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The Stolen Generation: As an example of British and Australian
Attitudes towards Australian Aborigines in the First
Half of 20th Century

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Z á s a d y   p r o   v y p r a c o v á n í :

An introduction about the definition of Culture and how a country percieves its cultural identity. This analysis will act as a template for a detailed examination of the history of the conflict between native aboriginal Australian and European settlers. Special attention will be paid to the question of the "Stolen Generation" in which aboriginal children were abducted and assimilated into white Australian culture. The cultural consequences of this episode in Australian history upon native aboriginal society and the majority white Australian will be examined in great depth.

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Abstract

The topic of this bachelor thesis is the 'Stolen Generation' of Aboriginal children from 1814 to 1969 and the cultural analysis of the forces that shaped this episode of Australian history.

The main object is to show how changes in the morals and the values of European culture in the 19th and early 20th century were reflected in the attitudes of British and later Australian settlers towards the native Aboriginal population.

 Further attention will be paid to more recent changes in the relationship between to ethnic groups. There will also be some consideration of the literary response of the Aboriginal community towards the topic of the 'Stolen Generation'.

Keywords
Culture analysis, attitude of British settlers, 'Fatal Impact', Aborigines, modern Australia response, 'Stolen Generation'

Abstrakt

Tématem této bakalařské práce je ' Ukradená Generace' domorodých dětí od roku 1814 do roku 1969,kulturní analýza a síly, které formovaly tuto epizodu australské historie. Cílem práce je ukázat jak se změny v morálce a hodnotách europské kultury v 19. a na počátku 20 století odrazily v přístupech britských a později australských osadníků k směrem domorodé populace Australie.

Pozornost bude věnována nedávným změnám ve vztahu mezi etnickými skupinami. V bakalářské práci bude zvážen literární ohlas domorodé komunity vůči ´Ukradené Generaci´.

Klíčová slova:

analýza kultury, postoj britských osadniků, osudný dopad, domorodci, moderni australská odezva, ukradená generace

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1. INTRODUCTION

In modern opinion, the idea of another country forcibly abducting the children of another country and then attempting to change the culture and traditions of that society so as to make it more amenable and acceptable to its own moral and cultural norms, would be totally unacceptable. The fact that such a policy would be carried out by a country of a different racial group and at a distance of some eleven thousand miles, further compounds the sense of shock and dismay felt by modern observers of such actions and yet, that was what exactly happened to the Stolen Generation of Aboriginal children from 1819 until the middle years of the 20th century.

If such a social policy were carried out today it would undoubtedly cause universal outrage and would not be tolerated, and yet during its operation it barely raised a flicker of opposition in the minds of the contemporary arbiters of moral opinion in Church and State. This episode perfectly illustrates how cultural norms and attitudes can rapidly and radically change under pressure from social, moral and political influences. The issue of the 'Stolen Generation' presents an extreme example of cultural subversion by a powerful majority culture towards a small, apparently 'primitive' indigenous society set against the background of an imperialist colonial context. There are countless examples of similar colonial clashes throughout the world where European empires attempted to dominate and forcibly change the native cultures they came across. In spite of being such an unusual example of colonial cultural change, the issue of the 'Stolen Generation' presents an excellent case study of the clash of cultures, especially in the colonial context.

2. AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL THEORY WITHIN ANTHROPOLOGY

Before looking at the history of the 'Stolen Generation' and the attitudes that lay behind it, it would be helpful to investigate the cultural theory and analysis of the wider context of cultural change taking place in a colonial setting and the social and cultural fallout from such clashes between First World civilisations and indigenous societies. It would be more straightforward just to give an historical account and analysis of this strange event in Australian history but because this thesis is for 'Australian Cultural Studies' and the title of the thesis is concerned with specifically 'British and Australian attitudes towards 'Australian Aborigines', then some attention needs to be first devoted to a cultural analysis of this event. Its history will be discussed later.

As the clash between the first British settlers and the later Australian population and the native Aborigines intensified and then later subsided, the social and cultural influences that shaped and influenced the values and attitudes of those groups also changed over time in correlation with the general shift in the value and moral system of 19th and 20th century Europe. In sixty years, Australian government policy towards its native aboriginal population would go from the accepted policy of assimilation (now largely discredited) as witnessed in the 'Stolen Generation', to the recent "Sorry Day" of 2008 in which Prime Minister Kevin Rudd publicly apologised to native Australians for all the hurt and injustices heaped on Australia's Aborigines by successive governments of firstly British colonial administrations and then later Australian administrations. How could these attitudes change so quickly, both at a government level but also at an individual level where public opinion has such a large influence in a democracy in determining political decisions and policies? Throughout the post-colonial era in general, there has been an intellectual and political re-evaluation of European attitudes towards their former colonial subjects. These changes, as has been said previously, have come about because of the great changes in cultural attitudes in Western Europe. These influences are many and varied. They are moral, political and economic.

Before looking at the economic and moral changes, it might be instructive to examine the intellectual and philosophical approach to cultural differences that took place over the same time frame as the 'Stolen Generation'.

Often societies change as a result of intellectual and philosophical movements. For example, in Western Europe, the writings of a relatively obscure German monk, Martin Luther, completely overturned the religious and theological landscape of Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries. The Reformation would establish the principle of salvation by faith in opposition to the widely held view of the Catholic Church that salvation was a matter of works or good deeds. Out of this ideological shift new social and political attitudes would develop. Europe would be divided into Protestant countries and those countries that gave allegiance to Rome. It is no coincidence that in the northern Protestant countries of Britain and Scandinavia, and later colonies established in North America, the idea of individual conscience would inspire parliamentary democracy and less hierarchical societies than those associated with the hegemony of the Roman Catholic Church.

In a less dramatic but a similar way, the writings and thinking of the newly emerging science of Anthropology during the Victorian Era would produce considerable changes in the attitudes of European societies towards the issues of Culture and Race.

As the spread of European Empires widened and eventually would encompass the whole world, first explorers then missionaries and finally settlers and colonial administrators would come into contact with an ever-increasing number of disparate ethnic and cultural groups very different to their own. They looked different, often had totally different economic cultures and very different religious practices and beliefs. Their initial attitude was one of bewilderment and ignorance, often characterizing them as 'savages' 'heathen barbarians' and in the case of some African tribes, as 'non-humans' closer in origin to monkeys!

2.1 The Founders of Modern Anthropology: Edward Tylor, Henry Morgan, Franz Boas, Emil Durkheim

Before establishing a template or model of cultural analysis with which to examine the topic of the 'Stolen Generation' as an example of British and Australian attitudes towards the indigenous inhabitants of Australia, it might be instructive to look at a definition of Culture and the various anthropological theories that have informed the scientific debate around cultural differences and the causes of those differences.

We know that Anthropology developed at the same time as the initial clashes between so-called 'civilised' European Empires and 'primitive' indigenous societies intensified. This apparent conflict produced a fertile ground for the evolution of new ideas regarding human social and cultural development. Just as this intellectual churning produced constantly changing academic and intellectual attitudes, these very changes would filter down to the settler or colonial administrator who would have personal contact with 'primitive' human groups.

Anthