote with affection towards the Aboriginal team, describing their Victorian travels as a "happy family

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[375] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.4. However, the reminiscences incorporated some material which had been published in newspapers many decades earlier. The journey from Lake Wallace in the *Warrnambool Examiner*, 1 October 1867; aspects of his early career in "Recollections of Charlie Lawrence", *Cricket: a weekly record of the game* (London), 26 May 1898, p.151. It was "related to ... a representative of The Australasian" and until the last paragraph, it is identical to Lawrence's hand-written account of his early years as published in *Wisden Cricket monthly*, July 1989. It is likely that Lawrence intended to publish his cricketing biography but did not complete it. Perhaps he was testing the waters for this project in 1898, as he was retiring from his job as groundsman for the Melbourne Cricket Club.

[376] The second Victorian tour (Lawrence's first with the team) was from August-October 1867; the voyage to England from February- May 1868. The voyage on the *Parramatta* was discussed in Chapter 10; the few fragments which include their period in England are in Section 4.

[377] Lawrence, *Wisden cricket monthly*, November 1989, p.37.

indulging in all sorts of funny talk of our homeward anticipations",[378] apparently unconcerned that for Aborigines the trip to England was the opposite of a homecoming.

If it were a family, Lawrence saw himself as its patriarch, controlling the terms of its relationships and well pleased by Aboriginal dependence.[379] Intellectually, he treated Aboriginal adults as white children. He took to telling them "little fairy stories at night round the campfire" and one night overheard Dick-a-Dick fumblingly trying to explain the death of Jesus to "Little Johnny Cuzens". The next night, after Cuzens had landed on his head after being catapulted off the wagon, he asked Lawrence about the "little pickaniny" whom Dick had described. This was Lawrence's big chance "as I wanted to have them inclined to a belief in an after-life, so I commenced in saying this was not a fairytale but truth". It was easy work, for, by happy coincidence, the Aborigines' idea of hierarchy was identical to that of British cricketers, monarchists and Christians:

> 'Now I want you to tell me when one of your tribe meet the other in a fight and one beat the other, who do you believe in?'
> They said, 'Our king.'
> 'Well, that's right. Now suppose we beat Warrnambool. Who will you believe in?'
> 'You of course.'
> 'Why?'
> 'Because you are our captain.'

Their alert leader seized the moment:

> 'Now I want you to believe in the baby in the manger, for he grew up to be a man and was the son of God Jesus Christ, who gave his son's life to save all ours. If we believe in him and try our best to be kind and good to each other when we die we shall go to him in Heaven. This I want you all to believe, for I will not deceive you, and when we all go to Church at Warrnambool I feel sure you will like it.'

Whereupon the satisfied Aborigines, with neither a demur nor an alternative cosmology to trouble their simple minds, "turned in for the night and slept until breakfast time."[380]
At Warrnambool, Lawrence took them to Church. Afterwards, he asked how they liked it:

" 'Music very nice and him talk a lot and get a lot of money.' "

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[378] Lawrence, *Wisden cricket monthly*, November 1989, p.38.

[379] In an analysis of the patriarchal family imagery of the 1830s British anti-slavery movement, Catherine Hall points out that missionaries spoke for Africans. But African men were potentially independent while guided by their missionary fathers; African women were dependent. See p.315, Catherine Hall, "William Knibb and the constitution of the new Black subject", in Martin Daunton & Rick Halpern (eds), *Empire and others: British encounters with indigenous peoples 1600-1850*, UCL Press, London, 1999, pp.303-324.

[380] Lawrence ms.1, pp.55-57.

"I said 'And what do you think he does with it?' "

The fair question got an honest answer: " 'Keep it, don't he?' "

It was incumbent upon the "speculator in blacks" to teach Aborigines the principle of sharing: "I said, 'no, but gives it the poor people.' "

"They were quite astounded and said, 'Does he then? Well, when we go to church again I will always put my money in the plate.' "

"Which I am pleased to say they did."[381]

After urging Aborigines to donate their pittances for redistribution by whites, Lawrence depicted himself as their military leader.

Before arriving at Warrnambool, Lawrence and Dick-a-Dick, armed with guns, were hunting birds one evening when a "strange black" approached and asked to join their cricket team. Lawrence offered him tea, invited him to stay the night in their camp and trial in the morning. "Our fellows", however, "did not seem to like him", and "as there was other blacks near at hand and might rush us during the night", Lawrence assumed command.

Ordering his men to load their muskets, ready the guns and wake him if necessary, Lawrence retired to sleeping quarters which the Aborigines had built for him up a tree. Soon there was a "terrible noise" like stampeding cattle "and I called out 'Be ready!' when men on horses pulled up and said they would pull the bloody camp up and kill the lot of us. "This", declared the captain with understated British pluck, "was enough. I therefore gave the signal 'Fire' with our usual yell, which sent the brave men away quicker than they came."[382] The "strange" black informed Lawrence that the invaders were from his station and that he had fled from them. He was hoping to join the cricket team to secure his escape, but was not good enough. Lawrence gave him money and sent him back.

Although it is probable that the episode was entirely fictional,[383] Lawrence's reliability is not the issue. His coherent portrayal of Aborigines as simple, likeable, dependent children, in contrast to his complementary self-representation, was consistent with the dominant constructs of racial ideology. Aborigines' survival in this world and their prospects in the next depended on the intelligence, decisiveness, patience, cool courage and Christianity of indulgent white men ... like himself. He was benevolent British colonialism writ small. Captaincy was consistent with racial hierarchy and applied on the cricket field and off it, at play and under fire.

Lawrence assumed that authority was his right and racial deference his due. As long as Aborigines did not question his authority, he responded with custodial affection. But if they resisted?

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[381] Lawrence ms.1, p.60.

[382] Lawrence ms.1, pp.58-59.

[383] The detailed account of the journey in *Warrnambool Examiner*, 1 October 1867, from details supplied by Lawrence and Hayman, is in most details identical to Lawrence's recollections. But it does not mention the armed attack or the strange black. The most plausible explanation is that Lawrence invented exciting episodes in anticipation of publication.

Norton

Illustration 67: William South Norton.[384]

On arrival in England, the point that Lawrence's main narrative ends, William South Norton's vignette begins. He was living in Town Malling, the Kent village of his birth in 1831 and a cradle of cricket[385] where he arranged for the Aborigines' to stay before touring.

Norton's cursory account is revealing. Contrary to egalitarian cricketing mythology, Norton, steeped in amateur privilege and the belief systems of class, race and cricket, crudely expressed the attitudes which subordinated Aboriginal cricketers to their gentlemanly cricketing hosts.

Contemptuous of the cricket ability of all bar Mullagh and Cuzens, he dismissed the rest as "very poor players, being boomerangers and spear throwers rather than cricketers." He allowed the tour was "interesting in its way" and thought that other good Aboriginal players might have been trained "but for the fact the race is dying out fast." The perception was sharpened by Cuzens' grave illness, when "we carefully nursed him and he was most grateful."

As a marriage relation of Hayman, as a host who prepared the Aborigines' visit and received them in his home, as a carer for an Aboriginal convalescent, one would expect a graciously anodyne commendation of their behaviour, perhaps another "boomerang compliment" on their civilised deportment. Not a bit of it: "I and others tried hard to conciliate and please these savages, and to get friendly with them; but except as regards Johnny Cuzens, without success."

Unlike Lawrence, Norton's racial superiority was overlain by class arrogance. He rated Cuzens a cut above the rest of the Aborigines, possibly because he interpreted his gratitude as deference, or perhaps because he liked to congratulate himself on saving the best of the Aborigines. Norton paid Cuzens a patrician's tribute: "His was a cheerful, kindly disposition, and he would have assimilated to the best of the poorer classes in our civilization."[386]

The attitude reflected a set of self-confident prejudices entrenched in the English social and cricketing establishment which directly patronised the Aborigines throughout the tour. Like Norton, there is no reason to expect that their willingness to temporarily associate with performing Aborigines on the cricket field in any way tempered their attitudes of social superiority and racial disdain.[387]

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[384] From Harris, *The history of Kent cricket*, facing p.59.

[385] W. South Norton, "Some light out of darkness", in Harris, *The history of Kent county cricket*, p.1 traces a 1705 cricket match in Town Malling.

[386] W. South Norton, "Kent cricket, 1849-1870 and some reminiscences", in Harris, *The history of Kent county cricket*, p.64.

[387] As "The Old Stagers", a theatrical club of Kent and I Zingari amateurs, the privileged gentlemen-cricketers who shared Norton's social world would have been well accustomed to the amusement of racialised performance. For information and a photograph of "The Old Stagers" in costume, see Lieutenant-Colonel Newnham-Davis, Chapter XI, "The Old Stagers", pp.149-171; and Chapter XII, "The social side of the Canterbury week", in Harris, *The history of Kent County cricket*, pp.217-226.

Shepherd

William Shepherd's account of the tour was published in 1919. The experience of travelling and playing with the Aborigines throughout the tour gave him sufficient familiarity to list each Aborigine's cricketing and non-cricketing skills, while its detail indicates he had maintained records of his experiences.

Dumas was the champion boomerang thrower, even in Australia; Peter an expert spear-thrower; Mosquito was superb with the stockwhip and able to walk under the horizontal bar then jump over it. He did not forget the two who returned home because of ill health. Sundown, despite continual sickness and cricketing incompetence, was adept with boomerang and spear; most surprisingly, though Jim Crow specialised in the spear and boomerang, he also "could play better on the violin than with the cricket bat."[388]

Because of his eccentricity, Dick-a-Dick was Shepherd's principal subject: "We used to have some fun with Dick-a-Dick", smiled Shepherd. At Swansea, he spent 5 pounds at a bazaar, winning a cheap Swiss clock, a huge painting and various rings, watches, chains and jewellery. He carried the clock through England for the remaining 31 matches. Shepherd set and wound it for him before Dick presented it to him at the end of the tour. He gave the jewellery to the other Aborigines and, at Shepherd's suggestion, raffled the painting for 30 shillings.

Shepherd assumed that Dick-a-Dick was a simple naïf but in their difficult co-existence with European power, colonised people of colour could aspire to few more advantageous roles than jester. Like mimicry and pure physical ability expressed in sport and games, it conformed to the childishness expected of primitive races, provided pleasure to European spectators and did not threaten the privileged status of whiteness.[389] When an Artemus Ward or a white music hall clown made an audience laugh by playing a simpleton, it realised that he was a skilled actor in calculated performance. When an Aborigine in England made his audience laugh, spectators assumed he was simple. The Aborigine on show in England was a performer *at all times*, but colonialist ideology assumed that non-white races were simpler than they.

Despite his fondness for Dick-a-Dick, Shepherd believed that the Aboriginal team resented white people: "The Aborigines, at heart, did not really like the white men, and were of rather a sulky disposition." He did not consider what aspects of white behaviour or which Aboriginal experiences may have inspired these feelings. As a short-term employee, Shepherd concentrated on practical manoeuvring to avoid personal friction. His conclusion that "(A)fter all, 'there's a great deal of human nature in man,' whether white or black" was encouraged by a belief that although racial differences caused problems, his ingenuity had smoothed them over. By a method of "exercising tact", he "got on extremely well with them, finding them all right with a little bit of

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[388] Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines", p.130.

[389] Joseph Boskin, *Sambo: the rise and demise of an American jester*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1986 examines its history in the United States.

'sugar,' i.e., humouring."[390] He implied that the Aboriginal feelings were somehow irrational and unjustified; that white people like himself were making all the adjustments and concessions to ease tensions; that Aborigines did not realise they were being manoeuvred and patronised; and finally, that relations were worse when white people failed to humour them.

Tegetmeier

Soon after they left England, W.B. Tegetmeier, *The Field* naturalist, wrote two valedictory letters about the Aborigines.[391] By that time, his scientific curiosity had led him to observe the Aborigines at the beginning and end of the tour and resulted in an interaction which transformed his condescending approval to irritation at being unreasonably thwarted by inferiors.

He explained that like many "who take an interest in the various types of human kind", he had derived pleasure from Aboriginal activities in England, which he assumed would be unrepeatable. Indeed, he doubted if the Northern hemisphere would ever again see many examples of "these unhappy races - races that are slowly but surely disappearing from the face of the earth by the ever-advancing flood of Anglo-Saxon civilization."[392] The Tasmanian Aborigines were a precursor:

> In the struggle for existence, the weaker race has gone to the wall! What Herbert Spencer terms the 'survival of the fittest' is shown in the predominance of the British over the Tasmanian type. Next to depart will be the noble New Zealand savage, to be followed by the Red Man of North America and the wild blacks of the Australian continent.[393]

Like Pitt-Rivers, he believed that scientific data was the only aspect of their existence that could be preserved. Tegetemier received permission - presumably from Hayman who had earlier allowed him to take Aboriginal weapons to display - to have "the types of the several races photographed" by Messrs. Samuel Walker & Co. of Margaret St. He selected the "several races" according to colonial borders: Dick-a-Dick as a Victorian Aborigine; Charlie Dumas as a New South Wales Aborigine; and Cuzens as a South Australian Aborigine.

Fearing that their dark skins would be a problem for "the actinic influence of the sun's rays", he attempted a photographic record which obliged each of the subjects to maintain a fixed position for 80 seconds.[394] Having three Aborigines at his disposal was a wonderful opportunity for any scientist with a tape measure and racial inclinations. He was aware that conclusions would be spurious, admitting that "they vary considerably from one another as well as from European races". But it was data, so "availing myself of the opportunity I made several measurements of these men".[395]

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[390] Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines", p.134.
[391] Both in Graham ledger, p.335.
[392] *Field*, Graham ledger, p.335.
[393] *Field*, Graham ledger, p.335.
[394] Tegetmeier's final letter, Graham ledger, p.355.
[395] Tegetmeier's previous letter, Graham ledger, p.355. Because the faded newsprint makes it difficult to distinguish between ¾, ½ and ¼, I have represented fractions with an asterisk (*).

	Dick-a-Dick (Victoria) ft. in.	Charley Dumas (New S. Wales) ft. in.	Cuzens (S.Australia) ft. in.
Height	5 8*	5 10	5 1*
Height when sitting, measured from seat to top of head	34*	35	40*
Extreme stretch of arms	71*	72*	66
Length of hand	7*	7*	7*
Elbow to finger	20*	19*	18*
Shoulder to finger	30	31	27*
Round upper arm	12	10*	10*
Ditto with muscle tense	14*	12*	12*
Round chest	39	- -	35*
Navel to ground	40*	44*	37*
Knee to ground	21*	- -	19*
Length of foot	10*	10*	9*

Table 1: Tegetmeier's measurements of Aboriginal bodies.

The meticulous naturalist was still not satisfied and continued to press them for more measurements. But they were fed up with being treated as ethnological objects - their weapons being taken to *The Field* office, being dragged away for photographs, having to sit stiffly facing the camera and now being measured in a ridiculous variety of positions. They jacked up, and Tegetmeier was chagrined:

> These measurements are not so complete as would have been desirable but my Australian friends have, like petted children, been rather spoiled by their good reception in this country, and were not quite as docile or obliging as when I saw them on their first arrival.

Did they simply refuse, were there angry words, or, perhaps, did they demand payment? It is irresistible to imagine the naturalist's outraged frustration.

Months earlier, the *Norwich Mercury*, although enjoying the show by these "fine specimens of Australian aborigines", had worried that having been "feted … petted and lionised by admirers of something new … the poor fellows must imagine themselves the celebrities of the age and will be spoiled for any industrious pursuits."[396] Consistent with racial ideology, Tegetmeier also interpreted their actions as tantrums by spoilt children.

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[396] *Norwich Mercury*, 29 July 1868.

He did not consider Aborigines capable of fully adult behaviour or reasonable assertions of independence. Despite his irritation, he was so proud of the photographs of Dick-a-Dick and Dumas that he left copies in *The Field* office and made them available for perusal.[397] After they sailed from England, the Aborigines remained objects of British scrutiny.

Few of the public texts of the Aborigines in England reveal evidence of overt hostility. The modes of discourse were appropriate for acknowledging enjoyable performances by primitive visitors, and while much magnanimity was self-serving, genuine intentions of goodwill were also apparent. But consistent racial subordination was inescapable in deed and in word. Except in the most abstract theological sense, the Aborigines' presence and performances reasserted British perceptions of white superiority and the conviction that primitive races were unequipped to enjoy independence or compete for survival.

"A Native's" open letter to Tom Wills in Sydney had commented that the tour's great significance would be to make the near obliteration of Aboriginal people a public issue in Britain. Visual evidence of the handful of survivors would establish the responsibility of squatters and other greedy settlers for the murder of Aboriginal people and the theft of their lands. He hoped that the tour would provoke "a cry of shame ... [to] ring from one end of civilised Europe to the other against our injustice and brutality."[398]

These expectations were utterly disappointed. When Aboriginal decline was noted, it was attributed to the inescapable operation of natural laws on an inferior race. Commentary which praised the Aboriginal team attributed their progress to the civilising effects of British settlement and the benevolence of Hayman and Lawrence. As a consequence of their dissociation from the destructive effects of colonialism, indulgent descriptions of the Aboriginal tour were effectively more pro-colonialist than anti-racist.

The tour did not establish the Aborigines as victims, much less endow them with voice. Racial ideologies and structures constituted them as passive objects, as "stage props", not only inferior but also indulged and mute. The Aborigines were subalterns who, if they were permitted to speak, were certainly not heard. There is no evidence that any of the journalists, cricketers, archaeologists, anthropologists, naturalists and travel writers so interested in observing Aborigines thought it worthwhile to ask them directly about their lives, beliefs, feelings, culture, aspirations, weaponry, Australian experiences, or impressions of England. In a sense they were celebrities, but after five months in England they disappeared as they had been constituted, as colourful objects; as a child-race, without a history, without a future and without a voice.

An effort to recover some aspects of their side of the story will constitute the focal point of the next section.

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[397] Graham ledger, p.335. I have been unable to locate their publication.

[398] *Empire*, 27 February 1867.

SECTION 4

THE SUBJECTIVITY OF INDIGENOUS PERFORMERS IN MID-VICTORIAN BRITAIN: ISSUES, CASE STUDIES AND THE 1868 TOUR

CHAPTER 15

POWER, AGENCY, MEDIATED DOCUMENTATION, DOUBLE-CONSCIOUSNESS AND HIDDEN TRANSCRIPTS

One can only speculate what the Senegalese man thought, as he looked back at the gaping expressions of the Parisian crowd, a pale and unhealthy looking mob shrouded in their gaudy dresses and frock coats, laughing and sneering at what they undoubtedly considered the just spoils of war. Perhaps the culture gap was too wide for him to ponder upon anything more than the eccentricity of the garb, the dullness of the climate and the predictability of the crowd's responses to him. He may even have enjoyed the attention he was given - there are instances where this is known to be the case - ...[although] even as he stood there, the fabric of the culture he belonged to was being torn apart.[1]

Paul Greenhalgh's speculation recognises the central problem confronting studies of living exhibits of race. A wealth of European documentation facilitates critical analysis of the representation of colonised peoples. But knowledge of their perceptions and experiences when on display is scanty, partial and heavily mediated by Eurocentric documentation.

To recognise the subjectivity of Aborigines in Britain in 1868, it is necessary to establish a methodology which accounts for unequal relations of colonialist power and consequent historical silences. Relations of power have determined the position of colonised peoples and the specific situation of indigenous performers; relations of power shaped the mostly colonialist documentation which recorded their history and the subsequent historical narratives which have been publicly inscribed. An appropriate methodology cannot remove the problem of historical silences: my conclusions will be "experimental, fluid, provisional", qualities which Raphael Samuel recommended in historical work.[2] But they will be more firmly grounded in historical data and method than cultural speculation or historical fiction.

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[1] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral vistas: the Expositions universelles, Great Exhibitions and World' Fairs*, 1851-1939, Manchester University Press, England, 1988, p.22.

[2] Alison Light, Editor's preface, Raphael Samuel, *Island stories: Unravelling Britain, Theatres of memory*, Volume II, Verso, London, 1998, ix-x.

Diversified but fragmentary documentation of the perspectives of indigenous peoples on display suggests the applicability of comparative studies. While acknowledging the specificity of Native American, Maori and Aboriginal histories, documentation of and by Native American and Maori performers provides revealing insights into problems, opportunities and perceptions of indigenous performers in mid-Victorian Britain and the choices they were able or unable to make. After exploring case studies which indicate the dimensions of hidden transcripts of indigenous peoples on display, I will analyse Aboriginal responses to their situation in Britain in 1868.

Victims or agents?

They were seen as objects of European scrutiny, but indigenous performers were active observers of Europe. Black Elk hoped to learn European secrets to convey to his people. Red Shirt noted that "our people will wonder at these things when we return to the Indian Reservation and tell them what we have seen."[3] An Inuit, Abraham, recorded impressions of his European experiences[4] as did Maori who will be discussed later in this chapter. Iowas who performed in England were impressed by George Catlin's assiduous journal-keeping and decided to compile a record of English life to discuss with their people when they returned. Waskamonya (or "Jim") performed the task with diligence but no trace of it has been found.[5]

Contrary to racial ideology underlying most Victorian documentation, I have assumed that indigenous performers in Britain were intelligent, aware, feeling individuals. Despite constraints, these "Strangers in a strange land" came to appreciate their situation, assessing opportunities and goals which seemed most achievable and following courses of action which appeared most likely to alleviate their problems. They made daily decisions in their working lives and adopted various strategies in their relationships with management, British spectators and social acquaintances.

L.C. Moses, Professor of History at Oklahoma State University, has boldly asserted the agency of feathered and war-painted Show Indians who performed attacks on stagecoaches, white settlers and cavalries in arguably the most elaborate and influential stagings of primitivism seen in Europe. In *Wild West Shows and the images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, Moses challenges assumptions that the travelling Native American performers should be understood as victims of colonialist domination, commercial exploitation or racist representation.

It is wrong, argues Moses, to:

[3] Quoted by L.C. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1996, p.49. See title page for illustration of Ted Shirt in Earl's Court, 1887.

[4] The Inuit voyage to England was discussed in Chapter 10.

[5] Martha Royce Blaine, *The Ioway Indians*, University of Oklahoma Press, Oklahoma, 1995, pp.229-237.

see the Show Indians as simply dupes or pawns or even victims ... better to approach them as persons who earned a fairly good living ... playing themselves, re-creating a very small portion of their histories, and enjoying it.[6]

Overall, their performances in Wild West shows were "a means to evoke and even to celebrate their cultures", and, in the light of assimilationist pressures to abandon their way of life, " '(P)laying' Indian could also be viewed as defiance."[7] It should be noted that to Buffalo Bill Cody, the dominant white hero of Wild West shows and according to Moses a benevolent pro-Indian entrepreneur, their performances represented the subjugation and taming of savages: "that savage foe that had been compelled to submit to a conquering civilization and ere now accompanying me in friendship, loyalty and peace, five thousand miles from their homes."[8]

Moses has perceptively critiqued the complex position of humanitarians and white welfare agents who opposed Indians touring in Wild West shows. Like Board objections to the temptations of professional cricket for Aborigines, Indian association with circus "gypsies" offended cultural prejudices embedded in government and missionary policies.[9] They asserted that the occupation of travelling performer was inimical to natives' moral and physical welfare, the latter a valid concern in the light of the regular deaths of Show Indians in Europe.[10] But, like the Board for the Protection of Aborigines, colonialist assumptions of racial superiority precluded American Indian welfare organisations from consulting with those they purported to protect.

Moses is correct to expose bourgeois assimilationism and turn his focus onto Indian agency. But an incident in 1886 illustrates the complexity of distinguishing repressive interference with Indian agency from defensible control of entrepreneurial activities which caused Indian deaths in Europe. Alarm was expressed when two Show Indian Sioux disappeared after leaving for European circuses. Investigation revealed that Yellow Blanket had died of tuberculosis in Lodz but Hampa Naspa worked in European circuses for two decades and insisted he had no wish to return.[11]

While recognising constraints imposed on Native Americans by the effects of racism, paternalism and repressive legislation, Moses maintains that Show Indians entered into their activities freely and knowingly; that their profession offered greater freedom, satisfaction and

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[6] Moses, *Wild West shows*, p.279.

[7] Moses, *Wild West shows*, pp.278-279.

[8] Cody quoted by Moses, *Wild West shows*, p.44. With titles like *The March of Civilization*, Indian shows approvingly enacted their defeat and subjugation by brave white settlers and soldiers.

[9] As bluntly expressed by Indian Commissioner Oberley who condemned the "immoral and unchristianizing" effects of the class of people associated with shows, circuses and exhibitions. They encouraged in Indians a "roaming and unsettled disposition and educated him in a manner entirely foreign and antagonistic to that which has been and now is the policy of the Government" (quoted by Moses, *Wild West shows*, p.69)

[10] Seven of Buffalo Bill's troupe died during the 1889-90 European tour and others returned destitute or ill (Moses, *Wild West shows*, pp. 97-103). In 1883, two Sioux Show Indians somehow ended up stranded and destitute in Sydney (Moses, *Wild West shows*, p.125).

[11] Moses, *Wild west shows*, pp.66-68.

rewards than available alternatives; that they were sometimes but not generally exploited as individuals; and that their individual recompense was not at the expense of reinforcing a discourse of Indian-ness which adversely affected Native Americans as a whole.[12]

Agency

Like other indigenous performers, the agency of 1868 Aborigines did not constitute an open challenge to their dispossession or to the legitimacy of white dominance. As their subordination was entrenched, they sought means of survival and advancement of their interests within the terms of a reality which had been imposed on them.[13]

But it should not be assumed that their motivations were purely individual, material or apolitical.

For Black Elk, travelling to England was a political act born of defeat and desperation. Bison herds had been exterminated. The Sioux were hungry, sick and confined in reservations around which "the Wasichus [white people] had drawn a line to keep them in."[14] Black Elk had a vision of salvation for his people but in 1886, "late in my twenty-third year it seemed there was a little hope." Buffalo Bill's show seemed to offer a chance: "They told us this show would go across the big water to strange lands, and I thought I ought to go because I might learn some secret of the Wasichu that would help my people somehow."[15]

As evidence of informed Indian agency, Moses cites an incident which followed the return of a Cody show from Europe in 1890. When an outraged Indian Bureau, a representative of the Indian Rights Association and a Catholic missionary accused Cody of exploiting and mistreating Show Indians, 79 of them assembled in Washington to rebut the allegations.

Rocky Bear asserted that "If [the show] did not suit me, I would not remain any longer ... [in Europe] I eat everything; that is the reason I am getting so fat. When I come back to the reservation I am getting poor." Black Heart pointed out that the work was suited to native skills: "We were raised on horseback; that is the way we had to work. These men [Cody and his partners]

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[12] Sioux Chief Chauncey Yellow Robe disagreed. In 1913 he accused the Indian Bureau of facilitating exhibitions, objecting: "What benefit has the Indian derived from these Wild West Shows? None, but what are degrading, demoralising and degenerating ... All these Wild West Shows are exhibiting the Indian worse than he ever was and deprive him of his high manhood and individuality." Quoted by Bunny McBride, *Molly Spotted Elk: a Penobscot in Paris*, University of Oklahoma Press, Oklahoma, 1995, p.60.

[13] Perry Anderson (*Arguments within English Marxism*, London, 1980, quoted by Alex Callinicos, *Making history: agency, structure and change in social theory*, Polity Press, England, 1987, pp.9-11) elaborated three types of agency distinguished by the scope of goals which are pursued. The first two are pursuit of private goals (exercising a skill, making money, establishing a home) and public goals (military struggles, diplomatic engagements). The third is revolutionary agency which seeks general social transformation (the American, French and Russian revolutions). In these terms - which can be accused of underestimating non-European and non-programmatic modes of struggle - colonised performers pursued the first two forms of agency.

[14] *Black Elk speaks: Being the life story of a Holy Man of the Oglalu Sioux, told through John Neihardt*, University of Nebraska, 1979 (originally 1932), p.214.

[15] *Black Elk speaks*, pp.214-215.

furnished us the same work we were raised to; that is the reason we want to work for these kind of men." He argued that the right of Indians to earn money by pursuing their chosen profession signified equality of racial opportunity: "If Indian wants to work at any place and earn money, he wants to do so; white man got privilege to do the same - any kind of work that he wants."[16]

But most accounts of Show Indians' experiences in Europe conflict with Moses' contention that Indians enjoyed the consequences of their agency. Over time, most Show Indians suffered acutely from their displacement. They were frequently disturbed and unhappy, particularly by their experiences of cities.

The great Sitting Bull recoiled from houses, noise and speed.[17] He was reported to have said that he had witnessed only vice and corruption in his Wild West experiences in Europe and refused to have anything more to do with them.[18] An overwhelmed American Horse the Younger yearned to find a forest where he could hide his head in a blanket; two others were so disoriented they covered their eyes with a handkerchief.[19] Even 23 Sioux who in 1891 were understandably eager to be transferred from American military imprisonment to touring Europe as Show Indians regarded it as part of their sentence. They requested repatriation once an 11 month absence from their homelands seemed adequate punishment.[20] It was difficult for unhappy Indians to return home. In 1913, 17 Oglala Sioux who were touring Europe unsuccessfully requested release from their contracts. Hoping to be sent home for immoral behaviour they adopted an ingenious tactic of remaining drunk. It didn't work.[21]

By the time he was presented to Queen Victoria, Black Elk had become disillusioned with his experiences as a Show Indian. He recounted her disapproval that such handsome people were put on display: "If I owned you Indians, you good-looking people, I would never take you around in a show like this. You have a Grandfather over there who takes care of you, for he owns you, for the white people take you around as beasts to show to the people."[22]

Regardless of Victoria's actual words, Black Elk's report reflects disenchantment with his original decision. Having initially enjoyed England he became lost in Manchester, missed the boat to America and found two other Lakotas who were also "sick to go home." Their only chance was to travel to London "on the iron road" and hire themselves to a show owned by Mexican Joe.

After performing in Europe, Black Elk grew desperately homesick. He experienced a vision, during which "I had been dead three days, except that once in a while I would breathe just a

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[16] Moses, *Wild West shows*, pp.102-103.

[17] Moses, *Wild West shows*, p.30.

[18] Moses, *Wild West shows*, p.111.

[19] Moses, *Wild West shows*, p.33.

[20] Moses, *Wild West shows*, pp.110-119.

[21] Moses, *Wild West shows*, p.185.

[22] Quoted by Moses, *Wild West shows*, pp.53-55. Accounts by Queen Victoria and Red Shirt did not include these remarks.

little", returning on the clouds to his beloved Black Hills "and the center of the world where the spirits had taken me". He could not afford the fare home until Buffalo Bill returned to London and gave him 90 dollars and a ticket to America. Finding that another treaty had cost his people more of their land, he rued his insistence on travelling to Europe against the advice of his kin. He was consoled by a wistful reflection on Queen Victoria: "Maybe if she had been our Grandmother, it would have been better for our people."[23]

Abraham compiled a diary in Inuktitut of his experiences in Europe in 1880.[24] Against the advice of Moravian missionaries, he and seven other Inuit were persuaded to sail from Labrador to Germany with their sleds, dogs and housing to appear in a Carl Hagenbeck exhibition of exotic races. Abraham recorded their discontent in cities: for an Inuit, there were *too many* trees. Berlin was "not beautiful because with all those people and trees it is impossible. The air is constantly buzzing because of the walking and the driving." After several months, illness and homesickness set in. Germany was "a good place to get sick with a bad cold", he decided. They "ceased to be happy" and yearned for home: "A whole year is too long because we would very much like to return to our land. We cannot stay here forever. Yes, it is impossible."

They preferred Holland to Germany, but were afraid to venture outside because Moravians had convinced them that: "if we did we would be caught by the Catholics." The Inuit performers appreciated the primitivism which Europeans expected of them and were sometimes able to exhibit it for their own benefit. When bothersome audiences excitedly burst through barriers, Abraham complied with instructions by the tour managers ("our two masters") to disperse them: "Taking my whip and the Greenland seal harpoon I made myself terrible." The Inuit craved fresh meat and were told they could eat seal if they harpooned it. A live seal was brought from Holland and put into a pond in Prague. While a band played, an enormous crowd paid to watch them hunt and when Abraham stuck the seal with his harpoon "the people all clapped with their hands, loudly like the eider ducks". The rare moment of happiness was quickly swept away by tragedies common to indigenous performers in Europe.

Noggasak, the young daughter of Tiggianiak, died in agony in December followed by her mother, Paingo. Abraham recorded his helplessness when his four year old daughter, Sarah, was cut down:

> When she was alive she was taken to a hospital and I was taken there with her. She was still conscious when I was with her. She prayed very nicely the hymn 'Ich bin ein kleines Kindelein.'

[23] *Black Elk speaks*, pp.217-229.

[24] J. Gareth Taylor, "An Eskimo abroad, 1880: his diary and death", *Canadian Geographic*, Vol.101, No.5, October-November 1981. Abraham's diary was translated into German by a missionary and both the original and translation came to light several decades ago. Moravian missionaries taught them to write in their own language.

When I left she sent greetings to her mother and small sister. When I left, she slept and never woke again. This was a great consolation for both of us.

Abraham's family and compatriots succumbed in a Paris hospital. Tiggianiak, the hero of the stormy crossing,[25] was in such agony that he asked for a rope to strangle himself. Just before dying, Abraham wrote to a Moravian missionary friend: "My dear teacher Elsner, pray for us that this sickness be removed, if it be his will; but his will be done. I am a poor man like the dust."[26]

Few of the scanty accounts of Native American performers who chose to perform in Europe, attest to their deriving happiness or satisfaction from their experiences. It is understandable that colonised peoples in desperate situations could be lured to Europe only to regret it later.[27] As a result of colonialist power, their agency was limited by the absence of satisfactory alternatives and adequate information. Indigenous peoples could not gauge the potential consequences of unfamiliar European conditions of life and work; could not anticipate their susceptibility to climate and disease; had no basis for predicting the consequences of extended separation from their culture; and had no way to ensure that management would reward them as promised and repatriate them when needed.

Black Elk's quixotic decision is an example: a decision taken in the face of destruction of his culture after respectful coexistence, military resistance and diplomatic solutions had already failed.

Mediation of indigenous documentation: historiography, agency and double-consciousness

Every testimony of an indigenous performer can be interrogated for the degree of European mediation involved in eliciting, shaping or recording it.[28] It is obvious, for instance, that Abraham's diary was heavily inflected by Moravian influences.

A broader issue is that European histories of colonised peoples squeeze their subjects "into the dominant culture's paradigm of reason and logic, its calculus of viewing the world and manipulating its parts".[29] It is difficult to doubt that Eurocentric ontological, phenomenological and

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[25] See Chapter 10.

[26] Quoted in Taylor, "An Eskimo abroad", p.43.

[27] It was understood that other forms of indentured labour were also attracted by persuasion and misrepresentation. In condemning the exploitation of Pacific Island labour in Queensland, the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 24 September 1868 explained that although some had been taken by force, more were "inveigled into their position by the most false representations."

[28] Arnold Krupat has noted that all Native American autobiographical documentation is, to one degree or another, "not actually self-written ... but bi-cultural composite composition" influenced by European acculturation: Arnold Krupat (ed.) *Native American autobiography: an anthology*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1994, p.3. Krupat cites the sense of individuality and opposition to one's culture as European influences in Native American autobiography.

[29] Calvin M. Martin, "Introduction" to Calvin M. Martin (ed.) *The American Indian and the problem of history*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1987, p.6.

epistemological assumptions create imperfect tools for apprehending Native Americans "as they comprehended themselves and construed the world."[30] Documentation indicates that experiential and interpretative processes of Native Americans in Britain were fundamentally at odds with their European observers and subsequent historians.

In Westminster Abbey and when taken to see *Faust* at an English theatre, Red Shirt experienced overwhelming visions and spoke of the Great Spirit continuing to visit him. Black Elk's spiritual experiences in England were real and more significant to him than the public performances documented by Europeans.

W.E.B. Dubois's conception of double-consciousness ("this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity ... two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings, two warring ideals in one dark body"[31]) recognises the complex, shifting and contradictory dialectic of colonised identities.[32] Efforts to apprehend the subjectivity of recently colonised peoples must acknowledge that non-European cosmologies shaped their goals, actions, experiences and realities, refracting even those European values which they adopted.

Red Shirt's visionary reality was incompatible with European empiricism, but the Lakota Show Indian explained the dynamics of colonised identities to a reporter from the *Sheffield Leader*. His exposition of Indian agency foregrounded the uncontrollable forces which drove it:

> The red man is changing every season. [The Indian] ... of the next generation will not be the Indian of the last. Our buffaloes are nearly all gone, the deer have entirely vanished, and the white man takes more and more of our land ... [But] the United States government is good. True, it has taken away our land, and the white men have eaten up our deer and our buffalo, but the government now gives us food that we may not starve. They are educating our children and teaching them ... Our children will learn the white man's civilization and to live like him.[33]

Fifteen years later, Luther Standing Bear, a Sioux Show Indian educated in government schools, approached his European experiences from a more Eurocentric point of view than his predecessors a generation before.[34] But although a few early Show Indians bluntly expressed financial motivations (Kills Enemy Alone - "I came over here to see if I can make some money"[35]), Red Shirt's less Europeanised perspectives were common among indigenous performers in Britain

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[30] Martin, "Introduction", *The American Indian and the problem of history*, p.6

[31] W.E.B DuBois, *The souls of black folk*, Vintage, USA, 1990 (originally 1903), pp.8-9.

[32] The concept of double consciousness has been noteably developed by Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic; modernity and double-consciousness*, Verso, England, 1993.

[33] Quoted by Moses, *Wild West shows*, pp.50-51.

[34] Quoted by Rita Napier, "Across the Big Water: American Indians' perceptions of Europe and Europeans, 1887-1906", in Christian Feest, *Indians and Europe: an interdisciplinary collection of essays*, Edition Herodot, Netherlands, 1987, pp.385-389.

[35] Napier, "Across the Big Water, p.385.

in the mid-Victorian era. Most developed a taste for some European commodities and practices and knew that they had greater access to them as performers in Europe. But they were not integrated into colonial culture, they had not been subject to multigenerational alienation from their own, and they realised that white bourgeois aspirations were unattainable.

Early Show Indians, like Catlin's troupes, retained non-European practices, values and aspirations. Implying agency from reasoning that they were better off in Europe than on American reservations makes Eurocentric assumptions of the motivations, behaviour and values of recently colonised peoples. It is a calculation characteristic of the interest theory of agency.[36] Losing contact with their homeland and the source of their visions; spiritual aspects of illness, disorientation and death in exile - documented sources of misery for Show Indians in Europe - are outside its calculus.

Accounts by Black Elk and Red Shirt are consistent with a stream theory approach to agency: peoples with substantially non-Europeanised consciousness and values, their options severely constrained by forces of colonialism and ideologies of race, taking options which engaged with unavoidable situations of disadvantage. Agency and exploitation, then, are neither absolutes nor mutually exclusive: indeed, their relativity and contradictory coexistence characterises the relationship between coloniser and colonised.

In the process of interplay between colonialist exploitation and the circumscribed agency of the colonised, the latter were engaged in an unavoidable process of transformation. Apparent compliance with one or another invidious option under the pressure of a disequilibrium of power *is* an exercise of agency. But its choices are propelled, fettered and shaped by dominant economic, cultural and ideological forces.

Colonised performers necessarily acquired survival skills and learned to play roles which conformed to colonialist expectations. But in opting to perform, exotic performers did not necessarily enjoy their work or its pressures any more than other exploited workers. Black Elk said of his performances in the Wild West shows: "I liked the part of the show we made, but not the part the Wasichus made." Performing in Europe was work - alienating, insecure but not without compensations - whose effects cannot be assessed without reckoning for non-material factors and non-European needs and realities: "Afterwhile [sic] I got used to being there, but I was like a man who had never had a vision. I felt dead and my people seemed lost and I thought I might never find them again."[37]

Hidden and public transcripts

> *The recovery of nonhegemonic voices and practises of subject peoples requires, I believe, a fundamentally different form of analysis than the analysis of elites, owing to the constraints under which they are produced.*[38]

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[36] See Introduction for Ortner's critique of the interest theory of agency and pragmatic rationality.

[37] *Black Elk speaks*, p.217.

[38] James C. Scott, *Domination and the arts of resistance: hidden transcripts*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1990, p.19.

In *Domination and the arts of resistance*, James Scott explores the activities and submerged political practices of groups who are subject to material exploitation, forfeiture of autonomy and deprivation of dignity.[39] His analysis elaborates a framework for investigating the dynamics and interpreting the documentation of domination and subordination.[40]

Scott begins from an unarguable proposition: in the everyday lives of subordinated groups, revolts, rebellions, and public statements of dissatisfaction are potentially disadvantageous. Experience teaches oppressed groups that it is rare for open defiance to result in a better outcome than tactics of apparent compliance and camouflaged manoeuvre. Scott contends that subordinated groups neither acquiesce to their repression nor succumb to false consciousness. Instead, in the vast space between submissive capitulation to power and open revolt against it - an area which Scott calls "infrapolitics" - they conduct covert, oblique and unobtrusive struggles against their subordination. Comprising tactics including rumour, incompetence, pilfering, mimicry, mockery, humour, exaggerated dependence, reversal, and the covert preservation, transmission and development of suppressed cultures, resistance is designed to be elusive, intangible and hence safe for its exponents. "Every subordinate group", he suggests, "creates out of its ordeal a 'hidden transcript' that represents a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant."[41]

To systematise a study of power which uncovers "contradictions, tensions and immanent possibilities",[42] Scott identifies two types of behaviour and two types of corresponding record, public and hidden. Public transcripts are openly observable interactions between subordinates and those who dominate.[43] Hidden transcripts consist "of those offstage speeches, gestures and practises that confirm, contradict or inflect what appears in the public transcript."[44]

There are two public transcripts and two hidden transcripts: the public transcript of the dominant and the public transcript of the subordinated; the hidden transcript of the dominant and the hidden transcript of the subordinated. Both sources of public transcript are visible to the opposite side of the power relationship, but hidden transcripts are ordinarily invisible to them.

Hidden transcripts of the subordinated are most elusive. Dominant cultures trivialise the thoughts of colonised peoples and render invisible their ways of living under repressive conditions.

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[39] Although concentrating on the latter aspects, Scott acknowledges that material and psychological aspects are inextricably related. He draws on examples as diverse as racial domination, serfdom, slavery, colonialism, wage labour and Eastern European Stalinism: Scott, *Domination and the arts of resistance*, pp.22-31.

[40] He has discussed the themes less systematically in James C. Scott, *Weapons of the weak: everyday forms of peasant resistance*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1985 and "Resistance without protest and without organization: peasant opposition to the Islamic *Zabat* and the Christian Tithe", *Comparative studies in Society and History*, Vol. 29, No. 3, 1987.

[41] Scott, *Domination and the arts of resistance*, xii.

[42] Scott, *Domination and the arts of resistance*, xii.

[43] Scott, *Domination and the arts of resistance*, p.2.

[44] Scott, *Domination and the arts of resistance*, pp.4-5. Susan Gai, "Language and the arts of resistance", *Cultural anthropology*, 10 (3), pp.407-424, points out ambiguities in Scott's usage and primarily negative definition of hidden transcripts.

The subordinated conceal information because they stand to suffer if authorities perceive subversion, resentments or publicly repressed cultural practices. In addition, it is rare for peoples from a fundamentally oral culture to record their hidden transcripts in written form. We are more likely to discover a candid diary or correspondence by Charles Lawrence or William Hayman than by Mullagh, Cuzens, Dick or Mosquito.

It is important to note that public and hidden transcripts include public and hidden *behaviour*: actions and gestures which supplement, inflect or contradict written texts. Public demeanour of the dominant will approximate the authority, courage, rectitude and restraint appropriate to their position, regardless of hidden fears, uncertainties, capriciousness, self-interest or private immorality.[45] Subordinated peoples may find it in their interests to ensure that their public demeanour does not contradict the deference, dependence, simplicity, loyalty and childishness expected of them, regardless of any anger, resentment, frustration, subversive knowledge or rebellious urges they opt to repress.[46]

The documentation of colonialist relations is ordinarily misleading because "virtually all of ordinarily observed relations between dominant and subordinate represent the encounter of the *public* transcript of the dominant with the *public* transcript of the subordinate."[47] If that is so, how are we to progress beyond general inferences that unidentifiable hidden transcripts and concealed struggles *must* exist?

Although its full meanings and intents are concealed, Scott insists that "a partly sanitized, ambiguous and coded version of the hidden transcript is always present in the public discourse of subordinate groups."[48] But reclaiming the histories of dominated peoples and identifying their "infrapolitics" requires distinctive techniques and complex modes of analysis.

The appropriate methodology includes the following aspects. Firstly, close attention to the *specific* forms of subordination and deprivation - material, cultural, ideological and psychological - experienced by a dominated people. Secondly, examining comparative instances of a particular form of domination and subordination.[49] Comparative studies flesh out fragments of hidden transcripts and traces of the strategies of indigenous performers in Europe - their hardships,

[45] Orwell's "Shooting an elephant" eloquently dissected the veneer of his authoritative public behaviour as a colonial official in Burma, which concealed his doubts, fears, uncertainties and scruples: George Orwell, "Shooting an elephant", in *41 classics of English prose: The Penguin essays of George Orwell*, Penguin, Middlesex, 1984, pp.24-30.

[46] If subordination is at all tolerable, and unless open resistance appears possible, "the prudent subordinate will ordinarily conform by speech and gesture to what he knows is expected of him - even if that conformity masks a quite different offstage opinion." Scott, *Domination and the arts of resistance*, p.36.

[47] *Scott, Domination and the arts of resistance*, p.13. Italics in original.

[48] Scott, *Domination and the arts of resistance*, p.19.

[49] Scott, *Domination and the arts of resistance*, pp.21-22 argues "that similar structures of domination, other things equal, tend to provoke responses and forms of resistance that also bear a family resemblance to one another."

constraints and coded struggles; their attempts to create space, illicit opportunities and self-expression. And thirdly, tracing indications of hidden transcripts by a close reading of public transcripts, paying particular attention to unusual disjunctures, small ruptures and incongruous occurrences. Their analysis is informed by the two aspects above: foregrounding the specific form of domination and subordination, and using information derived from similar examples.

Examined in this way, Deerfoot's pantomimed public scalping in a Worcester Hotel was an exasperated, elaborate, coded protest against insatiable English demands that, even offstage, he repeatedly exhibit the stereotypical savagery on which he knew his popularity depended. The Aboriginal team's practical joke of terrifying an eavesdropping Geelong publican by pretending that they were murderous savages ridiculed white racial perceptions of Aborigines. [50] Show Indians who were advertised as savage killers mocked racial stereotyping by opposite means. They enraged Barnum by insisting on appearing bored and indolent, preferring "to lie about the museum rather than act ferocious."[51]

Red Shirt's eloquent praise of the American government for exterminating the bison and confiscating Indian lands entered an ironic form of coded criticism into the public transcript.[52] The undisguised laughter of Indian lacrosse players as they performed primitivist dances at Crystal Palace in 1867 subverted spectator expectations of fearsome savagery. [53]

There are questionable elements in Scott's analysis.[54] It is not axiomatic that hidden transcripts of the subordinated are always discernible in public transcripts of the dominant. Exaggerating the relative power of "weapons of the weak" obscures the psychological consequences of subordination on colonised peoples and leads Scott to dismiss the effects of hegemony.[55] Because inferential readings which are required to decode hidden transcripts are necessarily open to dispute, it can be argued that Scott's methodology finds resistance everywhere. It is impossible to *prove* that my interpretations of the above examples are correct: that is invariably the case with hidden transcripts of the subordinated.

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[50] Lawrence, ms.2, pp.2-3.

[51] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Dominance and affection: the making of pets*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1984, pp.78-79.

[52] The irony appeared to escape Red Shirt's interviewer despite the Shakespearean similarities ("And Brutus is an honourable man … And, sure, he is an honourable man"; " the United States government is good. True it has taken away our land…")

[53] See Chapter 4.

[54] See the criticisms in generally positive reviews including: Daniel Field, *American historical review*, Vol. 99, No.1, February 1994, pp.195-196; and Marie Marmo Mullaney, *Journal of modern history*, Vol.65, No.3, September 1993, pp. 579-580. See also Donald S. Moore, "Subaltern struggles and the politics of place: remapping resistance in Zimbabwe's Eastern Highlands", *Cultural Anthropology*, 14(3), 1998, pp.344-381 which critiques Scott's model of resistance for being static and binary.

[55] He argues against the validity of hegemony in any form, whether "fat" or "thin". See Scott, *Domination and the arts of resistance*, pp.71-107. I would argue that a white inter-class, inter-gender racial hegemony existed in the mid-Victorian era. It is tendentious to argue that *blacks* accepted that they were inferior or that they believed their subordination was justified. White racial ideology was not primarily aimed at convincing blacks that they were biologically inferior.

But the contextualised interpretations are consistent with appropriate responses by aware individuals to striking aspects of their experience. It is less plausible to argue that as a result of either ignorance or false consciousness indigenous performers remained unaware of their exploitation as touring racial curiosities and their situation of disadvantage. In a position of subordination, it was sensible to express discontent by coded means, avoiding potentially disadvantageous confrontation.

This point cannot be overemphasised: if, as evidence of unhappiness or protest we require its victims to issue public, unequivocal denunciations of exploitation, we will nearly always search in vain. Empiricism uninflected by consciousness of colonialist relations of power will find that the histories of subordinated peoples, especially those from non-literate cultures, are inhabited by a handful of rash martyrs, a plentiful supply of assimilationists and collaborators, and silent masses who appear to be unaware of indignities and injustices inflicted on them.

For example, it is appropriate to explain the responses of Saartje, the "Hottentot Venus", described in Chapter 2, as a consequence of her disempowerment. In her testimony to sympathisers attempting to save her from violence and sexual humiliation, she responded that she had no desire to go home and had no complaints about her treatment. She praised her intimidatory master and requested only an extra blanket.[56] The most plausible explanation is that because her "keeper" still exercised power over her she feared it would be counter-productive to be openly critical, but likely that she could make a small and immediate gain by publicly praising him and confining herself to a minimal and easily satisfied request. Is it more plausible to suggest that her testimony should be read without reference to her vulnerable and humiliating position and that she was content for her private parts to be constantly inspected, ogled, prodded and ridiculed in an alien land? In that case, it would hardly be illogical to argue that her treatment was just and fair.

Historically informed inference that interprets and supplements colonialist documentation contributes to understanding testimony like Saartje's. We should expect public transcripts of the subordinated to enact prudent performances of loyal obedience, public deference and dependence and they usually do. In themselves, they are unreliable indicators of the private beliefs of the subordinated.[57] An appreciation of their disadvantageous relations of power; their constraints, problems and achievable interests; and attentive scrutiny to disjunctions in public transcripts are normally better indicators of the thoughts, motivations, and experiences of history's subalterns. [58]

A Maori tour of England in 1863-64 demonstrates a corollary of this approach. If the power imbalance tilts significantly in favour of the subordinated, they will be in a better position to openly express their perceptions and discontents, perhaps transforming publicly invisible resistance into overt conflict.

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[56] Quoted by Paul Edwards, "Black personalities in Georgian Britain", *History Today*, Vol. 31, September 1981, p.42.

[57] Scott argues that because they are produced under the influence of domination, acts of public deference by the subordinated constitute no indication of underlying attitudes of loyalty, attachment or satisfaction: "every inference about the attitude behind an act of deference must therefore be based on evidence external to the act itself": Scott, *Domination and the arts of resistance*, p.24.

[58] Saartje left one indication of her feelings. After being displayed at a French ball, she explained herself to a French man: "My name is Sara, really unhappy Sara" (http://www.h-net.msu.edu/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=183. Review of *The life and times of Sara Bartman - "The Hottentot Venus"*, documentary film by Zola Maseko, First Run Films, New York).

HIDDEN TRANSCRIPTS BECOME VISIBLE: SUBORDINATION, AGENCY AND RESISTANCE OF MAORI IN BRITAIN 1863-64

Illustration 68: Maori Chiefs and William Jenkins (far right) in England.[59]

From English newspapers clippings in the scrapbook of William Jenkins, manager of the Maori Chiefs on their tour of England:

> *Mr. Jenkins having been connected with the native tribes of New Zealand for nearly twenty-one years ... is thoroughly acquainted with their manners and customs; he therefore purposes giving 'Illustrated Lectures on New Zealand and its Aborigines,' and thus offering the British public the opportunity of seeing true pictures of Maori life, portrayed by a number of warrior chieftains, from the most powerful tribes of the Northern Island, in their native costume.*

[59] *Penny Illustrated Weekly*, undated, courtesy Alexander Turnbull Library, Auckland, c10806.

It should be borne in mind that the New Zealand chiefs now in this country do not belong to the tribes at war with us, but that they profess the utmost good will towards the Queen, her family and her subjects. Since the party arrived here they have in addition to their presentation to the Queen, the Prince and Princess of Wales, been the guests of many of the aristocracy; and were in fact the 'lions' of the London season. They are now making a tour through the country ... the plan adopted is to hold seances, for admission to which a fee is charged.

From a letter by William Jenkins in London to Charles Davis in New Zealand, 26 May 1863:

It is a great treat to the Natives, something they will never forget, this visit to London. Everybody treats them with kindness and respect ... If they will only behave themselves well I will carry out my scheme to our mutual benefit. Hitherto I have got on well with them, tho not without great difficulty and much generalship."[60]

From the diary of William Jenkins, 20 August 1863 (underlinings in original):

The <u>Natives</u> have <u>not behaved well. Ingratitude of the blackest kind</u> has been shewn by them - while we have been treating them like Princes, and introducing them into the best society, and shewing them everything that was calculated to instruct and improve them .... Never have foreigners been received more carefully and enthusiastically than these New Zealanders - and, with few exceptions, never could any set of men have behaved with more <u>base ingratitude</u> than these men have done to us their best friends.

From written statements by Reihana Taukawau dictated to Mrs Elizabeth Colenso, an English speaker of Maori, 8 March 1864:

I was tired of meetings in London & continually O friend Jenkins have I told you so; I see no use in these great speakings ... it is all no good, I was quite weary and grieved and longed to have done with this continual going about ... Jenkins then began to quarrel about meetings and said to us all 'I am weary of you all, because you declare against meetings, it is wrong'.

From the diary of William Lightband, an investors in Jenkins' company, 19 December 1863:

The Natives are a greedy, selfish lot always wanting money, never thinking of the fearful expenses we incur from day to day. After all their pretensions it turns out that money is the uppermost thought in their mind in coming to England.

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[60] Quoted by Brian Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria: an illustrated history of the Maori tour of England 1863*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1985, p.35.

From a notebook written in Maori during his tour of England by Reihana Taukawau from March 1864:

> *They thought, that is the important people of England, that it was the Maori idea to come to England ... But afterwards those important people learnt that it was Jenkins who brought us, he being interpreter ... the important people said that the Maori did not know they were brought by the Pakeha as monkeys for them.*

From a translated letter by Kamariera Te Hautakiri Wharepapa to Miss Selwyn and relations of the Bishop of New Zealand, 29 January 1864:

> *I am very much afraid that the English think he [Jenkins] speaks our words. I rise sorrowfully in the meeting rooms. Sometimes I am light & at others I am dark, on this account I am anxious to return home ... Behold - how much have we urged that we should quickly return to New Zealand but Jenkins would not consent - great is my desire that we should return soon, we shall soon all be dead in this land, we are always ill.*

By Maori, in Maori, on stage during public meetings organised by Jenkins from late 1863. He did not translate their declarations:

> *Meetings no good! We want to go home!*[61]

By Reihana Taukawau in the *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 21 March 1864:

> Hereafter you will perceive the evil of that man [Jenkins]. You will then be astonished that the Maories have acted so properly.

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The tour and its documentation

In May 1863, William Jenkins, a Methodist missionary, returned to England with 13 Maori, four of them women and all Christian converts. By mortgaging his house, Jenkins formed a limited company to finance his speculation, planning to illustrate his public lectures "by means of the natives, very much after the fashion of Catlin and his company of North American Indians."[62] He had persuaded the Maori to sign contracts which indentured them for a year after their arrival.

[61] Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, footnote 2, p.119.
[62] *Aucklander*, 26 December 1862.

The Maori became sensations, attracting thousands of English spectators in a hectic schedule of Christian functions, social events, royal audiences, private parties and public receptions. Jenkins' ineptitude prevented him turning their popularity into profits,[63] but his diary reveals he felt richly rewarded by returning as a conquering hero to the nostalgic pleasures of the England he loved. He relished basking in the presence of the "great and noble of the land"[64] who clamoured for his presence with the Maori.[65] The Maori were not paid.

In many ways - the contracts, exalted social acceptance, effusive popular scrutiny, alcohol problems, romantic interludes, illness and death - the tour resembled other mid-Victorian indigenous tours of England.[66] But it was differentiated by the public eruption of Maori resistance and its polyphonous documentation.

The competitive dynamics of their tribal culture had enabled Maori peoples to maintain an unusually active and resistant relationship with colonialism.[67] Colonial authorities were still confronted by Maori military resistance[68] and European racial hierarchy ranked Maori well above other non-white indigenes.[69] These factors placed Maori visitors in a less disadvantageous position in England than other indigenous performers. Yet until outside forces intervened to provide support and offer alternatives the Maori in Britain were unable to defy Jenkins, win their independence or document their testimonies.

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63 The primary obstacle was Jenkins' decision to approach London's Colonial Office and influential philanthropists in pursuit of approval and financial support. He failed to secure either but the negotiations fatally delayed Jenkins' planned schedule of illustrated lectures. In his diary, the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote of his suspicion that Jenkins would "make a *show* of them à la 'Barnum'. It seems to me that this proud people will resent this, though Mr Jenkins declares that they thoroughly understand and have agreed. I hardly know what to do" (Newcastle to Sir George Grey, 26 June 1863, quoted by Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.45).

64 William Jenkins, Journal of a visit of Maori Chiefs to England 1863-64, microfilm of original, Alexander Turnbull Library, Auckland, (henceforth identified as Jenkins' diary) 16 June 1863. William Jenkins, Visit of Maori Chiefs to England 1863, microfilm of newspaper clippings collected by William Jenkins, is identified as Jenkins' scrapbook.

65 Within a fortnight of his arrival, he purred "we are becoming very noted characters in the fashionable circles of London" (Jenkins' diary, 8 June 1863); a few days later, an invitation to attend a function with the Prince and Princess of Wales confirmed that "we are really rising high on the ladder of fame" (Jenkins' diary, 10 June 1863). Immediately afterwards he was invited to attend Marlborough House and exulted: "This has been the *greatest day* of my life. Who would have thought that I would arrive at such honour?" (Jenkins' diary, 13 June 1863, emphasis in original).

66 Opportunities for romance and alcohol, customary consolations for indigenous performers in Britain, were robustly pursued by Maori men and women. See Jenkins' diary, 14 September & 1 October 1863, 29 January 1864; Reihana, Statements, p.10; Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, pp. 66, 75, 86, 88, 91, 92 & 95. As a result of one romance an English maid, Elizabeth Reid, fell pregnant to Wharepapa. They were married in England and returned with him to New Zealand, bearing his child on the voyage. Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, pp.66, 75, 92 & 95.

67 For dynamics of pre-European Maori culture, see James Belich, *Making peoples: a history of the New Zealanders*, Allen Lane, Auckland, 1996, pp.13-105; Ranganui Walker, *Ka whawhai tonu matou: Struggle without end*, Penguin, Auckland, 1990.

68 *Telegraph* (London), 16 June 1863, from Jenkins' scrapbook; *Bristol Gazette*, 8 October 1863, quoted by Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.74.

69 *Telegraph* (London), 16 June 1863, from Jenkins' scrapbook.

Illustration 69: Kamariera Te Hautakiri Wharepapa[70]

There are three important Maori accounts, in English, of their tour.[71] Kamariera Te Hautakiri Wharepapa, a widower in his thirties, his face fully engraved with *moko*, addressed a letter from Birmingham on 29 January 1864 to missionaries who had come to oppose Jenkins.[72]

Reihana Taukawau dictated statements on 8 March 1864.[73] The statements of Paratene Te Manu, an elderly Ngati Wai warrior tattooed on his face, thigh and buttocks, were probably transcribed by the same method.[74] Reihana also wrote a notebook and diary of the tour, in Maori. It contains retrospective impressions of the tour from February 1863.[75]

Maori documentation: perceptions, agency and options

Illustration 70: Reihana Taukawau[76]

The Maori testimonies were not disinterested or unmediated. They were recorded by Jenkins' opponents and reflected the censorious language and attitudes of the missionaries who transcribed them. Nevertheless, the documentation unveils inter and intra-racial conflicts, Maori double-consciousness, shrewd opportunism, immense inter-cultural incomprehension and contradictory strategies and goals adopted by the indigenous performers in response to their problems and opportunities.

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[70] Photograph taken 1863-64, courtesy Alexander Turnbull Library, Auckland.

[71] Letters from and concerning Maori Chiefs who visited England in 1864, Church of England in New Zealand, collectively, Ms. 60, folder 108, Auckland War Memorial Museum. Alistair Carlisle, Manuscripts Librarian of the Auckland War Memorial Museum generously sent me copies of the following typed transcripts: translation of a letter from Te Wharepapa to Miss Selwyn and all the relations of the Bishop of New Zealand, 29 January 1864; statements of Reihana Taukawau, 8 March 1864; and statements of Paratene Te Manu. They were deposited in the Auckland War Memorial Museum by the Bishop of Auckland in 1963.

[72] "to Miss Selwyn & all the Relations of the Bishop of New Zealand. Mr George Maunsell & Mrs. Colenso, my friends put it all into English for my Friend & the Friend of the Maori, Miss Selwyn, that she & the Bishop's youngest son may read it." Hereon referred to as Wharepapa, Letter, pp.1-5 of typescript.

[73] They were translated by Mrs Colenso sentence by sentence in the presence of Mr. Stack, another Maori-speaking missionary, "and at the close all read over to Reihana who agreed that there were no mistakes made." Hereon referred to as Reihana, Statements, pp. 6-13 of typescript.

[74] Paratene, Statements, pp.13-17 of typescript.

[75] The notebook in which it was written was given to Reihana in March 1864. Reihana Te Taukawau, Notebook - Recollections - Diary (in Maori), Auckland War Memorial Museum, Ms. 1069 (hereon referred to as Reihana, Notebook). Alistair Carlisle, Manuscripts Librarian of the Auckland War Memorial Museum could find no record of a translation. I have drawn from excerpts of the John Kamariera translation quoted by Mackrell in *Hariru Wikitoria*.

[76] Photograph taken 1863-64, courtesy Alexander Turnbull Library, Auckland.

The Maori claimed to have been misled about the financial arrangements of the contract and the nature of their obligations.[77] The misery of their voyage to England clarified their position. They were repulsed by the food, upset by their inferior accommodation, frightened and seasick.[78] After one Maori woman, Hariata Haumu, became insane she was confined on board then for four months in Bow St. Asylum.[79] Only during the voyage did the Maori realise that they would be visiting England, not as observers, diplomats and Christians, but as primitive performers. Jenkins directed the Maori to rehearse chants and dances. With grotesque insensitivity, he publicly corrected their reluctant performances according to a Pakeha book on Maori customs:

> The soldiers came looking on and Jenkins often came and said practise all these things, for you do not seem perfect in these Maori ways & Jenkins had a book which Hare [Charles] Davis gave him, a book full of the words of war songs and enchantments and all the old heathen customs.[80]

The old warrior Paratene was amused by insipid Pakeha ideas of Maori culture which were expected to titillate British audiences: "If I were to tell all", he wryly commented, "Jenkins would turn pale."[81] When they performed a mid-voyage *haka* for an audience on a nearby Russian ship, the reception demonstrated that Maori culture was being trivialised: "We perceived in the haka it was just food for their eyes, nothing else."[82] The converted Maori were upset that they were required to publicly perform chants and dances which missionaries had convinced them to abjure. Conversely, Jenkins offended Reihana by belittling Maori prophecy:

> This made me angry, it was an objection to the belief & customs of my Fathers and being displeased I answered. 'I have a belief in prophecy; the night after I was on board a sudden twitching of my left hand was a bad omen sent to declare to me that evil would befall' ... Jenkins said the English have no sympathy with that kind of thought. I remarked 'you shall see, we will come to grief.'[83]

In England, the Maori were unhappy with their accommodation and their performance obligations. As Maori knowledge of English increased they became offended by Jenkins'

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[77] Wharepapa, Letter p.2; Reihana, Statements, pp. 6-9; Paratene, Statements , pp.13-15.

[78] Paratene, Statements pp.15-16; Reihana, Statements, pp.8-9.

[79] Brief accounts of her insanity are in Reihana, Notebook, quoted by Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria,* p.31 and Elizabeth Colenso, Diaries and letterbooks, 1862-65, ms. Alexander Turnbull Library, quoted by Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.32. Jenkins secured her release from the asylum and she returned home with most of the Maori in April 1864.

[80] Reihana, Statements, p.8. Reihana's phraseology here appears to reflect Mrs Colenso's attitudes - and it is worth bearing in mind the effects of her husband abandoning her during their mission in New Zealand for a sexual relationship with a Maori woman.

[81] Paratene, Statements, pp.13-15.

[82] Reihana, Notebook, quoted by Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.30.

[83] Reihana, Statements, p.10.

vulgarity[84] and accused him of mistranslating their speeches.[85] They were offended by black-face racial displays. At an officers' minstrel performance in Beaufort House, they "politely expressed their approbation of such a disfigurement" because "as God had made their faces white, they had no right to make them black."[86]

Jenkins was bewildered that the Maori were not thankful for being patronised by dignitaries in exchange for providing exotic entertainment.[87] So, misunderstanding their intent, he was delighted when "the Chiefs expressed a wish to see the Queen."[88] British philanthropists believed that Maori were too carefree to be concerned with their predicted extinction[89] but Reihana wrote to his relations emphasising: "I am constantly telling the gentlemen here in England about the saying of the Europeans that the Maoris of New Zealand will be exterminated." He explained that: "We are continually talking to the Chiefs of England and to the ministers on this subject" because the ominous discourse was current in England as well as New Zealand: "When we arrived in England, an English gentleman said to us, 'Ah! Here are some of the New Zealand chiefs who are to be exterminated; so say the Pakehas.' "[90]

Thus, after changing into their best Maori costumes to meet Queen Victoria, Hirini Tipene Pakia orated:

> My heart rejoices, O my gracious Queen, for I stand in your presence: this is my word to you: The people of New Zealand are strongly influenced by religion ... but they are also strongly influenced by evil. Give us your laws for New Zealand, for I am fearful of the sentences of [some of] the Europeans of New Zealand, who say that the Maoris will be annihilated.[91]

Reihana followed:

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[84] As Jenkins' financial desperation increased, his lectures dwelt on Maori cannibalism and speculated on their sexual conquests with English women. See Jenkins' scrapbook, press clipping 6 October 1863; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 7 October 1863, quoted by Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.75; *Australian and New Zealand Gazette*, 7 October 1863, quoted by Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.72.

[85] Information by Miss Weale in a letter to Bishop Selwyn, quoted by Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.97.

[86] Jenkins' scrapbook, press clipping probably from January 1864. The Maori comments "amuse[d] their aristocratic entertainers".

[87] After a private party where "the Maoris *speechified* much to the amusement of the company", he demanded: "Surely these Maoris ought to be grateful for such overwhelming receptions by the English people" (Jenkins' diary, 2 December 1863). He became exasperated when they weren't, complaining after a Chapel meeting that there was "much attention paid to the Natives - but I fear they do not fully appreciate it" (Jenkins' diary, 24 November 1863).

[88] Jenkins' diary, 9 June 1863.

[89] See Charles Dilke, *Greater Britain: a record of travel in English-Speaking countries during the years 1866-67. Charles Dilke visits her new lands 1866 & 1867*, edited and abridged by Geoffrey Blainey, Methuen Haynes, Australia, 1985, pp. 74-76

[90] Letter by Reihana Te Taukawau to relatives, 17 July 1863, reprinted in British and New Zealand newspapers, quoted by Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.43.

[91] Letter by Hirini Tipene Pakia to relatives, 17 July 1863, quoted by Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.57.

O mother, the Queen, I greet you, bereaved as you are of your friend. I have but one sentence to make known to you. The people of England who are emigrating to New Zealand say that we, the Maoris, will be exterminated.

He reported that Victoria was moved to tears by eloquent Maori condolences on the death of Albert, and reassured them:

'I am not willing that you shall be exterminated. I will ever be mindful of you, for the people of New Zealand are Christians ... I will not suffer that evil sentence to be carried out ... I feel affection for the children and women, and men who are helpless'.[92]

Paratene also sought her intervention[93] and Victoria recognised their purpose: "Another spoke of their lands being taken away", she wrote in her journal, "& hoped I would promise that this should not be done, which I said I would. They are very intelligent."[94]

Maori discontent and constraints

Maori documentation and Jenkins' diaries confirm that although the Maori were discontented from early in the tour, their vulnerability ensured public compliance. Reihana recalled their powerlessness on the voyage to England. When they complained about the food:

... we were made to take it back. Paratene said if we make great talk about all this, he, Jenkins, will throw us into the sea and never take us safe on land.[95]

Some Maori were primarily upset that they were not paid wages for their performances.[96] The more diplomatically inclined, appreciating the importance of respectability to influential British authorities, objected to performing for the Pakeha.[97] They grew indignant after hearing Jenkins asked "why dress these men like monkeys and take them dressed thus about for show only that people may look at them?"[98]

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[92] Letter by Reihana Te Taukawau to relatives, 17 July 1863, quoted by Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.57.

[93] Paratene's appeal was: " 'Be kind to us, be generous to the Maori people.' " Paratene to Cowan in *Stories of New Zealand*, Whitcombe & Tombs, 1930, from an undated, unsourced newspaper item, quoted by Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.57.

[94] Queen Victoria's Journal, Osborne, 15 July 1863, quoted by Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, pp.58-59. Months later, 80 Maori chiefs from the Auckland district sent a petition to the Queen via Jenkins, complaining about Grey's conduct in the war and requesting his recall (William Lightband, Diary, 26 November 1863, recording its receipt by Jenkins: cited by Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.117. Lightband was Jenkins' business partner and co-manager of the tour.) The petition may not have been forwarded.

[95] Reihana, Statements, pp.8-9.

[96] Wharepapa, Letter, p.2.

[97] Reihana, Statements, p.9.

[98] The question to Jenkins was quoted approvingly by Reihana, Statements, p.11. Another instance of Maori indignation at their native costumes making them appear like monkeys, see Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, footnote 26, p.118.

Lacking alternative support to free them from their indentures and enable them to return home they continued for months to be constrained by dependence on Jenkins.[99] Jenkins simply dismissed or subdued Maori displeasure.[100] When Paratene complained about being required to perform war dances, protested to the public in Maori and threatened to reveal his unhappiness, he was intimidated by Jenkins' response: " 'who cares for you, that is nought to me, your opinion. I shall not be harmed, it is only the man who leaves me, who will be harmed.' "[101] Jenkins rejected grievances as evidence that the Maori were capricious and over-indulged: "Julia [Huria Ngahuia] is very troublesome - Constantly grumbling about trifles ... She has been spoiled by thoughtless London Ladies. She gives me much trouble & is enough to try one's patience severely. Wharepapa is also sometimes as obstinate as an ass."[102] As Maori unhappiness mounted, Jenkins curtly dismissed the commonplace disputes: "Settling matters with the Maories"; "Spent this day, as usual, in putting matters straight with the 'Natives' "; "Spent the early part of the morning in writing and conversation with the Maories."[103] He sometimes had to coax them to perform.[104]

Suffering from illness, not receiving wages and missing home, they remained under contract and trapped by Jenkins' refusal to end the tour. Fearing retribution, the Maori shared their sorrows and discussed their options in hidden transcripts.

> In private we talked on together and said, let us devise some way of letting the people know that we hate meetings and Horomana said this shall be the way of letting these assemblies know, let us stand up and all say, again & again: in English, 'meetings no good, no good, this very bad, lies.' But we held back because with Jenkins was the food [sic] if we made him too angry he would starve us; we feared, perhaps he would be unkind. We were ill in body & with burdens on our mind; great was the fire in my heart; my darkness and my sadness weighed on me.[105]

Takerei and Wharepapa suggested that they appeal for assistance from British sympathisers.[106]

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[99] For instance on 30 July, when the Maori were asked at a private meeting if they wanted to return to New Zealand, Reihana admitted "we said nothing" until Jenkins and Maunsell insisted that the Maori wanted to stay in England out of affection for Jenkins. See Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.64.

[100] For instance, he was irritated by Maori reluctance "to submit to be pulled about" for five hours for *Illustrated News* publicity photographs: Jenkins' diary, 11 June 1863.

[101] Reihana, Statements, p.11.

[102] Jenkins' diary, 28 October 1863.

[103] Jenkins' diary, 27 November 1863; 28 November 1863; 6 February 1864.

[104] Jenkins' diary, 15 December 1863; 19 January 1864.

[105] Reihana, Statements, p.12.

[106] Specifically from the Duke of Newcastle and Alex Ridgway, Land and Emigration Agent for Auckland: Reihana, Statements, p.12.

Allies and alternatives: hidden transcripts become public

The *Maori Warriors*, the seemingly indestructible troupe which had toured Australia in 1862, provided their first alternative. To Jenkins' horror, they arrived in London in June 1864, advertised as an "unprecedented attraction ... a REPRESENTATION of various SCENES of NATIVE LIFE EVERY EVENING. The Maori War Dance the War Canoe, Maori Wrestling, the Maori Double War Dance, &c."[107] When Jenkins' Maori discovered that the rival troupe were paid wages, some temporarily defected from Jenkins to the *Maori Warriors*.[108] The threat of alternative employment forced Jenkins to agree to pay wages.[109]

More crucially, a group of English ex-missionaries who knew the Maori language, Reverend James Stack, George Maunsell and Elizabeth Colenso,[110] involved themselves in the tour and gradually fell out with Jenkins. Their bilingual skills enabled Maori complaints to be documented. In collaboration with other opponents of Jenkins, they involved authorities who freed the Maori from Jenkins and donated the funds to finance passage to New Zealand.

Their activities led to Dr. Thomas Hodgkin of the Aborigines' Protection Society accusing Jenkins of cruelly exploiting the Maori.[111] Over Christmas 1863, in Jenkins' absence, the Maori were approached by Charlotte Dorotea Weale, an influential philanthropist who had done missionary work in New Zealand. After she realised that they were ill, unhappy and longing for home, Weale interviewed Jenkins and decided she distrusted him. She contacted Mrs Colenso, Stack and Maunsell and the Maori secretly collaborated with their allies to sever Jenkins' control.[112]

By late December, Jenkins complained of the Maori's openly rebellious behaviour: he was particularly wounded by "insults offered by them at public meetings".[113] Hirini and Horomona accompanied Ridgway to the Colonial Office to make serious - and partially false[114] - accusations against Jenkins. Wharepapa and Reihana wrote letters for Mrs Colenso to translate for Bishop Selwyn, explaining their desire to return home, their unhappiness at appearing at meetings and allegations of Jenkins' financial and ethical misdeeds.

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[107] *Daily Telegraph* (London), 8 July 1863.

[108] The defections enraged Jenkins: see his diary reaction of 20 August 1863, quoted at the beginning of this Maori section.

[109] Wharepapa, Letter, p.2; Elizabeth Colenso's diary, 9 August 1863, quoted by Mackrell , *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.65; Jenkins' diary, 12-13 & 20 August 1863. In financial trouble, Jenkins soon reneged on his wages commitments.

[110] Stack had been in New Zealand in the 1820s; Maunsell was the son of New Zealand's Archdeacon; Mrs Colenso had returned to England and translated the Bible into Maori after her missionary husband became involved with a Maori woman.

[111] Jenkins' diary, 14 November 1863.

[112] The Aborigines' Protection Society supported the Maori against Jenkins; the Stipendiary Magistrate of Birmingham forced Jenkins to relinquish his contractual hold; and Dorotea Weale organised the financing of their trip home (Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, pp.86-89).

[113] Letter by Jenkins to Charles Daves, quoted by Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.85.

[114] Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, pp.86-87.

Finally, when Weale enlisted the Stipendiary Magistrate of Birmingham to investigate, a stubborn but isolated Jenkins agreed to sign agreements releasing most of the Maori from his contractual control. Miss Weale and her allies supported them and promptly paid their passages home.[115]

At a farewell meeting in Birmingham, Jenkins blundered by speaking on the same stage as the Maori. Infuriated, and now freed from dependence, Reihana rose to publicly condemn his former guardian, haughtily rejecting gifts subscribed for the Maori. Hapimana delivered passionate denunciations in a rapid-fire speech. Some women fainted away and the mayor hurriedly closed the meeting before other Maori were able to vent their feelings.[116] Five Maori wrote letters to the press, translated by George Maunsell, explaining their actions and increasing the heat of their long-repressed denunciations. Reihana alleged that Jenkins was "evil"; Hirini accused him of being an anti-Christ disguised as a minister.[117]

Their struggle against Jenkins was not a simple triumph of innocence and virtue over heartlessness and duplicity. Jenkins, obtuse and self-righteous, was probably more humane than most racial entrepreneurs. His plans were motivated by respectable European ambitions, ideologies and vanities. Once Jenkins embarked on his project, Maori unhappiness was overridden by the financial imperatives of a seemingly promising venture which suddenly imperiled his reputation, life savings and family prospects.

The Maori responses were not uniform, consistent or innocent. Individuals pursued conflicting objectives and displayed contradictory standards of personal behaviour. They seized any available means to seek satisfaction of political goals, personal interests and private consolations; to pursue improvement in their conditions with Jenkins and escape from him.

The conflicts in Jenkins' relationship with the Maori were built in to the nature of his venture. Its ultimate and public collapse, on the other hand, was caused by specific features which gave the Maori an abnormal degree of power to resist. Without previous Maori literacy, the presence of Maori-speaking allies in England, Jenkins' ill-advised attempts to solicit British government support and probably the effectiveness of armed Maori resistance in New Zealand, Maori hidden transcripts would not have become public. The intensity of their complex motivations and conflicts would have remained hidden in their time and - apart from Jenkins' complaints that they were unreasonable and troublesome - would have remained substantially undocumented thereafter.

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[115] Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, pp.86-89.

[116] *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 11 & 12 March 1864; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 11 March 1864, quoted by Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p. 91.

[117] *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 21 March 1864, quoted by Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.92.

Herein lies the significance of this tour: that unusual historical aspects of a familiar colonialist practice disrupted its typical relations of power and transformed the invariably one-sided content of its documentation. As a result, it recorded Maori strategies which attempted to privately and publicly address problems, opportunities and discontents common to the experiences of other indigenous performers in Victorian Britain.

The Maori documentation demonstrates that it is not anachronistic to suspect that indigenous visitors were distressed by common discourses of racial extermination; dismayed by popular representations of race; angered by the intensified itineraries which managers imposed; depressed by failing health and yearnings for home; and frustrated because their position of dependence and vulnerability made open resistance costly and perilous. If we reject colonialist racial ideology, there is every reason to suspect that other touring performers from despised races whose transcripts remain hidden, also understood, suffered and sought to rationally respond to problems with which the Maori struggled.

Welcomed as a superior non-white race; honoured as Chiefs; valued as important diplomatic allies at a critical stage of a difficult colonial war; familiar with significant aspects of British religion and culture, Maori were in a stronger situation than other racial attractions in England. Most would have had to resort to less effective and less direct forms of resistance. Few were in a position to make so public their transcripts of discontent and subversion.

CHAPTER 16

PUBLIC AND HIDDEN TRANSCRIPTS OF THE 1868 TOUR

In April 1876 and January 1877, John (Jacky) White a Gunditjmara man, dictated two heartbreaking letters from Lake Condah mission, addressed to Samuel and George Winter, white pastoralists of Murndal and Tahara stations.[118] Living only thirty kilometres distant from his "own country", Jacky White was desolate and desperate.

> Father said you were the best masters that he ever had, and also he said, that he grew up to be with you, and we would all like to come and see our native land very much, we are living very miserable, without boots and cloth, my friends are all dead, and I am left alone in the wide world ... Whenever I come to your house, and ask you to give me something, you always give it to me. I don't like it here, I like to be in my own country, where I was brought up ...
>
> I want to come back to Wannon, I knew you ever since I was a boy you used to keep us live, I recollect about 13 or 14 years ago when you used to travel about 5 or 6 miles to bring us to your place so will you be obliged to write to the government to get us off this place. So if you will write to the government for us and get us off here, I will work for you and will never leave you.
> So I wish you to get us off this place, I always wish to be in my own country where I was born. I'm in a mission station and I don't like to be here, they always grumble and all my friends are all dead and I am left ... I can't get away without leaf [sic] from the government. This country don't suit me, I'm a stranger in this country, I like to be in my own country."[119]

Jacky White recognised that pastoralist control over Aboriginal land placed him in a subordinate position and his letters expressed an appropriate strategy. They provide no indication of what he might have said privately about pastoralists to other Gunditjmara, but the public transcripts did not contest the justice of squatters' expropriation of Aboriginal land. On the

[118] When Samuel Winter visited England in 1868 he watched the Aboriginal team at Lord's see Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp.119 & 145.
[119] Quoted by Clark, *That's my country belonging to me*, pp.110-111. Jacky White died in 1894, aged 70.

contrary, they reinforced the public transcripts of the dominant, appealing to the Winters' sense of superiority, obligation and pity towards dependents as well as nodding to their self-interest ("I will work for you and will never leave you"). It was a subaltern strategy calculated to achieve the central goal which was achievable for Wimmera Aborigines at the time of the 1868 tour: maintaining access to their land by manoeuvring between dominant pastoralists and government authorities.

IMBALANCES IN AGENCY, POWER AND REPRESENTATION

It is easy to identify what the management quartet stood to gain by bringing Aborigines to England.

For Anglophiles, visiting or revisiting England was a highly desirable outcome in itself. Only incompetence could prevent them from making profits and the novelty value of the Aborigines was so attractive that they risked little - as long as the Aborigines remained willing and able to perform on cue throughout the tour.

Despite managerial ineptitude, Lawrence re-entered the English cricketing limelight after his career seemed doomed to end in colonial oblivion; Hayman impressed the Kentish cricketing and social elite with his successful adventures in the colonies; Smith bought thoroughbred English bloodstock. The Aborigines had earned them prize access to the Duke of Edinburgh and in Britain they basked in social gratification as aristocrats, gentlemen, ladies, businessmen, intellectuals and masses thronged to be entertained by the remarkable blacks under their control.

On the other hand, the Aborigines' motivations were unclear. Race precluded their social mobility in colonial society. They expected to earn 50 pounds each at the end of the tour; Mullagh and Cuzens may have hoped to establish a livelihood in professional cricket, as they briefly and unhappily did after their return. Hayman and Lawrence's nostalgic descriptions may have sparked curiosity in "the wonderful things of England" as Jenkins' did with Reihana. The Aborigines may have dreamed of briefly enjoying freedoms and mobility which were denied at home. In view of their performance for the Queen's son in Sydney, it is not inconceivable that they hoped to somehow help their people, like Black Elk and the Maori.

As with Jacky White, protecting the personal arrangements which enabled access to their country must, surely, have been in the forefront of their considerations. Since the Aborigines were probably made aware that Hayman had come to an agreement about the tour with the pastoralists who controlled their traditional lands, trepidation of negative consequences had avoided England may have been more persuasive than positive goals. It was reasonable for Aborigines to conclude that it was in the interests of their long-term security of tenure to make the tour.

Certainly Aborigines today believe that power relations established by pastoral dispossession severely circumscribed Aboriginal agency. "Station owners said go, they'd up and went. That'd be it. Couldn't question things those days"[120] offered Sandy Atkinson of the Koorie Oral History Project of the State Library of Victoria. This is not to say that the Aborigines were *completely* powerless. Hayman, Lawrence, Graham and Smith needed Aboriginal cooperation to travel, perform and 'behave" so the tour could maintain respectability, attract bookings and earn revenue. Although racial structures and ideologies determined Aboriginal subordination, they also created Aboriginal commodity value and a space in which performers could operate with some degree of agency.

Nevertheless, regardless of temporary celebrity and sympathetic patronage, the Aborigines were in a position of weakness. If the tour were an economic disaster; if they shared the fate of King Cole; in the event of decisive rupture with Hayman, Smith or Graham; or if management decided to extend the venture to America and the continent, they might never again see their homelands and peoples. Without Hayman and Lawrence, most would have been stranded, alone and extremely vulnerable in England.

Their apparently cordial relationships with management, British hosts, patrons, spectators and fellow sportsmen were markedly unequal.

WHITE AND ABORIGINAL PUBLIC TRANSCRIPTS OF 1868

The limited documentation of the Aboriginal tour of England - no managers' diaries, no Aboriginal testimonies - tests two assertions of Scott's analysis. Firstly that the suffering of *every* subordinate group creates from its hidden transcript a concealed criticism of the dominant; secondly, that the public transcripts of every subordinated group *always* contain ambiguous, partial and coded elements of their hidden transcript. In other words, from voluminous but superficial and one-sided documentation, is it possible to recover traces of Aboriginal subjectivity and indications of distinctive and subversive testimonies?

Almost all the journalism and the bulk of written reminiscences of the 1868 tour were public transcripts. Accounts of the public behaviour and attitudes of team captaincy and management, of officialdom and benefactors from local cricketing clubs and of British spectators and observers constitute public transcripts of the dominant. None of the journalism displayed critical interest or expressed independent comment even on such troubling events as the death of King Cole, the sudden departures of Jim Crow and Sundown, or the demands of the Aborigines Protection Board.

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[120] Sandy Atkinson interview by David Sampson, State Library of Victoria, 15 June 1993.

Despite the absence of overt Aboriginal voices or points of view, an Aboriginal public transcript was also created. The detailed descriptions of their performances, and the mute, implied picture of grateful subordination to benevolent authority created distinct impressions of the racially subordinated group. But the most significant aspects of the Aboriginal public transcript were its silences: a failure to identify Aborigines as intelligent adults equipped with distinctive perspectives and intents; and complete omission of British colonialism's devastation of Aboriginal life and culture.

Public transcripts depicted a harmonious inter-racial relationship founded on assumptions that both races willingly accepted unequal but complementary relations of power and the behaviour appropriate to them. Hayman and Lawrence were portrayed as abiding by their responsibilities of custodial care; firmly, patiently and selflessly controlling their sometimes precocious, child-like wards. The Aborigines were depicted as fulfilling the roles which pertained to their status - dependence, loyalty, gratitude, obedience and a pleasing readiness to learn limited skills with which they could amuse and gratify white observers.

In conveying mutual acceptance of inequality and dominance, the public transcripts reflected established racial tropes and colonialist ideologies. Consequently the imagery was unquestioned: management and English hosts benign, paternalist and civilising; the Aborigines devoted, partially improved by civilisation, content with their status, and generally sober although needful of guidance and correction.

As in large-scale exercises of colonialism, management created public transcripts which emphasised their benevolence. Thus, a journalist at one lucrative match credulously recorded that "the whole of the proceeds go to the Aborigines".[121] In 1869, Graham, the tour's co-financier who had remained in England, wrote to London's *Sporting Life* explaining that he, Smith, Hayman and Lawrence were motivated "mainly with the view of showing the British public that our countrymen, the Aborigines of Australia, could learn English manners and customs, and I am glad to say that their conduct during the six months they were here fully confirms that fact."[122]

Public transcripts are *performances*: performances of dominance, of paternalism and control; of obedience, loyalty and willing subordination. They are performances which deny the constructive agency of subordinates.[123] An interesting example is the role of Lawrence in the Aborigines' spectacular spear-throwing exhibitions.

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[121] Letter dated 14 January 1869 from Graham ledger, p.42, at Bootle, 30 July - 1 August 1868. The corresponding ledger (Graham, p.41) records that gate receipts for the three days amounted to 227 pounds 14/6. Possible outlays on the Aborigines amounted to 3 pounds for "Blacks"; 2 pounds for "Jim Crow": 3 pounds and sixpence for "music hall and incidentals"; 27 pounds 15/7 for the hotel.

[122] Graham, p.122.

[123] Scott, *Domination and the arts of resistance*, pp.45-46.

Although the well-trained Aborigines were perfectly capable of performing without his intervention, Lawrence demonstratively asserted public control.[124] The Aborigines arranged themselves in line, but did nothing until Lawrence marched to the centre of the ground to take command. They threw their spears only after he was seen to issue a signal.[125] If they really required direction, it would have been a simple matter for one of the Aboriginal performers to give the cue or for Lawrence to do so from the wings, unobserved. But that was not the point: the public transcripts of the dominant and subordinate - in this case consisting of actions - were performances in which both played the unequal and complementary roles assigned by the structures and ideologies of race. Lawrence and the Aborigines knew that his ostentatious leadership served no functional purpose: the white captain was playing to his public role of "Massa Charles", as at least one of the grateful Aborigines was said to address him.[126]

Public transcripts complimented the Aborigines on their public conduct in England because they successfully accommodated their public demeanour to British proprieties. They performed on time and generally entertainingly; they did not publicly defy white authority; while travelling to and from engagements they appeared to conform to civilised English dress and demeanour; and the few public incidents with alcohol confirmed the necessity for white control over Aboriginal irresponsibility.

Descriptions of the Aborigines' private lives in England, or instances of unself-conscious behaviour, are rare. Very early in the tour, before their schedule necessitated intensified work discipline, a journalist described some charming, seemingly unguarded moments of Aboriginal affection towards Lawrence:

> If he [Lawrence] is listlessly standing with his hands behind him, they will come behind him, and with childish playfulness, poke their fingers into the palms of his hands; or, if is in conversation which they are asked to join, they will, unceremoniously as it were, rest upon his shoulder in a very affectionate manner.[127]

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[124] *Illustrated Sporting and Theatrical News*, 10 October 1868.

[125] In his own words: "...dressed in their native costume Black fiting [sic] tights with Possum skin trunk Cabbage tree hat with lyrebird feathers on hat they march out in order and halt in line ... and at the word I give a flight of twelve spears are thrown". Lawrence ms.1, p.67.

[126] *Brighton Herald*, 13 June 1868. A nineteenth century poster of *Ashton's Circus* depicted Mungo Mungo, an Aboriginal horseman, holding a spear as he stood astride a running horse. It was captioned: "Woodcut of Mungo Mungo the Aboriginal horseman trained by James Ashton." Emmie Lister observes that Mungo Mungo was the trained "elephant, tiger or bear act of the Victorian era" (letter to the *Australian*, 11 May 1998 by Emmie Lister). Similarly, Charles Lawrence was enacting Ashton's role as ringmaster, directing the Aborigines, *his* Aborigines, to jump through the hoops.

[127] *Brighton Herald*, 13 June 1868.

Although written within the prism of white adult-black child racial typology, it could also be read as affectionate puncturing of British reserve and evidence of their shy Aboriginal uncertainty when asked to respond to inquisitive strangers in unfamiliar settings. But journalists did not enquire into the private behaviour or feelings of the Aborigines, nor did they offer glimpses of their lives beyond the public gaze. When the social and conceptual realities of Aboriginal existence in colonial Australia were ignored by the public transcripts of the tour, it could hardly have been otherwise.

ABORIGINAL HIDDEN TRANSCRIPTS: FACTORS OF POWER AND CONSCIOUSNESS

Colonialist power: Aboriginal constraints and opportunities

Within a generation, white settlers, sheep and diseases had imposed on Aboriginal survivors in the Wimmera a realisation that it was no longer possible to follow the ways of living which had been practised by their elders. They pursued strategies of survival, situated in the spaces between open defiance of settler society and complete surrender of their own cultural practices and beliefs. Each option was accompanied by a process of adaptation, concealment or internalisation of Aboriginal beliefs.

Although common aspects of different Aboriginal cultures and the influence of European racial beliefs and practices were creating conditions for collective Aboriginal identity, their choices were differentiated at individual, clan and regional levels. They were influenced by distinctive relationships with other Aboriginal groups; differing experiences with European power and culture; and variations in individual talents, aptitudes, temperaments and needs. Tarpot, for example, chose marriage instead of travelling to England; Harry Rose did not go because he was a rebellious drinker but his brother Charles travelled to his death in England. Charles Lawrence's diary told of an Aborigine who unsuccessfully volunteered to join the team despite hostility from the Wimmera Aborigines.[128] Twopenny and Dumas were from New South Wales. And, as we shall see, even among the Jardwadjali, Gunditjmara and Wotjabaluk, individual Aborigines had variable on-tour opportunities, workloads, difficulties, susceptibility to alcohol and English experiences. They consequently adopted divergent responses, distinctive strategies to the situations they faced.

In England, the Aborigines experienced opportunities and problems which had much in common with other indigenous performers who were brought to Europe. They were isolated from fundamental aspects of their culture, separated from their defining realities of place: their people, topography, animal life and vegetation, ritual sites and tribal ceremony. They experienced the

[128] See Chapter 14.

pressure and exhilaration of constant exposure to alien conditions and social experiences. They were human novelties, subject to economic exploitation and continual scrutiny. They were cheered and not abused; sought out and not shunned. Feted as racial curiosities and minor celebrities, white patrons provided them with unusually easy access to alcohol and other indulgences normally denied them. They were subject to work discipline, in a weak position to influence their management's schedule of travel and performance. They suffered frequent sickness, depleted numbers and the spectre of death, which tightened demands on the more resilient survivors.

Unlike other indigenous performers in England, they played cricket. This situated their performances, even the primitivist displays, within a distinctive, economically significant and socially prestigious sub-culture. Despite regarding the Aborigines and their skills with considerable contempt, England's self-assured cricketing elite prided itself on tolerant inter-class inclusiveness.[129] But because the Aborigines were a troupe composed entirely of young adult men, they faced an additional hardship, deprivation of familial and sexual companionship for the year they were away.

Aboriginal double-consciousness

Testimonies of Black Elk, Red Shirt, Tiggianiak and Jenkins' Maori, performers brought to Europe by white entrepreneurs within a few generations of intensive cross-cultural contact, provide evidence of pre-European realities, perceptions and interpretative processes, cross-fertilised with European beliefs and practices. The consciousness of touring Aborigines from the recently colonised Wimmera were likewise shaped by pre-colonial cultural beliefs, languages, epistemologies and ontologies.[130] It is therefore necessary to revisit the question which has arisen in interpreting the history of Native Americans and other indigenous peoples in their contacts with the west: How can we best employ the tools and assumptions underpinning western history and social sciences to apprehend the experiences of men whose systems of knowledge and reality had been shaped by pre-invasion, non-European epistemologies?[131]

As the Berndts, Tony Swain and others have observed, the history of Aborigines' contact with outsiders has constituted a hermeneutic process.[132] Under experiences of displacement, depopulation and dispossession, Aborigines rapidly adapted their pre-contact cosmologies, incorporating within them *metamorphosed* elements of western ontology which could account for

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[129] This was a public transcript of the dominant. South Norton conspicuously hosted, captained and played with and against the Aborigines in 1868, convinced that they were ungrateful savages.

[130] As the country of the non-Victorian Aborigines had been less recently and thoroughly colonised, Dumas and Twopenny may have been more Europeanised.

[131] Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *Beyond the great story: history as text and discourse*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1995, considers multiple aspects of this and similar historiographic dilemmas.

[132] Tony Swain, *A place for strangers: towards a history of Australian Aboriginal being*, Cambridge University Press, England, 1993, p.4. Contributions by Ronald and Catherine Berndt include: *Kunapipi: a study of* an *Australian Aboriginal religious cult*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1951; and *Pioneers and settlers: the Aboriginal Australians*, Pitman, Melbourne, 1978.

new circumstances of existence.[133] European values, practices and beliefs, from Christianity to modes of work, personal ambitions and taboos were modified by Aboriginal processes of resistant and creative incorporation.[134]

Thus Aboriginal double-consciousness was created. The tension between divergent and often contradictory belief systems, values and goals was complex and wrenching although the process was incomprehensible for white observers who assumed that Aboriginal beliefs were static and childlike. In turn, Wimmera Aborigines selectively concealed intimate ritual practices, even from sympathetic Europeans. From Redruth in the Wimmera, a correspondent of the *Hamilton Spectator* described how he, "a solitary white man", was permitted to share aspects of the funeral of Black Bessy, an Aboriginal acquaintance. Aborigines permitted his presence for much of the ceremony, but they conducted it in their own language and did not explain its meaning. Eventually, Bessy's daughter, who was sitting over her mother's grave, "shaking her head and muttering something in a sing-song kind of style", noticed the white man behind her. She "came up and putting her head upon my shoulder said 'Whitefellow, him pull away now'." The white man complied, but noted from a distance that the Aborigines continued their observances over the grave throughout the next day.[135] It is safe to assume that the Aborigines in England concealed their cosmologies and social practices to maintain the integrity of their culture.

Nonetheless, important traces of evidence confirm that the experiences of the Aborigines in England were shaped by non-European ontology and practices which were little noticed or understood by management and British observers. A journalist in Bishop Stortford misinterpreted the team's subdued demeanour when King Cole fell gravely ill.[136] Describing their reactions to his death, Charles Lawrence related with puzzlement: "it is a curious thing that not one of his comrades ever mentioned his name or made the slightest reference to him after his death."[137] The cross-cultural incomprehension is excruciating to contemplate: sympathetic attempts by managers, cricketers, spectators and journalists to express commiseration; awkward efforts to offer solicitous platitudes about the dead man's life and his soul being committed to Jesus; the supposedly Christianised Aborigines avoiding mention of his name in observance of their beliefs; and subsequent misinterpretation by apparently rebuffed white sympathisers.

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[133] Swain, *A place for strangers*, pp.114-119.

[134] Mudrooroo, *Us mob: history, culture, struggle*, Angus & Robertson, Australia, 1995, pp.44-46. For a detailed case study of Diyari (South Australian) Aboriginal reshaping of German Lutheran proselytising at the same time Wimmera Aborigines were confronted with Moravians, see Christine Stevens, *White man's dreaming: Killalpaninna Mission 1866-1915*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1994.

[135] *Hamilton Spectator*, reprinted in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 August 1867.

[136] See Chapter 11.

[137] From Lawrence's 1894 reminiscences to Tom Horan, in Gideon Haigh, *Australian cricket anecdotes*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1994, p.4.

Aboriginal ontology accepts death only when "the human life-essence, upon death, returns to its rightful abode ... the life-spirit always should return to the place from which it emanated."[138] Ian Clark suggests that Wimmera Aborigines adapted conceptions of death to their increasingly secular understanding of the role of European intruders.[139] Some of the Aborigines in Britain may have adapted juxtaposed beliefs similar to those "in areas of intensive [cross-cultural] contact ... that the spirit also journeys to some more Utopian domain, be it an Island of the Dead or a heaven"[140] Yet it is impossible to doubt that for his comrades, King Cole's death in exile constituted a shattering cultural transgression in addition to a harrowing individual loss.

Less conspicuous elements of Jardwadjali, Gunditjmara and Wotjobaluk consciousness which were active during the tour are even more conceptually elusive and historically irretrievable for western historiography. Nevertheless, despite its imperfections, I do not know of an alternative which is preferable to utilising historical techniques based on linear time, secularised causality, separation of physical and spiritual spheres of existence and regulated manipulation of documentary evidence.[141]

Aboriginal consciousness, cosmologies and cultural practices, coupled with any concealed discontents or subversion, constituted Aboriginal hidden transcripts in England. It is probable that most were never fully expressed in the English language. But even if the bulk of them are unrecoverable, it is important that distinctively Aboriginal perceptions of their British experiences are recognised among the significant silences of colonialist history.

DYNAMICS OF THE TOUR: CHANGING ABORIGINAL RESPONSES

Although expressions of sustained or consistent conflict were contrary to the intents of the public transcripts, telling fragments indicate that as the tour progressed, growing Aboriginal discontent, resistance and self-assertion emerged. They were met by white annoyance and discipline, rooted in frustration that their well-meaning control had foundered on Aboriginal backwardness and ingratitude.

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[138] Swain, *A place for strangers*, p.45.

[139] Clark, *That's my country belonging to me*, pp.149-151.

[140] Swain, *A place for strangers*, p.45.

[141] For suggestions about Aboriginal alternatives to "Master discourses", see Mudrooroo, *Us mob*, pp.175-192. For an example of the difficulties of writing a history which rejects linear temporality see Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth, *Sequel to history: postmodernism and the crisis of representational time*, Princeton University Press, USA, 1992. On the other hand, Deborah Bird Rose believes that Klaus Neumann's *Constructing the Tolai past* (University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1992) succeeded in writing a history which successfully jettisoned aspects of western chronology and objectivity, consistent with Tolai philosophies of history. See Deborah Bird Rose, *Australian historical studies*, No. 103, October 1994, pp.310-311.

The changing conditions which shaped the development of Aboriginal responses are clearly discernible. On their arrival in England, the Aborigines were relieved to have survived the sea voyage and reassured by the waiting presence of William Hayman. They were immediately taken to inns, enjoyed leisure and hospitality in Town Malling, were indulged at the Derby, and became the sensations of London, Lord's and the well-heeled south. Their work and travel schedules were not intense. The tour provided them with new opportunities and experiences. But illness and death overshadowed the Aborigines' experiences from the start. Cuzens nearly died; King Cole did; Sundown and Jim Crow were invalids for most of the tour.

From late June to departure in October, the trajectory of the tour was one of prolonged decline and increasing hardship. As it ground on into winter, travelling constantly from one purportedly final appearance to another in an exhausting, incompetent pursuit of the final shilling; having deteriorated from sensational London fame to tired out-of-the-way novelty, the difficulties faced by the depleted troupe of Aborigines in England undoubtedly grew more severe.

Aside from an initial period which was useful for publicity, the Aborigines, unlike Deerfoot, Catlin's Indians or Jenkins' Maori, were not offered the opportunity of indulging their curiosity as tourists. For a few days, the "Aborigines went about London sight-seeing during their stay in town, but once their tour began they had to stick to work, as they got through forty-seven matches."[142] A few organised outings were recorded, but at least one of these was an advertised publicity appearance.[143] After the effects of enthusiastic socialising at the Derby allegedly undermined their initial performance, management tried to keep a tight rein on their opportunities for independent activity.[144]

It is not surprising that an overview of the tour summed up their demeanour as having given "the appearance of men engaged in business rather than enjoying a recreation",[145] while William Shepherd summarised their general disposition as "sulky".[146] Cricket was involved but the tour was not play. It was arduous work, whose constant routines demanded repetitive performance and punishing travel.[147] It is misleading to conceive the tour as a "walkabout", however the term is construed.[148]

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[142] Gemse, *Sporting Life* (London), 1869, from Graham, p.122.

[143] Their appearance at Bury's *Athenaeum* for "Hamilton's Delightful Excursion to the Continent and Back Within Two Hours," *Bury Guardian*, 10 July 1868. Other known outings were a bazaar at Swansea (see discussion of Dick-a-Dick, Chapter 18); and expenses for a music hall at Bootle, 30 July 30 - 1August 1868, noted in Graham ledger, p.42.

[144] Donald MacDonald, "The 1868 tour", in Pat Mullins & Phillip Derriman, *Bat and pad: writings on Australian cricket, 1804-1984*, Oxford University Press, 1984, p.209.

[145] Gemse, *Sporting Life*, 1869, from Graham, p.122.

[146] Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines", p.134.

[147] For all but prohibitively expensive first-class travel, rail journeys in Britain were notoriously uncomfortable, tiring and public, see "Travelling second class in England", a letter by Plebs, *Geelong Advertiser*, 25 March 1867, reprinted from *Pall Mall Gazette*.

[148] The Aborigines could not determine their travel schedule; they were not fulfilling their own ceremonial, environmental or economic needs (*Encyclopedia of Aboriginal Australia*, Vol.2, p.794, discussion of walkabout under 'Nomadism'). Nor was their journeying a result of any inherent Aboriginal tendency to wander or fail to settle on one project in either the pejorative sense or the associated sporting cliché constantly applied to Evonne Goolagong and other Aboriginal athletes.

Indeed, the tour deprived the Aborigines of their most effective means of resistance to dependence on wage slavery and the exploitation of their labour. As long as Aborigines maintained access to the lands in which they were expert hunters, fishers and foragers, they could, and did, walk out of employment once they had satisfied their obligations and their needs. Bourgeois ideology interpreted this as evidence of Aboriginal shiftlessness and inferiority instead of accepting it as a rational means of resistance and cultural survival.[149] But in England it was no longer an option and the Aborigines had little choice but to follow the work schedule organised by management. As only a handful of matches had been organised by the time they arrived in England, it was impossible for them to anticipate the intensity of their working schedule. New engagements were constantly added at the last moment, and the Aborigines had to devise on the run their responses to unforeseeable problems.

They were subjected to a new master, the unfamiliar tyranny of clock time. They had to conform to schedules measured in minutes in order to meet train timetables which would take them to the next town in which they would perform, to travel from their hotel to the ground, to play until dinner break, to perform until the end of the day, to travel back to their hotel, and to leave in time to catch the next train.

E.P. Thompson famously explored the shock to the new British working class of subjection to unprecedented time rhythms of industrial capitalism. He characterised it as the change from task orientation to time orientation: a restructuring of the demarcation between work and life; a transformation from task time or seasonal time to clock time. Time was now set, measured and owned by the employer, and regularised, constant labour replaced earlier patterns which alternated between bursts of intense activity and idleness.[150] Manifold forms of worker resistance, including the struggle to obtain their own clocks, accompanied the imposition of new time and work disciplines even when its establishment was spread over generations and within the same culture.

Little in the experiences of their pre-invasion cultures or subsequent Aboriginal rural employment as trackers, stock workers or seasonal shearers prepared the touring Aborigines for the clock-time discipline and sustained constancy of the work to which they were subject in England.

Just as it is incorrect to portray the tour of England as an exemplar of cricket elevating human relations above the prejudices and inequalities of race, neither should it be conceived as slave labour, with the Aborigines as Uncle Toms to Hayman and Lawrence's Simon Legree.

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[149] Similarly, Robin Kelley, in his studies of black American political resistance, has observed that for southern African-American workers, "the most pervasive form of black protest was simply to leave ... central to black working-class infrapolitics was mobility." Robin G. Kelley, *Race rebels: culture, politics and the black working class*, MacMillan Free Press, New York, 1994, p.25.

[150] E.P. Thompson, "Time, work discipline and industrial capitalism", *Past and Present*, No. 38, December, 1967.

Despite difficulties, illness and tragedy, there can be little doubt that the subordinated Aborigines carved out public and private sources of enjoyment and self-expression. As with Show Indians, it is telling that so few journalists' accounts indicate that the Aborigines were happy off the field. Ironically, like their reasons for discontent and unhappiness, their off-field pleasures also failed to find their way into public transcripts. They were excluded - unlike, say, Lawrence's well-publicised efforts to accompany them to Church in Australia - because the Aborigines' favoured leisure activities were illicit and contrary to the imagery which the tour successfully sought to convey.

On the field, it was noted that some of the players played cricket with exuberance and halfway through their programme of matches, they were said to "converse with great cheerfulness".[151] Before their run of victories against inferior opposition late in the tour, one observer complimented them for not being disheartened by losing most of their cricket matches "but such is not the case in so far as they seem to enjoy the excitement of the game and enter into it with heart."[152] The explanation for their apparent enthusiasm in defeat was reminiscent of popular beliefs that black peoples were insensitive to their own suffering: "If they have to succumb so repeatedly they submit cheerfully."

It is more plausible that neither the results of cricket matches nor their individual performances were of much consequence to most of the Aborigines. We have seen that spectators and organisers cared so little about the results that close finishes were simply abandoned for the eagerly awaited activities with Aboriginal weaponry. Why should the Aborigines have cared? Unlike prizes or tips which they received for sport and ball-dodging, there is no indication in the ledger that the cricket team was rewarded for winning. Mullagh and Cuzens were periodically awarded individual prizes from the host club for some starring efforts and obviously took consistent pride in their abilities. But the majority of the troupe had no cricketing pretensions. A sense of the over-riding importance of results had not been deeply inculcated in Aborigines in comparison to enjoying pure physical expression through sport.[153]

This is supported by descriptions of on-field exuberance, particularly boisterous and excitable running between wickets which frequently led to their dismissals.[154] Journalists' accounts were vividly elaborated by the recollections of Frank Gerald 60 years later: "They played barefoot and ran like deer. Their running between wickets could be heard as well as seen. They tore up and

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[151] Versus Savile at Dewsbury, Graham, p.50.

[152] *Newcastle Daily Journal*, 22 August 1868.

[153] Michael Salter, Games and pastimes of the Australian Aboriginal, M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1967, cited in Richard Cashman, *Paradise of sport: the rise of organised sport in Australia*, Oxford University Press, Australia, 1995, p.17. A modern sociological study of Choctaw Indians found that their attitudes to sport were distinctly less conflictual and result-oriented than whites: Kendall Blanchard & Alyce Cheska, *The anthropology of sport*, Bergin & Garvey, Massachusetts, 1985, p.86.

[154] For some statistical evidence of their abnormally high proportion of run outs, see Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.113.

down the pitch, screaming and shouting native back-chat".[155] This appears to confirm that they communicated with each other in their own languages, contrary to public transcripts which mentioned only their use of English. As they were less Europeanised than Maori who used their own language in England,[156] it is reasonable to suppose the more bilingually fluent conducted public transcripts in English but most conducted their hidden transcripts in the Jardwadjali, Gunditjmara or Wergaia languages.[157]

It is difficult to doubt two further inferences about their on-field performances. Firstly that as the tour lengthened, enjoyment was dissipated by weariness, repetition and a sense of purposelessness. And secondly that most of them preferred the parts of their performances in which they demonstrated skills drawn from their own culture. Renowned Aboriginal cricketer Ian King has suggested that the concepts and leisurely paced rhythms of cricket have been less congenial to Aborigines than reflexive activities familiarised by hunting, tracking, sprinting and leaping.[158] The proposition applies with particular directness to Aborigines who had been so recently colonised. As Lawrence described during their trip from Lake Wallace in September 1867, hunting was still an important practical skill[159] and Tegetmeier observed their disappointment when they were unable to practice it in England.[160] The Aborigines could not have failed to notice that the size, attentiveness and admiration of crowds increased markedly when they demonstrated indigenous skills. It must have been a source of satisfaction that in these, unlike in cricket, they exhibited abilities which no others in England could match. Or, in the words of Black Elk, "I liked the part of the show we made, but not the part the Wasichus made."[161]

During the first southern section of the tour, and occasionally later, the Aborigines were described as docile, decorous or polite.[162] But as the tour wore on, sporadic reports implied that they became uncooperative and difficult to control. Late in July, the *Norwich Mercury* sought to explain their "surly civility". Unfortunately, it lamented, "these fine specimens of the Australian

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155 Frank Gerald, *A millionaire in memories*, George Routledge, London, 1936, p.212.

156 Not only Jenkins' Maori: the Native (mostly Maori) Rugby team of 1884 primarily communicated with each other in their own language in England including on the field. See Greg Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks: the 1988-89 New Zealand Native Football Team in Britain, Australia and New Zealand*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 1993, p.53.

157 The death of the great Wotjobaluk sprinter Bobby Kinnear in 1935 supports this supposition. He was born in 1851 and despite spending most of his life on Ebenezer Mission and speaking in English for his European athletics contests, a report of his death aged 84 explained that "the late Mr Kinnear and his wife spoke their own dialects more often than they spoke English." *Dimboola Banner*, 7 January 1935.

158 Cited by Kerry Wilson, The disappearance of Aborigines from Australian cricket, paper submitted for HS704, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Ballarat College of Advanced Education, 1987, p.27.

159 Charles Lawrence, "The Lawrence papers", *Wisden cricket monthly*, November 1989, pp..37-38.

160 *Field*, 23 May 1868.

161 *Black Elk speaks*, p.217.

162 Respectively, *Manchester Guardian*, 7 July 1868; *Sportsman*, 23 May 1868; and *Maidstone Telegraph*, 23 May 1868.

aborigines have been … petted and lionised by all admirers of something new, till the poor fellows must imagine themselves the celebrities of the age and will be spoiled for any industrious pursuits.[163] At Sheffield in early August, "a predilection for fire-water and a natural indolence are *some* [my italics] of the troubles with which the managers have to attend".[164] The reference to indolence implies that management found it necessary to impose work discipline. In early September at Burton they were "pleasant and well behaved, and with one exception," - tantalisingly unspecified - " nothing was done by them to annoy their excellent Captain and instructor, Lawrence."[165]

After the Aborigines left England, the veneer of touring harmony was sundered by the well-informed *Australasian* cricket journalist, W.J. Hammersley. Obviously inspired by advice connected to tour management, his report was designed to rebut Australian allegations that Sundown had been neglected on his premature return and that management was guilty of Aboriginal exploitation.[166]

Hammersley conceded that the early return of Sundown and Jim Crow suggested it had not been "judicious" to take to England "men who were affected with chest disease, from occasionally getting drunk and sleeping in wet clothes under paddock fences."[167] But "Lawrence's character" and personal assurances by management were sufficient evidence to "discredit the charges of neglect and cruelty that have been brought forward against those who took them to England." Hammersley's insider defence of management rested on admitting that significant conflict had occurred but attributing the blame to Aborigines. Indeed, "we have been assured that from the moment they were under Lawrence's charge, they have been treated with every care and consideration but that some of them have given much trouble and annoyance."

By the time the bulk of the team returned to Australia, another journalist believed that the Aborigines had become sufficiently self-assertive to contest control over their working conditions. They only made three more public performances, the second of which was against a Victorian XI. On 23 February 1869 on the afternoon of the third and final day, in front of a disappointing Melbourne crowd, they demonstrated spears and boomerangs and Dick dodged balls thrown from a dozen yards by Tom Wills and other Victorian cricketers. More must have been asked of them, but now they were close to home and it may have become clear that they would not receive the fifty pounds which each of them had been guaranteed. So there were to be no more sports, "the blacks evidently thinking, and with very good reason, that they had done enough for the small amount of patronage accorded them."[168]

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[163] *Norwich Mercury*, 29 July 1868.
[164] Graham ledger, p.47.
[165] Graham ledger, p.66.
[166] Hammersley did not specify the source of the allegations.
[167] *Australasian*, 19 December 1868.
[168] *Australasian*, 27 February 1869.

As a hired gun who bore no responsibility for instigating or organising the tour, William Shepherd was in a position to later criticise its incompetent planning and exhausting schedule. Although he looked back on the tour with the fond nostalgia of an old cricketer, he had less reason than the management to perpetuate public transcripts of grateful Aboriginal subordination. In words which I have italicised - "The Aborigines, *at heart*, did not *really* like the white man"[169] - Shepherd appears to imply that the Aborigines did not openly express their dislike: that it was an internalised response which they normally concealed from white authority and probable repercussions. Because Shepherd wielded less power over the Aborigines than their management, they may not have been so concerned to conceal their feelings from him; alternatively, Shepherd might not even have heard the matter discussed in English. He may have decoded the sentiment from gestures, unspoken attitudes and actions. In any event, his prolonged personal contact with the Aborigines had given him access to transcripts normally hidden from "the white man".

By using phrases which expressed unitary racial identity, Shepherd implied that "the Aborigines" collectively shared a distaste for all or most white men they encountered on the tour of England. Two sets of Aboriginal relationships with whites predominated in Britain, defining the human aspects of Aboriginal cross-cultural experiences. The relationship with their management and their relationships with English spectators and observers were crucial sources of support, familiarity and opportunity for the Aborigines. Yet both relationships were ambiguous, implicit with tensions, sources of conflict and an exploitation informed by racial domination.

RELATIONS WITH MANAGEMENT AND SPECTATORS

Discipline, control and resistance

Although it was contrary to the wishes of the enthusiastic drinkers, and possibly to expectations formed at Lake Wallace with Lawrence, restricting Aborigines' access to liquor in Britain was undoubtedly beneficial to their health. But the attempts to impose control must have intensified conflict between Aborigines and management. Mullagh, Dick-a-Dick and Cuzens were said to be abstainers but for many of the others, alcohol satisfied more than physical addiction. It was one of their few outlets for release, recreation and companionship. For the price of a few drinks, British audiences and curiosity-seekers consistently sought to establish personal contact with African, Maori, Native American and Aboriginal performers in Britain. The generous hosts offered conviviality and admiration as well as alcohol.

[169] Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines", p.134.

Frank Gerald recalled management preventing Aboriginal access to alcohol during the luncheon interval of cricket matches. The players did not go to dressing rooms but, like the crowd, used hospitality tents at the ground. The Aborigines "were allowed to mix with the spectators, who gave them cakes and biscuits and sweets and sometimes a drink out of a flask." Because "the aboriginal will drink anything any time and he calls everything 'rum' ", management intervened and "sensibly restricted drinks to very weak sherry and water and tea."[170]

It was more difficult to maintain control after they returned to their lodgings. In 1917, Donald MacDonald explained that when management attempted to impose a kind of curfew and confine them to their room, the Aborigines escaped. His information emanated from Lawrence, for whom "the tour was not altogether a pleasure jaunt" because the undisciplined Aborigines flouted his patriarchal authority:

> Restraint was irksome to the blacks, the family somewhat difficult to manage. To save them from English hospitality they were sent to bed early, but it was often a case of in by the door and out by the window.[171]

A Lawrence manuscript, one of the few fragments to recount his experiences with the Aborigines in England, offers his understanding of unsuccessful efforts to discipline their liquor consumption. It produced problems with the Aborigines and conflict with the English public:

> it had been most trying to keep them in order under the influence of alcohol which could not be kept from them as they were every day in touch with lovers of cricket who thought it kind to induce them to drink their health and chat with them until the poor fellows got quite helpless to refuse. When I remonstrated with this friendly treatment of the people they said they were not slaves and should have what they liked as they were in a free country and I must not stop them therefore taking all these things into consideration they behaved very obedient and did their best to help me and was always saying it was the gentleman's fault and would make them drink their health and like children would promise to be better I always forgave them after breakfast and said how sorry I was and that I should have to take them home again if they did not improve but I felt sure they would try but under the influence of drink it was hopeless for each disposion [sic] would develop one would quarrel and want to fight another would sulk others wd play games quite harmless and profess their love for me and would do anything to please me what ever else could I do than forgive them and hoping for improvement. I became their professor [sic] before we left Australia with my promise not to develop anything they wd. Tell me this had a good effect.[172]

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[170] Gerald, *A millionaire in memories*, p.212. Gerald misidentified the manager and cricket tutor as "Cousens".

[171] Donald MacDonald, "The 1868 tour", in Pat Mullins & Phillip Derriman, *Bat and pad: writings on Australian cricket, 1804-1984*, Oxford University Press, 1984, p.209.

[172] Lawrence ms.2, quoted by Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp.146-147.

In this revealing passage, time and age had softened the edges of sharp and recurring conflicts. Unable to confront his responsibility for placing alcohol-dependents in such a vulnerable situation, Lawrence remained bewildered, unhappy and frustrated by the futility of his attempts to prevent the inevitable outcome. He disguised self-doubts by discourses typical of public transcripts of the dominant: emphasising his own qualities of patient forgiveness, and Aboriginal protestations of admiration and love for him.

The Aboriginal avowals of devotion are plausible. Like Jacky White's importunate letters to pastoralists, flattery of authority is typical of public transcripts of the subordinated and may or may not be interpreted at face value, according to other evidence.[173]

It is interesting, though, that Lawrence described their attempts to stop drinking not as a form of self-preservation but as doing "their best to help *me*" (my italics). Unlike the situation at Lake Wallace, their drinking in Britain endangered Lawrence's interests, threatening the tour's public image and the Aborigines' ability to satisfy a packed schedule.

He contemplated the Aborigines with an attitude of pitying affection, considering them incapable of bearing responsibility for their actions or achieving self-improvement. They were "poor fellows" ... "helpless to refuse"... who, when told to change, "behaved very obedient and did their best to help me". Aborigines, "like children would promise to be better" until, inevitably, they disappointed his hopes for their "improvement". The responsibility for their plight was assigned to the English public for indulging their weakness.

But Lawrence knew that his ethical position was unsustainable. He had allowed Aborigines alcohol in Victoria where it was illegal; in England, where it was not an offense for an Aborigine to consume liquor, he was trying to prevent it. Outside their working hours who had any legitimate right to curtail indentured employees' freedom of movement and legal activities?

Reinforcing the relevance of situating Aboriginal performances in England within broader contexts of British racial discourse, the issue came to echo abolitionist debates. Hence the indignant reprimand to Lawrence by members of the English public when he took them to task for offering hospitality: "they said they were not slaves and should have what they liked as they were in a free country."[174] The retort must have stung Lawrence who saw himself as a kindly mentor, and it is irresistible to consider whether the Aborigines adopted similar anti-slavery rhetoric for their own purposes.

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[173] A statement or act of deference is "intended in some sense to convey the outward impression of conformity with standards sustained by superiors ... The act may be performed almost automatically as a ritual or habitual act; it may be the result of calculating its advantages; it may be successful dissembling; it may spring from a conscious desire to honour a respected superior": Scott, *Domination and the arts of resistance*, p.24.

[174] Lawrence ms. quoted in Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp.146-147. On the balance of probability, I have interpreted the source of these anti-slavery comments as the English public. If they came from the Aborigines, the comments would be even more telling.

Lawrence's descriptions of the Aboriginal responses suggest a strategy consistent with one of the "weapons of the weak". Dependent on alcohol but in too vulnerable a position to openly defy authority, they flattered Lawrence and reinforced his sense of responsibility for them. By repeatedly offering contrition, professing devotion and excusing their behaviour on weaknesses which, according to racial ideology and Lawrence himself, were beyond their control, they continued to drink and minimised confrontation.[175]

Lawrence's report makes it apparent that the Aborigines experienced different relationships with their management and the English public. They could extract separate rewards from each, and distinctive pressures and sources of conflict also ensued. The public could provide benefits not offered by management: fun, alcohol, a continuing sense of interest in who they were, additional sources of information, relationships which did not have a direct economic nexus and in which power was not overtly exercised, a release from discipline and restraint, and an alternative source of financial support. But, as Deerfoot and the Maori discovered, exotic races were always expected to sing for their supper, in the most informal social settings as well as professional performances.

In addition to their scheduled shows, scrutiny and performance was part of the everyday lives of racial curiosities abroad. For the Aborigines, British curiosity was constant and they were always on show. Although journalists described only their on-field activities, there is evidence that teeming curiosity-seekers awaited the arrival of their trains;[176] thronged outside their lodgings;[177] followed them when they walked down a street, waiting to cheer them when they had emerged from a bath;[178] and besieged them as they dressed for performance when King Cole was dying.[179] Incessant scrutiny must have been wearing and the Aborigines could not have failed to understand that public fascination, though friendly, was superior, derisory, presumptuous and short-lived.

It is impossible to determine their hidden feelings about these pressures, or to establish the extent to which they exacerbated alcohol dependence. Nevertheless, two documented responses to the demands of English spectators indicate the possibilities of coded methods of resistance. We can

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[175] In an oral history of the British Colonial Service in Kenya, a colonial official related a similar response by the Kipsigi tribe when the acting governor entreated them to cease stealing cattle. Following the governor's appeal to their consciences and sense of responsibility: "The leader of the Kipsigis listened to what he said very carefully and then came forward and said they recognised the error of their ways; that owing to what he'd said this blinding light had flashed upon them and from that day forward they would steal no stock and become model citizens. The Governor was extremely pleased. He said nothing but you could see him smiling to himself and reflecting upon what a word or two from the great would do. That night the Kipsigis came into the station and stole the entire government herd." Charles Allen, *Tales from the dark continent*, St. Martin's Press, 1979, p.92, quoted in David Spurr, *The rhetoric of Empire: colonial discourse in journalism, travel writing and imperial administration*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1993, p.186.

[176] *Keighley News*, 1 August 1868.

[177] *Blackburn Times*, 4 July 1868.

[178] Lawrence ms. quoted in Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp.137-138.

[179] *Herts and Essex Observer*, 27 June 1868.

recall that Shepherd described an incident at Longsight, after a card-seller officiously demanded that Mosquito perform his trick of using an 18 foot stockwhip to cut the end off a pipe held in his mouth. Mosquito's response was to deliberately miss - a seemingly accidental error - and slice off the tip of the nose with surgical precision.[180] It is likely that Shepherd was exaggerating, but his intimate knowledge of the Aborigines convinced him that they could be sufficiently offended by spectator insistence to seek physical retribution, despite realising they were in no position to openly retaliate.

The second act of resistance against English scrutiny was private, more direct and more reliably documented. From an anti-colonialist perspective, there are obvious political overtones in the successful rebellion by Dumas, Dick-a-Dick and Cuzens against Tegetmeier's assiduous efforts to measure their anatomies. But, as colonialism, racial science and philanthropic racial hierarchy were regarded as benign, Victorian Englishmen were unable to see the Aborigines' actions as legitimate defiance. Tegetmeier's account diminished the Aboriginal rebels and reasserted white superiority:

> These measurements were not so complete as would have been desirable, but my Australian friends have, like petted children, been rather spoiled by their good reception in this country, and were not quite as docile or obliging as when I saw them on their first arrival.[181]

Associated with the Aborigines at both ends of the tour but unconstrained by the diplomatic pleasantries of the cricketing world, Tegetmeier traced the deterioration in their behaviour. Consistent with tropes of race and colonialism, Tegetmeier characterised growing Aboriginal assertiveness as a decline from "docility to "spoilt children" and a consequence of "petting".

Misguided British indulgence of a child-race was responsible for outbursts of Aboriginal assertiveness. Like Jenkins, Tegetmeier viewed native defiance of benevolent control as an unfortunate consequence of pampering a people who lacked self-restraint, self-discipline or responsibility. Aboriginal self-assertiveness was not interpreted as maturing self-confidence, as expressions of frustration over repeated affronts to their dignity, or revolts against assumptions that they could be overworked, patronised and called on to publicly perform for pittances on demand. Least of all could their responses be credited as rational acts of political insubordination.

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180 Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines", p.131.

181 *Field*, Graham, p.335.

Petting and spoiling

References to "petting" and "spoiling" characterise a bond of dominance which typifies the situation of the Aborigines in England and their apparently fond relationship with Lawrence, Hayman and English audiences.

A pet, whether animal or human, is tamed and domesticated, trained to perform amusing tricks for superiors. Human beings are characterised as pets by virtue of their subordinated status of race, gender or mental and physical difference. Yi-Fu Tuan has observed that a pet, whether animal or human, is a "diminished thing", serving ... "not so much the essential needs as the vanity and pleasure of its possessor." Black servants, attendants and entertainers in England, Europe and the colonies were frequently in this situation, "the personal favorites and appendages of their masters or mistresses."[182]

If being petted and patronised involves a psychological cost, it also can provide opportunities. As a consequence of being indulged ("spoiled") by those who enjoy dominance over them, pets - women, children, people of colour, physical oddities like dwarfs - are often in a better material situation than their fellows who are not petted. Whereas animals and colonised subjects have been exploited, scorned, neglected, or even "slaughtered ... without a twinge of conscience ...[a] few specimens or species ... catch the fancy of people in a playful mood and are made into pampered pets or even fervently supported
causes ."[183] They may earn unusual privileges, including conditional access to public and private spheres.

But they remain subordinated to their patrons, subject to whims and arbitrary discipline. They cede control over their own space and time; are bound to perform on command for their masters and cannot directly contest the nature, pace and schedule of their work.[184] Assertions of contrary individuality by pets indicate they have been spoiled. In such cases, discipline is invoked, leading either to reassertion of control or, as the price of independence, sundering the relationship with their owner.[185]

The attitudes of Lawrence and Hayman, like Tegetmeier and Shepherd to a lesser extent, and English spectators more episodically and remotely still, conveyed affection and superiority, kindness and dominance, towards the touring Aborigines. Their apparently contradictory racial attitudes - a mixture of affection and condescension with variable traces of contempt - are characteristic of masters' relationships with petted beings. [186] Intimacy and obligation did exist, but

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[182] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Dominance and affection*, pp.139-141.
[183] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Dominance and affection*, p.162.
[184] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Dominance and affection* , pp.147-148.
[185] A literary example is the case of Nora and her husband in Ibsen's *A doll's house*.
[186] Tuan, *Dominance and affection* , p.163.

they were conditional on inequality and dominance: displays of independence threatened to severe the relationship.

In 1869 after the Aborigines returned to their country, an article described Lawrence's relief: he was "once more free".[187] In their exasperated complaints about the Aborigines' behaviour, Lawrence and Tegetmeier may have sympathised with the pained humour about pets expressed in *Bell's Life in Sydney* in 1862. It complained about the inordinate costs which pets - "domestic animals, caged birds, children, recreation and projects" - exacted on their masters. Despite indulgences lavished on them by their superiors, pets become ungrateful, selfish, annoying, egotistical and self-willed; as "hurtful to themselves as ... unjust to their betters" and "fully taken up with consideration for number one".[188]

As petted subjects of white supremacy, the touring Aborigines were expected to wear masks of gratitude, contentment, or eccentric simplicity. As Kelley has noted, such masks are difficult to maintain. Tensions mount from an "inner pain generated by having to choke back one's feelings".[189] Small fissures in the harmonious public transcripts of the 1868 tour partially reflect the consequences of structural conflicts which remain substantially concealed.

Some hidden transcripts revealed: Hayman family letters of 1933

Late in 1997, the Melbourne Cricket Club acquired at auction two letters written by a son and daughter of William Hayman to Ernest E. Bean.[190] Written 65 years after the 1868 tour in response to Bean's enquiries,[191] they remained in private hands for a further 64 years. Almost 130 years after the event, they would reveal startling fragments of the management's and Aborigines' hidden transcripts.

The Haymans courteously recalled William Hayman's reminiscences about the 1868 tour. R.C. Hayman reported that his father had "had trouble to keep some of them sober at the end of the tour, but otherwise they behaved very well." The problem was that the Aborigines had been spoiled by kindness: "the people tried to do to (sic) much for them." William Hayman claimed to have lost

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[187] *Leader* (Melbourne), 20 March 1869.

[188] "Pets", by Nonconformist, *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 2 August 1862.

[189] Kelley, *Race rebels*, p.7.

[190] Letter by R.C. Hayman to E.E. Bean, 20 December 1933. Letter from C.A. Hayman to E.E. Bean, 14 December 1933. Both were sold to the Melbourne Cricket Club in Lot 245, Phillip Auctions, MCG, November, 1997. I am indebted to Jena Pullman, then Curator of the Melbourne Cricket Club Museum, for bringing them to my attention, and to David Studham, Librarian of the Melbourne Cricket Club, for subsequent assistance. Bean was an early stalwart of the cricket Board of Control and a persistent foe of the eventual purchaser of his letters, the Melbourne Cricket Club.

[191] His book on the history of England-Australia test matches noted Johnny Mullagh's 1879 performance against Lord Harris's team (E.E Bean, *Test cricket in England and Australia 1877-1921*, J. Barr, Fitzroy, probably 1925, p.53) but did not mention the 1868 tour. It is improbable that his interest was motivated by an anti-racist consciousness: Bean opposed a tour of Australia by a Fijian cricket team in 1907-8 because it flouted the White Australia policy (Jack Pollard, *The turbulent years of Australian cricket 1893-1917*, p.200).

1600 pounds on the tour, attributing it to the blunder of refusing Spiers and Pond's offer of "a few thousand or so to manage them" soon after they had arrived in England when interest was at a peak.

More transgressive revelations came from C.A. Hayman. Her letter confirms that Lawrence's account ignored Aboriginal distress during the unfamiliar experience of their voyage to England.[192] When William Hayman retold the story of receiving the Aborigines on the London docks, he "often laughed" at the memory of their rushing to embrace him, in relief at being "sick of the sea and [because they had] quite thought they were all lost." Her major revelations concern Dick-a-Dick and Johnny Mullagh. They confirm that white and Aboriginal public transcripts effaced the scope of Aboriginal ambitions, the severity of managerial discipline and the extent of white dominance.

William Hayman apparently called Dick-a-Dick (or Dicky Dick) "Flash Dick" and his shows reminded the English of Aunt Sally being assailed with missiles.[193] "Flash Dick", though, "fell in love with a white girl in an Hotel at home[194]and she would have married him if he had stayed behind." He obviously wanted to, "but father made him come." He "often insisted that he had to bring them all back again or pay some hundreds of pounds for any of them left behind."

William Hayman disciplined Mullagh because "the good Bat was rather inclined to sulk". It is implied that he attempted other means of correction before managing to put the Aborigine back in his place by abandoning and demeaning him: "once he left him at an Hotel for a couple of days, where he had to work for his keep & after that he was no trouble."

Nevertheless, it is clear that William Hayman omitted telling his children about some of the most significant events of the tour. Thus, in answer to Bean's query, R.C. Hayman replied that he knew "King Cole died in England but don't remember Jim Crow and Sundown being sent back." C.A. Hayman was adamant: "I feel quite certain (her underlining) that the two you [sic] writing about were not sent back to Australia: if so Father would have been sure to have told us." As if to counter an implication that it may have been a disciplinary rather than a health matter: "he always spoke of their good behaviour on the whole."

When we consider that William Hayman related Dick's inter-racial romance and his punishment of Mullagh, his motivations for excluding the early return of Sundown and Jim Crow are puzzling. It is impossible to believe he didn't consider it interesting. Perhaps he had some reason to feel personally ashamed or he might have thought it cast an unkind light on the tour as a whole. Is it possible that a reason for returning two sick men was to save his liabilities had they died in England.? And yet, as he did tell his children that King Cole had died, it is hard to see any

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[192] See Chapter 10.

[193] See Chapter 4 for an illustration of Aunt Sally at an English race meeting.

[194] The Haymans, like their father, and Charles Lawrence and many Australians of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, still called England home.

discredit in explaining that he arranged to have two ill Aborigines repatriated for the benefit of their health.

These few scraps of hidden transcript are, nonetheless, a startling contrast to the benign and harmonious tone which dominates the public transcripts. They confirm that sharp conflicts between the power of dominant management and resistance by the subordinated Aborigines, imbedded in the structure of the tour, were only faintly reflected in public transcripts. They indicate that as the Aborigines attempted to exercise agency and struggled to assert dignity and self-realisation, they were frustrated by the scope of control over them.

Hayman demonstrated to Mullagh and Dick-a-Dick the limits of Aboriginal agency, the boundaries of their autonomy in England and the consequences of open transgression. But in the face of power, the subordinated do not necessarily submit. When they prudently adopt covert strategies in pursuit of modified objectives, the documented behaviour of disempowered groups and individuals - their infrapolitics and hidden transcripts - is characteristically indirect, elusive and contradictory.

CHAPTER 17

INDIVIDUAL ABORIGINAL STRATEGIES AND RESPONSES:

FRAGMENTS AND SNAPSHOTS

Contradictory testimonies, individual difference

In the time between the tour and the Haymans' letters to Ernest Bean, two apparently contradictory testimonies emerged of Aboriginal responses to England.

In 1894, Charles Lawrence, interviewed by cricket journalist Tom Horan, recalled that the "blacks fell in love with England and were sorry to leave it."[195] Twopenny, Lawrence recalled, was a problem drinker, "a bit of a bother, and at times he would turn up at the train just at the last moment, with only one leg of his trousers left, and no one ever could find out what became of the other leg." He is portrayed as an irresponsible buffoon, but it appears that Twopenny was the only Aborigine to leave documented evidence of his personal impressions of the tour. He remembered it as a very unhappy experience.

The testimony comes from Cunningham Henderson, the boss of the Main Camp homestead in Coraki, northern New South Wales, written during or after the 1890s. Henderson wrote:

> As a boy, at the Goulburn Grammar School, I got to know a full blooded Aborigine, named "Tuppenny". I could never forget his happy musical laugh, his shiny black face, his wide mouthful of white teeth, and his six feet of slim, wiry upright figure.
>
> He was one of the team of aboriginal cricketers which toured England in the sixties. Because of the rigorous climate and complete change in living conditions, several of the team died in England, [sic] and it was not a great success.

[195] *Australasian*, 13 January 1894, quoted by Gideon Haigh, *Australian cricket anecdotes*, p.4.

Tuppenny was the fast bowler at the cricket team. We boys used to give him a few shillings, about twice a week, to come and bowl at us when practising. His merry laugh as he skittled over wickets, and his picturesque figure, made me take a great fancy to him, and when I had spare pocket money, Tuppenny got it.

I often talked with him. He had a poor opinion of England, and described it as a cold lonely place. I think that Tuppenny was the last of his race in the Goulburn district.[196]

Henderson's testimony is too compelling to discount. Lawrence's reminiscences were prone to embellishment and he stood to enhance his reputation by depicting a tour which was such a humanitarian exercise that the Aborigines were unwilling to return to Australia. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to dismiss them as fabrication. Eurocentrism inclined him to genuinely believe that being in England was reward in itself: his frustrated recollection that he threatened he "should have to take them home again if they did not improve"[197] their behaviour rings true. Dick-a-Dick's intention of marrying in England supports the possibility that *some* of the Aborigines may have been tempted to remain. This will be discussed in the following section, which describes some *individual* Aboriginal responses to their differentiated experiences in England.

The table below summarises the British performances of the thirteen Aborigines in 1868.[198] The total number of possible appearances (third column) was forty-seven which scheduled cricket, athletics and Aboriginal performances plus one non-cricketing exhibition at Plymouth. As a result of severe illness or death, three of them were unable to complete the tour and appeared on a total of only twenty-two occasions. Because only ten Aborigines remained from August, seven were required to perform on at least 45 out of the 48 occasions despite injury or ill-health. The four white men who appeared with the Aboriginal cricket team are listed at the end.

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[196] Notes entitled *Australian Aborigines*, typescript of ms. by Cunninham Henderson undated, circa 1890s. I would like to acknowledge the generosity of Ruby Langford-Ginibi for this information, which she located while researching the biography of her grandfather, Sam Anderson, a great Aboriginal cricketer. Main Camp, Coraki, in Bundjalung country, was the first place Sam Anderson worked after crossing the border as a youth.

[197] Lawrence ms. 3.

[198] The statistics are based on a table in an English newspaper, reproduced in Graham ledger, p.34.

KNOWN AS & NAME[199]	PERFORMANCE SPECIALTY	NO. OF APPS.	RUNS	BATT. AVGE.	WKTS.	BOWL. AVGE.
Bullocky Bullenchanach	Spear, boomerang, ball-throwing, cricket	39	579	9.33	4 (wkt-keeper)	11.5
King Cole Bripmuarriman	Spear, boomerang, athletics	7	75	7.5	1	34.0
Jim Crow/Neddy Lytejerbillijun	Spear & boomerang	13	37	2.7	0	-
Johnny Cuzens Yellana	Cricket, athletics, spear, boomerang	46+1	1358	19.9	114	11.3
Dick-a-Dick Jungunjinuke	Dodging, boomerang, spear & ball-throwing, athletics	45+1	356	5.26	5	19.2
Charley Dumas Brippoki	Supreme with boomerang and spear	44+1	218	4.6	0	-
Mosquito Grongarrong	Stockwhip, spear & boomerang, athletics	34+1	77	3.17	0	-
Johnny Mullagh Unamurriman	Cricket, athletics, spear & boomerang, ball-throwing	45+1	1698	23.65	245	10.0
Peter Arrahmunyarrimun	Boomerang and expert with spear	42	284	4.48	0	-
Red Cap Brunbunyah	Spear & boomerang, cricket	47+1	630	8.46	54	10.7
Sundown Balkinjarrunin	Very good with spear & boomerang	2	1	0.33	0	-
Tiger Bonnibarngeet	Spear & boomerang; possibly ball-dodging	47	431	6.17	0	-
Twopenny Jarrawuk	Spear & boomerang, cricket	46	589	8.29	35	6.9
Charles Lawrence	Captain; catching ball on bat	40	1156	20.16	250	12.1
William South Norton	Captain, patron	1	11	5.5	3	24.0
William Shepherd	Umpire, captain	7	66	11	6	20.7
G.F. Shum Storey	Patron, substitute for Mullagh	1	18	9		

Table 2: Performance specialties, appearances, cricket averages

[199] Where possible I have used the spellings in the Gurnett document; otherwise the preferred spellings in Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, column 1, p.190).

Their performance specialties indicate how Aboriginal identities were marketed for consumption by mass audiences. Their encounter with capitalist modernity and racial mythology, made them part of its market, verifications of Kwame Anthony Appiah's observation that the major tendency of modernity is not rationality but commodification.[200]

Commodification involves the creation of a distinct space to market oneself and the unusual nature of the Aborigines' shows, both tranformationist and primitivist, encompassed a range of Aboriginal representations. Of the 13 Show Aborigines, it is obvious that only Cuzens and Mullagh could have been accurately described as "professional cricketer", the occupation attributed to King Cole in Guy's Hospital. The performance expertise of Jim Crow, Charley Dumas, Mosquito, Peter, Sundown, Tiger, King Cole and Dick-a-Dick lay elsewhere. Primitivist racial identity was their publicly distinctive characteristic and the designation Show Aborigines signifies the cultural source of skills for which they earned admiration.

Mullagh and Cuzens excepted, none displayed sufficient expertise to establish individuality as cricketers: they each wore a differently coloured sash and cap, so British audiences could identify them, with the help of a score-card or newspaper. As Show Aborigines, they were viewed generically. Individual recognition was unnecessary to their primitivist performances and they were dressed identically in opossum skins and skin-tight approximation of nakedness. Apart from Dick-a-Dick, their indigenous demonstrations were ensemble performances which highlighted common racial identity: black individuality was almost obliterated by the white gaze.[201]

Mullagh, Dick-a-Dick and Cuzens were individuals to management and public because they established themselves as distinctive and valuable commodities. Dick-a-Dick perfected an Aboriginality which highlighted entertaining manifestations of the skills and temperamental characteristics associated with primitivism. By mastering cricket, Johnny Cuzens and especially Johnny Mullagh personified contrast to Aboriginality. Exemplifying transformationist imagery, they alone were consistently accorded the respect of full European names. The others are remembered as a group footnote to Aboriginal participation in European sport. Far from signifying individuality, their comical nicknames erased it. They were interchangeable racial appellations, denoting objectification, subordination and deculturation: "On the names they might have been the original Georgia Minstrels".[202]

Yet it is inaccurate to see performances of the subordinated "as totally determined from above and to miss the agency of the actor in appropriating the performance for his own ends" [203] The clearest instances of Aborigines attempting to turn elements of their commodified identities to their advantage are Johnny Mullagh and Dick-a-Dick. Detailed analysis of their lives follows brief sketches of the remaining Aborigines who toured England.

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[200] Kwame Anthony Appiah, *In my father's house*, Methuen, England, 1992, pp.233-235.

[201] "Whiteness has always been seen as a norm constitutive of full humanity and thus permits a degree of individualism that substantive racial identification negates." Robert Westley, "White normativity and the racial rhetoric of equal protection", in Lewis R. Gordon (ed.), *Existence in black: an anthology of black existential philosophy*, Routledge, New York, 1997, p.92.

[202] MacDonald, "The 1868 tour", in Mullins & Derriman, *Bat and pad*, p.207.

[203] Scott, *Domination and the arts of resistance*, p.34.

SNAPSHOTS: THE ABORIGINAL TOURISTS AND HARRY ROSE

Bullenchanach[204]: Bullocky (Harry Burns)

Illustration 71.

He failed to appear "without a satisfactory reason"[205] for the Aborigines second innings at Lord's, a disapproving comment which implied alcohol problems. His consumption might have been prompted by excitement as well as opportunity and habituation: after their Melbourne debut in 1866, on the same day the Aborigines supposedly signed the Gurnett contract, he served 24 hours in Richmond lock-up for being drunk and disorderly.[206] Drink also caused his absence from the Sheffield engagement,[207] and he did not appear at all between July 28 and August 17,[208] presumably the result of a severe illness or substantial binge. When it was not necessary to field a cricket team for the final performance at Plymouth, he, Tiger, Twopenny and Peter were put on board the *Dunbar Castle* for safekeeping on October 26 until they left England. The burly, demonstrative Bullocky was a fair wicketkeeper and despite being an obdurate opening batsman sometimes amused audiences by his antics at the wickets in Australia and England. [209] Like many of the Aborigines he was a powerful thrower of the cricket ball, indicating an arm which had been developed by hurling boomerangs and spears.

It was formerly thought he ended his days as a broken alcoholic. Several reports described Bullocky - "or someone who professed to be Bullocky" - as a ravaged, mud-splattered drunk cadging beer money from spectators at Corowa cricket ground.[210] It has since been established that under a new name of Harry Burns, Bullocky renounced alcohol and with his wife became a zealous Christian on Lake Condah mission where he captained the cricket team.[211] He cared for other Aborigines and died in 1890, calling on Jesus as his saviour. A local paper reported that "Harry Burns had gone to the happy hunting grounds where all good niggers go."[212]

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204 Also rendered as *Bullchanah*.

205 *Times*, 15 June 1868.

206 *Sixth Report of the Central Board*, 1869, Australian Archives, CRS B313/1, p.47.

207 Graham ledger, pp.47-48.

208 Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.143.

209 Australia: *Warrnambool Examiner*, 15 October 1867, while batting with Tom Wills. England: *Brighton Gazette*, 11 June 1868, cited in Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.114.

210 Donald McDonald, "The 1868 tour", from Mullins and Derriman (eds), *Bat and pad*, p.208. A similar report, Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.160, citing a talk by Mrs. J.M. Boland at Balmoral, June 1969, courtesy of Mr. C. Calahan, Edenhope.

211 Bernard Whimpress, *Passport to nowhere: Aborigines in Australian cricket 1850-1939*, Walla Walla Press, Sydney, 1999, pp.115-117.

212 Information on his conversion and death from *Hamilton and Western District Church News*, No. 57, 24 September 1890, courtesy of Christina Hindhaugh, Balmoral. *Church News* cited the "nigger" quotation with disapproval: it is probably from the *Hamilton Spectator*.

Bripmuarriman[213]: King Cole (Charley Rose); and *Lingurgarrah*[214]:Harry (Henry) Rose

Illustration 72: King Cole.

He was also known as Charles Rose and listed as Charley in some early Aboriginal matches but he is remembered only under the derisory name King Cole and solely for his death in England, aged thirty. King Cole was a common European name for Aborigines: a King Cole was one of the local Aboriginal "kings" who was said to have died on Bringalbert station some months after he spoke of a vision of whitefellows and blackfellows ascending the same steps into the clouds.[215]

Neither the minimal newspaper epitaphs nor the doggerel which followed established any sense of King Cole as a real human being, although the final verse of one ballad evokes something of the alienated futility of his death:

> Not well could you fancy to slumber afar,
> In the shade of some desolate haven;
> Nor much would you value a tablet or tomb,
> By the hand of the stranger engraven.[216]

Cricket scores and biographies likened him to Mullagh and Cuzens, describing him as "also a good black".[217] Despite a conviction for being drunk and disorderly at Edenhope in August 1867 following Lawrence's arrival,[218] the compliment might have referred to abstemiousness and a quiet demeanour. If so, he was unlike his rambunctious brother, Harry (Henry) Rose who outlived Charles by 58 years.

Illustration 73: Harry Rose.

Although he was a last minute omission from the English tour, *Lingurgarrah*, Harry Rose, merits comment. He moved on and off Lake Condah mission where he died in 1916, the last survivor of the Aboriginal team. From Board reports of his convictions for drunkenness, reckless driving and larceny *Cricket walkabout* described the "sad story" of a "restless man [who] caused much dissension at Lake Condah station in periodic visits" before he remarried and settled down in the new century.[219] Harry Rose's restlessness and bouts with alcohol manifested the dilemmas of Aboriginal resistance to missionary control.

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[213] Also rendered as *Pripumuarraman*, *Brippoki* and *Bripokei*. It is probable that the latter two names were not his. They probably were Charley Dumas's, mistakenly applied to King Cole (e.g. Illustration 57) because he was also known as Charles (Charley) Rose.
[214] Also rendered as *Hingingairah*.
[215] Hamilton, *Pioneering days in Western Victoria*, p.95.
[216] Marylebone Club, *Cricket scores and biographies*, Volume 10, 1868-69, Longmans, London, 1878, p.414.
[217] Marylebone Club, *Cricket scores and biographies*, Volume 10, 1868-69, Longmans, London, 1878, p.413.
[218] *Sixth Report of the Central Board*, 1869, Australian Archives, CRS B313/1, p.49.
[219] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp.157-158.

Living on Lake Condah was necessary to maintain access to Gunditjmara country. At the same time, the regime imposed by Reverend John Heinrich Stahle drove Harry Rose and other Aborigines to periodically abandon the mission, or contest his authority. A century later, a descendant, the great Aboriginal boxer Lionel Rose, was told by his mission-raised father about his grandfather and uncles. Lionel remembered with pleasure that: "I grew up in the bush which wasn't controlled by anybody, whereas the mission or reserve was controlled by a supervisor."[220]

Harry Rose was described as "incorrigible" by a Lake Condah missionary[221] and fought for Gunditjmara rights. In 1884, a letter complaining about Stahle's mistreatment of Aborigines was sent to Charles Officer, Wimmera grazier, cricket-lover and Chairman of the Protection Board. The X on the letter was attributed to Henry Rose but Officer dismissed the allegations because it was well-known that Rose could not write. Stahle became involved and retribution quickly ensued. A letter to Captain Page from John King, another Lake Condah Aborigine, humbly accepted blame for writing the letter with Rose's X. King beseeched forgiveness, lamentably promising "I may never use the education which I received in such false and misleading statements again."[222]

In 1907, Harry Rose included his X in a petition by Lake Condah Aborigines against a government decision to move them to another station. Professing their devotion to Christianity and the authoritarian Stahle, the Aborigines expressed heartbreak at removal and pleaded to stay in their country "to live and work and be buried beside" their fathers.[223] The petition was successful: claiming their love for a resented figure of white authority had worked better than expressing complaints. Harry Rose resigned himself to missionary control as the price of dying in Gunditjmara country, but he may have been a handful for Lawrence and Hayman had he not been excluded from the tour.

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[220] Lionel Rose interview in Christine Williams, *Fathers and sons*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1996, p.32.

[221] Blades, Cricket and pedestrianism, p.24.

[222] Letter from Henry Rose to C.M. Officer, 27 June 1884, Australian Archives, B313/1, Item 123, Lake Condah, August-May, 1884; letter from John King to Captain Page, Lake Condah Mission Station, 30 September 1884, Australian Archives, B313/1, Item 124, Lake Condah, September-December, 1884 (King was sufficiently astute to claim that a half-caste from Hamilton had dictated the text of the letters to him). Letters courtesy of Penny van Toorn.

[223] Ernest Mobourne to Hon. Members of the Cabinet, 2 July 1907, Victorian Public Record Office, VPRS 3992, Unit no.1457, A5318. The letter is reproduced in Jan Critchett, *Untold stories*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1998, pp.243-244.

Lytejerbillijun[224]: Jim Crow

Illustration 74: Jim Crow

Supposedly a "brother" of Dick-a-Dick,[225] he was named Jim Crow some time after the metropolitan debut of the team on Boxing Day 1866.

While he was still known as Neddy, Jim Crow, with Twopenny and Harry Rose, was excluded from the team bound for Sydney and England in October 1867.[226] When management reinstated him because of the shortage of eligible Aborigines, they placed the success of the tour ahead of his welfare.

Details of his time in England before he and Sundown were sent back to Australia in August remain a mystery. Judging from his previous omission and what is known about various Aborigines from western Victoria who were labelled as Jim Crow, he may have been troubled by drunkenness, illness, or "lunacy".[227]

Like Mosquito and Sundown he missed the first seven matches. He appeared in thirteen of the next fifteen, including the last four in succession, immediately before sailing for Australia with Sundown. In addition to his own problems with health and alcohol, it is possible that he fulfilled another role, caring for a desperately ill Sundown after arrival in England and during the return voyage. Management may have decided that Jim Crow was a negligible loss, despite the pressure it placed on the depleted troupe of remaining performers. Shepherd credited him with ability as a violinist, although the source and extent of his talent is unknown.

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[224] Also rendered as *Jallachmurrimin* and *Lyterbillijun*.

[225] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp.159-160, footnote p.172.

[226] *Age*, 24 October 1867.

[227] *Eleventh Report of the Board*, 1875, Appendix XI, Australian Archives, Item 2, B313/1 records "Aborigines Confined in Her Majesty's Gaols and Lock-Ups". After being sentenced for separate offences of "lunacy", a Jim Crow was confined in gaols in Warrnambool from 30 September 1873 and Swan Hill from 4 May 1874. From Swan Hill he was remanded to Sandhurst lock-up then committed to Kew Asylum on 17 May 1874. From Board reports and a Louise Hercus interview with Madimadi elder, Jack Long, Mulvaney & Harcourt (*Cricket walkabout*, pp.159-160, fn. p.172) speculate there were two Jim Crows in western Victoria, both with police records and a history of violence. Another, born in Merrang, was still living at Framlingham in November 1889: Jan Critchett, *Our land till we die: a history of the Framlingham Aborigines*, Warrnambool Institute Press, 1980, p.15, pp.77-79. A temperate Jim Crow is also mentioned in a report by Alexander Dennis of Tarndwarncoort near Mount Gellibrand in June 1871, *Seventh Report of Board*.

Brippoki[228]:Charley Dumas

Illustration 75: Charley Dumas.

The slender, well-built Dumas, 178cms. tall,[229] was a last minute tour replacement for Harry Rose, and was acknowledged to be the most extraordinary exponent of spear and boomerang.[230] As he joined the troupe after the Dawson photographs were taken, we have no images of him with his specialist implements:[231] he alone was capable of controlling the flights of the boomerang on the windiest days and by using a woomerah he could hurl a spear 140 yards.[232] But his demonstrations were part of an ensemble and belonged to an expected repertoire of Aboriginal skills. Therefore, unlike Mullagh, Cuzens and Dick-a-Dick, he did not receive individual acclaim or additional payment. Despite having no cricketing pretensions whatsoever, he "hit Twopenny a buster", reportedly in retaliation for running him out in an innings at Sussex. "Their friends" intervened to prevent a brawl,[233] in the tour's only recorded instance of an inter-Aboriginal dispute. It may be significant that it involved the only two Aborigines not to come from western Victoria,[234] but it can only be speculated whether either of them confronted specific difficulties as a result of outsider status. As he was not a cricketer and appeared for the first time as an umpire for their game in Wollongong, it is possible Dumas was among the Aboriginal spectators who joined in the boomerang exhibitions during their NSW displays.[235]

Dumas was possibly the leader of the mini-revolt against Tegetmeier,[236] so it is likely that his self-assertiveness and impatience with white assumptions of his compliance increased during the tour. When the team returned to Australia, he had developed his show to the point where in Ballarat he was reported to have thrown four boomerangs simultaneously.[237]

His descendants, the Dumas/Simons family of Taree, have been unable to trace his history before or afterwards but it is likely he came from northern NSW and later moved to La Perouse.[238]

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[228] Also rendered as *Brippokei, Brippohi, Bripmuarriman and Pripumuarramam.* The latter two were probably mistakenly applied to Dumas (e.g. Illustration 57). They were the Aboriginal names of King Cole who was known as Charley in Australia (e.g. in the Gurnett contract) long before Charley Dumas became involved with the team.

[229] In Tegetmeier's measurements, 5'10": Graham ledger, p.335.

[230] Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines", p.130.

[231] This photo of Dumas is from the photograph of the Aboriginal team at Bootle.

[232] *Brighton Herald*, 13 June 1868

[233] *Brighton Herald*, 13 June 1868

[234] According to Tegetmeier, he came from NSW, see Graham ledger, p.335. Another English report claimed that he came from Queensland, Graham ledger, p.6.

[235] He was said to have had only six weeks' acquaintance with cricket before the tour (*South Eastern Gazette,* 18 May 1868).

[236] He permitted fewest measurements of his body.

[237] *Ballarat Courier*, 4 March 1869.

[238] He was described as coming from New South Wales and also Queensland (Graham ledger, p.6); for La Perouse, see below. Mrs.

Grongarrong[239]: **Mosquito (James Cousens)**

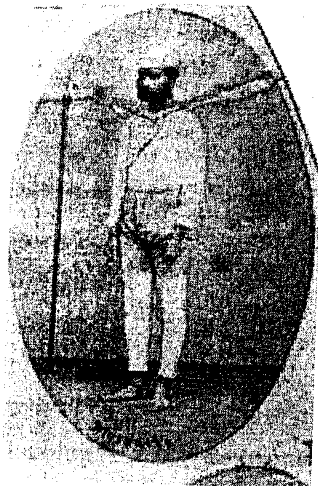

Illustration 76: Mosquito

At 160cms, he was 7cms taller than his brother, Johnny Cuzens,[240] but he shared his amorous aspirations and severe health problems at the beginning of the tour. During Mosquito's early days in England, he was described as a "lively youth, said to have something of a Guardsman's proclivities and privileges in cultivating the acquaintance of the fair ones in the neighbourhood."[241]

He probably fell ill soon afterwards, because he missed the first seven games and did not appear until the match against the MCC from June 12. He was an expert long-jumper and an exponent of tricks with the stock-whip, skilful enough to use it to exact revenge on an Englishman who slighted him. He missed six other matches during the tour and as the Aborigines were desperately short of able-bodied players, his health appears to have remained a problem throughout.

Cricket walkabout produced evidence that he sent letters from Framlingham in 1876[242] but it is unlikely he was literate in English during the tour. Known as James (or Jemmy) Cousens, he lived to the late 1880s on Framlingham, where he was an expert carpenter, "many of his jobs being mistaken by competent judges for that of a first-class workmen."[243] Although an untalented cricketer, he top-scored for Framlingham against the Friendly Societies in 1875.[244]

Vilma Simons and her family generously supplied information from their research when I visited them in Taree, 15 January 1994. From the marriage certificate of Charley's son, Lester Dumas, born in La Perouse in 1882, it is known that Charley Dumas, a labourer, had died before 1905. Charley's wife, Sarah Gibson, was also deceased. Another of Charley's sons, Eric, died of spinal disease in Gladesville Mental Hospital. Charley's surname was also known as Marr or C. Mar as he was occasionally described in England (*South Eastern Gazette*, 18 May 1868). I located details of a marriage in 1883 between Michael Mar (i.e. Charley Dumas) and Sarah J. Gibson (NSW State Archives, Registry of births, deaths and marriages, Pioneers' Index, Ref. No. 1607). Mrs. Simons is Lester Dumas' grandaughter.

239 Also rendered as *Grougarrong*.

240 Johnny Cuzens measured by Tegetmeier, in Graham ledger, p.335. Mosquito's height (he was called James Cousens) in a court certificate of 13 July 1872, *Ninth Report of the Board*, 1873, Appendix XIII, p.24, Australian Archives, CRS, B313/1.

241 *South Eastern Gazette*, 18 May 1868.

242 Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.155. One of his letters is reproduced in plate E, facing p.97.

243 Report concerning Framlingham, *Eighth Report of Board*, 1872, p.22.

244 Critchett, *Untold stories*, pp.91-92.

Arrahmunyarrimun[245]: Peter

Illustration 77: Peter

Even his European name was anonymous although he may have demonstrated a few tricks with the stock-whip.[246] Apart from his supposedly Uncle Tom utterance ("Knows nuffin' about sich things Massa Charles"[247]) the major individual aspect known about his time in England was that he was one of the four sent aboard the *Dundar Castle*. It suggests he may have been a problem drinker. He was so ill after the return voyage that he was forced to remain in Melbourne when the other Aborigines returned to the Wimmera via Ballarat.[248] Reports about Aboriginal consanguinity were unreliable, but one report claimed Peter was Mullagh's brother.[249]

In 1888, Harry Burns/Bullocky was commended for tenderly caring for "his dying friend Peter" on Lake Condah mission, proof to missionaries that the Gospel held the power of salvation "among the remaining Aborigines of Victoria just as well as among the most enlightened men of a superior race."[250]

Brunbunyah[251]: Red Cap

Illustration 78: Red Cap.

Only Red Cap managed to appear on every one of the 48 occasions in England but like his reputed accomplishments as a tracker with Dick-a-Dick,[252] his feats were overshadowed by others. Nevertheless, he was a fairly useful cricketer who won a cup for top-scoring with a meagre 12 runs against Lewisham.[253]

Befitting his untiring diligence during the tour, he was an industrious worker and excellent shearer who built a house and garden on Dergholm reserve land. He lived into the early 1890s, respected by the local Aboriginal guardian and was buried in his country.[254]

[245] Also rendered as *Arrahmunijarrimun*.
[246] *Sheffield Independent*, 13 August 1868.
[247] *Brighton Herald*, 13 June 1868.
[248] *Australasian*, 27 February1869 and *Ballarat Courier*, 8 March 1869.
[249] *Age*, 23 February 1869.
[250] *Hamilton and Western District Church News*, No. 33, 26 September 1888, courtesy of Christina Hindhaugh, Balmoral.
[251] Also rendered as *Brimbunyah* and *Britabunyah*.
[252] See following section on Dick-a-Dick and the rescue of the lost Duff children whom he reputedly helped to track.
[253] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.111.
[254] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp.155-156.

Balkinjarrunin[255]: Sundown

Illustration 79: Sundown

The tour was a thoroughly miserable and probably fatal experience. Having missed the first twenty matches, he played one, missed the next, played another, and returned to Australia in August with Jim Crow. As it was customary for the Aborigines to perform when sick or injured, Sundown must have been dreadfully ill for the entire period of almost three months and possibly both ocean voyages. It is unknown how he spent his time; whether he was well enough to travel with the team; and why he was required to remain so long. He presumably threw boomerangs and spears in his two English matches. Though he was expert with native weapons,[256] mention of Sundown's name evokes knowing smiles from cricket buffs for a famous piece of trivia. He travelled to England and back but appeared twice and scored only one run. In seven "career" matches, on two continents, he aggregated seven runs and didn't bowl.[257]

When he returned to Australia, "Lawrence and Co." were accused of neglecting a sick Sundown, failing to return him to his dwelling. A rebuttal claimed that when Sundown arrived at Hamilton, he was directed towards the house of a gentlemen who would forward him to Edenhope. Instead, Sundown humped his carpet bag and walked away.[258] Nothing more is known and it is likely he died soon afterwards.

Bonnibarngeet[259]: Tiger

Illustration 80: Tiger.

Until he was confined to the *Dunbar Castle*, Tiger was one of only two to appear on all 47 occasions. A last-minute replacement for Billy Officer, he was, at thirty-two, the oldest of the Aborigines.[260] To English observers he appeared to typify Aboriginal primitivism[261] and was said to have performed ball-dodging on one occasion.[262]

Tiger was certainly one Aborigine who escaped from his lodgings to carouse: management thought he was in his room when he became involved in a drunken altercation with policemen, "got his head broke",[263] and spent a night in the cells. There is no doubt he was drunk, but it was a racial incident: nineteenth century British police concentrated their small numbers

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[255] Also rendered as *Ballrinjarrimin.*
[256] *Empire* (Sydney), 19 March 1867.
[257] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.113.
[258] *Australasian*, 19 December 1868.
[259] Also rendered as *Bonbarngeet* and *Bonnibarugeet.*
[260] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.73.
[261] *South-Eastern Gazette*, 18 May 1868.
[262] *Halifax Guardian*, 27 June 1868.
[263] Graham ledger, p.48.

on arresting those who fitted racial and class stereotypes and could be easily controlled.[264]

No example of the muteness of Aboriginal subordination in England was more eloquent than Tiger's court appearance before magistrates Charles Atkinson Esq. and R.N. Philipps Esq. at Sheffield Town Hall. When Philipps asked if Tiger understood the charge, he did not answer and apparently none of the team management was present. Instead, the secretary of the cricket ground stepped forward "and in obedience to a request from the Bench, communicated with the prisoner by signs."

The cricket secretary told the magistrate the information he gleaned from Tiger's gestures. Presumably as a result of Tiger's confusion and bewildered frustration, he concluded that the prisoner had "an indistinct recollection of knocking somebody down. The gentleman also said that he had a rather weak mind and in a state of intoxication he would no doubt be very violent."[265] Tiger said nothing. Because he was "a man of weak intellect", the magistrates threatened him with imprisonment at Wakefield if he reoffended but let him off with a fine and a severe reprimand.

We do not know whether Tiger was unable to testify as a result of language difficulties, confusion, fear or even concussion. The bench may have y assumed that Aborigines were incapable of offering testimony as a consequence of their religion or intellect. The white participants treated the case with hilarity, but Tiger's silent feelings - fear, bewilderment, anger? - must have been very different.

Tiger's death was reported in January 1870,[266] although Harry Tiger, described as "one of the Aboriginal cricketers taken to England" was sentenced to 48 hours in Beaufort gaol on 18 July 1874 for being drunk and disorderly.[267] Dick-a-Dick was also reported as dying in January 1870.[268]

Tiger's obituary article added that his father's remains in the Mosquito Plains Caves had for years been "an object of curiosity", after which "they were eventually exhibited in London as the 'petrified blackfellow'."[269]

It is unknown whether Tiger was aware that the remains had been taken to London for exhibition, or if they were still on display there in 1868.[270]

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[264] Jennifer Davis, "From 'rookeries' to 'communities': race, poverty and policing in London, 1850-1985", *History workshop journal*, Issue 27, Spring 1989, pp.66-85.

[265] Graham ledger, p.48.

[266] *Border Watch and South-Eastern District Advocate*, 8 January1870. The story identified Tiger as one of the Aboriginal team who had visited England.

[267] *Eleventh Report of the Board* 1875, Appendix XI, Australian Archives, Item 2, B313/1. It is possible that the Board report erred wrong or that the 1868 tourist who was reported dead in January 1870 was another of the Aborigines. But if so, whose father was the "petrified blackfellow"?

[268] see *Death of Jungunjinuke/Dick-a-Dick*, below, Chapter 18.

[269] *Border Watch and South-Eastern District Advocate*, 8 January 1870.

[270] The "petrified blackfellow" was found in a nook in Mosquito Plains Cave, Narracoorte, now better known as Blanche Cave. Mike Gemmell, Information Officer of the South Australian Museum, indicates that the "petrified blackfellow" was probably removed to London for display, perhaps for Barnum, then returned to the cave. The local council enclosed it in steel bars set in concrete to prevent its subsequent removal but before the concrete set it was stolen and its subsequent fate is unknown. Gemmell assumes that the petrified blackfellow considerably pre-dated Tiger's father but may well have been a direct and ceremonial part of his lineage. Gemmell information to David Sampson 24 March 2000.

Jarrawuk[271]: Twopenny

Illustration 81: Twopenny

A tall, athletic, good-looking[272] and intelligent man,[273] he was another of the tour's enigmas. He and Dick-a-Dick were the only married Aborigines.[274] Apart from Charley Dumas he was the only Aborigine not to come from western Victoria[275] and Whimpress suggests that that he was a protégé of Lawrence. Like Jim Crow, he was reinstated after being slated for exclusion when the rest of the team sailed for Sydney in October 1867, bound for England.[276]

Noted in England for hard-living and unpunctuality, Twopenny was one of the '*Dunbar Castle* four'. As he appeared in 46 out of the 47 matches, he knew that he was obliged to get to work and do a job. But the description of his constantly panicking management by arriving at the last minute for trains "and as a rule with only one leg to his pants"[277] suggests that he refused to accept white authority over his life outside of working hours.

It is understandable that an Aborigine who was not dependent on relations with Wimmera pastoralists would be less constrained by Hayman's authority. Although their racial identity and cultural isolation in England still overlaid ordinary class relations, it may have been easier for them to express independence in England than the Wimmera Aborigines.

There is no doubt but that Twopenny was a gifted cricketer, remarkably so in view of a report that he had never played until he met Lawrence in Sydney.[278] He was a destructive bowler, too rarely called upon by his captain. In two consecutive matches in Hampshire, he blew away 26 wickets for 72 runs (9 for 9, 5 for 7, 9 for 17 and 3 for 39): in the other 44 matches, he took only 9 for 170.

Like later Aboriginal fast bowlers, his action came under suspicion[279] but his general pattern of behaviour suggests he saw little reason to apply himself more than necessary as there were no rewards for bowlers or for winning. His claim to an enduring footnote in cricket trivia was scoring nine runs with one all-run hit at Sheffield after an infielder haughtily declined to pursue the ball into the outfield.[280] His subsequent verdict, that "England was a cold and lonely place"[281] supports a suspicion that unhappiness contributed to his rebelliousness and less than whole-hearted committment to the cricket matches.

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[271] Also rendered as *Jarriwuk, Bynyarra* and *Murrumgunarrimin*.
[272] Whimpress, *Passport to nowhere*, pp.84-94 analyses the scant information about Twopenny in considerable detail, particularly concentrating on his expendability as a pawn in a larger dispute about cricket's throwing law.
[273] *Maitland Mercury*, 15 March 1883.
[274] *Warrnambool Examiner*, 1 October1867, from information supplied by Hayman and Lawrence.
[275] In *Obstacle race* p.68, Tatz says it is "generally believed" that he came from Bathurst.
[276] *Age*, 24 October 1867.
[277] Harpur, Cricket footprints on the sands of time, (no pagination).
[278] *Leader* (Melbourne), 6 March 1869.
[279] Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines", p.130.
[280] *Sheffield Telegraph*, 12 August 1868
[281] Cunningham Henderson ms.

In Sydney in 1870, Twopenny played cricket for Newtown. Acclaim greeted his selection as an all-rounder for the Intercolonial match against Victoria. When NSW lost and Twopenny was one of three players accused of throwing,[282] the same newspaper singled him out as "a costly experiment."[283]

His origins have been assessed as Goulburn and Bathurst,[284] but he died of dropsy in a shed in West Maitland in 1883, around the area he had been living with other Aborigines.[285]

Yellana[286]: Johnny Cuzens

Illustration 82: Johnny Cuzens

Johnny Cuzens deserves to be remembered in conjunction with the more famous Johnny Mullagh because they were the first two Aborigines to professionally display their mastery of European skills to mass audiences. Without their sustained endurance and consistency, the credibility of the Aborigines as a cricketing attraction would have been untenable. As a consequence, the work experiences of the two in England had much in common. After missing their first match, Cuzens appeared in the remaining 46; Mullagh in 45. A few others performed as frequently but they did not bear the burden of scoring most of the runs and bowling most of the overs.[287]

An outline of their lives after the tour illustrates the possibilities and limits of their cricketing careers in England. After they returned to Western Victoria, Hayman arranged for Mullagh and Cuzens to travel to Melbourne in October 1869 to work as professional cricketers.[288] Had either considered the possibility of staying in England as professionals this may have provided an alternative. It would have been preferable to Hayman because of sureties payable had they not returned; and to Mullagh and Cuzens because they would be less isolated from their country and familiar sources of support.

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282 *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 12 March 1870 which reported the accusation by 'Longstop' (W.J. Hammersley) in Melbourne. Tom Wills was another of the players accused of throwing.

283 *Leader* (Melbourne), 19 February and 6 March 1869. In *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 19 March 1870, Jack Smith defended Twopenny against attacks.

284 Respectively, the Cunninham Henderson ms. and Tatz, *Obstacle race*, p.68.

285 *Maitland Mercury*, 15 March 1883.

286 Also rendered as *Zellanach* and *Zellamach*.

287 Statistics from Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.183. Lawrence also carried a heavy cricketing work load, but he was able to miss seven matches, was vastly experienced in maintaining an English professional playing schedule and rested from the native exhibitions and athletics contests.

288 *Australasian*, 16 October 1869.

Illustration 83: Cuzens as professional cricketer[289]

The Melbourne Cricket Club sent "for the darkies"[290] because of their shortage of practice bowlers They were to be paid one pound per week plus board and half their travelling expenses,[291] about one-third the amount paid to white professional Sam Cosstick in 1861.[292] Both played for Melbourne against Corio in December,[293] and on one occasion when Cuzens was unavailable, Tom Wills was in the team with Mullagh.

Cuzens played on only six occasions, mostly for the Second XI and with little success. His career as a cricketer was over. The MCC terminated his contract in March 1870 and, because he could not afford the fares, contributed nine pounds for him to return to Framlingham. In February 1871, he became ill on a journey to Terang. He appeared to recover after William Goodall, the laudable manager of Framlingham,[294] ensured he was cared for at the mission.

Despite suffering from a cold, he and his brother Mosquito set out for the Caledonian Games at Warrnambool where they hoped to win athletics prizes. He got wet during the trip and died of dysentery, attended by Reverend J.W. Crisp. Melbourne Cricket Club refused to subsidise his funeral and he was buried by William Goodall at Framlingham in the presence of his people.[295] His health had never recovered from the tour; and in particular, it appears, from effects of the voyages. He nearly died soon after his arrival in England and he and Peter were too ill to play against the Victorian XI in February 1869 following "the long sea trip" home.[296]

In England, Cuzens had displayed adept cross-cultural diplomacy. He was the only Aborigine to convince South Norton that he was better than a savage. And Lawrence described a warmer, more interesting relationship: "Johnny Cuzens fell deeply in love with a young English country girl, who was led by Johnny to believe that he owned a big station in Australia." Cuzens was untroubled by his romantic embellishments, and harboured some touchingly confident hopes for the future: "Johnny afterwards said that he saw no harm in what he had stated, because if the girl came to Australia she would be all right, whether Johnny owned a sheep station or not."[297] Despite the show of optimism, though, Cuzens must have learned enough about white racial attitudes to suspect that the object of his affections was attracted by his temporary status as an exotic celebrity. As one of the trio who rebelled against Tegetmeier near the end of the tour, Cuzens revealed another side to his self-belief.

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289 Probably taken in Melbourne 1870, reproduced in Tatz, *Obstacle race*, p.69.

290 *Australasian*, 16 October 1869.

291 Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.153, from Melbourne Cricket Club minutes 4 & 15 October and 14 December 1869.

292 Cosstick was paid 3 pounds ten shillings per week for being the club bowler from 3;30 to 7pm (information courtesy of David Studham, Librarian, Melbourne Cricket Club).

293 *Australasian*, 4 December 1869.

294 For Goodall's support for Framlingham Aborigines, see Critchett, *Untold stories*, pp. 110-112, 132-134, 224-225.

295 *Warrnambool Examiner*, 24 March 1871.

296 *Australasian*, 27 February 1869.

297 As told to "Felix" (Tom Horan), *Australasian*, 13 January 1894, quoted in Haigh, *Australian cricket anecdotes*, p.3.

CHAPTER 18

JOHNNY MULLAGH AND DICK-A-DICK

UNAMURRIMAN[298]: JOHNNY MULLAGH

Whereas Western scholarship has frequently confused resistance with bloodshed, Africans have often perceived it as an inner stance coiled to preserve identity.[299]

Illustration 84:.Johnny Mullagh

On cricketing ability alone, Mullagh was good enough to represent any team in England. He scored 22.25% of the team's runs, bowled 37% of their overs[300] and featured as an outstanding exponent of boomerang-throwing, running, high-jumping and hurdling. He scored most runs at the highest average, bowled most overs, took most wickets and deputised as wicket-keeper.

His racial identity, reinforced by skills with Aboriginal weapons and supplemented by athletics prowess would have made him a unique attraction for the touring professional elevens which were struggling to remain viable. Cuzens was a scarcely less attractive commercial prospect, considering the effectiveness of his hostile pace bowling, aggressively unorthodox batting, native skills and marvellous sprinting talents.

Until C.A. Hayman's letter emerged, Mullagh was the most obvious candidate for considering the option of remaining in England because his orthodox, relatively sedate batting style was more reliable than Cuzens' whirlwind assaults. His restrained dignity ("humble, upright, quiet, retiring and civil"[301]) conformed to values of English masculinity and his constitution was stronger than Cuzens'. Unverified snippets claiming that Mullagh had been approached to remain in England are entirely plausible.[302]

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[298] Also rendered as *Muarrinim, Unaarrimin* and *Unarrimin.*

[299] Leslie Owens, "The African in the garden", in Darlene Clark Hine (ed.), *The state of Afro-American history*, Baton Rouge, 1986, p.35, quoted in Peter Novick, *That noble dream: the "Objectivity Question" and the American historical profession*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, p.486.

[300] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.115.

[301] The words of A. A. Cowell, of Brippick station in the Wimmera, reported in the *Hamilton Spectator*, 27 August 1891, and quoted by Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.163.

[302] Michael Dugan, *Growing up in the bush,* Kangaroo Press, NSW, 1986, p.27 claims that "W.G. Grace asked Mullagh to stay on and train in England." Dugan's source is an unpublished ms. by William Hole, a Wimmera worker born in 1884. William Hole's information came from his father, John Hole, who had been born on Pine Hill station and knew Mullagh. W.G. Grace was already a great cricketer in 1868 but as he was only twenty years old, it is improbable he was in any position to make such an offer to Mullagh.

On his return, cricket clubs competed to contract Mullagh as a professional. Melbourne's *Leader* noted offers for him to play in Sydney and England.[303] Mullagh's visible annoyance at being run out by Twopenny during the Melbourne match in February 1869 after scoring only one run is likely to have been a result of being denied the opportunity to impress prospective employers.[304] Persistent reports claimed he had been contracted to play in Sydney and represent NSW in the Intercolonial match: "Not a bad move. A Victorian aboriginal taking part against his own race", commented the *Leader* sardonically.[305]

As if confirming that he was the only Aborigine to have "thoroughly understood" cricket as a "science",[306] Mullagh was an immediate success as a professional cricketer in Melbourne. He was hailed as "the best batsman in Victoria"[307] until a near-fatal pulmonary attack forced him to return to western Victoria. On February 2, Tom Wills scrawled a letter to his mother, complaining that: "I am awfully tired every day because the two darkies have been bad nearly every day"[308] Mullagh received medical care from Drs Campbell and Howitt but his consumption was hopeless. The Melbourne curator volunteered to return him to his country [309] and Wills predicted the outcome: "Mullagh went home on Monday don't think he will live a month".[310]

Nine weeks later, Hayman notified the *Australasian* that Mullagh had regained his health. Hayman attributed the recovery to the care of his friend Tom Hamilton of Bringalbert, and predicted that the Aborigine would return to the Melbourne Cricket Club the following season. The only thing that could stop him, warned Hayman, was a return to Aboriginal culture, if he were "induced by the few remaining Aborigines of the district to pass the winter in a mia-mia."[311]

Contrary to Hayman's presumption, Mullagh did not return to Melbourne in 1871 and failed to respond to his selection in the Victorian intercolonial squad for that year.[312] On 12 January 1874, Hayman informed the *Australasian* that Mullagh had declined a request for him to play against W.G. Grace's touring English team: "his reply was that he feared he would get ill again if he went to town."[313]

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[303] *Leader*, 20 March 1869.

[304] *Australasian*, 27 February 1869.

[305] *Leader*, 20 February 1869. For another report he had signed for Sydney and NSW, see *Geelong Advertiser*, 15 February 1869. After he signed in Melbourne, the *Leader*, 27 February 1869, denied the earlier reports. It is entirely plausible that Lawrence was involved in the Sydney negotiations.

[306] *Australasian*, 5 February 1870.

[307] *Australasian*, 27 November 1869.

[308] Ms. of Tom Wills letter to his mother, 2 February 1870. Acknowledgments to the generosity of David Wills-Cooke for photocopies of Wills material.

[309] *Leader*, 5 February 1870.

[310] Tom Wills letter to his mother, 2 February 1870, courtesy David Wills-Cooke.

[311] *Australasian*, 6 April 1870.

[312] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.160.

[313] *Australasian*, 17 January 1874.

A steely determination carried him through the tour of England, but he had learned from his frequent illnesses when outside his country. By 1878, when planning was underway in Melbourne for a match against NSW, a journalist queried "if the Match Committee would think it worth while finding out if he could be secured for the intercolonial?"[314] When an English team was due the following year, a cricket writer noted that Mullagh had "been asked to play for Victoria" and expectantly waited on his decision: "His reply has not yet been received, but there is every probability of his consenting to play."[315] His acceptance was greeted with public approval.[316]

Until his death, he worked as a rabbiter and seasonal horseman and shearer,[317] living without human companionship on the Edgars' Pine Hill property. He chose not to exert himself: in the 1880 season, this supremely well-coordinated man was the slowest shearer on Pine Hills.[318] Rabbiting was a new and ironic occupation for Aborigines, occasioned by the folly of Thomas Austin, a Geelong pastoralist and sportsman, who released wild rabbits onto his Barwon Park property in an attempt to transplant English fauna and field sports to his new country.[319] After Mullagh's culture had been overrun by invaders and their herds of sheep, the colonisers now paid him to remain on the land they had seized to kill another pest they had deliberately introduced.

From 1890, Mullagh's health failed. Ill for several weeks[320] he died on 14 August 1891.[321] He was said to be "the last of his tribe", [322] a cliché routinely appended to the death of Aborigines past middle age. The Harrow Cricket Club buried him in the cemetery with a bat and set of stumps. William Hayman forwarded a donation for his memorial in a white cemetery.[323] No indigenous ceremony was recorded.

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314 *Australasian*, 9 February 1878.

315 *Australasian*, 1 March 1879.

316 *Australasian*, 8 March 1879.

317 Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.163.

318 Mullagh's tally was 23 sheep per day, compared to an average of 43 and the top tally of 65 per day. Thanks to David and Lou Edgar of Nerrinyerie Station, 12 February 1999 for their hospitality and the statistics from Pine Hills record books.

319 *Geelong Advertiser*, 21 May 1867 explains that Austin was angered the hares were being shot. He attempted to enforce a law enacted under the Acclimatisation Society, which fined anyone destroying imported game two pounds plus five pounds per head for each animal. *Geelong Advertiser*, 18 June 1867 reported that the hares had spread to Colac but the Winchelsea Court was still prosecuting anyone who destroyed them. *Geelong Advertiser*, 27 July 1867 noted that rabbits "now overrun some parts of the country" and was delighted that English sparrows were no longer a rarity. *Geelong Advertiser*, 12 August 1867 recorded that Austin had kindly given wild rabbits to a Ballarat landowner, but cautioned they were "very good servants but terrible bad masters." *Geelong Advertiser*, 27 August 1867, noted that the country between Barwon Park and Colac was so overrun by rabbits that ferrets were selling for five pounds a pair.

320 *Sydney Mail*, 22 August 1891, from Mullins & Derriman, *Bat and pad*, p.210.

321 Marji Quigley, "The Johnny Mullagh story", *Shire of Kowree's Aboriginal cricket book*, Edenhope-Harrow, Easter 1988, pp.10-11.

322 *Sydney Mail*, 22 August 1891, in Mullins & Derriman, *Bat and pad*, p.210.

323 *Hamilton Spectator*, 1 September 1891.

A single influential anecdote has shaped the prevailing interpretation of Johnny Mullagh's life. It comes from the memoirs of J.C. Hamilton, brother of Tom Hamilton of Bringalbert, who favoured Mullagh as "a great cricketer and a man of high spirit." When Tom asked why he didn't marry, Mullagh was quoted as replying: "A white woman won't have me, Mr. Tom, and I will never have a black one." Hamilton continues: "He brought a lot of portraits from England and used to say: 'This is a London lady,' or 'this is a Devonshire lady.' "[324]

The famous story was easily assimilated by liberal interpretation. *Cricket walkabout* explains that "this sensitive man, who had taken a dignified stand against intolerance at York, in later life turned the discrimination against himself." Despite choosing to remain on his clan lands, he remained unmarried because of his "acceptance of European values". Realistic enough to understand no white women would accept him, his rejection of Aboriginal women represented "a reversed sense of racial discrimination". Displaying his portraits of English ladies betrayed "a pathetic pride."[325]

Cricket historian Bernard Whimpress suggests that as a result of being feted in England as a "black gentleman", Mullagh conducted a life-long "imaginary romance" with elite English society, sustained by his photographs of its well-born ladies. Like the Indian cricketing great Ranjitsinjhi, the memories of his romance with English society prevented Mullagh from establishing a sexual relationship in his real environment. The Aborigine's youthful idealisation of his British experiences - "the high point of his brush with civilization"[326] - induced him to maintain European costume in Australia and arrested the development of his psyche, a not uncommon phenomenon in professional sportspeople.[327]

These analyses propose similar interpretations of the relationship between Mullagh's tour of England and the rest of his life: a tragedy whereby racism and self-delusion prevented a gifted and dignified Aborigine from engaging more closely and successfully with European society. His last two decades are viewed as a sad, unattainable yearning to recapture the non-racist experiences and cricketing glory of the 1868 tour. This is, I believe, a misleading interpretation Johnny Mullagh's life.

Three aspects of such readings are problematic: the premise that the tour of England was an experience so satisfying, rewarding and cooperative that it remained a model for the type of life he subsequently longed to lead; a reliance on dubious evidence from J.C. Hamilton and debatable inferences drawn from it; and the conclusion that Mullagh's life demonstrated a desire to pursue a path as close to European cultural practices, outlooks and aspirations as racism allowed. I will examine each of these issues in turn.

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[324] J.C. Hamilton, *Pioneering days in western Victoria*, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1923, p.77.

[325] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.163.

[326] Bernard Whimpress, "Ranji and Mullagh: the prince and the rabbiter", *Cricket Lore*, Vol. 2, Issue 3, pp.30-31.

[327] For a recent and detailed analysis of Mullagh's cricketing life, see Whimpress, *Passport to nowhere*, pp.98-115.

In many respects, Mullagh had good cause for not relishing his experiences in England. There can be little doubt that the recognition of his talents and occasional financial rewards were a source of satisfaction, but the demands of the tour on Mullagh were heavy and unrelenting. He frequently played despite injury and illness, receiving scant material reward for his Herculean efforts. His reserved nature and later decision to live a solitary life indicates that constant crowds and scrutiny were an unwelcome and uncomfortable feature of his existence.

His punishment by Hayman must have been a galling experience. The event can be dated by the two matches missed by Mullagh, the engagements in Newcastle from August 21-22 and Middlesbrough from August 24-25. At that point, the tour was in crisis. Tiger had recently been arrested and Sundown and King Cole were being taken to the docks for return to Australia.

Mullagh was said to have been too sick to play on either occasion and during the Middlesbrough game he strolled around the ground looking ill. He had played in the match at North Shields which ended on August 18. After Middlesbrough he travelled to Scarborough and appeared in the game which commenced on August 27. If he was abandoned to work in a hotel, it was probably at Mrs *Donald's Crown and Thistle Inn* in Newcastle between August 20 and 23. Alternatively, it may have been in a hotel in North Shields from August 18 up to his arrival in Middlesbrough. His display of illness may well have been genuine since he was regularly required to play when noticeably ill or injured. But it may have been a pretext to avoid rumours of friction: after the supposed racial snub by the Gentlemen of Yorkshire, Mullagh's absence the following day was explained by illness.[328]

The punishment was exemplary, bordering on cruel. Abandonment by Hayman demonstrated the dependent and subordinate status to which he, as an Aborigine in England, was confined: What would Mullagh do if he were not permitted to rejoin the team? Enforced separation from his comrades was humiliating. The psychological effects of sudden isolation from his countrymen and from cheering cricket-lovers must have been substantial. And being forced to "work for his keep" represented an ignominious demonstration that Mullagh should surrender any airs or ambitions arising from admiration of his demeanour and cricketing skills. His nose was rubbed in the dirt. He was being told to acknowledge that as an Aborigine, even a distinctly superior one, he could aspire no higher than to assimilate to "the best of the poorer classes in our civilization",[329] to quote the assessment South Norton made of Cuzens. For the rest of the tour Mullagh frequently performed and starred despite injury. He may not have given Hayman any more trouble, but such degrading treatment would have wounded a justly proud man.

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[328] William Prest letter, *Yorkshire Gazette and York Herald*, 25 July 1868.

[329] Norton, "Kent cricket, 1849-1870, and some reminiscences", in Lord Harris (ed.), *The history of Kent County Cricket*, p.64.

Although we have no details of the "inclination to sulk" which Hayman decided to crush, Mullagh's responses to offences against him in Australia provide an indication. During a match against neighbouring Apsley in Victoria, the opposing captain suggested that Mullagh should eat in the kitchen rather than in the dining room with the other team members because "anything is good enough for the nigger." When Mullagh came to bat he conspicuously sacrificed his wicket, and on being asked why, remarked that "Oh, anything is good enough for the nigger."[330] On another occasion when the white players were bedded at an inn but he was consigned to the stables, his riposte was to sleep in the open.[331]

The actions indicate that while he wished to obtain benefits from his mastery of European culture, he would abandon it rather than accept debased treatment. He did not rely on white team mates to defend his interests, nor did he appeal for sanctions against the perpetrators. His protests constituted independent, prompt and decisive withdrawals from engagement with those who offended his dignity: behaviour which constituted "sulking" in an Aborigine. Although management was scandalised by the Yorkshire gentlemen's apparent snub of the Aborigines, Mullagh's apparent boycott represented unacceptable disobedience for a mute and biddable dependent.

In summary, the tour of England might not have constituted for Mullagh the shining moment which is indicated by public transcripts. Despite the absence of squatters, sheep and colonial governments, he had abundant opportunity to learn that a different range of hardship, humiliation, and exploitation accompanied the life of an indigenous performer in England. Judging from his pattern of behaviour, his response would have been to turn his back and return to circumstances in which he could regain self-sufficiency.

The remainder of Mullagh's life demonstrates that proximity to his land was of paramount importance. He might well have been tempted by overtures to pursue a professional cricket career in England, but it is doubtful he would have wished to remain for any length of time. If his urban experiences are any indication, neither would his health have allowed him to. Furthermore, the sporting Edgar family, owners of Mullagh's land on Pine Hill Station, enjoyed the availability of the celebrated Aboriginal cricketer and Hayman was committed to his repatriation agreement with them.

The Hamilton evidence has had an undue impact on the interpretation of Mullagh's life because it is a direct quote. It is a arrestingly blunt statement about a normally taboo subject by a mute, enigmatic and legendary figure. When we read "A white woman won't have me, Mr. Tom, and I will never have a black one", it is as if we are hearing the unmediated personal confession of

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[330] Moyes, *Australian cricket: a history*, p.158.

[331] Hamilton, *Pioneering days*, p.81.

Johnny Mullagh. The precision of the quote is crucial because its immaculately turned phrases purport to answer the riddle of a man's innermost alienation. They denote rejection of his own people at the most fundamental level by the most famous and admired Aborigine of the first century and a half of white occupation. At the same time, the sentiment conforms to a prejudice unquestioned by white squatters and which Hamilton assumed was shared by Mullagh as a result of his experiences in England. Given the opportunity, which man, white or Aboriginal, would not choose a white lady over a poor lubra? And no respectable white woman would elect to enter into an intimate relationship with an Aboriginal man.[332]

But J.C. Hamilton didn't hear Mullagh's words. Mullagh supposedly spoke them to Tom Hamilton who died in 1873; *Pioneering days in western Victoria* was published a half century later. The statement conforms more closely to European expression and its racial prejudices than what is otherwise known about Aboriginal choices and self-expression. The decision to remain celibate and isolated because of the sexual inaccessibility of white women is so unprecedented and inexplicable that in the absence of other evidence it should be regarded as implausible. An unrepeatable tour of England and some tattered photographs ("This is a London lady ... this is a Devonshire lady") were supposedly preferable to the real companionship of an Aboriginal woman. Thousands of "half-caste" children prove that white settlers in colonial Australia, even in the event of *temporary* absences from their wives and sweethearts, did not find photographs preferable to the reality of Aboriginal women: why is it reasonable to believe that Johnny Mullagh did so permanently? Mullagh lived for at least eighteen years after his supposed explanation to Tom Hamilton.

Few Aboriginal women survived in the Wimmera. Venereal diseases and smallpox, transmitted by Europeans around the time Mullagh was born, ravaged Aboriginal women in the region and reduced their numbers to well below that of Aboriginal men.[333] The 1868 team were said to be the last of their tribe because there were "no lubras left".[334] It was a slight exaggeration but most of the few survivors were confined to missions where Johnny Mullagh was determined not to live.[335] Instead of attributing Mullagh's isolation to its real cause - expropriation of Aboriginal land and sexual rampages on Aboriginal women by his fellow white settlers - Hamilton has explained it as the consequence of a sad and foolish choice made by Mullagh himself. His

[332] In fact, it was not unknown in eastern Australia. In the Lower Murrumbidgee in 1867, in whose "sylvan solitudes all prejudices disappear", a widow "of pure European blood" working as a domestic servant could find "no eligible suitor of a Caucasian type." She "learned to look with eyes of love upon ... a very sharp, shrewd aboriginal" stockman. They rode to Wagga Wagga and wed at the district registrar. *Warrnambool Examiner*, 15 January 1867, reprinted from *Wagga Wagga Express*.

[333] Critchett, *A distant field of murder*, pp.83-84.

[334] *Geelong Advertiser*, 5 January 1867.

[335] John Green, a humanitarian administrator, reluctantly concluded in a letter of 23 July 1872 that only a policy of protecting Aboriginal females from violation by confining them to missions offered some prospect of the survival of the race (BPA, *Eighth Report*, 1872, p.9). For the scarcity of Aboriginal survivors in the region, see Clark, *Aboriginal languages and clans: an historical atlas of Western and Central Victoria*, pp.248-254.

quote is more consistent with the colonialist outlook of a white man who admired and pitied Mullagh than an Aborigine who proved himself sufficiently strong, talented and resourceful to fashion a life from nearly impossible circumstances.

Two further observations should be made about the Hamilton evidence. Retelling his triumphs and displaying mementos constituted a method for Mullagh to engage with white people and advance his interests, without necessarily indicating a wistful desire to relive his experiences in the metropolis. Nor need we share the assumption that Mullagh's photographs represented romantic longings which were unattainable. Mullagh was a celebrity in 1868 and the experiences of Cuzens, Dick-a-Dick and other exotic performers in Britain indicate that it was far from impossible for them to establish inter-racial liaisons with English women, however unthinkable it may have been to Hamilton.

Two worlds

Mullagh knew two forms of consciousness and culture: before Albert Namatjira, Johnny Mullagh was a traveller between two worlds.[336] A closer examination of his life problematises the portrait of a hapless victim whose tragedy lay in being unable to attain more complete immersion in European culture. It is of lamentable significance to cricketing historians that he did not play test cricket or establish the sustained representative career which his abilities warranted. Judging from his demonstrated reluctance to accept invitations for representative cricket, it did not matter to Mullagh. The pattern of his choices reveals a strategy of deploying cricket and other useful aspects of the white world to maintain access to crucial elements of his Aboriginal selfhood under circumstances of colonisation.

He acquired respectable European clothes, which enabled him to enter his other world, cricket, on occasions of his choosing. He was praised as "remarkably abstemious ... never spoke pidgin English, and quietly professed not to understand it when someone sought to air his knowledge of the bush and the blacks using it".[337] Another report lauded him for speaking English "fluently, being much more at home with our language than his native tongue".[338] His European accomplishments earned him a unique level of respect from whites with whom he engaged and occasionally some considerable rewards, such as 50 pounds and a watch for top-scoring against the English in Melbourne.

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[336] On Namatjira's bi-cultural creative processes see Philip Jones, "Namatjira: traveller between two world", in Jane Hardy, J.V.S. Megaw & Ruth Megaw (eds), *The heritage of Namatjira: the watercolourists of Central Australia*, Heinemann, Australia, 1992, pp.97-136.

[337] MacDonald, "The 1868 tour" p.207, probably from Charles Lawrence's comments.

[338] R.H. Campbell, "Aboriginal cricketers: the deeds of Mullagh and his black team in England", p.421.

Although he did not return to a community of Aboriginal people (were there no other survivors from his clan or was he severed from his kin as a child and raised for a time by whites?[339]) neither did Mullagh leave his homelands to live in the city. After 1869, he was not to be to be "mustered", "collected", "summoned" or "sent for" again, though he continued to be the standout performer of the Harrow Cricket Club into the mid 1880s. As a local cricketing celebrity who occasionally *consented* to represent Victoria - famously re-emerging to star against Lord Harris's English team of 1879[340] - Mullagh had created a space where he was able to exercise considerable agency.

He retained some freedom of access to his traditional lands; lived without cultural interference from missionaries or Protection Board representatives; and obtained the European goods he needed from rabbiting, a type of work which may have incorporated Aboriginal skills and was free from confinement, supervision or time discipline. Even with his health failing, he rejected the comforts of European life. When white sympathisers offered to shelter Mullagh in a home, he "chose to live near his birthplace at Pine Hills, and to some extent after the custom of his forefathers."[341]

But he was never permitted to escape the humiliations and insecurities of being Aboriginal and even his tenure at Pine Hills remained precarious. Jack Minogue (1879-1975), a young boy who worshipped "Mr. Mullagh" and lived within two miles of his camp, described the painful experiences of his final years.[342] Mullagh was living on the back of Campbell's Lake at Pine Hills - not alone but with his dogs - and had taught the Minogue boys to climb and set a figure 4 trap. When Minogue climbed a hollow stump 15 feet high and found it was stuffed full of wool, he unsuspectingly told his father, Jerome Minogue, a Pine Hills boundary rider. Jerome checked and informed his employer, James Edgar, of the wool, sheeps' heads and entrails in a number of stumps. Edgar summoned Loftus, the Harrow policeman, who decided:

> 'This is blackfellow's work, no white man ever done that', and both Jim Edgar and Father said, 'There are no blacks anywhere near here, only Johnnie Mullagh and he gets all his meat and rations from the station. He wouldn't have to do it' and Loftus said 'I don't care, that is a black's work'. So they went to Johnnie and Loftus started on him, and he owned up to killing them. He said his dogs were hungry and he had no food for them ... So Loftus said, 'What are you going to do?', and Jim Edgar said 'I would not prosecute him, I will deal with him, and he told him he would have to get rid of the dogs or get off the station.

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[339] There is no evidence but both possibilities are feasible. The latter would account for his isolation from fellow Aborigines; his unusually uninflected spoken English; his supposed ignorance of bush Aborigines; and perhaps some early familiarisation with cricket. Tegetmeier reported that one of the Aborigines had been "brought up in white society from a tender age, not even knowing any other tongue" (*Field*, 23 May, 1868.)

[340] See, for instance, *Australasian*, 15 March 1879.

[341] *Sydney Mail*, 22 August 1891, in Mullins & Derriman, *Bat and pad*, p.210.

[342] The ms. was written out by Ann Gillard from an original "which Jack put down" circa 1974. I transcribed a copy of the document which was pinned to the Harrow Notice Board, 13 February 1999.

Mullagh needed the dogs, his only companions, "so he decided to get off the station." He moved over the boundary fence onto crown land, where once a month Jerome Minogue continued to send him flour, tea, sugar and tobacco. Jack Minogue continued to visit although he was too guilt-stricken to tell "Mr Mullagh" that he was the inadvertent cause of his eviction:

> and the last time I saw him I was going home from Pine Hills and he was sitting at the fire, and I rode up to have a talk with him. But he looked crook and I asked him was he sick and he said he had a sore side. So I told him Father would be out in a few days. When Father got out there was no sign of Mullagh, and there was three dogs dead on the chain. There was no food in the camp, and the ashes were stone cold ... So he thought he may have made for the main road if he was sick.

Jerome Minogue found three camps 100 yards apart which, Mullagh, in his desperate illness, had set up. Then Minogue senior:

> saw a dog standing under a tree, and he galloped and Mullagh was lying against the tree, so Father jumped off, and said, 'What is wrong?' But he could not speak, but he put his hand to his side, so Dad got an armful of leaves, and put against the tree, and dragged him up on to it, and put an overcoat over him, and filled his pipe and lit it for him and put it in his mouth, but he did not seem strong enough to draw it.

Jerome Minogue galloped away and returned with James Edgar. They had put a mattress in a buggy but Mullagh was dead and cold. They brought his body to the station and Jerome Minogue carved on a tree: " 'This is the tree where J.M. died'. And it was a sad end for a great cricketer."

Mullagh was of such unique stature as an Aboriginal figure in the history of the Wimmera, it is significant that European records fail to attest to his Christian conversion. The omission suggests that Mullagh did not abandon Aboriginal spiritual beliefs for European. As he avoided living on a mission, he was less exposed to missionary ideology and did not stand to benefit from professing devout Christianity.

Like other Aborigines, he was engaged in a painful process of redefining his being and identity in a world in uncontrollable transition. His life in England and as a cricketer constituted only one of the worlds he knew. The public transcripts of his life, its cricketing records and its photographs, reflect European aspects of his identity.

Johnny Mullagh, finest of the Aboriginal players taken by Charles Lawrence to England in 1868. Mullagh scored 1670 runs and claimed 245 wickets for the first-ever Australian team to tour.

Illustration 85: Mullagh dressed for cricket.

Illustration 86: Mullagh dressed for respectability.[343]

Aside from determination to live and die on his own terms in his own country, his Aboriginal experiences and non-European beliefs are invisible; his Aboriginal skin primarily a reminder of what Johnny Mullagh the cricketer might have achieved had he been a white man.

But Johnny Mullagh was only born in 1865-66 after he displayed his talent at cricket. Prior to Johnny Mullagh he was "Black Johnny"[344] who worked on local stations, but before that he was Unamurriman or Unaarrimin or Muarrinim or Unarrimin, described as son of King Watertight, born around 1843 around the time white invaders moved into his father's lands.[345] According to J.C. Hamilton, King Watertight was frightened on the banks of the Salt Lakes by the physical presence of a feared "local spirit", known by them as "the Nagle".[346] The Aboriginal man who became Johnny Mullagh had struggled so ingeniously to remain on his lands as a free man and earn the admiration of the invaders that they forgot Unamurriman still lived.

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[343] A photograph probably taken in the western districts, published in R.H. Campbell, "The deeds of Mullagh and his black team in England", *Life*, 1 May1923, pp.421-423. My copy was obtained from Horsham District Historical Society, via the courtesy of Christina Hindhaugh.

[344] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp.35-36. The surname Mullagh was conferred from Mullagh homestead, the other station where he worked in addition to Pine Hill.

[345] Quigley, "The Johnny Mullagh story", p.10.

[346] Hamilton, *Pioneering days in Western Victoria*, pp.95-96.

JUNGUNJINUKE[347]: DICK-A-DICK

They learned not only to invent, but to circumvent; not only to obey but to evade; not only to submit but to outwit. The tradition of defiance was devious rather than direct, employing nerve, instead of force.[348]

Trivialisation and neglect

Illustration 87: Dick-a-Dick.

Had the British public been primarily drawn by the long narrative of cricket - mannered, patient, restrained, self-consciously civilised and quintessentially English - Mullagh, Cuzens and Charles Lawrence would have been the only individuals in the 1868 troupe to earn public renown. But because the English public flocked to see *Aborigines*; because they paid to be entertained and educated by snapshots of generic and specifically Aboriginal primitivism, the tour's greatest individual star was Dick-a-Dick, Jungunjinuke.

His cricketing record was dismal. Yet for him, even more than Mullagh, the tour was a coup. It was a triumph won by psychological ingenuity, imaginative self-representation, audacious self-confidence and physical skills honed to an edge unattainable in sedentary European culture.

He transmuted a mediatory procedure of Aboriginal law and a perilous activity of Aboriginal manhood into participatory popular entertainment for white audiences. No strategy was possible whereby Aboriginal people were not constricted, oppressed and misrepresented by processes of colonialism and ideologies of race. Nevertheless, Dick-a-Dick's individualised display of Aboriginal self-representation pioneered an active, non-assimilatory engagement with European public culture which temporarily realised increased rewards and opportunities in the public and private spheres of his life.

Although Mullagh justly earned recognition as the first Aborigine to win the acclaim of mass audiences by his mastery of a prestigious European skill, the no less significant accomplishments of Dick-a-Dick have been unappreciated and sadly misunderstood. An Aborigine's cricketing accomplishments are easily recognised as a dignified and significant

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[347] Also rendered as *Jumgumjenanuke*, *Jungunjinanuke* and *Jungagellmijuke*.

[348] Lucy Dawidovich's observation about Jewish resistance, applied by John Blassingame to African-American strategies, quoted by Novick, *That noble dream*, p.486.

achievement; success as an uninhibited semi-naked target of cricket balls is more problematic. Dick-a-Dick has not been accorded biographical recognition in the *Encyclopedia of Aboriginal Australia*. His performances and even his name were omitted from the entry for the 1868 "Cricket team",[349] an indication of the extent to which the Aboriginal components of their performances have been neglected, even perhaps in Aboriginal memory.[350]

Shepherd and Lawrence, whose reminiscences have shaped subsequent interpretations of the tour, described Dick as a memorably loveable, outlandish, extroverted naïf. The characterisation has been adopted by subsequent writers including A.A. Thompson who savoured his wry portrayal of Dick-a-Dick as the principal curiosity in the most "eccentric" team in cricket history - "a true eccentric with an aristocratic ignorance of the value of money."[351] Mulvaney and Harcourt preferred to describe him as a generous extrovert", "amiable and curious"[352] and "manly and cheerful".[353]

Uncritical readings of the Lawrence and Shepherd memoirs - including ones which are superficially inflected by ameliorating adjectives like noble, manly or brave - reflect colonialist assumptions that Aborigines were a childlike people. The cultural roots of Dick's dodging, the seemingly trivial 'novelty act' which made him a celebrity in England, indicates the inadequacy of viewing Dick-a-Dick as an agile yet frivolous and insubstantial comic.

Roots of an Aboriginal performance

As noted in Chapter 3, *Chambers' Magazine* in 1864 described an Aboriginal practice of avoiding inter-group warfare whereby a single offender underwent a "trial of spears" hurled by the aggrieved clan. Around the same period, the recollections of John Bulmer, a missionary who worked on the Murray from 1855 and in Gippsland from 1860, described individual "duels" between Aborigines. Each was armed with a supply of boomerangs, a club and a shield. Shields were first used to ward off the boomerangs then the combatants fought with club and shield. The duels, noted Bulmer, ended before severe injury was done.[354]

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[349] *Encyclopedia of Aboriginal Australia*, Vol.1, p.239.

[350] In interviews with Aboriginal residents of Lake Condah, Aunty Tina and Aunty Amy admiringly recalled Dick-a-Dick's displays in sports day at the mission. They lauded him for his amazing reflexes in dodging but did not note any more significant cultural connotations. See *Memories last forever*, Dead Set Press, Fitzroy, 1988, p.59. The interviews were conducted in 1987 and 1988. Aunty Amy's knowledge of Dick-a-Dick was handed down from her mother; Aunty Tina's from Granny Foster.

[351] Thomson, *Odd men in*, p.77.

[352] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.127.

[353] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.159.

[354] Alastair Campbell, *Victorian Aborigines: John Bulmer's recollections*, p.16.

In 1814, *Foreign field sports, fisheries, anecdotes &c, Containing one hundred plates with a supplement of New South Wales* was published in London.[355] Of the ten plates illustrating "Field sports of the native inhabitants" of NSW, four depicted activities which resembled nativist performances of the Aborigines in England in 1868.[356] One was *Trial*, a beautiful illustration which depicted a single warrior with a shield confronting spear-wielding Aborigines from another tribe.

Illustration 88: "The Trial".

To his right, the lone warrior is observed by a band of standing Aboriginal men who hold spears to ensure that correct protocol is observed. A larger group of unarmed Aborigines sits and observes from an outer perimeter. The text explains that the defender has transgressed by abducting and raping a wife from another tribe.[357] Like *Chambers'* description fifty years later, the scene depicted a procedure of law and a rite of manhood which satisfied honour while minimising bloodshed.

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[355] *Foreign field sports, fisheries, anecdotes &c, Containing one hundred plates with a supplement of New South Wales*, Edmund Orme ("Printseller and Publisher to His Majesty, and His R.H. The Prince Regent) Bond St., 1814. The New South Wales supplement, with ten plates including *The Trial*, was dedicated by its author, John Heaviside Clark, to "Rear Admiral Bligh, Late Captain General and Governor in Chief of New South Wales and Its Dependencies".

[356] The other three were *Hunting the Kangaroo* with spears; *Throwing the Spear* which impaled birds in flight; and *Warriors of New South Wales*, which depicted a dozen painted, spear-holding, shield-bearing Aboriginal men.

[357] Description in *Foreign Field Sports*, New South Wales Supplement, (no pagination).

In 1865, an illustration in the *Illustrated Melbourne Post* confirmed that Aborigines in South Australia still used the practice for its original purposes when Dick-a-Dick was performing in England. The front page of its January 25 edition featured a dynamic if crude print of a *Native Warrior Defending Himself from Three Spears*.

Illustration 89: Native warrior defending himself from three spears.

The text did not explain that the practice was law which functioned to avoid bloodshed. Instead, it likened it to classical traditions of heroic warriors who, as acts of individual bravado, elected to stand forth in combat, as in the ancient "days of Goliath of Gath, or of Horatii and Curatil".[358] When the lone warrior came forward and challenged three or more protagonists to spear him, the writer observed that "the contending parties pause", almost as if it were a coincidence. It could be inferred that some element of protocol was involved because only "after the most careful and the most cautious tactics" were the spears thrown simultaneously.

The "inevitable destruction of the rash challenger" seemed assured until, suddenly, "with an eagle's eye, he wards off one with his own spear, the second he catches on his shield, and the third he lifts his leg and allows it to pass harmlessly into the ground". Alternatively he allowed a

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[358] *Illustrated Melbourne Post*, 25 January 1865, p.5.

dozen spears to be hurled at him in rapid succession, "and without stirring an inch off the ground, guard them on the shield, or twitch the body, leg, head or arm and so pass through the perilous ordeal scratchless." The potentially fatal skill was performed with the "utmost coolness" and it was apparent it could only be achieved as a result of "a life spent in continued exercise." Dick-a-Dick performed both variations: defying several protagonists who hurled cricket balls at him simultaneously, and a larger posse who threw them in rapid succession.

The sympathetic Wimmera pastoralist, James Dawson, a scrupulous recorder of Aboriginal life, described a similar local practice as a "form of tournament or friendly trial of skill".[359] As women and children watched at a safe distance and elders observed to ensure "fair play", about a dozen warriors faced the same number of opponents at twenty paces distance. All were adorned with white stripes painted across their cheeks and nose. After nominating someone on the other side to target with his boomerang, an individual stepped out of line to throw and the target sought to deflect the lethal projectile with his shield. It was then the turn of the defender's side to nominate a target and the procedure continued until all were satisfied. Dawson commented that the activity afforded "a fine opportunity for displaying the remarkable activity of the aborigines" because the prospect of severe boomerang injuries forced them to demonstrate their uncanny defensive skills.[360]

He was correct to associate European interest with the prospect of bloodshed. White spectators had gathered in Sydney in 1804 to watch the gory aftermath of a trial in which the defender was speared in the hand after it passed through his shield. In the Aboriginal affray which followed, the "fool-king" Bungaree hurled a boomerang at one of his opponents, striking his arm, rebounding 60 metres, "leaving a horrible contusion behind, and exciting general admiration."[361]

J.C. Hamilton also described Wimmera Aborigines' "sport [which] consisted of throwing spears, boomerangs, sham fights with waddies and blunt spears, the latter warded off by a long shield ... Two young men would attack each other, throwing spears with great force, which were turned off with the shield."[362] It is likely that after Hayman saw members of the cricket team performing the "sport", he or Lawrence realised it would thrill white audiences and set out to apply it to the cricket field. If so, this might have been the source of Shepherd's description of Dick's performance, "an exhibition of a native sport practised among the tribes."[363]

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[359] James Dawson, *Australian Aborigines: the languages and customs of several tribes of Aborigines in the Western District of Victoria, Australia,* Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1981 (originally 1881). The admirable Dawson was one of the few to painstakingly record Aboriginal lore by painstakingly learning their language. For an excellent outline of Dawson's outlook and writings, see Critchett, *A distant field of murder.*

[360] Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, quoted in Philip Jones, *Boomerang*, pp.70-71. An 1853 letter to the Colonial Secretary about Aboriginal practices by William Thomas, Victoria's Guardian of Aborigines, described the fatal consequences of a lapse in defensive skill: an Aborigine who failed to parry was killed by a spear (cited by Critchett, *Untold stories*, p.127).

[361] *Sydney Gazette*, 23 December 1804, quoted in Smith, *King Bungaree*, pp.66-67.

[362] J.C. Hamilton, *Pioneering days in Western Victoria*, p.101.

[363] Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines", p.130.

There is no doubt that Dick-a-Dick and the other Aboriginal performers realised that English audiences were enthralled by a relatively pallid version of Aboriginal law which Aborigines themselves had reshaped into a daring recreational activity. They knew that its original form demanded self-possession, courage, split-second reflexes and hand-eye coordination beyond anything which denoted masculinity, courage and athleticism on the cricket field.

The question of whether Dick, Lawrence or Hayman suggested its application to the cricket field is less important than two other issues. Firstly that it was Dick-a-Dick who either volunteered, initiated or was selected to perform the feat on almost every occasion. He had been recognised, probably by both Aborigines and management, as being supremely equipped to defend himself with leowell, shield and unerring eye. His qualifications were authority within his own clan and surpassing expertise with weaponry, supplemented by work reliability and facilitated by a psychological talent for interacting with white people. Secondly, the calculated theatrics with which he embellished his performances - the "grotesque grins and antics", the mocking of the throwers, the Muhammad Ali-like last second evasion - made it his own, Aboriginal *and* individually Europeanised creation, regardless of who originally suggested its adaptation.

The description of his original performance conveys the process of adaptation and Dick's approach to the psychology of British audiences. When the English visitor W. Glanville Wills saw the Aboriginal team at Redfern in their first Sydney tour, he was inquisitive enough to lunch with them in their tent and converse with them in broken English. He was particularly engaged by Dick-a-Dick who ingratiated himself by presenting Glanville Wills with a "little stick he carried in his hand." On the final day, Dick-a-Dick, whom Glanville Wills now described as "my friend" starred with boomerang and spear, then:

> four of the blacks stationed themselves in different parts of the circle armed with spears, Dick being in the centre with a native shield. The blacks then attacked him with the spears, but he warded all the shots off with the shield ... Then four of the white men took the places of the blacks armed with cricket balls, which they flung with all their force at Dick, but he was prepared for each one as it came.[364]

His ball-dodging then, was neither accidental, nor was it a direct re-presentation of a traditional activity. Using warrior skills and an imaginative appreciation of opportunities arising from the English expectations of primitive Aborigines, he artfully reshaped an Aboriginal practice into show business for white audiences.

[364] W. Glanville Wills, *There and back again: an account of a short visit to Australia*, Barras & Blackett, Sheffield, 1871, pp.34-35.

Self- transformation of Aboriginal culture

Philip Jones has discussed the creative processes of the first Aborigine to achieve individual acclaim and commodification in the European art market. Jones corrected two misconceptions: that Namatjira's art was a conservative continuation of Aranda painting and that Namatjira was alienated from his own culture by his individual artistic vision. Jones credited Namatjira for being sufficiently astute to realise the consequences of "the fact that the traditional sacred art of the Aranda was no longer an option for him, or for others of his generation." Drawing from his own culture and creatively reconfiguring it where it was advantageous or necessary, Namatjira is best understood as "an artist who was working at the limits of his cultural milieu."[365]

Dick-a-Dick's skills also extended from the limits of his cultural milieu and a realisation that although the subjugation of Aboriginal culture made the original content of his knowledge irrelevant to colonialist authority, its form intrigued and entertained them. His performance retained critical elements of his material culture, stripped from their original social functions and relations, refashioned and individualised for European commodification. Ambiguously incorporating aspects of primitivist self-representation, he dramatised his own role, maximising its impact by contrasting a triumphant, uproarious, unrestrained, semi-naked warrior against futile buttoned-down challengers with cricket balls.

He enhanced his performance by teasing and taunting the ball-throwers. He delighted in making them miss by the narrowest margin, gesticulating and yelling at his protagonists, then parrying or twisting away from the missiles at the last moment, grinning openly at the ease of his escape.[366]

On one level, Dick's bravado reflected his knowledge of how comparatively simple and safe was a performance which seemed marvellously hazardous to white audiences ignorant of the original Aboriginal practice. The "impudent assurance with which he challenged the most skilful throwers and the grotesque grins and antics with which he greeted their inevitable failures to hit him",[367] proclaimed that it was no more than child's play to a warrior whose body, nerve and judgement had been honed to meet the trials of Aboriginal manhood. The taunting by-play conveyed a coded message of jocular derision towards Europeans whose unshakeable belief in their superiority was belied by both physical inferiority and ignorance of Aboriginal knowledge. Dick and his comrades would have been able to enjoy the irony of white audiences paying for and applauding Aboriginal cultural prowess which belittled the futility of white attempts to make an Aunt Sally out of an Aboriginal warrior.

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[365] Philip Jones, "Namatjira: traveller between two worlds", pp.98-99.

[366] *Lincoln Standard*, 8 September 1868.

[367] *Middlesbrough Weekly News and Cleveland Advertiser*, 28 August 1868.

Dick's showmanship achieved a number of useful purposes. It directly involved the spectators in his performances, thereby improving his material and social circumstances in England and his bargaining position with management. He insisted on capitalising on the niche which he had created. From July, Graham's ledger regularly came to report a separate payment, "Dick dodging", for amounts ranging from 10/- to 1 pound 10/-. When he did not perform his advertised specialty at Dewsbury, despite being well enough to excel in a cricket-ball throwing competition,[368] the disappointment of the crowd would have strengthened his position thereafter. He also managed to attract tips, such as fifty shillings on one occasion at Lewisham,[369] from spectators and the volunteers who pelted balls at his provocative, elusive body.

In a colonial era when racial ideology denied the capacity for Aborigines to engage in rational thought and pursue independent self-transformation, it is understandable that his personal character and intellect were equated with patronising assessments of his exuberant public persona. It would be anomalous if his accomplishments were still attributed to the accidental good fortune of a naïve clown. It is more appropriate that they be attributed to choice not luck; to imaginative decision-making rather than thoughtless native instincts. To return to Philip Jones' portrayal of Namatjira, his success in England can be credited to "the adventurous and opportunistic choice of a gifted, ambitious individual" seeking to lift himself above poverty, dependence and scorn.

Jungunjinuke

Dick-a-Dick's rightful historical status is more accurately represented by substituting his Aboriginal name for the childish European diminutive. Unlike Johnny Mullagh, whose cricketing prowess at least earned him the respectability of a full European name, Dick-a-Dick is not honoured under his white pseudonym. It is appropriate that an Aborigine who earned fame by performing a distinctive Aboriginal activity with uniquely Aboriginal implements dressed in non-European costume should be at least co-identified by his real, Aboriginal, name.

The Wotjobaluk elder, Jack Kennedy, told me that his uncles, Dick's descendants, instantly identified photographs of Dick-a-Dick in the cricket team by his Aboriginal name. It has been spelled in a number of ways but Kennedy pronounces it as Jung-gun-janook (dʒʌngʌndʒəŋuk).[370]

Restoring his name is a meaningful step towards recognising the cultural roots of his famous display and establishing him as a significant figure in the history of Aboriginal engagement with the centre of colonialism. For that reason, unless obvious reasons dictate otherwise, this chapter will hereon identify him by his Aboriginal name, Jungunjinuke.

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[368] *Huddersfield Examiner*, 22 August 1868.

[369] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.127. They mistakenly source it to Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines", pp.131-132.

[370] Jack Kennedy interview by David Sampson in his home at Dimboola, 9 February 1999. Jack Kennedy was unconcerned about which spelling was employed. Louise Hercus has suggested that a phonetic rendering of his Aboriginal name may have contained authentic meaning: jangan-djina-ngug = walking feet.as acknowledged by Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.72 and footnote p.89.

Illustration 90: "The lost children".

Although he was not identified as either Jungunjinuke or Dick-a-Dick, verse, journalism and fanciful illustration[371] (left) celebrated his Aboriginal skills four years before the tour. Known as King Richard, it is accepted that he and two other Aboriginal trackers, perhaps including Red Cap,[372] led a famous rescue of three white children who had become lost in Wotjobaluk country.[373]

When searchers failed to locate the lost Duff children in August 1864, three expert Aboriginal trackers were brought thirty miles across the Little Desert from Nhill. Their leader was "Dick-a-Dick (King Richard), ... a sub-chief whose tribal group owned the Bill's Gully-McKenzie Springs hunting grounds south of Mt. Elgin."[374] They found the Duff children alive nine days into their ordeal.

As an old woman, Jane Duff recalled the moment with gratitude:

> Good old King Richard. How I love his memory and loved him after I first knew him. Weak and ill and in an almost unconscious state I never noticed him at first, but when after the rescue had been effected and we had traversed slowly some distance through miles of dense scrub, I weakly started to cry at the sight of a strange blackfellow. He quickly understood.
> 'Little girl frightened; no know me,' he said to Duff [her father]. 'Best that you take her.'
> And he carefully handed me over to my father's arms.[375]

The tale spread to England and a ballad retold the drama.[376] The native chief was a figure of selfless, unquestioning servitude to white settlers. When Duff first approached the tracker

> The chief bade him welcome and heard the sad tale,
> Which the father with many tears told
> The black chief replied: 'My best skill shall be tried,
> But I want not your silver or gold.'

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[371] "The Lost Children", drawn by N. Chevalier; Frederick Grosse, engraver, *Australian News for Home Readers*, 24 September 1864.
[372] L.J. Blake, *Lost in the bush: the story of Jane Duff*, Whitcombe & Tombs, Melbourne, 1964, p.13.
[373] Particulars of the Duff children rescue from the *Ararat and Pleasant Creek Advertiser*, 2 September 1864; the *Hamilton Spectator* August-September, 1864; Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp.34-35; and Blake, *Lost in the bush*.
[374] Blake, *Lost in the bush*, p13. Blake's information appears to derive from F.K. McKenzie, "Natives' Hunting ground", in *"Back to" Bill's Gully and Yanipy: Souvenir Booklet*, Victoria, 1937, p.3.
[375] Jane Duff's recollections quoted in Blake, *Lost in the bush*, p.15.
[376] From an unidentified newspaper, quoted by Blake, *Lost in the bush*, pp.24-29.

ABOVE: This historic photograph is in Horsham and District Historical Society's Pynsent st building and was taken soon after the children were found in August 1864. Some of the black trackers are with the search party. Opinions vary on whether the man kneeling beside the children is their father or one of the searchers.

Illustration 91: Aboriginal trackers with Duff rescue party.

Apparently photographed with the rest of the search party after their success,[377] the real Aboriginal trackers were not so unworldly as to "want not your silver or gold." They were given a total of twenty pounds and immediately spent five of it at a local pub.[378] The remaining fifteen was withheld from them and forwarded to the settler for whom they had been working "to be applied to their use as it is wanted".[379]

A few days of dissipation could have accounted for the entire sum. During the tour of England, Jungunjinuke avoided alcohol and transformed another traditional Aboriginal skill into more substantial benefits.

"Flash Dick"

Where Mullagh relied on contained and restrained self-reliance to simultaneously pursue and conceal his aims, Jungunjinuke employed amiable and amusing extroversion. As a result, he was responsible for most instances of individual Aboriginal behaviour which were recorded in public transcripts of the English tour. Like his performance, each instance of supposedly irrational eccentricity or childishness advanced Jungunjinuke's interests and conveyed coded viewpoints which would have been comprehensible to other Aborigines.

Hayman and Lawrence fondly ridiculed Jungunjinuke for his racially incongruous dress sense. To Hayman he was "Flash Dick"; to Lawrence he was not only more intelligent than the others, but also "the greatest swell."[380] In Geelong, he bought a belltopper hat, complete with hat box and insisted on assuming the costume in polite society. To Lawrence the joke was complete when Jungunjinuke, resuming his seat after standing to be presented to ladies, accidentally sat on his own hat. The punch-line ridiculed the futility of Aboriginal pretension and confirmed the self-limitations to their social aspirations.

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[377] Photograph taken soon after the Duff children were saved. From Horsham and District Historical Society Records, courtesy of Christina Hindhaugh.

[378] Blake, *Lost in the bush*, p.16.

[379] *Hamilton Spectator*, 14 September 1864. Far more substantial subscriptions for Jane Duff were raised in Australia and England.. In Geelong alone, 122 pounds had been collected for her by mid-September: *Hamilton Spectator*, 14 September 1864.

[380] Lawrence ms. 2, cited by Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.82.

There is no doubt that Jungunjinuke did take to dressing grandly. In a European culture which denigrated Aboriginal nakedness or ragged clothing, dressing up signified he was not content to remain a menial dependent. He created his niche from public performances of near-naked primitivism, and "flash" European clothing contested the denigration of Aborigines because of their apparel. His choice posed insistent questions: Why should an Aborigine not dress as well as a bourgeois European if he had earned enough money to afford it? And should not an Aborigine who dressed like a respectable European be also treated like one? Without resorting to Jungunjinuke's sartorial flamboyance the other Aborigines must have appreciated his point.

A drawing by Tommy McRae (Yackaduna or Warra-euea, 1830s?-1901) a nineteenth century Victorian Aboriginal artist, depicted the importance of European clothing to Aborigines who worked in the white world.

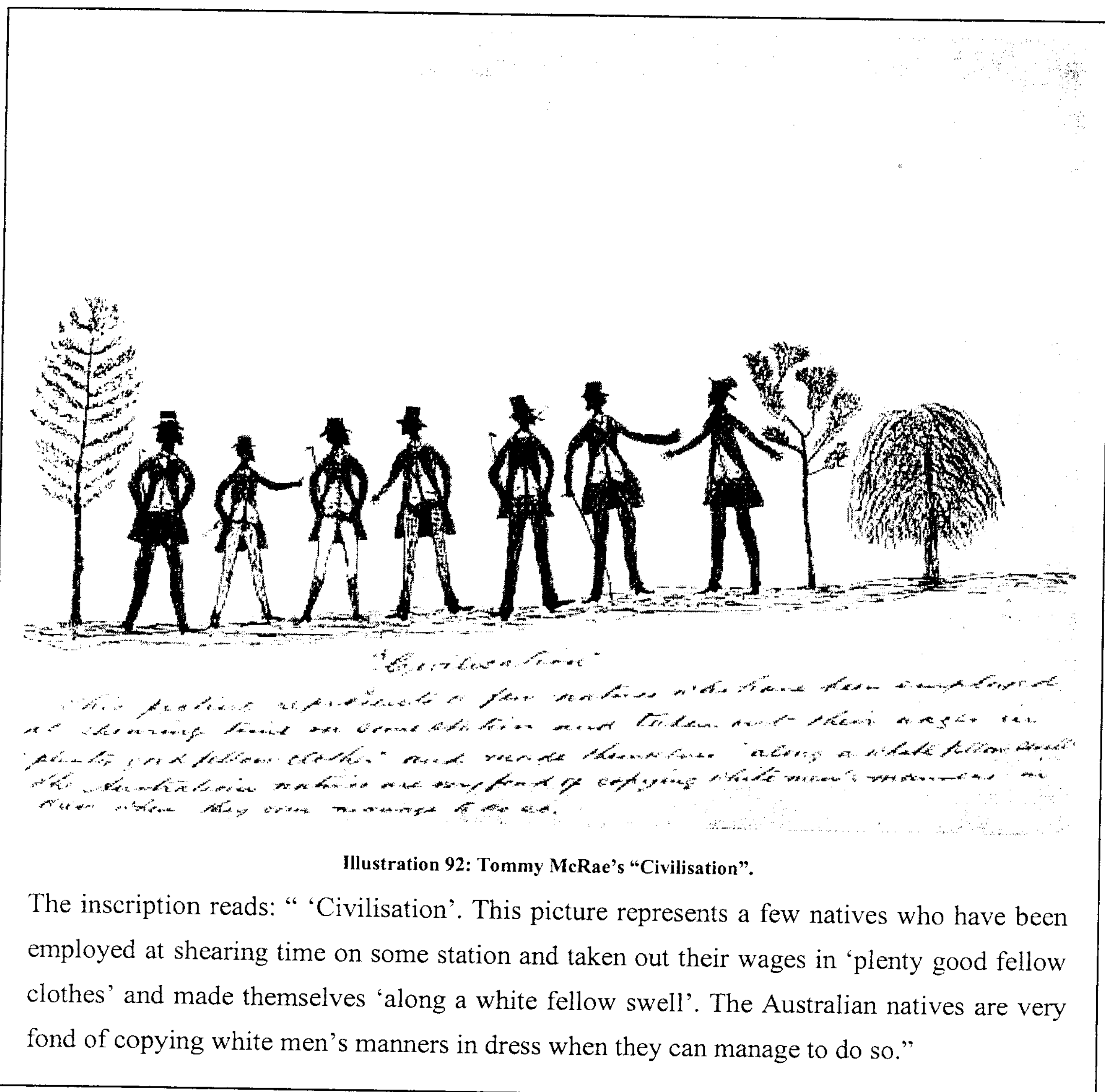

Illustration 92: Tommy McRae's "Civilisation".

The inscription reads: " 'Civilisation'. This picture represents a few natives who have been employed at shearing time on some station and taken out their wages in 'plenty good fellow clothes' and made themselves 'along a white fellow swell'. The Australian natives are very fond of copying white men's manners in dress when they can manage to do so."

The inscriptions on McRae's drawings were written by Europeans but, as is clear in this case, Andrew Sayers believes they express some of the artist's intentions.[381] McRae, who worked for squatters before his children were taken away to Aboriginal reserves, appreciated the importance of dress as a European determinant of social ranking: one of his drawings depicts a poorly dressed white man being victimised by well-dressed squatters.[382]

The clock

The most famous of Jungunjinuke's eccentricities was his clock. During their appearance in Swansea, he visited a bazaar and insisted on persistently playing the Wheel of Fortune. After spending five pounds - which he must have aggregated from his earnings at ball-dodging - he accumulated a painting the size of a door, an array of jewellery, various watches, and, most prized of all, a Swiss clock.[383] To George Smith's consternation, he distributed the jewellery and watches among the other Aborigines. He decided the painting was useless and, on Shepherd's suggestion, it was raffled among residents of the Swansea hotel in which they were staying. It recouped thirty shillings of his outlay.

For the remainder of the tour, the Swiss clock remained his cherished possession. He carried it everywhere under his arm and Shepherd claimed credit for ensuring it kept reliable time. When the team was awaiting the train which would take them out of Dewsbury, Jungunjinuke realised that he had left his clock at the hotel. Defying Lawrence's attempts to stop him, he sprinted back to retrieve it, despite the probability that the train would leave without him. Fortunately it was running late and he rushed back with his clock in time to board. But as soon as the tour was finished he gave it to Shepherd.

The story was told as a charming instance of irrational, child-like eccentricity.[384] Acknowledging every culture's fascination with unfamiliar objects, his actions with the clock were entirely rational. He insisted on outlaying his money at the bazaar until he won his timepiece, the object which he prized. He willingly parted with the painting he didn't want and was glad to reclaim one third of the amount he had spent, disproving the assertion that he had "no idea of the value of money".[385] Giving jewellery and watches to his comrades shared his earnings in accordance with Aboriginal practice, while preventing them from spending it on alcohol, a habit he aggressively discouraged.[386]

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[381] Andrew Sayers, *Aboriginal artists of the nineteenth century*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1994, pp.33-34. Well aware that Europeans were intrigued by corroborees and fights between Aboriginal tribes, McRae enterprisingly organised a corroboree for white spectators at Corowa.

[382] Sayers, *Aboriginal artists of the nineteenth century*, pp.42-43. Biographical information about McCrae, pp.113-114.

[383] This account from Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines", pp.131-132.

[384] See also the retelling by Thomson, *Odd men in*, pp.77-78.

[385] Shepherd, "The tour of Australian Aborigines", p.131; Thomson, *Odd men in*, p.77.

[386] *Australasian*, 5 November 1867.

The attachment to his own clock and distribution of other watches to his comrades was a sensible response to the time discipline which dictated the Aborigines' lives in Britain. As with the responses of 18th and 19th century factory workers described by Thompson, the most logical step towards regaining some control of their working lives was striving to acquire their own time-pieces.[387] Like European clothes, the prestige of owning a timepiece was a significant factor for Aborigines in a European world. It was a step towards making themselves aware of how much time was available before they had to meet a curfew, be ready for a train, or were due to arrive at a ground to perform. Or they could slip out of their rooms to meet a social rendezvous of which management did not approve. We do not know the extent to which Jungunjinuke and the other team members actually used their time-pieces for this purpose. White observers assumed they were too primitive to tell the time.

But the inconvenience of lugging the Swiss clock from Wales and thence all over England; of risking the consequences of defying Lawrence and being left isolated in Dewsbury are proof of its importance to him. And his action in giving it to Shepherd as soon as the tour, and the regimen of time discipline was finished, indicates that he viewed it as a functional implement, not childish decoration. It aided and symbolised rational engagement with a demanding new set of social relations and work practices.

Masculinity

Descriptions suggest that more than the other Aborigines, Jungunjinuke openly welcomed and played to English curiosity. His visible amusement at being the object of sustained, close and wary examination by a little boy in Bootle indicated his self-possession and the extent to which he had adjusted to his life as a Show Aborigine.[388] He had developed sufficient confidence to transform passive objectification into assertive and even competitive self-display.

A local journalist was present during the dinner interval of the same match and described what happened when "one of the Bootle gentlemen was exhibiting his biceps, of which he was evidently proud." Jungunjinuke looked at the muscle, felt the muscle but was unimpressed. " 'Too soft' ", he pronounced: " 'feel this' and exhibited an upper arm which we venture to say not many English athletes can equal". The journalist did as instructed and was awed: "it was literally as hard as a solid ball of indiarubber, and of immense size."[389]

This was more than a humorous episode of macho posturing. Jungunjinuke had constructed his own relatively lucrative show out of an Aboriginal practice at which he was an acknowledged

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[387] When labourers struck a windfall, they often bought a watch, or even banded together to hire one collectively. A "clock or watch was not only useful, it conferred personal prestige on its owner". E.P. Thompson, "Time, work and industrial capitalism", p.69.
[388] Graham ledger, p.42, see Chapter 12.
[389] Graham ledger, p.42.

expert. It enabled him to become a star; to squeeze additional bonuses out of the managers; to equip other team members with watches and jewellery; to dress himself well; to charm, amuse and beguile British people whom he met; and to acquire a little stock of consumer goods, which he managed to carry with him despite the difficulties of travel. Yet the spectators who enjoyed his performance did not appreciate the background of his show, its roots in Aboriginal law and manhood or the authority he enjoyed in his own culture. Nor did they recognise the status he had earned in England by sustained endeavour.

Whether they were portrayed as bestial sexual marauders or as partially feminised,[390] non-white men were precluded from the status of white masculinity. Wimmera Aborigines had been described as degenerating to effeminacy.[391] Everywhere the Aboriginal team had appeared - from the Wimmera to Melbourne and Sydney, on board the *Parramatta* during their voyage from Australia, and throughout England - so had black-face minstrelsy, "the basis" of whose humour "was the purported preposterousness" of blacks "aspiring to act and talk like white men."[392]

In a culture which equated white masculinity with the full attainment of humanity, his muscle-flexing, like his demonstrations of physical superiority over those who threw cricket balls at him, signalled an assertion of his full status as a human being. Affirmation of his masculinity demanded recognition of his humanity.[393]

The recognition of Victorian masculinity was a more complex matter than physical strength. Attaining Victorian manhood was a conscious process. Even white boys did not become men simply by growing up, and Jungunjinuke's physical prowess did not achieve recognition of his manliness. John Tosh enumerates three components of Victorian masculinity: establishing the status of a patriarch by setting up a new household; maintaining his household in appropriate levels of comfort by work which was independent of servility and patronage; and establishing all-male associations outside the home.[394] As Jungunjinuke sought to utilise his celebrity and personal attributes as a means of overcoming economic dependence and cultural, sexual and emotional isolation in England, he also proceeded towards the essential components of Victorian masculinity.

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[390] Important work on the colonialist construction of de-masculinising the Indian *babu* has been pioneered by Ashis Nandy, *The intimate enemy*, and developed by Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial masculinity: the 'manly Englishman' and the 'effeminate Bengali' in the late nineteenth century*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1995.

[391] William Lockart Morton, *Notes of a tour in the Wimmera district June-July 1861*, republished National Parks Authority, Melbourne 1967, p.7.

[392] Angus McLaren, *The trials of masculinity: policing sexual boundaries 1870-1930*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1997, p.253.

[393] The same message conveyed by black Memphis sanitation workers a century later when they marched with placards inscribed with the insistent message: I AM A MAN; or radical Louisiana timber workers who attempted to build racial unity by insisting that they wanted no "niggers" or "white trash", but only "MEN". See Kelley, *Race rebels*, pp.3 and 23.

[394] John Tosh, "What should historians do with masculinity? Reflections on nineteenth century Britain", *History Workshop Journal*, Issue 38, Autumn 1994.

The recollections of Hayman's daughter - that "Flash Dick fell in love with a white girl in an Hotel at home and she would have married him if he had stayed behind, but father made him come" - point simultaneously to the scope of Jungunjinuke's ambitions and, just as importantly, limitations on their realisation. The romantic attachment and desire to linger in England represented a culmination of Jungunjinuke's efforts to harness his developed talents in pursuit of financial independence and recognition of full Aboriginal humanity. It is unlikely that Jungunjinuke ever internalised bourgeois values, and inconceivable that he pursued marriage in England in order to satisfy them. But he would undoubtedly have been aware of the respect accorded to successful Victorian patriarchs and, more acutely, the patronising disrespect with which Aborigines were regarded. Becoming the income-earning husband of an Englishwoman, a responsible, independent patriarch, would have represented a decisive advance in status.

An attempt to marry a white woman and stay in England represented a daring piece of calculation. The hotel in which the romance developed was most probably the *Queen's Head* in the Borough, the Aborigines' residence when they were appearing in London and their only stable lodgings after the beginning of the tour. If both the relationship and Jungunjinuke's self-confidence blossomed as the tour wore on, his decision would have been made during the final third of the tour, following their return to the south from mid-September. By that time a desire to remain in England was more than a capricious impulse. The Aborigines had been away for seven months and were no longer the newly lionised and easily awed novelties of London. They knew well what was involved in the hardships of being away from their country, the demands of touring, being on display, meeting time schedules and putting on a show.

By staying in England, Jungunjinuke stood to lose more than most. He was one of only two Aborigines to have been a "married" man.[395] His Australian marriage, whatever its balance of Christian conviction, prudent pragmatism, and adaptation of Christianity to Aboriginal law, resulted from complex processes of inter-cultural adaptation.[396] Another series of complex intercultural experiences in Britain had encouraged him to forego a family in Australia for his prospects in England.

Jungunjinuke must have been confident that he was capable of sustaining himself and perhaps a family by the non-cricketing talents he had developed. The appeal of his specialist act had paled little. He could propel spears 130 yards, hurl boomerangs with expertise, and compete successfully as a hurdler, runner and high-jumper. Perhaps he was sufficiently ingenious to surmise - it is not unlikely he was sought by would-be English entrepreneurs - that he had scarcely scratched the surface of the pan-European market of showplaces, theatres, aristocratic audiences, fairs and museums in which there was a constant hunger for indigenous displays. Aboriginal people and their unique weapons had been described and illustrated but never seen in action. Of course, he

[395] *Warrnambool Examiner*, 1 October 1867 from information supplied by Lawrence and Hayman.

[396] See Chapter 7 and *Geelong Advertiser*, 4 February 1867 for a case of missionary power involving itself in inter-Aboriginal disputation between Christian marriage and still existent Aboriginal practices.

might have ended as an isolated victim of exploitation, like Tambo Tambo or countless other discarded racial curiosities once their novelty eroded.[397] Still, rare Show Indians succeeded against the odds as independent indigenous showmen in Europe. And Deerfoot, once he freed himself from unscrupulous managers, had amassed sufficient earnings to return to America, buy land and live into old age.

Despite the perils of an inter-racial relationship, it is not difficult to understand his appeal as a marriage prospect. A handsome, confident, powerfully built 174cms,[398] he had an engaging manner, a sense of fun and spoke English "remarkably well".[399] He dressed like a swell and his public success as a showman invested him with glamour as well as providing a potential source of income which would have seemed considerable to a working class woman. His personal attributes augmented the sexual appeal of exotic non-white performers to many English women.

Jungunjinuke's desire to pursue his personal and professional prospects in England run counter to Aboriginal attachments to their homelands and people. But we do not know he intended to remain permanently in Europe. It is possible to see him as an Aboriginal counterpart of white explorers and adventurers who, as embodiments of independent masculinity, opted to temporarily sunder their personal and cultural relationships in pursuit of material betterment, public adulation and exotic adventure, including the enjoyment of liasons with women from an alien culture.

Problems of identification and contested narratives of Aboriginal death

The ravages of colonialism problematise the scant historical records of all the team's lives,[400] and Jungunjinuke is no exception. Jungunjinuke was Dick-a-Dick; but Dick-a-Dick was later renamed Paul by the Moravians and the relationship between Dick-a-Dick and various King Richards is problematic.

Although no-one has disputed the issue, I have been unable establish how Dick-a-Dick was identified as King Richard of the Duff rescue. F.K. McKenzie believed his Aboriginal name was Woorroral, a "sub-chief" from the Albacutya tribe.[401] Competing versions of his death also exist, suggesting the symbolic importance of death narratives in white interpretations of Aboriginal lives.

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[397] For Tambo Tambo, see Appendix H.

[398] According to Tegetmeier's precise measurements, 5'8.5".

[399] Graham ledger, p.42.

[400] As an indication of the complications of identification, the *Overland Figaro* (Queensland) in 1883 described Larry, a Townsville Aborigine originally from Maitland, as "Jam Pot", formerly a member of the 1868 cricket tour. As well as running "a profitable trade in gins", it claimed he was a "civilised black", a boxer, athlete and ex-cricketer who had been "all around the world with a showman." Cited by Blades, Cricket and pedestrianism, p.23. It is plausible that some Aborigines sought to impress whites by claiming to have been a part of the 1868 team.

[401] Reports in the *Ararat and Pleasant Creek Advertiser* and the *Hamilton Spectator* of 1864 did not name the Aboriginal trackers. Blake's *Lost in the bush* accepted F.K. McKenzie's identification of Dick-a-Dick as Woorroral and cricket's Dick-a-Dick in "*Back to" Bill's Gully and Yanipy*, p.3. *Cricket walkabout* also accepts that King Richard the tracker was Dick-a-Dick who went to England. It is intriguing that management did not identify Dick-a-Dick as the heroic tracker during the tour, but their publicity consistently omitted any Aboriginal biographical or cultural information.

McKenzie records Dick-a-Dick having being seen at a race meeting at Mt. Elgin in 1884. In taped conversations with Louise Hercus in 1971, Jack Long, a Madi Madi elder, spoke of remembering Dick-a-Dick, known under the name of Euston Billy, who lived on the Murray until the mid-1890s and worked as a drover and fencer. Euston Billy was also known as King Billy or King Dick and wore a brass kingplate. Jack Long said that Dick-a-Dick often spoke of his experiences in England, but cryptically recalled that "he said it was all right there in England and it was all right here."[402] The suggestion that Dick-a-Dick is pictured in a well-known photograph of an elderly Aborigine wearing a kingplate appears incorrect.[403]

A contradictory report claims that he died as early as 1873. In 1874, the *Warrnambool Examiner* incorrectly reported that Mullagh had died. It continued that: "the public will not be astonished at this, when they learn that Dick-a-Dick, also celebrated as a cricketer, was dead some months before the fact became known."[404]

Jack Kennedy's history: great-grandson of Jungunjinuke

Jungunjinuke's early death was confirmed by another Aboriginal source. Jack Kennedy, born 1919, is a Wotjobaluk elder, a speaker of Wergaia, born at Antwerp, north of Dimboola. He explained that when Jungunjinuke went to England:

> he left my grandfather, that's on my father's side, with a policeman by the name of Kennedy to look after him.[405] Well, when he grew up and that, well they had to go and [you] know what his name was, Richard Dick. He didn't like that so he changed his name to Richard Kennedy and that's where I got Kennedy from.[406]

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[402] Dr. Louise Hercus, tape 3g2, side B of conversation with Jack Long, at Point Pearce, 10 May 1971, cited by Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.159 and footnote, p.172.

[403] The identification was suggested by Ms. Lou Lane of Geelong. In correspondence with David Sampson she wrote that Jack Kennedy had named it as Dick-a-Dick. When I showed the photograph to Jack at Dimboola on 9 February 1999, he immediately denied the identification and was adamant it was not Dick-a-Dick. The photograph is printed in Aldo Massola, *Journey to Aboriginal Victoria*, Rigby Australia, 1969, facing p.69. Massola identifies the Aborigine as King Robert of Morton Plains, who died on Ebenezer Mission in 1896.

[404] *Warrnambool Examiner*, 2 January 1874. The Moravians at Ebenezer were notably unfriendly to cricket. For the possibility that obituaries confused Dick-a-Dick and Tiger, see biographical information on Tiger in Chapter 17.

[405] Mounted Constable Thomas Kennedy wrote from Edenhope Station to his Superintendent in Portland in August 1867 to complain that Lawrence was plying the team with liquor. See Chapter 9.

[406] Jack Kennedy interview with David Sampson, Gooloum Goolum Aboriginal Co-Operative, Horsham, 29 June 1993. I subsequently interviewed Jack Kennedy for a second time in his home at Dimboola on 9 February 1999 and the information in this section comes from these two interviews. Where it is advisable to distinguish between them, they will be identified as Jack Kennedy, Goolum or Jack Kennedy, Dimboola. The Wotjobaluk sardonically named their co-operative, Goolum Goolum, Wergaia for 'wild blacfellow'.

He acknowledges that his genealogy is disputed but quietly insists on its accuracy, regretting his family's loss of a copper breastplate awarded to King Richard/Dick-a-Dick.[407] His oldest uncle taught Jack the Wergaia language and Wotjobaluk culture.

Jack's information derives from a mixture of sources: family and local recollections; a knowledge of *Cricket walkabout* to which he sometimes referred when he wanted to refresh his memory on a point of detail; and his own diligent research. His calm, soft voice expressed a distinctive Aboriginal perspective and a sharper appreciation of inter-racial power relations than European cricket histories. He remembers being beaten at school for speaking Wergaia, the language then spoken at home, and knows there are "two ways of living - with whites and with our mob".[408]

When I asked whether he thought the cricketers had much choice about going to England, he unhesitatingly replied: "Nooo. I don't think they would. They wouldn't have had none. Well, I suppose they understood and everything. See, they wouldn't have had much choice what to do in England ... one of them [Twopenny], he'd play up, he'd be late". Asked about the wrench of leaving their country, he replied: "Yes. To go away from the world. Just to be taken away … well … They probably'd never ever seen the sea before or anything."[409]

He realised Jungunjinuke "wasn't much of a cricketer at all" but was proud of his rescue of the Duff children, his agile ball-dodging performances, his abstinence from alcohol, and the resilience which enabled him to survive the arduous tour and difficult climate. When I asked if he could clarify *Cricket walkabout*'s evidence that Dick-a-Dick stayed off the missions and lived into the 1880s (which at that stage I assumed were correct having found no indication to the contrary), he insisted: "No. He was killed off earlier." He claimed to have evidence - not on hand - that a sick Dick-a-Dick and his wife had travelled from Ebenezer and returned very ill, probably in 1870.[410] The missionaries:

> could see that he was dying, so they went and baptised him. That's all the missionaries thought of - baptising him. 'course they baptised him and when they called for him again, just before he died … They just let him die ... he just … mmm … went into one of the closets what they had built and that's where he died. Yeah.[411]

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[407] The breastplate passed from Jack's grandfather, Richard Dick, to his uncles. They chopped up the breastplate and fed it to their dogs when they caught distemper so the copper would cure them. Other family records were taken by an Aunty, also a Kennedy, to Lake Tyers when Ebenezer Mission broke up. Jack has no idea what happened to them (Jack Kennedy, Dimboola.)

[408] Jack Kennedy, Dimboola.

[409] Jack Kennedy, Goolum Goolum. They had been on the steamer between Melbourne and Sydney but no ocean voyage of this magnitude.

[410] He worked this out by remembering that the Church in Ebenezer was built in 1875.

[411] Jack Kennedy, Goolum Goolum.

My first interview with Jack was in 1993, a period of optimism for Aboriginal rights and an Australian Republic. He thought their progress would enable him to repatriate a part of his people's history. As he leafed through the illustrations in *Cricket walkabout*, he pointed to the photograph of Jungunjinuke's leowell encased in glass in the cricket museum at Lord's: "When we're a Republic, we're writing over there and getting it back", he said. Jack and the Goolum Goolum Co-Operative subsequently wrote a letter to Lord's requesting the return of his leowell. The request was delivered by Anne Brown, a student of Wotjobaluk history, but Lord's refused.[412]

The end of Jungunjinuke/Dick-a-Dick/Paul: a missionary narrative of Aboriginal death

Jungunjinuke remained ebullient and engaging on his return to Australia. When the Aborigines played in Ballarat, he showed off his knowledge of gentlemanly pursuits by remarking to a journalist that although the ground was in fine condition, "yet it was not too much too large for a game of billiards to be played on."[413]

Moravian missionaries reported that "Paul (formerly Dickadick") died on 3 September 1870. Unlike many of his team-mates who had also "been induced by white men to go to England", he had returned to his country in good health in March 1869.[414] Asking to "learn more of the word", he lived with his wife Amelia and began to attend Church services at Ebenezer, although he made little progress at school. He built a house, became a candidate for baptism and fell ill. Probably anticipating death, and apparently on the insistence of Amelia, he visited their homeland further west. In April 1870, Amelia wrote to the Moravians, begging them to send a cart as her recently powerful and athletic husband was too weak to walk. Because the horses were ill-fed, the Moravians refused. Jungunjinuke and Amelia "took this matter rather amiss", but struggled back in July with a little boy and some other Aborigines.

Suffering greatly from his illness, he became very devout, intent on baptism. Confined to his cottage bed, Jungunjinuke/Dick-a-Dick was baptised under the name of Paul and the missionaries "had increasing reason to rejoice at his firm though childlike faith." They recorded his dying proclamations:

> I do not wish to get well again, Jesus has forgiven all my sins, and I now wish to go to Him and to see Him … My Saviour has suffered more than I; and that was for me, a sinner. O how glorious … O my dear teachers, I thank you for showing me the way to Christ. The Lord bless you and your labours among my poor fellow countrymen … Amelia, do not run into destruction! Remain here and follow Jesus; then we shall meet again.

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[412] Jack Kennedy, Dimboola and telephone interview with Anne Brown of Seymour, 10 March 1999.

[413] *Ballarat Courier*, 8 March 1869.

[414] Typescript of ms, Some facts about various Aborigines: death of Dick-a-Dick and Amelia, September 1870, supplied by Jack Kennedy via Christina Hindhaugh. It was translated by AIATSIS from German-language Moravian records but AITSIS's translation was either mis-filed or not added to the collection. Information from Deveni Temu, AITSIS Library, November 1999.

Astonished missionaries recorded his dying words: "I am full of pain, my body is already dead and cold and my eyes are dark. But there is one thing left; I already see Jesus coming." His exemplary Christian death followed thirty minutes later. As in the almost identical missionary narrative of Willie Wimmera, the dying Wotjobaluk boy in England, the Moravians were delighted to "have another proof that the Lord can give repentance unto life to individuals even of this degraded race." It was indeed a miracle: the presence of a missionary transformed dying Aborigines, who appeared almost mute throughout their lives, into sententious preachers.

Although he managed to return to his country before death, it is tempting to reflect if his prospects would have been worse had he been able to pursue his ambitions as a married Aboriginal showman in Europe. Much of his story remains a mystery but this much is not: in England in 1868, Jungunjinuke became the first Aborigine to earn European acclaim from constructing and performing a display crafted from a distinctive aspect of Aboriginal culture. It is hoped that he will belatedly be accorded appropriate historical respect for his achievement.

CONCLUSIONS

What of Lawrence's comment that "The blacks fell in love with England and were sorry to leave it"?[415] On departure, they may have complimented England as a kindness to Lawrence, who always regarded England as his home. Their gruelling schedule, depleted numbers, declining attendances and insignificant remuneration make it implausible that they expressed a desire to stay in England as a team. Lawrence's comment was most likely a case of transference of his own sentiments, coupled with his elderly fondness for embellishment. When the team played in Ballarat after their return, a cricket journalist claimed the Aborigines had improved their English and "speak very highly of the treatment they received from English cricketers and all classes with whom they came in contact in the mother country."[416] A later report indicated that the journalist - who had not reported the ravages of death and illness on the tour - had relied heavily on talking to Jungunjinuke, whose social skills and British experiences were atypical.[417] *Bell's life in Sydney* was more realistic in assuming that "the darkies were no doubt delighted to return."[418]

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[415] *Australasian*, 13 January 1894, cited by Haigh, *Australian cricket anecdotes*, p.4.

[416] *Ballarat Courier*, 6 March 1869.

[417] *Ballarat Courier*, 8 March 1869.

[418] *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 6 February 1869.

None of the other ten Aborigines had become as celebrated as Jungunjinuke, Mullagh or Cuzens, the three who also appeared to possess the best social aptitudes for dealing with the British. Charlie Dumas's abilities with boomerang and spear were extraordinary enough to have created opportunities in England, but he showed few signs of encouraging attention or attempting to individualise the presentation of his skills. As far as is known, Twopenny is the only other of the Aborigines who was subsequently recorded as having anything to do with cities, public performance or first-class cricket, but his distaste for his time in England was documented.
There is no reason to doubt, therefore, that Jungunjinuke indicated a desire to stay in England; that it is probable Mullagh, possibly Cuzens, and maybe Charlie Dumas too, were approached by entrepreneurs; and that leaving England was no matter of regret for any of the others.

Mishaps, problems, eccentricities and comical inadequacies - including as cricketers - constitute the bulk of what was recorded about the individual English experiences of the ten unfeatured Aborigines. King Cole is noted for dying; Sundown and Jim Crow for illness and returning to Australia early; Tiger for getting arrested after a drunken fight; Mosquito for whip-cracking and absences attributable only to illness; Twopenny and Bullocky for their bouts with the bottle; Red Cap for his endurance; Charley Dumas for his boomerang virtuosity; Peter just for being there.

Although it is impossible to recapture in any depth the specifically Aboriginal experiences and perceptions of each of the performers in England, it is possible to correct some Eurocentric misinterpretations. The Aboriginal experiences cannot be inferred from subsequent experiences of white sportsmen who toured Europe. Aborigines were scrutinised, treated and controlled differently; subject to disproportionate imbalances of power; more confined by limitations on their achievable goals; and more tightly constrained in both the expression and recording of discontent. Their situation was distinctively different to late twentieth century indigenous sportspeople and performers. As colonised people in the early stages of remaking themselves under conditions of European domination, they interpreted their experiences and determined their behaviour by a different balance of indigenous and European cultural influences.

As "A Native" suggested in Australia, they would not have identified each other, much less themselves, by their European names. They answered to these names when Europeans used them, but as fully cognisant human beings, there is no reason to believe they would have failed to appreciate that the race names signified attitudes of denigration and subordination. They would have understood they were patronised as curiosities, interesting to Englishmen because of their

colour, their weaponry and their culture. They knew their novelty was augmented because they could play cricket. Like the Maori who had been in England five years earlier, they were capable of understanding, and being wounded by their objectification, just as the Maori were upset by being referred to as representatives of a dying race.

It is necessary to suggest some historical adjustments to the popular record. It is unrealistic to expect that the Aboriginal names of each of the performers will replace in common usage the admittedly memorable race-names which were bestowed on them. However, it is a reasonable expectation that their Aboriginal names should accompany their race-names as a simultaneous reminder of who they really were and the racial subordination which their naming symbolised and perpetuated. Secondly, although we do not know in any detail how each of them confronted their new opportunities, hardships and experiences, they were neither beneficiaries of enlightened race-blind humanism, a carefree band of travellers, nor mute and passive victims of circumstance. The fragmentary records indicate that in England they did exercise some drgree of agency, and in quite different ways. In much the same situations, Twopenny and Charlie Dumas; Bullocky and Red Cap; Peter and Cuzens; Mullagh and Jungunjinuke, adopted distinctive strategies and made different choices in affirmation of their humanity and their survival.

They were not noble and quixotic heroes engaged in a crusade for a better world and they were in no position to transcend their cultural limitations or the structural and ideological forces which limited their effective options. They were an oppressed people who were suddenly cast into the constant physical and psychological challenges of engaging with a briefly exciting, but vastly strange, substantially unfamiliar world.

In their own languages and using their own concepts, they would have shared experiences and impressions and also disagreed, communicating to each other their desires, perceptions, disappointments and frustrations. They must have discussed, or at least observed, various strategies for optimising their dealings with management and the English public; for achieving illicit triumphs and escapes from authority; for creating a social or sexual life and dealing with alcohol; for overcoming weariness, illness and alienation; and sharing subterfuges, laughter and tragedy. Even if we cannot recover these hidden transcripts and the non-European frameworks in which they were conceived and expressed, it is a step forward to acknowledge that they did exist and that they were more important to their lives in England than such matters as the number of cricket matches that were won or lost.

It is likewise important to acknowledge each of the Aborigines for their significant achievement. With skill, flair and durability they excited tens of thousands of British spectators, animating for mass international audiences hitherto unseen aspects of Aboriginal culture. Despite

the constraints of commodification and decontextualisation, the performances constituted an education as well as an entertainment. It is true that the performances did not challenge Eurocentric preconceptions about Aboriginal inferiority. Yet they did succeed in illustrating the ingenuity of Aboriginal technology and the athleticism, courage and expertise of its hunters and warriors. The slight regard in which Britons held their intriguingly "primitive" culture can only have been augmented as a consequence of being entertained and excited by the skilled use of implements which had been invented, manufactured and mastered by Aborigines. It was unprecedented, and it is difficult to suggest the next public demonstration of the vitality of Aboriginal culture beyond Australian shores which would be capable of comparing with its accuracy, excitement and influence.

SECTION 5

CONCLUSIONS:

CONTINUITIES, CONTRASTS AND

COMMEMORATION, 1868-2000

CHAPTER 19

FROM VICTORIAN PROGRESS TO THE REVALUATION OF PRIMITIVISM

Primitivism, Aboriginal sport and European audiences

Two aspects of the 1868 tour - British tours by exotic non-European sporting teams, and touring exhibitions of Aboriginal primitivism - continued as separate enterprises in the later Victorian era. The Parsi[1] cricket tours of 1886 and 1888 and the New Zealand Native rugby tour of Britain in 1888 minimised primitivist elements of display.[2] In the same period European interest in Aborigines as objects of scientific and primitivist curiosity intensified.[3] Aborigines continued to display a marked aptitude for sport, particularly in pedestrianism (running) and cricket.[4] But overseas and within Australia, commodified troupes of Aborigines showcased primitivism rather than transformationist displays of European sport.[5]

Despite increasingly severe colonial government restrictions on Aborigines' freedom of movement and employment,[6] the discovery of Tambo Tambo's mummified corpse in America a century after his death emphasised that entrepreneurs still lured Aborigines to perform overseas in the late Victorian era.[7]

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[1] Parsee was the English spelling used at the time. Parsi is the currently preferable form. Thanks to Dr. Devlina Ghosh, University of Technology, Sydney for her advice.

[2] See Appendix G for brief details of the Parsi and (mostly) Maori tours.

[3] Gillian Cowlishaw has pointed out that attention to the inferiority of "traditional" Aborigines in remote communities was accompanied by the neglect and denial of Aborigines adapting to European colonisation. See Gillian Cowlishaw, "Australian Aboriginal studies: the anthropologists' accounts", in M. de Lepervanche & G. Bottomley (eds), *The cultural construction of race*, Sydney Studies in Society and Culture No.4, 1988, pp.60-79.

[4] Aboriginal cricketers achieved prowess, especially where the game was encouraged in missions such as Poonindie, Coranderrk, Cummeragunja, New Norcia and Deebing Creek (Blades, Australian Aborigines; cricket and pedestrianism, pp.28-58; Tatz , *Obstacle race*, pp. 45-61). In sprinting, Bobby Kinnear came from Ebenezer, the mission on which some of the 1868 Aboriginal side came to live, and won the Stawell Gift in 1883 (Tatz, *Obstacle race*, p.90). Charlie Samuels, from Jimbour station in Queensland and certainly among the greatest of all nineteenth century sprinters, was tellingly known as "the Deerfoot of Australia" (*Referee*, 5 June 1901, cited by Tatz, *Obstacle race*, p.96).

[5] See Appendix H for brief descriptions of some late 19th century Aboriginal touring shows.

[6] Victoria's Aboriginal Acts of 1869 and 1886 and Queensland's of 1897 are the primary examples of repressive protection.

[7] Roslyn Poignant, "Captive Aboriginal lives: Billy, Jenny, Little Toby and their companions", in Kate Darian-Smith (ed.) *Captive lives: Australian captivity narratives*, Working papers in Australian Studies Nos. 85, 86 & 87, Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, London, 1993; Roslyn Poignant, "Looking for Tambo", *Olive Pink Society Bulletin*, Vol.9, Nos 1-2, 1997. For the Tambo Tambo case, see Appendix H.

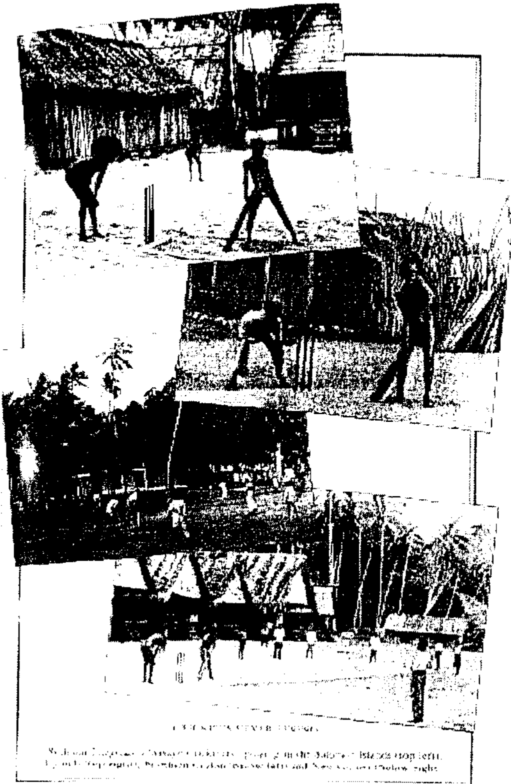

Illustration 93: Savage cricketers

"Savage cricketers", a photo-illustrated article in the *Strand* magazine of 1898,[8] (left) indicates that Englishmen continued to be struck, and not a little flattered, by the incongruity of primitives playing cricket. In the New Guinea village of Quato, "it is really extraordinary to see these half-naked savages playing cricket in this remote part of the earth ... though possibly [a] less exciting sport than head-hunting."

But entrepreneurs who aimed to profit from European interest in Aborigines realised that team sport - increasingly subject to structured competitive itineraries, uniform sporting apparel and standardised regulations and conventions - was a disadvantageous means of commodifying primitivist display.[9]

True, the uninhibited excitability of the players, their black skins and rude native technology were amusing contrasts to the reserved deportment and standardised equipment of English cricket. But the expense of training and sustaining an indigenous cricket team deterred speculators. The spectacle, moreover, was reliant on two factors which were impossible to recreate on English cricket grounds.

Most important was the sight of near-naked black bodies, a basic trope of primitivism repeatedly emphasised in "Savage cricketers". The other aspect was the wild topography which validated primitivist identity and contextualised the irony of their civilised pursuit. In the Solomons, a strip of rough coconut matting served for the wicket and a "queer-looking structure" for the pavilion, into which the author imagines the players crawling for palm wine and bananas; in New Guinea, coconut matting was "surrounded by lush palms and papoon houses."

If all but the players' hands and faces were covered by orthodox cricketing apparel; and if they played on neatly mown English cricket grounds with standard bats, balls and stumps, which

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[8] William G. Fitzgerald, "Savage cricketers", *Strand magazine*, London, 1898, reprinted in David R. Allen (ed.), *Cricket's silver lining: 1864-1914* Willow, London, 1987, pp.188-190.

[9] Although the first (white) Australian Rugby team to tour Britain in 1908 chanted a defiant war cry "accompanied by appropriate gestures": "Gau-gau [name of opposing team] - Wir-r-r-r!/ Win nang a lan/ Win nang a lan/ Win nang a lan - naur/ Mu I an yilang/ Bu rang a lan/ Bu rang a lan/ Bu rang a lan - yang/ Yai, yai-gun yil-lan gang/ Ya!". Meaning "We are pleased to meet you; may the best man win, but we'll beat you if we can", the same chant was used by Newtown Rugby Club in Sydney (*Evening News* [Sydney], 20 October 1908).

tropes of primitivism would have remained? Without separate displays of indigenous activities, as in 1868, only the quality of the cricket could be relied on to attract spectators. And even if it were possible, a whole team of Mullagh and Cuzens' calibre might not have been commercially viable - hostility and bias against the powerful, predominantly Maori rugby team in 1888[10] showed that English spectators and officials resented non-white threats to their sporting supremacy. By contrast, Aboriginal displays of primitivism were lucrative, ideologically comforting and endlessly fascinating to mass audiences. It was easy to produce semi-naked boomerang-throwers and warriors capable of amazing Europe and America; so easy that they were expendable.

Comparisons indicate that indigenous sporting teams were at less risk of being abandoned and stranded in Europe than were primitivist performers. Sporting institutions and ideology arguably created ethical and institutional constraints on any entrepreneur who was tempted to abandon his charges once their novelty waned.

Neither did the entrepreneurs of sporting teams confront the temptations and opportunities which caused the sale, abandonment and deaths of entire troupes. Seasonal and geographic limitations on sport encouraged repatriation because they imposed economic constraints on the time and scope of tours. Sporting teams quickly exhausted their audiences and the cost of an extended break between seasons argued against extending their stay. The sporting market was limited. French, German and American audiences were uninterested in British cricket and football. But sideshows, circuses, fairgrounds and the museum circuit were pan-European, intercontinental and year-round. It was irresistibly tempting for entrepreneurs to take their primitivist performers from country to country, or continent to continent, indoors or outdoors, and for year after year. The performers could easily be on-sold from one small-time promoter to another and be mistreated and abused. The longer they stayed in Europe or America, it became increasingly probable they would succumb to diseases or be stranded and die of more-or-less natural causes.

As primitivism was a more popular mode of racial display than transformation, there was a smaller European market for the importation of indigenous sporting teams than for primitivist troupes.[11] Both were commodified products of colonialism which existed because entrepreneurs could garner prestige from the patronage of elites and reap profits from the pockets of paying spectators who derived pleasure and gratification from racial difference.[12] Neither mode of display was fashioned for the benefit of non-white performers. Beneficial by-products - tolerance, education, indigenous opportunity or agency - were incidental but colonised peoples sought to make the most of European curiosity and patronage which was a product of their novelty. If the

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[10] See Appendix G and Maori complaints that they were "jolly good fellows" only until they defeated top British teams and were unpopular thereafter: Greg Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks: the 1988-89 New Zealand Native Football Team in Britain, Australia and New Zealand*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 1993, p.94.

[11] I am excluding the Parsi tour, a self-funded diplomatic exercise which did not aim to either earn profits or maximise spectators.

[12] See the observations of bell hooks, "Eating the other", in her *Black looks: race and representation*, South End Press, Boston, 1992, p.21. hooks discusses racial consumption in a later era and different media.

European marketplace ensured that tours by primitivist troupes continued to flourish after the brief celebrity of indigenous sporting teams was almost forgotten, the market also ensured that many primitivist performers would never return home.

No Aboriginal sporting teams toured Europe until 1988, when an all-Aboriginal cricket team set out to commemorate the 1868 tour of England.

The 1988 commemorative tour

Despite the ravages of disease, dislocation, discrimination and dispossession, Aborigines had achieved more in 120 years since the 1868 tour than confound expectations of their extinction. They had become an effective political force, able to exert a measure of power both within and against the structures of Australian government. Consequently, unlike the 1868 tour, the 1988 commemorative tour was instigated, organised and documented by Aborigines.[13] The tour and its authorised record, the documentary film *Dreaming of Lord's*, constituted the first public Aboriginal perspectives of the 1868 tour.[14]

Although it focused on the 1988 cricket tour, the documentary emphasised Aboriginal agency and credited the capacity of the 1868 team to manoeuvre, learn and return to their homelands.[15] Yet two events depicted in *Dreaming of Lord's* exposed tensions between two enterprises which underlay the 1988 tour, resurgent Aboriginal identity and celebratory Australian nationalism. In a moving ceremony in Bethnal Green, formerly the site of paupers' burials in Victoria Cemetery and reckoned to be the gravesite of King Cole, it was "the solemn duty of the 1988 team to lay a plaque and plant a eucalypt in his memory."[16] Mark Ella enjoined mourners to remember that "these great sportsmen really played under a great deal of distress."[17] But a team visit to the tomb of Governor Arthur Phillip jarred, strongly implying that in the right hands British colonisation of Aboriginal Australia could have been a benevolent process.[18]

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[13] It was inspired by the ideas and drive of Les Knox and Vince Copley; facilitated by Charles Perkins, the head of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs; organised and led by Aboriginal cricketers Ian King and John McGuire; managed and fronted by rugby great Mark Ella. I am grateful to Les Knox for his generous assistance, including interviews, a video of *Dreaming of Lord's* and a file of clippings about the tour.

[14] Although the makers of *Dreaming of Lord's* were white, the Aboriginal management effectively exercised veto over its final form (Les Knox, interviewed by David Sampson, September 1993).

[15] In the opening scene Ernie Dingo explains to Aboriginal children that the 1868 team were: "gettin' wise and crafty ... They come back different. They saw and learned new things. But they came back."

[16] Ernie Dingo voice-over, *Dreaming of Lord's*.

[17] An Ernie Dingo voice-over emphasised the spiritual significance of an Aborigine dying alienated from his land: "It was a long way to come to die of a foreign disease and lie forgotten for so long. They [the Aboriginal team] hope now his spirit will rest."

[18] Norman Fry, a young Aboriginal cricketer from Darwin, observed that had Phillip remained longer in Australia, the position of Aborigines may well have been better.

From its inception, the 1988 tour was aided by public support from high-profile white political and sporting figures - Bob Hawke, John Howard, Ian Chappell, Rex Mossop, Dennis Lillee - not necessarily noted for espousing broader Aboriginal aspirations. But Aboriginal responses were muted and divided when the tour was caught in the political ferment of well publicised Aboriginal anti-bicentennial protests in England and Australia.[19] Cricket tour organisers acknowledged the problem, defending themselves against Aboriginal accusations that participating in bicentennial events was akin to celebrations by victims of genocide.[20]

Led by a few experienced Aboriginal players, the young Aboriginal team played 29 matches from May to June. The tour was primarily successful for its commemorative and symbolic achievements, familiarising the British and Australian public with the cricketing accomplishments of the 1868 tour. In a ceremony at the former site of Victoria Cemetery, the team dedicated a plaque to King Cole and the tour conscientiously retraced much of the 1868 team's schedule. It attracted widespread and supportive publicity in the initial stages. But consisting primarily of one day games against county second XIs, minor teams and celebrities, public interest quickly dissipated.[21]

The re-evaluation of primitivism

Rex Harcourt, who accompanied the tour, attributed the disappointing public response to poor publicity by English cricket authorities compounded by faulty programming which resulted from attempts to appear at the same venues as the 1868 team.[22] He neglected a more important factor: sport - and more broadly, European cultural practice - no longer comprised the only form of performance in which Aborigines could attain national status and international renown. Aboriginal

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[19] Among other actions, Aboriginal activist Robbie Thorpe travelled to England for the bicentenary to campaign for the repatriation of stolen Aboriginal bodies, remains and artefacts which remained in British museums. He created a minor sensation by alleging that the famous Ashes urn contained not the ashes of cricketing bails - but the remains of King Cole. It was symptomatic of the political success of Aboriginal bicentennial campaigns that the Secretary of the MCC, Colonel John Stephenson, gravely promised to investigate. Simon Barnes, *Times*, 13 February 1868 dismissed the allegation as a "nonsensical legend".

[20] Among Aboriginal condemnations of participation in bicentennial activities, see: "Talking to Robert Weatherall on the Bicentenary and Expo" (interview by Julie Go-Sam), *Social alternatives*, Vol.7, No.1, 1987, pp.3-7) and Robbie Thorpe, "White Australia has a black history", *Lot's wife*, 29 June 1987, pp.20-21. For contrary Aboriginal perspectives on the ethics of accepting bicentennial funding, see Philip Morrissey, "The view from the Authority", *Aboriginal perspectives on the bicentenary: a collection of papers*, A.C.T. Schools Authority, 1986, pp.23-24. Les Knox pointed out that the tour was not sponsored by bicentennial grants but asserted that the benefits of the tour to Aborigines meant that it would have been legitimate to accept them if necessary (interview with David Sampson, September 1993). Mark Ella claimed that criticisms were a misapprehension because the tour was celebrating Aboriginal cricket, not two centuries of white settlement (see Marcus Williams, "Tracing the original Australians", *Times*, 12 May 1988). But there is little doubt that Australian political leaders were conscious of attempting to use the tour to divert attention from Aboriginal protests.

[21] The comments of Peter Wynne-Thomas, *The complete history of cricket tours at home and abroad*, Hamlyn, London, 1989, p.380, reflect English cricketing disappointment that the tour consisted only of one-day matches.

[22] Rex Harcourt, "Proud ambassadors: 1988 Aboriginal tour of England", *Cricketer*, October 1988, pp.32-34.

arts which largely corresponded to primitivist representation had achieved greater critical respect and cultural acceptance than were ever accorded to Aboriginal transformationist performances.

The visibility of Aboriginal political struggle from radical fringes to the mainstream of white society had been accompanied by an inspiring surge of Aboriginal cultural creativity and an important - though problematic - European re-evaluation of indigenous cultures, cosmologies and representations. To western cultural critics, art investors and seekers of gurus, the formerly deprecated culture and identity of Aboriginal primitivism now embodied timeless and transcendental truths lacking in the secular aridity of commodified industrial civilisation. By 1989, Aboriginal cultural expression represented "a cosmic road map of the primeval", according to an art critic in *Ms* magazine.[23] The phrase encapsulates what Andrew Lattas has described as "a spiritualising of the primitive".[24]

From the late 1960s a convergence of political, philosophical and cultural onslaughts on the universality of Enlightenment values and the superiority of European aesthetics and belief systems brought about a crisis of faith in Western values. The consequence was what Ian McLean describes as "the emergence of primitivist, essentialist and anthropological tropes associated with 'identity politics' ".[25] Aborigines assertively reclaimed pre-colonialist identities and cultural heritage; white Europeans, Americans and Australians avidly consumed the products as the lost part of their binary selves. Unlike "tribal Aborigines", averred Roberts and Roberts, Western consciousness had "erected barriers of logic which prevent us from seeing clearly into our own Dreaming." But, because "primitive instincts lie buried in even the most sophisticated adult", civilised Europeans were still capable of learning to "regain with their hearts even if they reject the evidence presented with their minds."[26]

Influential international critics gushed over Aboriginal art "evoking the spirit ancestors", the title of a 1988 Robert Hughes article in *Time*.[27] The primitivism of Aboriginal art, especially in

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[23] Amei Wallach, "Beautiful dreamings", *Ms*, March 1989, pp.60-64 which describes the Chicago and Los Angeles debut of "Dreamings", an exhibition of acrylic painting by Warlpiri artist Dolly Nampijimpa Granites.

[24] Andrew Lattas, "Aborigines and contemporary Australian nationalism: primordiality and the cultural politics of otherness", in Gillian Cowlishaw & Barry Morris (eds), *Race matters*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1997, p.242. Nicholas Baume approvingly cited Andrew Pekarik, the Director of the Asia Society Galleries, to explain that the spiritual content of this "new" art, rooted in Aboriginal relationships to land, is painfully absent in our "advanced civilisation". Nicholas Baume, " The interpretation of Dreamings: the Aboriginal acrylic movement", *Art and text*, No. 33, 1989, p.112. Pekarik's comments are from the *Weekend Australian*, 8-9 August 1987.

[25] Ian McLean, *White Aborigines: identity politics in Australian art*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1998, p.112.

[26] M.J. Roberts & A Roberts, *Dreamtime: the Aboriginal heritage*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1981, p..9, quoted by Andrew Lattas, "Aborigines and contemporary Australian nationalism", p.246.

[27] Robert Hughes, "Evoking the spirit ancestors", *Time*, 31 October 1988. Some others include: T. Godfrey , "Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri at the I.C.A.", *Art in America*, November 1988; and Thomas Keneally, "Dreamscapes: the art of Aboriginal Australia at the Asia Society", *New York Times Magazine*, 13 November 1988.

new media like batik or acrylics, became fashionably contemporary regardless of context: a Yuendumu canvas could, according to one anthropologist, be transferred directly from its "politically grotesque, post-colonial, depressed, third world desert camps and settlements ... into any New York, Cologne or Paris gallery and, without any explanation, documentation or apology, it will 'work' in these settings."[28]

It was often difficult to distinguish promotional art-world babble over the remarkable outpouring of Aboriginal creativity from palpably fraudulent New Age concoctions.[29] The newly acquired spiritual awareness professed by art critics, curators and buyers did not prevent them from engaging in a frenzied spiral of speculative commodification in Aboriginal art, behaviour seemingly more suited to a stock exchange than a central desert.

Aboriginal dance also attained quasi-mystical international status.[30] When the Bararroga Mimi dancers from Arnhem Land performed in Portsmouth in 1987, their "strange dynamic leapings, stampings and pirouettes accompanied by the haunting echoes of the didgeridoo ... [drew] directly on their relationship with these living spirits, and with the great creative spirits of The Dreaming (roughly the Aboriginal equivalent of our creation stories)."[31]

After identifying Aboriginal art as the most obvious factor in the "white community's new respect for Aboriginal culture generally", the head curator of the Great Australian Art exhibition optimistically contended that due to spirituality rooted in God and nature, Aborigines were "reconquering the minds of their invaders".[32] Aboriginal activists recognised the ironies. When Burnum Burnum "discovered" Dover in 1988 and made a counter-bicentennial land claim on Britain, he vowed that in addition to instructing English natives in Pitjantjatjara and agreeing not to souvenir their heads, Aborigines would teach the reconquered colonisers a spiritual relationship with the earth.[33] Western culture's aesthetic and spiritual embrace has so far done little to improve the grievances dramatised by Aboriginal protesters in their 1988 Year of Mourning.

The identification of Aboriginal spirituality with primitivism continues to incorporate elements of otherness by which Aborigines were denigrated in the Victorian era: pre-rationalism,

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[28] Eric Michaels was the anthropologist in 1989, quoted by McLean, *White Aborigines*, p.119.

[29] Headed by the notorious Marlo Morgan, *Mutant message down under*, Harper Collins, New York, 1991.

[30] The Ramingining Dancers travelled from Darwin to the USA with David Gulpilil in 1975; Perth's Middar Dance Company toured USA in 1987 and, as the Nyoongah Dancers in 1991. Established in 1976, the Aboriginal Islander Dance Theatre toured USA, Canada, Tahiti, the Philippines and Papua New Guinea, evolving into the Bangarra Dance Theatre in 1989: *Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia* Vol.1, pp.17-18 & 219-220.

[31] Katie Hickman, "Dancing in the rain", *Sunday Times Magazine*, 16 August 1987, an article whose evocations of exoticism are reminiscent of articles from the previous century.

[32] Quoted by Lattas, "Aborigines and contemporary Australian nationalism", p.245. The *Catholic Leader*, 5 June 1988 concurred: "God is making of ... [Aborigines] the core of his plan in forming a new people from the fragments of all the ancient people of the earth" (quoted by Lattas "Aborigines and contemporary Australian nationalism", p.242).

[33] Philip Morrissey, "Restoring a future to a past", in Anna Rutherford (ed.), *Aboriginal culture today*, special double issue of *Kunapipi*, Nos 1&2, 1988, p.11.

instinctuality and identification with the beginnings of human evolution.[34] The consecration of spirituality reaffirmed the separation of Aborigines from history and perpetuated the marginalisation of urbanised Aborigines and "half-bloods".[35] It was a neglect re-enacted in the irony that while western desert Aboriginal artists were fetishised, urban Aboriginal artists were ignored.[36]

Instinctuality, timelessness, primordiality and identification with nature have reaffirmed racial stereotypes which divorce Aboriginal creativity from their experiences of confrontation and adaptation with colonialism. The mystification of essentialist Aboriginal spirituality has obscured their rational adjustments to wrenching historical changes, a reality which is confirmed by the creative adaptations of Aboriginal painters, dancers and writers to western media.

In an important appreciation of *200 burial poles,* a work by the Ramingining Artists Community, John (Djon) Mundine critiqued the "tourist boom" exploitation of Aboriginal art and re-established its existence in Aboriginal experiences of colonialism.[37] Based on the Bone Coffin ceremony,[38] each burial pole represented a year of "white contact and black agony ... a War memorial to all those Aboriginals who died defending their country." *200 burial poles* was a product of interaction between traditional Aboriginal culture, acknowledgement of the justice of bicentennial boycotts by Aboriginal and white artists, and Aboriginal responses to *The secret country*, a John Pilger video which documented the annihilation of Hawkesbury River Aborigines. It was Aboriginal art which did not profess to be monocultural, timeless and other-worldly. It straddled, noted Mundine, "a consciousness of two worlds" and was political and ceremonial, contemporary and traditional, spiritual and historicised.

As it marginalised urbanised and westernised Aborigines, fetishising the primitivist-spirituality nexus also trivialised Aboriginal achievements in European cultural forms, including sport and especially its characteristically British variant, cricket. In a year of defiant assertions of

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[34] Lattas, "Aborigines and contemporary Australian nationalism", pp.245-6, makes a harsh judgement. McLean's assessment is more measured, see McLean, *White Aborigines*, pp.114-133.

[35] Gillian Cowlishaw, "Australian Aboriginal studies: the anthropologists' accounts", in Marie de Lepervanche & G. Bottomley (eds), *The cultural construction of race*.

[36] McLean, *White Aborigines*, p.130.

[37] John (Djon) Mundine,"200 burial poles: an Aboriginal memorial", *Art monthly*, May, 1988, pp.24-25. Another excellent discussion of creative adaptation by Aboriginal artists is Fred R. Myers, "Representing culture: the production of discourse(s) for Aboriginal acrylic paintings", in George Marcus & Fred Myers (eds), *The traffic in culture: refiguring art and anthropology*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1995, pp.55-95.

[38] Mundine explained that when a person dies the body is washed, painted with totemic designs and sung over. A ceremony distributes the bones to relatives. Some time later the relatives hand over the bones, clean and paint them and ceremonially place them in a painted log-coffin hollowed out by termites. After dances, songs and ceremonies, the log is carried and danced into the public camp, stood upright and abandoned.

Aboriginal political and cultural identity,[39] the symbolism of sending an Aboriginal cricket team to England to play against second-rank and celebrity teams paled, almost literally, into insignificance.

Sport had been, and would continue to be, perhaps the most visible arena for Aborigines to achieve individual prominence. But the remarkable achievements of Aboriginal athletes at the highest international level, from Johnny Mullagh to Lionel Rose and the Ellas, meant that it was no longer significant for Aborigines to compete creditably at a minor level and be "proud ambassadors" overseas. Viewed against the dramatic international visibility of Aboriginal painters, dancers, political activists and distinctive symbols of identity from didgeridoos to the Dreaming; compared to the publicity won by protests against invasion, dispossession, poverty and deaths in custody; and when it became entangled with controversies about Aboriginal involvement in bicentennial funding, the 1988 commemorative tour of England could easily be dismissed as insubstantial, tokenistic and faintly patronising.

It certainly succeeded in making elements of the 1868 tour - primarily cricket but also King Cole's death - better known to Aborigines, white Australians and British.[40] However, when elevated representations of Aboriginal primitivism had established popular and critical supremacy over images of transformation, concentrating almost exclusively on Aboriginal cricket ultimately restricted its public appeal.[41] Had the 1988 tour commemorated its predecessor by foregrounding an imaginative panorama of Aboriginal culture linked to their history as a colonised people[42] it would have risked its mainstream sporting and political support. Cricket would have been a less dominant aspect. But the popular, critical and political appeal of Aboriginal identity in 1988 might have attracted sustained enthusiasm from diverse British audiences and won whole-hearted Aboriginal backing. The commemoration of the 1868 tour would have been more accurate because 1988 would have been an occasion for British audiences to assemble once again, this time less secure in their superiority, to learn from touring Aborigines elements of their unique culture and technologies.

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[39] From January to July 1988, the *Times* carried at least 20 articles about Aboriginal issues, demonstrations and anti-bicentennial protests, see *Times Index*, January-December 1988, p.49. In *No sugar*, Nyoongah playwright Jack Davis shocked British audiences previously unfamiliar with the dispossession and forced relocation of Aborigines. The startled reviews included Betty Caplan, "Murder under the sun: Betty Caplan on the drama of colonialism", *New Statesman*, 24 June 1988; Michael Billington, "No sugar with the medicine", *Guardian*, 18 June 1988; Tania Bawden, "A tragic story", *TNT* (London), July 1988; and Peter Kemp, "Outback outcasts", *Independent*, 10 June 1988.

[40] Les Knox and *Dreaming of Lord's* acknowledge that tour failed to accomplish its cricketing aims, defeating a British county and producing an Australian test cricketer.

[41] As shown in *Dreaming of Lord's*, an Arnhem Land dance troupe accompanied the cricket team in the early stage of the tour but returned home early.

[42] This was recommended in a consultant's report before the tour: Focus Consultancy Ltd., *A Focus proposal for the Aboriginal Cricket Association*, June 1987, courtesy of Les Knox.

CONCLUSIONS

Active support of the 1988 tour by Australian politicians, leading Aboriginal cricketers, sporting heroes and the Department of Aboriginal Affairs served as endorsement for a benign, cricket-focused, racially enlightened interpretation of the 1868 tour which it commemorated.[43] To Aboriginal educator Terry Widders, the 1868 tour was being transformed into "an institution; an official type of event as commemorated in 1988."[44] The first tour, observed Widders, was becoming "a symbolic event; it has been realigned and reshaped into a celebratory narrative of continuing progress", an illustration "that we [black and white Australians] are marching on together, achieving things." The vision was one with which Widders and some other Aborigines strongly disagreed.

I have sought to explore dimensions of the tour which previous written interpretations have overlooked or underestimated despite their prominence in spoken Aboriginal discourse and their consistency with established approaches to post-colonialist history. Three areas are of primary importance: re-examining the tour in the context of racial practices, relations and ideologies of the era; identifying the centrality of primitivist performances in a show which commodified Aborigines as racial novelties; and implementing strategies which shed light on Aboriginal responses to situations which they faced in England.

To achieve the transition from celebratory commemoration of 1868 to a historicised account of the Aboriginal performers, management and spectators, it has been necessary to situate the tour within broader contexts than cricket. Sport was one of its aspects, but not as race-blind equality or subsequent Anglo-Australian test matches. In the first Aboriginal tour, the cricketing results were unimportant to spectators and probably most of the Aborigines, the teams were neither representative nor national, and the Aborigines were sympathetically regarded as inferior racial and cultural curiosities who had surprisingly assimilated elements of an incongruous sporting skill. In England and Australia, Victorian era sport did not constitute a means of subverting the structures and ideologies of racial subordination. In sports where white superiority was threatened - pedestrianism, lacrosse, boxing and rugby - people of colour were quickly marginalised and the physical prowess of people classified as primitives did not contest the ideological indicators of racial supremacy. Anthropology and popular imagery encompassed black athleticism within typical

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[43] Although it emphasised Aboriginal agency and represented the 1988 tour as a historic continuation of 1868, *Dreaming of Lord's* isolated both tours from broader issues confronting Aborigines in 1868 and 1988.

[44] Terry Widders interviewed by David Sampson, 19 October 1998.

markers of racial inferiority such as brutish strength, insensitivity to pain, animal agility, quickness of eye, and pre-rational instinctualism.

The 1868 Aboriginal tour can be adequately comprehended only when it is grounded in the elements which made it possible - the global domination of indigenous peoples by British colonialism; the fascination of the British public in exotic races under their control; the popular explanatory power of European racial ideology and science; and the almost universally accepted European belief, from conservatives to humanitarians, liberals and socialists, that appropriately exercised white authority over backward races was both progressive and naturally ordered. The tour was one of a myriad of material representations of race which, in addition to providing entertainment, constituted a critical means of embodying for metropolitan audiences the racial ideologies, identities and hierarchies created by a hegemony of whiteness and the global domination of European colonialism. Established as a doomed, archetypally primitive race with a unique material culture, Aborigines were among the most intriguing of primitive races and the most potentially valuable for speculators.

Vivid images of race were brought to England in displays of primitive artefacts and in newspaper illustrations of savage peoples in frontier conflicts with civilisation. Bringing Native Americans, Inuit, Maori, Pygmies and other indigenous peoples to Europe for scrutiny in fairgrounds, private audiences, public halls, entertainment arenas, sporting fields or international exhibitions was the most direct means of representing racial identity for popular and scientific audiences. Some living examples of race were presented as near to naked as possible, with spears, boomerangs, bows and arrows, African musical instruments, canoes, lacrosse sticks and tomahawks; in performances of war dances, mock fights, chants, hunts, or frontier pageants. Others were incongruously transformed, usually dressed in respectable European clothes to perform sermons and hymns, dance minuets and waltzes, play piano, cricket or football, attend the opera and dinner parties. The latter mode portrayed the benefits of colonialism to backward peoples unable to achieve progress and attain civilisation by their own efforts. Primitivism however, whether connoted as noble, backward or, as at the present time, spiritually transcendent, has constituted the dominant mode of popular and scientific representation.

After Australian appearances indicated that Aboriginal cricket could not survive as a commercial attraction, increasingly popular performances with native weapons were tested, rehearsed and refined. They rapidly became a more eagerly anticipated attraction than the cricket. Bernard Whimpress points out that there have been Aborigines *in* cricket, but no such entity as Aboriginal cricket.[45] This was an unmistakably *Aboriginal* show, framed as seemingly naturalised images of primitivism and incongruous images of imperfectly civilised transformation. It was rare

[45] Whimpress, *Passport to nowhere*, p.8.

for one show to so effectively contrast and juxtapose images of transformation and primitivism. Few were so sophisticated as the Aboriginal tour's inspired displays of civilised and savage sports which entertained, thrilled and educated crowds, actively involved white participants, and paid homage to the progress of colonialism by exemplifying polarities of costume, technology, culture and human evolutionary progress. In sport, only the individual representation of Deerfoot could compete with the 1868 shows; outside of sport, no representation of a single race would be as effective in the period between George Catlin's exhibitions and the Wild West Shows.

My investigation into Aboriginal responses to their lives as performers in England borrows from James Scott's studies of interactions between dominant and subordinate groups and his analysis of their hidden and public transcripts. Amid plentiful documentation of the tour by white Australian and British sources there are no Aboriginal testimonies apart from a single, subsequent recollection, persuasively attributed to Twopenny, that England was a cold and lonely place. But Aborigines' public transcripts were recorded in their actions - numerous descriptions of their public performances and appearances in Britain. And fragmented indications of Aboriginal attitudes and behaviour - occasionally private - appear in contemporary articles as well as subsequent recollections and letters by white journalists, cricketers, observers, managers and their children.

I have critically examined these recorded Aboriginal actions against broader, more detailed historical documentation. Persistent reports of behaviour described as well-behaved, childish, sullen, troublesome, amusing, spoiled or devoted to their guardians do not constitute self-sufficient "facts" but colonialist interpretations and frequently self-interested rationalisations of Aboriginal reactions to the authority exercised over them in Britain. I have read them "against the grain"; interpreting them in the light of Eurocentric beliefs about Aboriginal inferiority, European assumptions of the legitimacy and benevolence of white authority and the social and conceptual realities of Aboriginal experiences in England.

The Aboriginal responses to their situation in England comprise a specific and unusual aspect of colonised Aboriginal experience. It requires investigation in terms of historical, cultural and ontological factors which shaped the lives, behaviour and relations with white authority of Aborigines in 1868. I have grounded European accounts of Aboriginal behaviour during the tour and an appreciation of its hidden transcripts in the dynamics of Aboriginal survival under colonisation: their sudden, recent and catastrophic dispossession in the Wimmera; the active, secretive survival of Aboriginal belief systems, values, language and cultural practices; their adaptation to European power, culture, knowledge and commodities; the contours of their complex relationships with pastoralists, missionaries and other elements of colonial authority; and necessarily ingenious flexibility in pursuing attainable goals, particularly the relationship with their land.

Case studies of other recently colonised indigenous performers brought to Britain in the same era - Catlin's Indians, Jenkins' Maori, Deerfoot, Buffalo Bill's Show Indians, Sartjee Baartman, Jemmy Button, Abraham and his fellow Inuit, and Native American lacrosse and Maori rugby teams - supplement existing documentation of the Aborigines' experiences. Details of the unequal relations between displaced native performers and European managers and observers emphasise that they were *relationships* - intricate, dynamic, sometimes cooperative but inherently subject to conflicts and based on the specifics of power. It is clear that the strangers in a strange land pursued courses of action which sought to interpret and rationally engage with their new and unforeseeable circumstances. Making due allowances for distinctive aspects in Aboriginal history and culture and their specific experiences of colonialism, the comparative studies illuminate and clarify crucial aspects in the fragmentary records of 1868.

The result is still frustratingly incomplete and undeniably provisional. But it provides a richer, more complex, less idealised picture of the Aboriginal tour's processes, purposes, protagonists and central relationships.

1868 : History and commemoration

Commemoration is one thing and history another. In *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history*, David Lowenthal argues that the closely connected and mutually dependent enterprises of history and the commemoration of heritage are "less dissenting ventures than disparate viewpoints." They are distinguished by "utterly unlike aims: history to explain through critical inquiry, heritage to celebrate and congratulate."[46] To achieve its purposes, "heritage leaves out more than history ... heritage is enhanced by erasure".[47] It is advantageous for heritage to exclude and elide in order to avoid discordant, confusing and embarrassing complications.[48] Recontextualisation and ennoblement of events ("updating" and "upgrading": Lowenthal) are characteristic techniques of heritage construction, not only to make the past more recognisable - history does this also - but also to make it congenial and exemplary.[49]

Labours of love by John Mulvaney, Rex Harcourt and the organisers of the 1988 tour have ensured that the 1868 Aboriginal cricket tour has been remembered, honoured and commemorated. The authors of *Cricket walkabout* succeeded in their purpose of "rescuing a dignified episode in race relations from oblivion", encouraging Aboriginal pride and proposing for other Australians a positive model of racial interaction.[50] With a stronger focus on Aboriginal agency and a declared intention of inspiring future Aboriginal successes in a sport which had denied them, the 1988 commemorative tour proposed a similarly positive reflection of 1868.

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[46] David Lowenthal, *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1998, p.168.

[47] Lowenthal, *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history*, p.156.

[48] Lowenthal, *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history*, pp.156-162.

[49] Lowenthal, *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history*, pp.148-156.

[50] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp.3-4.

It is enshrined as a positive image of Aboriginal achievement and an exceptional example of white racial tolerance by the team's management, by English audiences and by Anglo-Australian cricket. The tour is fondly commemorated in the august museums of the Marylebone and Melbourne cricket clubs; in Johnny Mullagh memorials in western Victoria; in King Cole's plaque in East London; in numerous histories of cricket, Aboriginal sport and Aboriginal achievement; and in *Dreaming of Lord's*. Only King Cole's memorial evokes a dolorous resonance, yet its initial inscription, "Your Aboriginal Dreamtime Home", still expressed a tenor of romanticised spiritual fulfillment.[51]

1868 is established as an episode which is emblematic for liberal-humanitarian whites and many Aborigines, particularly, in both cases, those with cricket and sporting sympathies. It is better remembered than many seemingly more important events in Aboriginal history because it is comforting, and because, paradoxically, it is both strikingly incongruous and familiar.

The idea of an Aboriginal cricket team playing cricket at Lord's in the mid-Victorian era remains outlandish, and continues to endow the tour with imaginative power. Formerly inconsistent with racial tropes of Aboriginal uncivilisability, it is now equally contrary to the customary imagery of massacres and victimisation of Aborigines. Its dissociation from conventional conceptions of colonial inter-racial transactions evokes disbelief and intriguing questions: Why on earth did this bizarre episode happen at that time? What motivated white managers to take a team of Aborigines to England and back? What must English audiences have thought? And what could the Aborigines have made of the voyage to another world and time?

Yet despite its apparent singularity, the episode is also familiar. Because of the continuing histories of Anglo-Australian cricket and Aboriginal achievement in sport, the tour has been comfortably assimilated into the present. When Aboriginal Senator Aden Ridgeway urged Prime Minister John Howard to sponsor another Aboriginal commemorative cricket tour of England in 2000, he advocated it as "a first installment for reconciliation ... this is symbolism - something all Australians can identify with and support." Though stubbornly hostile to the central elements of reconciliation and an opponent of "black armband history",[52] the Prime Minister responded positively

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[51] The full inscription was: "In memory of King Cole, Aboriginal cricketer, who died on June 24, 1868. Your Aboriginal Dreamtime home. Wish you peace. Nyuntu Anangu Tjukapa Wiltja Nga Playa Nga." The plaque was stolen in 1995. Local East End historians and the Tower Hamlets Council replaced it with a concrete plaque unveiled in 1996 at a ceremony marked by a cricket match between a local side and a team from the Australian High Commission("English restore plaque", *Koori Mail*, 31 July 1996). A front-page Editor's Letter in the newsletter of the Australian High Commission in London exemplified how official liberalism had co-opted and recontextualised the tour: "1868 stands as a year apart. It was certainly a unique, and in all probability, the most historically important year in Australian cricket." (Rebecca Hossack, "Editor's Letter - Cricket walkabout", *Australian cultural news*, London, July 1996, p.1).

[52] The phrase was coined by Geoffrey Blainey in 1993 to denigrate critical views of Australian history, but it was particularly associated with black armbands worn in 1988 to symbolise protests against Aboriginal dispossession. See entry 'black-armband history', Graeme Davison, John Hirst & Stuart Macintyre (eds.), *The Oxford companion to Australian history*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1998, pp.72-73. At Corroborree 2000 on 27 May 2000, the first elected head of ATSIC, Geoff Clark spoke immediately before a recalcitrant Prime Minister Howard refused to issue a governmental apology for Australian oppression of Aborigines. Reflecting the predominant Aboriginal view, Clark proclaimed: "I have a black armband view of history and I'm proud of it" (*Koori Mail*, 14 June 2000, p.12 and *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 May 2000.

to Ridgeway's suggestion.[53] Commemorations of the 1868 tour will endure, inspiring further memorials, exhibitions and re-enactments.

When I visited western Victoria in 1999, the decline of the wool industry and the destruction of rural community services had stimulated the importance of commemorative tourism for Harrow's self-identity and economic future. I stayed at the historic *Hermitage Hotel*, opened 1848, whose managers enthusiastically shared information and displayed photographs of the 1868 team; they have organised a regular *Sound and Light Show* celebrating Harrow's past. Harrow and Edenhope have proudly established the 1868 tour as the central part of their colonial heritage and informed residents are keen to offer visitors their knowledge of the past.

In 1988 the local shire celebrated the visit of the Aboriginal team by publishing a commemorative booklet in which Bob Hawke, Mark Ella and the Shire President congratulated Kowree Shire for its goodwill.[54] Its effusive, self-congratulatory nostalgia ignored all aspects of local Aboriginal history apart from the two tours and the memorialisation of Johnny Mullagh. Two years later when the Brambuk Living Cultural Centre recommended the restoration of Aboriginal place names in the area, a savage, concerted public campaign against Aboriginal history and identity erupted.[55]

It indicates that commemorative bonhomie, impelled by tourism and a desire to aggrandise heritage, packages only "a superficial appropriation of the indigenous culture",[56] concealing more complex attitudes and darker histories. This is not to single out one local area - Harrow is to be commended for displaying Minogue's recollections of the death of Johnny Mullagh on its Tourist Information Board - but to identify a general tendency for commemoration to airbrush history.

To commemorate the 1868 tour as a 'dignified' episode in Aboriginal history and a respectable part of cricket heritage, it has been legitimate to anachronistically resituate it in terms of the future history of Anglo-Australian test cricket; to minimise the importance of the primitivist Aboriginal performances and, in the words of *Cricket walkabout*, dismiss perceptions that it was "a curiosity, little better than a vaudeville turn".[57]

It has had the consequence, even in Aboriginal interpretations, of obscuring the importance and popularity of Aboriginal performances, relegating them to curious, minor and faintly embarrassing blemishes to Aboriginal dignity and cricketing propriety. It has underestimated the

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[53] Michelle Grattan, "Cricket bid is a test of reconciliation", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 December 1999, p.9.

[54] *Shire of Kowree's Aboriginal cricket book*, Edenhope-Harrow, Easter, 1988.

[55] Tony Birch, "Nothing has changed: the making and unmaking of Koori culture", in Gillian Cowlishaw, and Barry Morris, (eds), *Race matters*, Aboriginal studies press, Canberra, 1997. Birch explains that the original renaming proposal by the Victorian Government, without consulting Aboriginal organisations, was designed to transform Gariwerd (the Grampians) into a tourist attraction "where time seems to have stood still. A place of Dreamtime legends" (p28).

[56] Birch, "Nothing has changed", p.17.

[57] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.3.

contributions and experiences in England of those Aborigines who were not expert at cricket - that is, all except Mullagh and Cuzens. It has led especially to neglect and trivialisation of the triumphant performances of Dick-a-Dick.

It is nothing short of amazing that two cricketers of the stature of Mullagh and Cuzens were drawn from a tiny pool of local Aboriginal survivors with such brief experience of the game. But well-meaning exaggerations of the playing quality of the Aborigines and assumptions of their spectator appeal as a cricket team have become increasingly anachronistic and inaccurate.[58] It is usually remembered that they won as many games as they lost; rarely that their victories were against teams of minor quality; hardly ever that the results of the matches were of virtually no importance, being consistently curtailed for and overshadowed by their exhibitions of Aboriginal skills.

Commemoration tends to produce exemplary representations of humanity. Its purposes would be hindered by representing the ambiguities and shortcomings of complex individuals in pursuit of self-interest and compromised by invidious choices; flawed and constrained by the ideologies, ethical values, cultural practices and material limits of their societies. But a critical history of the 1868 tour cannot properly represent it as a celebration of a noble and dignified enterprise in racial co-operation; nor as a triumphalist exemplification of victory by primitive sportsmen against the odds; or as a tragedy of victimised naïfs at the hands of unscrupulous exploiters.

Commemorative representation has elided complexities of the tour by minimising its central element, racial exhibition, which alone made it a commercially attractive proposition. The fundamental aspect of this relationship, white dominance and exploitation, has been recognised by Aborigines like Tim Chatfield and Ruby Langford Ginibi, but denied by commemoration. It has neglected complex Aboriginal responses of adaptation and ingenuity, defiance and obedience, alcoholic self-destruction, sickness, alienation and fleeting opportunities for advancement. I hope that my study achieves its purpose of producing a more accurate understanding of the social contexts, racial ideologies, racial-cultural practices and human dimensions of the 1868 tour.

Comparative studies confirm that the central inter-racial relationships of the tour were consistent with ideologies and practices of exhibiting race in Victorian England: that white principals exercised power over the Aborigines and exhibited unquestioning assumptions of their racial superiority. The Aborigines were a means of satisfying management ambitions to earn profits, mix in prestigious social and sporting circles and revisit the place which they idealised as

[58] Before the 1988 tour, Mungo MacCallum wrote that the new team could hardly expect to live up to the performances of their predecessor, which had played "an extraordinary 47 matches in England without loss." Mungo MacCallum, "Compact cricket", 13 September 1987, unsourced newspaper clipping courtesy of Les Knox.

home. It was not a relationship of equality, opportunity and respect and without its cricketing context, it would never have been misconstrued as such.

The historical evidence of racial domination and exploitation is fragmentary but decisive: Hayman requiring the consent of local landholders for the Aborigines to go to England; Gurnett, Pavey and Hayman obtaining Aboriginal agreement to a contract whose nature they could scarcely have understood; Gurnett infamously suggesting that Hayman abandon the Aborigines as the ship departed; Lawrence (and probably Wills before him) supplying liquor to maintain the allegiance of some alcoholic Aborigines; Hayman, Smith and Graham dismissing well-founded dangers to the health of Aborigines in England; the contemptuous disparagement of the Aborigines staying at his house by Kent gentleman, William South Norton; the constantly intensified performance schedule which confronted an Aboriginal troupe depleted by death and illness; the final isolation of King Cole because the team was taken to perform even when he was nearing death in Guy's Hospital; W.B. Tegetmeier's anthropological measuring and photography of the Aborigines and his irritated complaint that they had been "spoiled" by their reception in England; comments by Lawrence, supported by cricket reporters that the Aborigines had been troublesome; the revelation that Hayman humiliated Mullagh and made Dick-a-Dick return to Australia contrary to his wishes; and management reneging on the contracted payment for Aboriginal indenture, fifty pounds for a year's labour in England.

The intense curiosity of English observers and audiences was an aspect of racial ideologies and cultural practices of the period. Effusive and obtrusively constant scrutiny was more welcoming than the behaviour and attitudes typical of white colonisers in the Aborigines' own land. But it was also demanding and conditional, closer to the approval extended to entertaining and compliant pets than to human equals.

After accompanying them throughout the tour, William Shepherd's judgement that the Aborigines, at heart, didn't really like white men, is understandable. But it is neither helpful nor accurate to explain the behaviour and attitudes of the managers in terms of personal racism or to condemn them as pitiless and hypocritical villains. The nature of the entrepreneurial enterprise implied a willingness, in pursuit of profits and social ambitions, to place at risk the health and well-being of the Aborigines, to capitalise on their legal naiveté and financial dependence, and to profit from the established exploitation of Aboriginal workers. Beyond these considerable bounds the management were not ruthless or unscrupulous. Indeed Hayman, Lawrence, Smith and Graham probably behaved more humanely than most entrepreneurs who brought indigenous performers to England.

To historicise the tour is also to humanise it. The framework of colonialism and specific cultural practices involved in the material representation of race creates perspectives which inform and supplement our understanding of the options, actions and motivations of Aborigines, their

management and their observers. Other troupes of colonised peoples transported from their homelands for the profit of small-time entrepreneurs and the racial gratification of metropolitan audiences have left historical records - some of them detailed, others even more fragmentary than the 1868 tour. Comparative analysis suggests that despite differences, some typical patterns emerged. They offer a general appreciation of the nature and effects of the shows; the reactions of the British public; the motivations and attitudes of managers; and, most significantly, the experiences of indigenous performers.

British fascination with racial and cultural otherness ensured that the most visually exotic, primitive and rarely seen peoples were constantly followed in the streets, rushed and surrounded in public, waited for expectantly at stations, sought after by aristocratic and respectable parties, and offered alcoholic hospitality. Until the novelty wore off, and depending on the amount of restraint imposed by their manager-guardians, an excess of diversions, temptations and company offered themselves, but little privacy and respite from scrutiny. White women were often fascinated too, which created opportunities for female companionship and sometimes romantic opportunities for the predominantly male companies.

Most managers and entrepreneurs ranged from thoroughly disreputable and ruthlessly exploitative to generally pious and humanitarian. Very few appeared to value the welfare of their performers as highly as their own status and financial well-being; and even less admired and respected non-European peoples and their culture without condescension. It was typical for most managers to became angered, aggrieved and authoritarian when their charges showed signs of independence, self-assertion or dissatisfaction. Almost regardless of the benevolence of management, the toll of illness and death on indigenous performers was catastrophic.

The most significant benefit of historicising the 1868 tour is increasing what can be confirmed and reasonably inferred about the experiences - as opposed to the public performances - of the Aborigines in England. Documentation of common experiences, of thoughts and actions of other indigenous performers in England around the same era substantially supplements, fleshes out and either confirms or casts into doubt fragmentary information about the Aborigines' lives in a new and demanding environment.

Descriptions of visions seen, beliefs described, ceremonies performed and cultural practices enacted, leave no doubt that peoples who had been colonised within a generation were predominantly shaped by non-European intellectual, spiritual and ethical forces and needs. At the same time, they were developing skills and desires learned from sustained contact with their invaders and their hosts. But few of the testimonies of hunter-gatherer peoples display any affinity for the industrial development, the topography or the society they saw in England.

A minority of ingenious and adaptable performers built occupations, marriages and families in Europe. Some decided to pursue short-term prosperity before returning; a few opted for

permanent self-exile from their colonised homelands. But the experiences of most indigenous performers in England followed a different and roughly familiar pattern. After initial apprehension of an unknown world and their increased dependence on the whites who accompanied them, many came to revel in early enjoyment of their new celebrity and unaccustomed freedoms. But most grew unhappy and discontented once their initial excitement faded and British society found new novelties to patronise. Variously, and to the extent that they were in a position to apply leverage, they struggled against the restraint and control exercised by their managers; complained about their pay and working conditions; rebelled against the constancy of public and private demands; understood and disliked elements in the racial discourse of extinction, doomed races, non-white inferiority and minstrel shows; devised strategies which accommodated to white expectations; developed and expressed a desperate longing for their homelands; struggled against illness and bewilderment and often succumbed to alcohol. Meanwhile, their performances brought non-European songs, musical instruments, dances, ceremonies, cultural skills and weaponry to Europe.

Considering the extent of constraints on their agency and the certainty that most of their desires and thoughts were hidden transcripts which remain inaccessible and stayed unachievable, it is a record which reveals a surprising degree of struggle, defiance, ingenuity and achievement. It is, though, a sad record, their experiences generally overshadowed by alienation, illness, death and exploitation. How many of these cases have constituted the occasion for celebratory commemoration? Yet the unintended fruits of ignoble intentions, discredited assumptions, discarded social practices and human suffering are frequently celebrated - the emergence of African-American music from the Atlantic slave trade being one obvious example.

In January 2000, the Centenary of Federation Council opened a nationalist advertising campaign with a nationwide television advertisement in which a boy asks his parents: "When did we have the first Australian cricket team?" As his parents ponder, a voiceover answers:

> What kind of country would have a national cricket team before it had a national parliament? The first Australian team to tour England ... was an Aboriginal team from the western districts of Victoria.[59]

Like Gallipoli, like Australia Day, the 1868 tour will continue to be celebrated, regardless of its complexities and even if its heritage is tinged by historical re-evaluation. But, as instanced by 1998 disputes over the proposed inclusion in Australian war memorials of Aborigines killed by the processes of invasion and colonisation, commemoration is also a site of contestation. Indeed,

[59] Transcript from Tony Stephens, "When only Aborigines made the first team", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 January 2000.

because of the tendency to erase, update and upgrade, heritage events are dynamic, subject to constant reshaping to meet contemporary standards and official needs. Conversely, a critical recognition of elements of opportunistic exploitation, racial domination and consequent discord does not exclude remembering the positive contributions of white people towards the tour.

William Hayman can still be recognised for rescuing the Aborigines from Gurnett's manoeuvres and ensuring that most returned alive to their lands. Charles Lawrence deserves to be credited for masterminding the construction of a shrewd and imaginative show and for building an affectionate relationship with Aborigines early in the tour. It was probably due to his leadership that their arduous schedule was completed. Smith and Graham financed accommodation for the tourists which Shepherd assessed as unnecessarily generous and did pay for early return passages of the invalids Sundown and Jim Crow. Tom Wills improved the Aborigines' cricket, toured with them and communicated with them in their own language despite the traumatic death of his father and friends in the Cullinlaringo massacre.

Moreover, in attempting to draw out human complexities and cultural contradictions by viewing it on a larger canvas of colonialist representation of race, my history of the 1868 tour does not divorce itself from the function of commemoration. I would hope that the thrilling displays of Aboriginal skills, culture and technology become better remembered and better honoured, as colonial predecessors of Aborigines who have been recognised and esteemed for reshaping, recontextualising and re-presenting elements of their culture, history and consciousness in metropolitan centres in the late twentieth century. Despite the motivations and ideological prejudices which made it possible, the Aboriginal displays of 1868 deserve to be celebrated for taking elements of Aboriginal culture to the world as the unwilling bearers of African cultures to the west have been honoured. Instead of being obscured out of misconceived embarrassment for racial and vaudeville connotations, it is long overdue that the full achievement and tragedy of 1868 are simultaneously and equally recognised.

I hope that Dick-a-Dick will earn individual recognition on the same scale as Johnny Mullagh. The return of his leowell from Lord's, perhaps to the Brambuk Living Culture Centre at Budja Budja (Hall's Gap) in Gariwerd (the Grampians) would constitute a fitting repatriation of Aboriginal heritage to an appropriate place. Subject to the wishes of Aboriginal communities, a respectful Australian memorial may pay tribute to King Cole's lonely death, especially if in doing so, recognition can also be paid to Yemmerrawanyea, Willie Wimmera, Tambo Tambo and other Aborigines who died alienated from their land, people and ceremonies.

APPENDIX A

THE GURNETT CONTRACT AND ENCLOSURE

H2081

100. Elizabeth Street.
Melbourne.
11th February 1867

Sir

I beg to enclose herewith the Deed of Agreement between myself & the Aborigines which I trust will be of assistance to you in furthering the interest you take in this interesting matter.

I remain
Sir
Your Obedient Servt.

Production Note:
Signature removed prior to publication.

His Honor
Sir Redmond Barry.

Dated 8th Jany. 1867

W. R. Hayman Esqr.

first part

Messrs. Unamurriman and Others — second part

and

W. E. B. Gurnett Esqre.

third part

copy

Deed

relating to engagement of aa Cricketers

This Indenture made the Eighth day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand Eight hundred and sixty seven Between William Reginald Hayman of Lake Wallace in the West Wimmera District of the Colony of Victoria Gentleman of the first part Unamurriman commonly called or known as "Johnny Mullagh" Yellana commonly called or known as "Johnny Cuzens" Unaarriman commonly called or known as "Harry Jellico" Murrumgunarriman commonly called or known as "Jemmy Tarpot" Bullenchanach commonly called or known as "Harry Bullocky" Arrahmunyarrimun commonly called or known as "Peter" Pappuijarrunin commonly called or known as "Paddy" Balkinjarrunin commonly called or known as "Sundown" Jallachmurrmiun commonly called or known as "Dick" Mijarrik commonly called or known as "Lake Billy" Cungewarriman commonly called or known as "Billy Officer" Bilvayarrimin commonly called or known as "Watty" Brumbunyah commonly called or known as "Tommy Redcap" Lingurgarrah commonly called or known as "Harry Rose" and Bripmuarriman commonly called or known as "Charley" and Jungagellmijuke commonly called or known as "Dicky Dick" of the second part and William Edward Brougham Gurnett of the City of Melbourne in the Colony of Victoria aforesaid Gentleman of the third part **Whereas** the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett has made arrangement with the said parties

hereto of the first and second parts to proceed to Sydney England Scotland Ireland and France and to such other place or places as the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett shall determine on for the purpose of playing Matches at Cricket and of Engaging and joining in such athletic and other sports as the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett shall direct or deem desirable And whereas in order to effectuate and carry out the said arrangement the said parties hereto of the first second and third parts have agreed to make and execute these presents Now this Indenture Witnesseth that in pursuance of the said agreement and in consideration of the premises and also of the covenants conditions and agreements w hereinafter contained and by and on the part of the said parties hereto of the first second and third parts to be respectively observed and performed the said William Reginald Hayman (hereinafter throughout designated the "said party of the first part") for himself his heirs executors and administrators and also for and on behalf of the said Unamurriman or Johnny Mullagh, Yellana or Johnny Cuzens Unaarriman or Harry Jellico or Murrumgunarriman or Jemmy Tarpet Bullenchanach or Harry Bullocky Arrahmunyarriman or Peter or Pappinjarrunin or Paddy Balkinjarrunin or Sundown Jallachmurrimun or Dick Mijarrak or Lake Billy Cungewarriman or Billy Officer Bilvayarrimin or Watty Brunbrunyah or Tommy Redcap Lingurgarrah or Harry Rose Brijmuarriman or Charley and Jungagellong or Dicky Dick hereinafter throughout designated the said parties of the second part doth hereby covenant promise and agree and each of them the said parties hereto of the second part for himself his respective heirs executors and administrators do hereby also covenant promise and agree with and to the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett his heirs executors and administrators in manner following that is to say That on and after the eighth day of a January one thousand Eight hundred and sixty seven and for the space of one year from the said last a mentioned day the said parties hereto of the first and second parts together with three other aboriginals capable of playing the game of cricket shall and will hold themselves at the disposal of the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett to proceed to any of the before a mentioned places or wheresoever the said William

Edward Brougham Gurnett shall direct and there to play and take part in all matches of Cricket and such athletic exercises and sports as the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett shall organize and arrange and order to be had held and performed And also that the said parties hereto of the second part shall in all such Cricket matches exercises and sports comport and behave themselves in a sober and proper manner to the satisfaction in all things of the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett and shall place themselves under and submit to the direction supervision and orders of the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett or such person or persons as he shall appoint to superintend and direct the said Cricket Matches exercises and sports and the arrangements connected therewith and that no one of them the said parties hereto of the first and second parts shall absent himself (except through illness) from any of the said Matches exercises or sports without the consent of the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett or his properly constituted attorney or agent first had and obtained or shall refuse or neglect to participate or take an active part therein to the best of his power and ability or do any other act matter or thing calculated to prejudice or injure or prevent the said matches exercises or sports from taking place and proving remunerative and shall and will in all other acts matters and things not herein specially provided for obey and follow out the directions of the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett and all persons acting in authority under him and behave with such sobriety and regularity as shall be necessary to the proper and effectually carrying out and performance of the said Cricket Matches exercises and sports And the said party hereto of the first part doth hereby for himself his heirs executors and administrators further covenant with the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett his heirs executors and administrators that he the said party hereto of the first part shall not nor will engage in or embark in any other business or speculation but shall and will devote the whole of his time and attention to the said Matches Athletic and other sports and to the business matters and arrangements connected therewith and shall and will when requested so to do act as umpire or Referee in any of such matches and sports

and otherwise obey the directions and orders of the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett in all matters and things concerning the same as last aforesaid.

And this Indenture further witnesseth that in consideration of the premises and of the aforesaid covenants conditions and agreements by and on the part of the said parties hereto of the first and second parts to be observed and performed He the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett doth hereby for himself his heirs executors and administrators covenant with the said party hereto of the first part in manner following that is to say That he the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett shall and will pay all the travelling expenses of the said party hereto of the first part and provide him with suitable board and lodging during the continuance of the said arrangement or agreements and also shall and will pay and allow to the said party hereto of the first part such a sum as shall amount to Five pounds per cent on the net profits to be derived from the said Matches exercises and sports and shall and will on the due performance of this agreement by the parties hereto of the first and second parts at the end or termination of the said year and on the return of the said parties hereto of the first and second parts to the said Colony of Victoria pay to him the said party hereto of the first part the Sum of One thousand pounds And the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett doth hereby further covenant with each of them the said parties hereto of the second part and their respective heirs executors and administrators in manner following that is to say That he the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett shall and will pay all the travelling expenses of each of them the said parties hereto of the second part and provide each of them with clothing and board and lodging suitable to their condition in life and in addition thereto shall and will provide each of them the said parties hereto of the second part with the sum of seven shillings and sixpence per week for pocket money and shall and will at the end or termination of the said year and on the return of the said parties hereto of the second part to the Colony of Victoria provided the terms of this agreement shall have been duly carried out by the said parties hereto of the first and second parts

pay to each of them the sum of Fifty pounds as u-
And the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett
doth hereby also covenant and agree that it shall and
may be lawful for the said parties hereto to play and
carry out a Cricket match in the said Colony of Victoria
previously to their departure therefrom under whatever
auspices the same may be advertized provided that he
the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett shall
receive and be paid one half of the net profits resulting
from or gained by the same Provided nevertheless and
these presents are upon this express condition that if
any one or more of the persons constituting the said
parties hereto of the first second and third parts shall
fail neglect or refuse to comply with any one of the
covenants conditions and agreements hereby on his or their
part to be observed and performed then these presents
and all matters and things herein contained shall as far
as concerns the person or persons so failing neglecting or
refusing as aforesaid be absolutely null void and of
no effect

In witness whereof the said parties to these presents have
hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year
first above written

Signed Sealed and Delivered by the said William Reginald Hayman in the presence of Thomas Pavey Solr. Melbourne Jno. D. Lynch Clerk to the said Thomas Pavey	William Reginald Hayman (L.S.) The Mark of × Unamurriman or Johnny Mullagh (L.S.) The Mark of × Yellana or Johnny Cuzens (L.S.) The Mark of × Unaarriman or Harry Jellico (L.S.) The Mark of × Murrumgunarriman or Jemmy Tarpot (L.S.) The Mark of × Bullenchanach or Harry Bullocky (L.S.) The Mark of × Arrahmunyarrimun or Peter (L.S.) The Mark of × Pappinjarrimin or Paddy (L.S.) The Mark of × Balkinjarrimin or Sundown (L.S.) The Mark of × Jallachmurrimin or Dick (L.S.)
Signed Sealed and Delivered by the before named Unamurriman or Johnny Mullagh Yellana or Johnny Cuzens Unaarriman or Harry Jellico Murrumgunarriman or Jemmy Tarpot Bullenchanach or Harry Bullocky Arrahmunyarrimun or Peter Pappinjarrimin or Paddy Balkinjarrimin or Sundown Jallachmurrimin or Dick Mijarrik or Lake Billy Bunyawarriman or Billy Officer Bilvajarrimin or Watty by their respectively making their marks hereto and acknowledging in my presence the before written	

to be the respective act and deed of each of them And I hereby certify that the contents of the said Indenture were previously to such execution explained to them and that the nature and effect thereof were at the time of such execution by each of them understood by the said Unamurriman or Johnny Murragh · Yellana or Jonny Bezzin Unaarriman or Harry Jellico Murrumgunarriman or Jemmy Jarpot Bullenchanach or Harry Bullockky Arrahmunjarrumin or Peter Pappunjarrimin or Paddy Balkinjarrimin or Sundown Jallachmurrimin or Dick ... Mijarrk or Lake Billy ... Cungewarriman or Billy Officer and Bilvayarrumin or Wally	The mark of Mijarrk × or Lake Billy (L.S.) The mark of Cungewarriman or Billy × Officer (L.S.) The mark of Bilvayarrumin × or Wally (L.S.) The mark of Brunbunyah or Tommy × Redcap (L.S.) The mark of Lingwigarrah or Harry × Rowe (L.S.) The mark of Brupmuarriman or Charley × (L.S.) W. E. B. Gurnett (L.S.) The mark of Jungayellinjuke or Dicky × Dick (L.S.)

Thomas Pavey

Melbourne

Jno. D. Lynch
Clerk to the said Thomas Pavey

Signed Sealed and Delivered by the said William Edward Brougham Gurnett in the presence of —

Thomas Pavey
Jno. D. Lynch
Clerk to the said Thomas Pavey

APPENDIX B

BRITISH CHRONOLOGY AND CROWDS

Note: The major demonstrations of boomerang and spear throwing plus Dick-a-Dick's ball-parrying and dodging, in addition to athletics contests, were invariably performed on the final afternoon of each engagement.

PART 1. THE SOUTH-EAST: MAY 13 TO JUNE 24: FROM ARRIVAL TO GAME 10

February 8, 1868. Lawrence and 13 Aborigines sailed from Sydney for England on the *Parramatta*.

May 13 -24. Landed in England 1am May 13. Practice, publicity and acclimatisation at Town Malling, Kent, staying at the *Bear Hotel* under the direction of Lawrence, Hayman and Smith.

Monday May 25 - Thursday May 28: Match 1 v Surrey at the Oval, London. Played cricket on Monday and Tuesday. On Wednesday 27th, travelled to Epsom Downs for the English Derby. On Thursday publicly demonstrated their "Aboriginal sports" for the first time on English soil. Estimated crowds: 7,000; 8,000 and 3,000 respectively.

Friday May 29 - Saturday May 30: Match 2 v Mote Park at Maidstone, Kent, 48ks ESE of London. Estimated crowds: 1,000 and 2,000.

Sunday May 31: No performance.

Monday June 1 - Wednesday June 3: Match 3 v Gentlemen of Kent at Gravesend, 32ks E of London. Day 1 was their display of Aboriginal sports, days 2 and 3 were cricket. Estimates: 4,500; 4,500 and 3,000.

Thursday June 4: No performance.

Friday June 5 - Saturday June 6: Match 4 v Richmond at Old Deer Park, 12ks WSW of London. Estimates: 2,000 each day.

Sunday June 7: No performance.

Monday June 8 - Tuesday June 9: Match 5 v Gentlemen of Sussex at Hove, 80ks S of London. Estimates: 3,000 and 5,000.

Wednesday June 10 - Thursday June 11: Match 6 v Gentlemen of Lewisham at Ladywell, south of the Thames, 10ks SE of Charing Cross. Estimates: 2,000 and 4,000.

Friday June 12 - Saturday June 13: Match 7 v MCC at Lord's. Estimates: 3,000 and 6,000.

Sunday June 14: No performance.

Monday June 15 - Wednesday June 17: Match 8 v East Hampshire at Southsea, 105ks SW of London. Estimates: 1,800; 2,200 and 3,000.

Thursday June 18: No performance.

Friday June 19 - Saturday June 20: Match 9 v Bishops Stortford at Bishops Stortford, 32ks north of London. Crowds: 1,000 and 2,000.

Friday June 19: King Cole seriously ill.

Sunday June 21: No performance.

Sunday June 21 or Monday June 22: King Cole admitted to Guy's Hospital.

Monday June 22 - Wednesday June 24: Match 10 v Hastings at Hastings, 90ks SE of London. Crowds: 500; 1,300 and 3,000.

Wednesday June 24, 9:30pm: death of King Cole, Guy's Hospital.

Thursday June 25: No performance.

PART 2. THE NORTH: JUNE 26 - SEPTEMBER 12: ENGAGEMENTS 11-34

Friday June 26 - Saturday ***June 27***: Match 11 v Gentlemen of Halifax at Halifax, 24ks WSW of Leeds. Crowds: 1,000 and 1,500.

Sunday June 28: No performance.

Monday June 29 - Wednesday July 1: Match 12 v East Lancashire at Blackburn, 33ks NNW of Manchester. Crowds: 500; 1,000 and 1,000.

Thursday July 2 - Saturday July 4: Match 13 v Rochdale at Rochdale, 16ks NNE of Manchester. Crowds: 1,000; 1,000 and 4,000.

Sunday July 5: No performance.

Monday July 6 - Wednesday July 8: Match 14 v Gentlemen of Swansea at Swansea, 55ks NNW of Cardiff. Crowds: 1,500; 1,500 and 3,000.

Friday July 10 - Saturday July 11: Match 15 v Bradford at Bradford, 15ks W of Leeds. Crowds: 1,400 and 1,800.

Sunday July 12: No performance.

Monday July 13 - Tuesday July 14: Match 16 v Gentlemen of Yorkshire at York, 320ks n of London. Crowds: 1,500 both days.

Wednesday July 15: No performance.

Thursday July 16 - Saturday July 18: Match 17 v Longsight at Manchester. Crowds: 2,000; 2,000 and 4,000.

Sunday July 19: No performance.

Monday July 20 - Tuesday July 21: Match 18 v Vulcan United and Bury at Bury, 17ks NNE Manchester. Crowds: 1,300 and 1,700.

Wednesday July 22: No performance.

Thursday July 23 - Friday July 24: Match 19 v Carrow at Lakenham, Norwich, 160ks NE of London. Crowds: 500 and 1,500.

Saturday July 25: No performance known. If so, it was the only available Saturday they had off.

Sunday July 26: No performance.

Monday July 27 - Tuesday July 28: Match 20 v Keighley at Keighley, 13ks NW Bradford. Crowds: 1,500 and 3,500.

Wednesday July 29: No performance.

Thursday July 30 - Saturday August 1 (sports day): Match 21 v Bootle at Bootle, just NNW Liverpool. Crowds: 2,000; 2,000 and 5,000.

Sunday August 2: No performance.

Monday August 3 - Wednesday August 5: Match 22 v Nottingham Commercial at Trent Bridge. Crowds: 2,500; 2,000 and 4,000.

Thursday August 6: No performance.

Friday August 7 - Saturday August 8: Match 23 v Longsight at Manchester (return match). Crowds: 500 and 1,000.

Sunday August 9: No performance.

Monday August 10 - Wednesday August 12: Match 24 v Gentlemen of Sheffield at Bramall Lane, 55ks E Manchester. Crowds: 3,400; 600 and over 3,000.

Wednesday August 13: Tiger fined after a night in the cells, having been knocked down and arrested for drunkenness by Sheffield police the previous morning.

Thursday August 13 - Saturday August 15: Match 25 v Savile Club at Dewsbury, 13ks SSW Leeds. Crowds: 300; 800 and 900.

Sunday August 16: No performance.

Monday August 17 - Thursday August 20: Match 26 v Tynemouth at North Shields, 13ks ENE Newcastle. Crowds: 700; 300; 1,000 and 1,500.

Friday August 21 - Saturday August 22: Match 27 v Northumberland at Newcastle. Crowds: 1,500 and nil (rained out).

Sunday August 23: No performance.

Monday August 24 - Tuesday August 25: Match 28 v Middlesbrough at Middlesbrough. Crowds: 500 and 2,000.

Tuesday August 25: *Parramatta* sails for Australia, probably with invalids Jim Crow and Sundown.

Wednesday August 26: No performance.

Thursday August 27 - Saturday August 29: Match 29 v Scarborough at Scarborough. Crowds: 2,500; 1,500 and 4,000.

Sunday August 30: No performance.

Monday August 31 - Tuesday September 1: Match 30 v Hunslet at Hunslet, just S of Leeds. Crowds: 500 and 1,500.

Wednesday September 2 - Thursday September 3: Match 31 v South Derbyshire at Derby. Crowds: 800 and 1,200.

Friday September 4 - Saturday September 5: Match 32 v Lincoln at Nettleham Rd, Lincoln. Crowds: 1,000 and 4,500.

Sunday September 6: No performance.

Monday September 7 - Tuesday September 8: Match 33 v Burton-on-Trent at Burton-on-Trent, 16ks SW of Derby. Crowds: 1,000 and 2,500.

Wednesday September 9: No performance.

Thursday September 10 - Saturday September 12: Match 34 v Bootle at Bootle. Crowds: 300; 500 and 1,700.

Sunday September 13: No performance.

PART 3. RETURN TO THE SOUTH: SEPTEMBER - OCTOBER 26: ENGAGEMENTS 35-48

Monday September 14 - Wednesday September 16: Match 35 v Witham at Witham. 50ks ENE London. Crowds: 5000 and 1,500.

Thursday September 17 - Saturday September 19: Match 36 v Gentlemen of Sussex at Hove, 80ks SW London. Crowds: 650; 350 and 2,500.

Sunday September 20: No performance.

Monday September 21 - Tuesday September 22: Match 37 v Gentlemen of Blackheath at Westcombe Park, Blackheath, 10ks ESE of Charing Cross. Crowds: 1,000 and 2,000.

Wednesday September 23 - Thursday September 24: Match 38 v Gentlemen of Middlesex at Islington, 4ks NNE of Charing Cross. Crowds: 800 and 2,000.

Friday September 25 - Saturday September 26: Match 39 v Gentlemen of Surrey at Kennington Oval. Crowds: nil (rained out); and 2,500.

Sunday September 27: No performance.

Monday September 28 - Tuesday September 29: Match 40 v The Press at Mote Park, 50ks ESE London. Crowds: 700 and 1,500.

Wednesday September 30 - Thursday October 1: Match 41 v Eastbourne at Eastbourne, 100ks S of London. Crowds: 800 and 2,700.

Friday October 2 - Saturday October 3: Match 42 v Turnham Green at Hammersmith, on the north bank of the Thames. Crowds: 100 and 150.

Sunday October 4: No performance.

Monday October 5 - Tuesday October 6: Match 43 v East Hampshire at Southsea, 105ks SW London. Crowds: 150 and 100.

Wednesday October 7 - Thursday October 8: Match 44 v Gentlemen of Hampshire at Southampton, 110ks SE London. Crowds: 500 and 2,000.

Friday October 9 - Saturday October 10: Match 45 v Fairbrother at Reading, 55ks W of London. Crowds: 700 and 800.

Sunday October 11: No performance.

Monday October 12 - Wednesday October 14: Match 46 v Godalming at Godalming, 43ks SW of London. Crowds: 700; 1,000 and 3,500.

Thursday October 15 - Saturday October 17: Match 47 v Gentlemen of Surrey at Kennington Oval. Crowds: 500; 800 and 2,000.

Sunday October 18: No performance. Mullagh, Dick-a-Dick, Cuzens, Redcap, Mosquito, Dumas and Lawrence catch 10am train from Paddington to Plymouth.

Monday October 19: Performance 48: The above perform in sports and athletics at Plymouth. Bullocky, Peter, Tiger and Twopenny board *Dunbar Castle* at Gravesend on same day.

Wednesday October 21 - Thursday October 22: *Dunbar Castle* expected to arrive in Plymouth.

Monday October 26: *Dunbar Castle* sails from Plymouth for Australia.

Tuesday November 24: Parramata arrives in Sydney, probably with invalids Jim Crow and Sundown.

4 February 1869: *Dunbar Castle* arrives in Sydney.

APPENDIX C

HAYMAN FAMILY LETTERS TO E.E. BEAN

Letter 1: R.C. Hayman to E.E. Bean.

Mt Schanck
Mt Gambier
S. Aus.
20.12.33

Mr E.E. Bean

Dear Sir,

My sister sent your letter on to me re the Aboriginal cricketers.

Yes my father went to England & managed them & Charlie Lawrence captained them.

I don't think the team went to America, am sure they only played in England.

Don't know what a liawill is, but I know they used a shield, at least one of them did to protect himself when he let people throw a cricket ball at him. My father told me he had trouble to keep some of them sober at the end of the tour, but otherwise they behaved very well. the people tried to do to (sic) much for them.

Spiers & Ponds catered for them from the day they landed, & my father said they offered him a few thousand & so much to manage them after they been (sic) home a short time, a pity he did not accept it as they lost I think he said 1600 pounds.

The original scoring book is in the Mechanics Institute in Hamilton. Vic. A few leaves got torn out; & a few years ago I got Mr Constable [??] to put the book in order for them. They have a photo of the team in the M.C.C. Melbourne also in Institute in Hamilton.

All the Information you have seems to me to be correct.

Last year I was asked to write a history of the team but it arrived to (sic) late to publish before the Last Test. I sent this to Mr H.P. Rowney who is with Gordon & Gotch in Melbourne. If you called on him, he would show you what I sent and it may assist you.

Yours ffly

R.C.Hayman

P.S. I know King Cole died in England, but don't remember Jim Crow & Sundown being sent back.
R.C.H.

Letter 2: C.A. Hayman to E.E. Bean.

Balmoral
14th Dec 1933

Dear Mr Bean,

I am sorry I am unable to give you very little information about my fathers visit to England with the Black Cricketers as any papers he had kept were burnt in a fire when we lost our home some years ago. As children Father used to tell us stories abt his visit home with them. Before his death 35 years ago he would reminisce of his visit for the Hamilton Spectator, that paper (we had) was burnt, I do not know if a copy could be procured from Yes [Hayman's interpolation] Mr. Reppon [?] who still has the paper. I always took the greatest interest in cricket: Father never said that the team was smuggled out of Australia: but he often insisted that he had to bring them all back again or pay some hundreds of pounds for any one of them left behind. One "Flash Dick" (Dicky Dick) fell in love with a white girl in an Hotel at home and she would have married him if he had stayed behind: but Father made him come. I feel quite certain that the two you mention were not sent back to Australia: if so Father would have been sure to have told us. He always spoke of their good behaviour on the whole. Johnny Mullagh: the good Bat was rather inclined to sulk! & once he left him at an Hotel for a couple of days, where he had to work for his keep & after that he was no trouble. Father went ahead on a faster boat to arrange all the matches in England. He often laughed about going to meet them at the boat when they landed. (they were sick of the sea & quite thought they were all lost - and when they saw him waiting they rushed at him & embraced him - you say they played 47 matches. I cannot remember the number but know that they won the same number each and played till the day before they sailed for home. ? it a draw. They gave some exhibitions of boomerang throwing at home wh were a great success & ruined all the Aunt Sally shows they used to compete at. Speaking of Johnny Mullagh. He was a great bat & belonged to the Harrow cricket team till his death: They erected a monument to his memory in the cricket ground there. The team still speak of having to pay him 1 pound for each hundred runs he used to make for their side. He got very cunning as he grew older. I am sending on your letter to my brother R.C. Hayman in Mt Schanck) Mt Gambier who takes the keenest interest in it all. He may be able to help you better than I can. I only have one old picture of the team & (?) who (?) below it. From the interesting records of Mr. W.A. Roberts Sydney.

Aboriginal Cricketers in Sydney 1867 - You probably have it - Its only a cheap print - but I could lend it to you if it is of any use - but you likely have better ones. Hoping my brother will be able to help you.

Yours faithfully

C.A. Hayman

Mr Alex Philip Snr (Or Philips?), a member of the Victorian Cricket Association, who is just back from a trip abroad would be able to help you with information about the blacks in that team. You could find him through J.W. Frank G. Robertson (all this name might be wrong) who lives in town. He would be on the phone They and my brother attend all the Test Matches. Also Mr Archer (?).

(?) - from this district)

APPENDIX D

THE COLONIAL ENTREPRENEURS AFTER THE TOUR

The white protagonists in the story of the Aboriginal team experienced fluctuating fortunes in their subsequent lives.

William Edward Broughton Gurnett

After his disastrous speculation, nothing more is known of the shadowy Gurnett.[1]

William Hayman

On returning to Australia, Hayman attempted to negotiate lucrative matches for the Aborigines but only four were played.[2] Others fell through due to Hayman's financial demands[3] and realising the enterprise was no longer a financial proposition, he disbanded the team "to pick up their livelihood as best they can."[4]

His daughter's letter to Ernest Bean claimed Hayman lost 1600 pounds on the tour. This is not reflected in Graham's account book but it is possible that he had to pay other pastoralists for taking "their" Aborigines to England. It is unknown if financial reverses suffered by the Hayman family were in any way connected to the tour. Within a few years, his uncle, John Hayman lost the Lake Wallace South property and began to drink heavily. Months later, he travelled to Corio Bay where he was drowned, a suspected suicide.[5]

William Hayman married well, successfully managed pastoral properties in the area and established himself as a highly respected member of his community and Church. He remained an active sportsman until a bizarre incident while he was manager of Fulham station. Hayman was bathing in Lake Wallace when he was surprised by some passing ladies. Modesty compelled him to stay under water and paralysis of the lower body ensued. He remained confined to his chair, directing business and civic affairs until he died in 1899.[6]

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[1] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.50 found that his Sydney address was 219 Macquarie St. Despite Gurnett's claim that he was close to England's leading amateurs, Glenys Williams could find no record of Gurnett in the Marylebone Cricket Club Library.

[2] Against NSW at Redfern, 12 February 1869; v. Melbourne Cricket Club, 20-23 February; v. *Galatea* Officers, Melbourne, 2 March; v. Ballarat, 6-9 March. They finished with a short cricket demonstration at Hamilton after Hamilton v. Coleraine, 10 March 1869.

[3] Games had been scheduled in Bendigo, Castlemaine and Warrnambool: *Age*, 22 February 1869.Warrnambool offered 40 pounds plus expenses. It fell through when Hayman demanded 85 pounds for two days of cricket, spear and boomerang displays or 85 pounds for three days: *Warrnambool Examiner*, 19 & 26 February 1869.

[4] Also *Hamilton Spectator*, 20 March 1869.

[5] Report of inquest, *Geelong Advertiser*, 30 March 1871. The verdict, "Found drowned" was inconclusive.

[6] Acknowledgements to Bruce Hayman for his assistance, including William Hayman's obituary in an undated Hamilton newspaper which described the accident that invalided him.

Charles Lawrence

Charles Lawrence worked in Newcastle on the NSW railways to the age of 63. He moved to Melbourne where he worked for the Melbourne Cricket Club as groundsman and coach. He had remained a successful and active cricketer in Newcastle to an advanced age, playing his last games of cricket in NSW in 1884 and Melbourne in 1891.[7] He died in 1917, a rightly revered figure in the development of Australian cricket.

George Smith and George Graham

The Sydney cousins lived long and comfortable middle-class lives. George Graham remained in England after the tour then reestablished a solicitor's practice in Sydney in 1875.[8] He died at Randwick in 1886.[9] George Smith became a Justice of the Peace and returned to Manly where he died in 1889.[10]

Tom Wills

In the 1870s his cricketing engagements fell away and in 1877 the Melbourne Cricket Club refused his application for an administrative position. By 1878, financially dependent on allowances from his brothers, he had become an alcoholic. Occasuional medical care in Kew Lunatic Asylum and Melbourne Hospital failed to improve his *delerium tremens* and increasing mental instability. He shared drinking bouts with his de facto wife, Sarah Barber, who engaged an attendant to prevent his self-injury.

In May 1880, he told Sarah to put on her black dress and be ready for their maker, asking whether "she would rather he killed her or for someone else to do so". He heard voices, ranted and prayed and on the morning of May 2, when Sarah was in a drunken sleep, he was overheard asking himself "Shall I murder her or not - no I won't". He fed the fowls and told each it was the last feed they would get from him. All sharp instruments in the house had been hidden but he found a pair of scissors and thrice stabbed himself in the chest. Tom Wills died immediately, aged 43.

His mother regarded suicide as sinful and when his name arose in future coldly responded: "I have no son called Thomas."[11]

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[7] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, pp.166-167; W.J. Goold, "Charles Lawrence - The "Old Master' , *Newcastle and Hunter District Historical Society Monthly Journal*, New Series, Vol.5, No.4, January 1951; Edward Liddle, "Charles Lawrence", *The Journal of the Cricket Society*, Vol. 10, No. 1, August 1980.

[8] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.166.

[9] NSW Archives Office, Probate Index 14075 Series 3.

[10] Mulvaney & Harcourt, *Cricket walkabout*, p.166.

[11] Most details from documents reproduced in T.S. Wills Cooke, *Currency lad*, pp.225-232. Letters include: Tom Wills' job application to the Melbourne Cricket Club, 19 September 1877; a letter from Tom to his brother Horace thanking him for money, 15 March 1880; a letter from Tom's sister-in-law Mary to her sister Bella about Tom's death, 9 May 1880; a letter from brother Egbert to brother Horace describing his death, 9 May 1880. Documents from the inquest on 10 May 1880 include reports and depositions by Constables Thomas Hanlon and Thomas Murphy; Tom's de facto Sarah Therese Wills (Barber); Ann Jane Heddle (who was staying with Sarah while Tom was ill); and a labourer, David Dunwoody, who was hired to take care of Tom. The report of Tom being disowned by his mother from T.S. Will's grandmother, Rene Wills Cooke.

APPENDIX E

THE DEATH OF JUNGUNJINUKE/ DICK-A-DICK/PAUL

September 1870

I have now to give some information about the happy departure of Dickadick, whom I have already mentioned as being ill (I can find no trace of this in 'Periodical Accounts.' - C.W.S.) In March 1869, he returned from England, whither he had been taken as a cricketer, with some other natives. Most of these men, who were induced by white men to go to Europe, died soon after. Dickadick however came back in apparently good health, and lived here with his wife Amelia. Immediately after his arrival, he began to attend our services diligently, in order, as he said, 'to learn more of the word.' He also came to school but made little progress. As he wished to remain here permanently, he built himself a small but substantial house, and was soon afterwards admitted into the class of candidates for baptism. About the same time the first symptoms of illness appeared. His wife therefore strongly urged that he should pay a visit, accompanied by her, to their home in the west. To this he reluctantly consented. After being absent a month, he sent us word that he intended to go as far as Apsley, and when he had seen his old acquaintance there, to return to the station. He added that he and his wife often read the Bible together.

About the beginning of April, Dickadick's wife wrote to us begging that a cart might be sent for them, as her husband was too weak to walk, and they were bringing a little boy with them. We were unable to accede to their request, as the horses were in a very poor condition at that time, owing to lack of fodder. At first, they took this rather amiss, but at length early in July, they arrived here, with the little boy and some other blacks. Dickadick was ill, and evidently suffered much; yet he at once began to attend the meetings, and it was evident that he heard the Gospel with a sincere longing heart, and that the Holy Spirit had begun a blessed work in his soul. His whole behaviour and statements bore testimony of this.

His illness increased rapidly, and he was soon confined to his bed, but so likewise did his pursuit of the one thing needful, and his desire for baptism. This ordinance was administered to him in his cottage, on which occasion he received the name of *Paul* [emphasis in original]. From that time we had increasing reason to rejoice at his firm though childlike faith. While declaring himself to be the chief of sinners, he gave the assurance that he had obtained mercy. I am convinced that his profession of his faith and hope had a good effect on the other blacks. Once, when I remarked that, if it was the Lord's will, he might still recover, he replied, 'I do not wish to get well again, Jesus has forgiven all my sins, and now I wish to go to Him, and to see Him.' He had great pain, to bear which with patience was often difficult. On such occasions, however, he had recourse to the Divine Helper, and often exclaimed, 'My Saviour suffered more than I; and that was for me, a sinner. O how glorious.' He was very grateful for our exhortations, and for all the blessings bestowed on

him through the preaching of the Gospel. And he consequently manifested great affection for the missionaries. When from any cause a longer time than usual passed without our visiting him, he soon inquired for us, and on our going to him, received us with the most loving expressions. 'O my dear teachers,' he often exclaimed, 'I thank you for showing me the way to Christ. The Lord bless you and your labours among my poor fellow countrymen! And may He also preserve your wives and children. And my Saviour, how gracious He is! To Him be thanks and praise.!' Then, turning to his wife, he said, 'Amelia, do not run into destruction! Remain here and follow Jesus; then we shall meet again.' Once he said, 'Here I lie, and wait for my Saviour to came and take me. What I now suffer, is, I am quite sure, for my good as regards eternity. Jesus suffered much more.'

On Saturday, the 3rd, he sent for us, saying he wished to speak with us once more. It was clearly to be seen that he would soon depart. My wife being present, I asked him if he knew her. His eyes were already dim, yet he wished to find out who it was, and when he guessed right he seemed much gratified. It was granted to him to his latest breath to bear testimony to the grace of God, and that with a clearness and decision which astonished us. 'I am full of pain', he said, 'my body is already dead and cold, and my eyes are dark. But there is one thing left; I already see Jesus coming!' About half an hour after we left him, word came that he had fallen asleep in Jesus.

Here we have another proof that the Lord can give repentance unto life to individuals even of this degraded race. Some of his countrymen, who had come with him from the west, were deeply affected. One of them, named Joe, said, 'I have seen many people die, but I never saw anything like this. I only wish that my death may be like his.'

April 7th, 1871. - A week ago Amelia died, the widow of Paul (formerly Dickadick). She knew that way of salvation, and trusted as a poor sinner to the merits of our Saviour.

(From Moravian records compiled in ms. "Some facts about various Aborigines")

APPENDIX F

THE DEATH OF JOHNNY MULLAGH

"Written out for Ann Gillard by Jack Minogue (27/5/1879 - 13/9/1975). Copied from original which Jack put down circa 1874."

"Re Mullagh. I have a cutting of your paper sent to me, as they knew I was in close contact with him for the last seven years of his life, and was the last person to speak to him before he died. As a boy from 5 to 10 I lived within two miles of his camp and didn't think there was a week in that time that we did not see Mr. Mullagh as we called him. We would be after the cows and him after his horse or rabbits. It was him that lernt me to climb, and that old hands can tell you what sort of a job he made of it. He also showed us how to make and set the figure 4 to catch possums. Brother and I looked on him as our hero.

He then lived on the back of Campbell's lake at Pine Hills, not Mullagh [station], and I regret to say it was us that got him put off Pine Hills unknown to ourselves. We were looking for ducks' nests about a mile from his camp and I climbed a hollow stump, about 15 feet high and it was full of wool. A bit further down I climbed another and it was the same, so when father came home that night we told him about it. He was the boundary rider on that side of the station. He said 'Oh, a bird's nest I suppose', and I said 'Oh no, it is a dead sheep or skins.' So in the morning he took me down to show him where it was, and I got up and into the hollow and the first one I threw out was a skin till they were too decayed. The next stump was the same, so Father thought someone from Harrow was duffing sheep., so he told Jim Edgar and he got Loftus the policemen from Harrow and they went out. As soon as Loftus saw it, he said, 'This is a blackfellow's work, no white man ever done that', and both Jim Edgar and Father said, 'There are no blacks anywhere near here, only Johnnie Mullagh and he gets all his meat and rations from the station. He wouldn't have to do it' and Loftus said 'I don't care, that is a black's work.' So they went to Johnnie and Loftus started on him, and he owned up to killing them. He said his dogs were hungry and he had no food for them. He did not know how many he killed, but he showed them another stump full of skins. So Loftus said 'I would not prosecute him, I will deal with him', and he told him he would have to get rid of the dogs, or get of the station. So he went just through the boundary fence on to crown land on the road to Kadnook, and about two miles from the road to Harrow to Edenhope, and also the road we went from Pine Hills to Bogalara, and every time Father went round that boundary they still always sent him a bit of flour and tea and sugar, only Roos and rabbits. We used always call and see him when going past. He never knew it was us that found the skins, and the last time I saw him I was going home from Pine Hills and he was sitting at the fire, and I rode up to have a talk with him. But he looked crook and I asked him was he sick and he said he had a sore side. So I told him Father would be out in a few days. When Father got out there was no sign of Mullagh, and there was three dogs dead on the chain.

There was no food in the camp, and the ashes were stone cold. So Father knew he had not been there for a few days. So he thought he may have made for the main road if he was sick, and he started across the paddock, and he saw where there had been a fire against a tree, and where someone had been lying on the grass, and about 100 yards another camp, and a bit further a third, then he saw a dog standing under a tree and he galloped and Mullagh was lying against the tree, so Father jumped off, and said, 'What is wrong?' But he could not speak, but he put his hand to his side, so Dad got an armful of leaves, and put against the tree, and dragged him up on to it, and put an overcoat over him , and pulled his pipe and lit it for him and put it in his mouth, but he did not seem strong enough to draw it. Then Dad galloped back to the station, and Jim Edgar and he put a mattress in a buggy, and raced back but he was cold and dead when they got there. So they put him in the buggy and took him back to the station. So that was the camp they tell you he died in on Mullagh [station]. Father showed me the tree, when we were going past one day, and cut on it with a knife, 'This is the tree where J.M. died' And it was a sad ending for a great cricketer."

Supplementary information on Harrow Tourist Information Board, 13 February 1999: "Father was Jerome Minogue (13/5/1841 - 13/12/1928). Brother was Edgar Minogue. The period of which Jack writes was before the family moved to Jerome's selection, at Poer's Creek, so the children could attend school. Jerome continued to work at Pine Hills, riding home every weekend. Work finished at 4p. every Saturday afternoon."

APPENDIX G

THE PARSI CRICKET AND NATIVE RUGBY TOURS OF BRITAIN

The Parsi tours, 1886-1888

Illustration 94: The 1886 Parsi team[1]

Parsis, Zoraoastrians who had fled to India a millennium earlier, instigated, organised and financed their English cricket tours to cement their junior partnership with British colonialism in India.[2] Ambitious, commercially skilled, unbound by Indian traditions and ties of caste, Parsis had welcomed the British East India Company, collaborating as traders, interpreters and allies to the few tens of thousands of British[3] determined to secure rule over hundreds of millions of Indians.[4] Cricket symbolised Parsi identification with colonialist culture and Parsis openly advocated their tours of England[5] as a diplomatic initiative and humble tribute:

> as artists go to Italy to do homage to the great Masters, as pilgrims go to Jerusalem to worship at a shrine ... so now the Parsis are going to England to do homage to the English cricketers, to learn something of that noble and manly pastime in that very country which is its chosen home.[6]

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[1] From Firth, *The pageant of cricket*, p. 154

[2] For the growth of cricket in India and eager Parsi adoption of the game, see S. Canyunge Caple, *England v India, 1886-1959*, Littlebury & Co, Worcester, 1959, p.9; Professor D.B. Deodhar, *March of Indian cricket*, Illustrated News, Calcutta, 1948, p.26; Richard Cashman, *Patrons, players and crowds: the phenomenon of Indian cricket*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1980, pp.3-5;; and Mihir Bose, *A history of Indian cricket*, Andre Deutsch, London, 1990, pp.20-21.

[3] Denis Judd, *Empire* (Fontana, London, 1997, pp.78-79), estimates that by the end of Victoria's reign, there were 20,000 Britons in India, including 3,000 officers, ruling 300 million Indians.

[4] Scyld Berry, *Cricket wallah: with England in India, 1981-2*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1982, p.5

[5] In addition to 1886 and 1888, Parsis planned a tour in 1878 which fell through. For British reactions to the aborted 1878 tour - amusement and recognition of their superiority to other Indian races - see *Baily's Magazine*, May 1878, pp.101and 103; *London Graphic*, 10 August 1878, quoted by Vasant Raiji, *India's Hambledon men*, Tyeby Press, Bombay, 1986, p.13.

[6] Sir Pherozeshah Mehta explaining the public expectations of his "co-religionists" on the eve of the 1886 tour, quoted by Raiji, *India's Hambledon men*, pp.15-16.

The Parsis realised their touring teams would lose money and be uncompetitive[7] but they convinced the British that the "Parsee fraternity is the most intelligent as well as the most loyal of the races scattered over our Indian possessions."[8] Alarmed by Indian anti-colonialist stirrings in Britain and India,[9] the British establishment embraced the tours by their most trusted allies, "almost certainly for political, not sporting or social reasons."[10] The Queen invited them to Cumberland Lodge and the Parsis were thrilled that Princes Albert and Christian played in the game.[11] Parsis were subsequently preferred for the highest British imperial honours[12] and favoured by the policies of the cricketing autocrat Lord Harris during his period as Governor of Mumbai. [13]

The Parsi cricketers enjoyed significant measures of agency and power in England. They were not professional entertainers, much less objects of ethnological or primitivist scrutiny. They were socially ambitious diplomats, commercial suitors, conscious aspirants to an Empire, a society and a sporting culture they honoured. Their upper-middle class professions, bourgeois values and pivotal relationship with an insecure Raj rendered them acceptable and valuable to the British establishment.

They insisted on wearing the orthodox *sudra*, a white linen shirt reaching almost to knee-level, but exotic gimmickry or imaginative showmanship would have been counter-productive to their realisable social ambitions. Even more than the Aborigines they were, as a team, not up to first-class cricketing standard. Very much unlike the Aborigines, mass audiences had little reason to pay to see them and stayed away. [14]

The New Zealand Native Rugby tour, 1888

The major similarity between the Aboriginal cricketers and the Native New Zealand Rugby Union tour was their schedule of 107 rugby matches, which A.A. Thomson likened to galley slavery.[15]

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[7] In 1886, familiar only with underarm bowling, they played 28 matches between May and August against mediocre opposition, winning one and losing nineteen. In 1888 with a team selected on cricketing ability rather than their capacity to pay for the tour, they played 31 matches against second and third-ranked amateur teams. Aided by their champion (overarm) bowler, Dr. M.E. Pavri, they won eight and lost eleven.

[8] *Cricket Chat*, 1896, quoted in Raiji, *India's Hambledon men*, p.18.

[9] The founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885 and Indians standing for British Parliament in 1884 and 1886, on a platform of Indian reform and Irish Home Rule. See Berry, *Cricket wallah*, pp.7-8.

[10] Berry, *Cricket wallah*, p.8

[11] Raiji, *India's Hambledon men*, pp.16-17

[12] Three out of four British baronetcies before 1908 were awarded to Parsis: Berry, *Cricket wallah*, p.8.

[13] Berry, *Cricket wallah*, p.9. "I should say that they [Indians] don't hate us any more than they hate each other ... Hindus hate Muhammedans and Parsis hate both", Harris wrote with satisfaction (quoted by Bose, *A history of Indian cricket*, p.30.)

[14] Berry, *Cricket wallah*, p.9; Raiji, *India's Hambledon men*, pp.25-30.

[15] Thomson, *Odd men in*, p.73. The total is from 3 October 1888 to an Auckland game on 24 August 1889. It includes games played in New Zealand and Australia, where they played eight additional Australian rules games.

At the insistence of one of its three organisers, Joe Warbrick, a Maori rugby star, native interpreter and political candidate,[16] the composition of the team and the framing of their performances eschewed displays of primitivism. Its two Pakeha entrepreneurs, Essex-born Thomas Eyton and Jack Scott, had wanted an all-Maori team to display characteristic tropes of Maori primitivism but Warbrick, intent on achieving sporting credibility, insisted on including five Pakeha players and disappointed racial expectations of audiences in Australia and Britain.[17]

The racial composition and rugby skills of the Native team discouraged performances of Maori primitivism. They were fully competitive with the highest national rugby standards in Britain. A rugby administrator, Frank Williams, noted approvingly that once "the real merit of their [rugby] display was recognised, they discarded these advertising spectacles and depended upon their genuine exhibition of football to attract spectators."[18]

The *Sportsman* concluded that "the term 'Maori' as applied to this troupe of rugby union players is something of a misnomer seeing that the combination consists of but six pure Maori, fifteen half-caste and four New Zealanders." To the *Times* the team was only passably authentic: "Maori enough".[19] Eyton sympathised with disappointed audiences: "The British public no doubt expected to find the Maori football team ... to be composed of black fellows", but the darkest of the team "can only be said to be badly sunburned." They lacked the distinctive features of Maori primitivism - "We had not even a tattoo mark among the team, and in their walks abroad they attracted little or no attention from the casual passer-by". It "looked almost like a fraud to expect the British public to believe" that the team were "typical of the Maori race."[20]

The other Pakeha entrepreneur, Scott, had announced that the team would perform the *haka* before each match and embellish their performances with traditional Maori artefacts. But without native costume or implements they failed to match cartoon stereotypes and their decorous *haka* was dismissed as a "little pantomime", no better than "a 'whoop' which provoked amusement."[21]

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[16] Similar to the achievements of Mulvaney & Harcourt, Greg Ryan is responsible for establishing the significance of the Native tour. See Greg Ryan, The Originals: the 1988-89 New Zealand Native Football team in Britain, Australia and New Zealand, M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1992; and Greg Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks: the 1988-89 New Zealand Native Football Team in Britain, Australia and New Zealand*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 1993. Unless noted to the contrary, all my factual material concerning the tour and all footnotes which credit Ryan refer to the latter publication. For Warbrick's background and ambition to "do for Maori football what the Australians have done for Australian cricket", see Ryan *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, pp.14 & 18-19; and "Aboriginalities", *Bulletin*, 10 November 1888.

[17] Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, pp.18-19. For Australian expectation of the team's displays of Maori primitivism and the expected financial bonanza in Britain, see *Bulletin* (Sydney), quoted by Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, pp.52-53. For British racial expectations, see *Sportsman* (London), quoted by Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, pp.44-45.

[18] quoted by Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, p.52.

[19] quoted by Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, p.54. Warbrick was one of a number with a Maori mother and Pakeha father.

[20] quoted by Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, pp.54-55. He claimed that in an attempt satisfy public expectations of their appearance, the team bought black masks to wear when they arrived at a northern England railway station.

[21] *Sporting life*, quoted by Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, p.52, much like English reactions to the Aborigines' "war whoop" in 1868.

Illustration 95: A Maori Rugby player travels to Wales[22]

Illustration 96: The Native Rugby team does the *haka*, 1888.[23]

Whereas the Aboriginal tour employed cricket and imaginatively constructed indigenous displays to highlight Aboriginal uniqueness and the contrast between civilisation and primitivism, the Native tour provided high quality sporting contests whose results were important to players and spectators. In no way could the Native tour be described as a "circus": the players did not bear names redolent of minstrelsy and exotic racial identity, imaginative costuming and primitivist displays were not at the heart of the performances.

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[22] *Illustrated London News*, from Ryan *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, p.53.

[23] *Illustrated London News*, from Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, p.54.

In the absence of crowd-pulling spectacles, the rugby match was the Native team's entire show. Despite their sporting prowess the tour was a commercial failure.[24]

The Native team did not enjoy crowd or newspaper support. Warbrick noticed that:

> As long as they were losing they were jolly good fellows in the eyes of the crowd. But as soon as they commenced to win they were hooted and the papers were full of the weakness of the home side and the rough play of the visitors."[25]

It is an illuminating commentary on audience and press support for the Aborigines; confirmation that it stemmed less from sportsmanship or sentiments of racial equality than from colonialist pity and magnanimous celebration of British racial superiority.[26]

Despite the discomforts and unprecedented intensity of their schedule, probably a consequence of the predominantly Maori composition of the team, none of the Native team died in England.[27] In this aspect too, it more closely resembled the typical future of international sport, intensely competitive contests between national teams.

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[24] Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, p.126.

[25] Quoted by Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, p.94.

[26] After showing that they were able to compete on an equal footing with the Irish, Welsh and English national selections, the Native team were criticised for reputed professionalism, aggressive playing methods, bad language and over-indulgence. See Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, pp.84-91. Scott advised the *Field* that objectionable aspects of the team's behaviour could be avoided by removing Maoris from future tours see Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, p.100.

[27] The pursuit of profits by Eyston, Scott and Warbrick reduced the majority of the team to "a state of complete physical demoralisation" and the health of at least two of the five full-blood Maoris suffered dreadfully. One died of tuberculosis soon after return while two others were invalided home (Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, pp.68 & 108-109). The Maori spoke their own language on the field to keep their conversations private (Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, p.53); had problems with effusive spectators who plied them with alcohol (*Lyttelton Times*, 19 December 1888, quoted by Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, p.104) and enjoyed liasons with British women who offered expensive gifts (Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, p.135; letter from "Smiler" Ihimaira, Glendower Hotel, England, to his grandfather, Chief Te Muera in Napier, New Zealand, 16 October 1888, printed in "Referee", *Bulletin*, 19 January 1889).

APPENDIX H

ABORIGINAL TOURS IN AUSTRALIA AND ABROAD: MESTON'S AND CUNNINGHAM'S 'WILD ABORIGINES' SHOWS

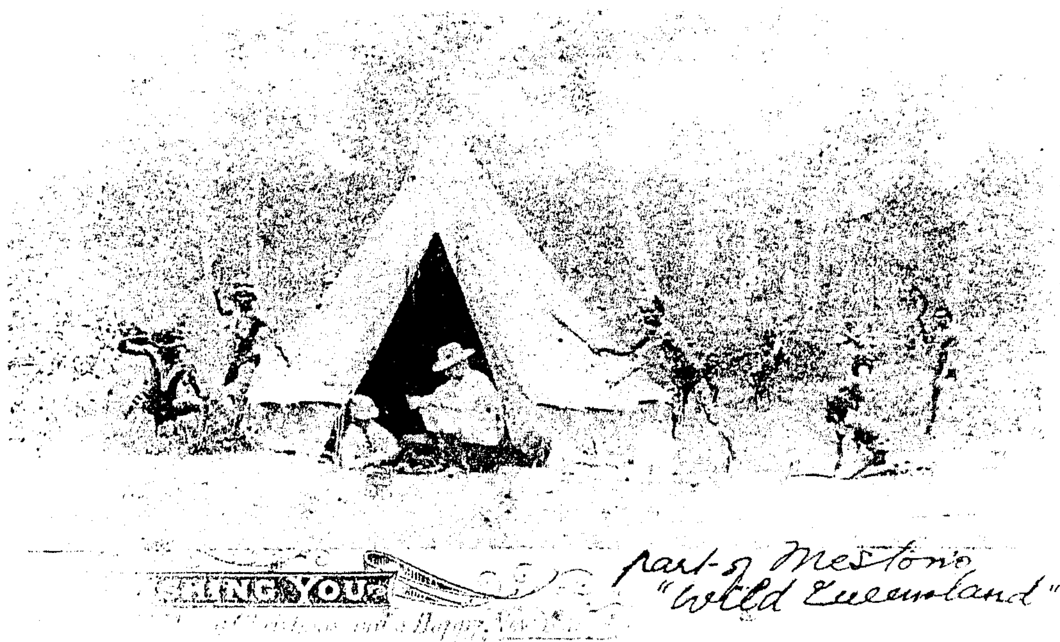

Illustration 97: Aborigines ambush innocent squatters[1]

Archibald Meston's 'Wild Aborigines' shows

Aboriginal shows which toured Queensland from 1890 were organised by Alexander Meston, the major architect of the 1897 *Aborigines Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act*, legislation which sought to confine and segregate Queensland Aborigines.[2] A purveyor of tales of Aboriginal cannibalism and hairless tribes,[3] Meston was fascinated by primitivism. He disparaged the 1868 Aboriginal team for being small in stature and "much too civilised to represent the real 'myall' of the day when 'wild in woods the noble savage ran'."[4]

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[1] Macleay Museum, University of Sydney, No.83/003, reprinted in Faith Walker, "The reinvention of the 'Noble Savage': Archibald Meston and 'Wild Australia', *Olive Pink Society Bulletin*, Vol .9, Nos 1-2, 1997, pp.38-43.

[2] William Thorpe, "Archibald Meston and Aboriginal legislation in colonial Queensland", *Historical studies*, Vol.21, No.82, April, 1984, p.52.

[3] See illustration "The tribe of hairless man" brought to Sydney, Chapter 6.

[4] Meston quoted in Blades, Australian Aborigines; cricket and pedestrianism , p.21.

His shows featured Aboriginal artefacts, skeletons and weaponry; Wild West-type enactments;[5] and large, impressively muscled Aborigines who performed Aboriginal dance, frontier conflicts and sham fights with native weapons.[6]

Meston also organised grandiose displays of living Aborigines for colonisation celebrations in Sydney[7] and Brisbane.[8]

Meston's exhibitions of Aboriginal people were consistent with the exclusion, dispersal, control and exploitation conferred by his Act of 1897.[9] The observation that Meston's legislation sought to make Aborigines "controlled subjects and knowable objects"[10] applies with equal validity to his shows.

To justify his reliance on Aboriginal removal to implement his shows and policies, Meston maintained that Aboriginal attachments to place and clan were no more than "capricious sentimentalism". It is fortunate that his plans to organise a world tour of Wild Aborigines fell through. [11]

Tambo Tambo and primitivist Aboriginal displays in Europe and America

Roslyn Poignant's research has uncovered the consequences of late-Victorian overseas tours which did proceed, including the tragic story of Tambo Tambo and Aboriginal troupes displayed in Europe and America from the 1880s.[12] Some were tempted and possibly kidnapped by Robert Cunningham, an agent for Barnum and Bailey, who supplied natives to presentation venues as diverse as theatres, circuses, Hagenbeck's Zoo in Hamburg and quasi-scientific settings. To legitimise his arrangements, the Queensland government demanded a bond for the Aborigines[13] and Sydney authorities permitted their departure after Queensland

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[5] For instance a description of an 1981 show at Brisbane's *Theatre Royal* for the Bribie Island Mission, quoted by William Thorpe, Archibald Meston and the Aborigines: ideology and practice, 1870-1970: an exploration in social history, BA Honours thesis, University of Queensland, 1978, pp.81-82.

[6] A series of photographs portrays three types of physical combat with Aboriginal weapons: between groups of Aborigines; between individual Aboriginal warriors; and between Meston himself and Aboriginal warriors. Photographic album AP1/45, John Oxley Library, Brisbane, cited by Thorpe, "Archibald Meston and Aboriginal legislation in colonial Queensland", p.67.

[7] Thorpe, "Archibald Meston and Aboriginal legislation in colonial Queensland", p.55.

[8] Displays of Aboriginal weaponry and dance followed by a bizarre " living arch" of Aboriginal primitivism featuring 60 natives, see *Queenslander*, 25 May 1901, quoted in Thom Blake, "Excluded, exploited, exhibited: Aborigines in Brisbane, 1897-1910", in *Brisbane, Aboriginal, Australian, ethnic*, Brisbane History Group Reports No. 5, 1987.

[9] Blake, "Excluded, exploited, exhibited", p.57. For Meston's legislation, see Rosalind Kidd, *The way we civilise*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1997, pp.41-55. Meston's exploitation included economic chicanery: he was unpopular for refusing to pay Show Aborigines for services rendered: Thorpe, "Archibald Meston and Aboriginal legislation in colonial Queensland", pp.64-65.

[10] D.A. King, & A.W. McHoul, "The discursive production of the Queensland Aborigine as subject: Meston's proposal, 1895", *Social Analysis*, No. 19, August, 1986, p.33.

[11] Thorpe, "Archibald Meston and Aboriginal legislation in colonial Queensland", p.63.

[12] Roslyn Poignant, "Captive Aboriginal lives: Billy, Jenny, Little Toby and their companions", in Kate-Darian-Smith (ed.) *Captive lives: Australian captivity narratives*, Working papers in Australian Studies Nos. 85, 86 & 87, Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, London, 1993; Roslyn Poignant, "Looking for Tambo", *Olive Pink Society Bulletin*, Vol.9, Nos 1-2, 1997. She has listed three troupes: three Aborigines from Fraser Island who appeared in Germany in 1883; nine Aborigines from Hinchinbrook and Palm Islands who toured Europe and America from 1883; and six men and two women who were recruited as attractions for the Chicago World Fair of 1893.

[13] From William Thorpe, Archibald Meston and the Aborigines: ideology and practice 1870-1879 (thesis) 1984, p.60, quoted by Poignant, "Looking for Tambo", p.31.

concluded that "the natives were aware of the nature of the agreement they had entered into with Cunningham".[14] Most died overseas after harrowing exploitation.[15]

Cunningham, who proclaimed Aborigines to be "the most interesting people that have ever been seen in a civilised country",[16] displayed them as an exemplification of bloodthirsty primitivism. Specialising as boomerang-throwers, they were prime attractions in Barnum's *Ethnological Congress*, museums and circuses.

Illustration 98: European poster for Wild Aborigines[17]

Cunningham's conduct was reprehensible but elements of their lives as Show Aborigines are consistent with familiar experiences of indigenous performers in Europe.

Within the limits of their disempowerment, they worked at self-transformation to improve their situation. Tambo liked to adorn himself in top hat and cane[18] and they took pride in their performance dress and ornamentation.[19] Denigrated as objects, they were observers capable of parrying a women's enquiry about having sticks through their noses by responding "why do you have holes in the ears?"[20]

They were disappointed by whatever agreement had been struck with Cunningham but were astute enough not to protest in his presence, confining their discontent to safer surroundings.[21] A reporter quoted Cunningham grumbling that he had "great trouble with the creatures and wishes they were off his hands."[22]

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[14] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 February 1883, quoted by Poignant, "Captive Aboriginal lives", p.47.

[15] The death certificate of Jimmy, a Palm Islander, identified his profession as "Australian Savage" for the Cunningham Company: Poignant, "Captive Aboriginal lives", p.53.

[16] Quoted by Poignant, "Captive Aboriginal lives", p.44 from a publicity pamphlet of the time.

[17] English language advertisement for Aboriginal performers in Germany from Roslyn Poignant, *Captive lives: looking for Tambo and his companions*, Programme notes for travelling exhibition, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 1997.

[18] Poignant, "Looking for Tambo", p.29.

[19] According to Poignant's reading of a Crystal Palace photograph, Poignant, "Captive Aboriginal lives", pp.50-51.

[20] Quoted by the two anthropologists, Houzé and Jacques in Poignant, "Captive Aboriginal lives", p.51.

[21] Poignant, "Captive Aboriginal lives", p.52.

[22] Quoted by Poignant, "Looking for Tambo", p.30.

Their actions demonstrated non-European aspects of double-consciousness. After Tambo died in Cleveland his comrades attempted to fold his body as their practices required. In desperate attempts to resuscitate a dead non-Aboriginal child in their Pittsburgh hotel, Billy employed Aboriginal remedies, flapping his arms, breathing into the dead boy's mouth then blowing and spitting into a box to capture the bad spirit.[23] The visibility of their Aboriginal beliefs at such critical junctures of their lives emphasises the centrality of alienation from their culture, and underlines the significance of death in a foreign land.

After Roslyn Poignant located the mummified body of Tambo Tambo in the basement of a Cleveland funeral home, two of his relatives and a senior Palm Islander repatriated his remains. On 23 February 1994, an Aboriginal ceremony on Palm Island laid Tambo to rest 110 years after his death.[24]

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[23] Poignant, "Captive Aboriginal lives", p.51.

[24] Poignant, Roslyn, *Captive lives*, Programme notes for travelling exhibition.

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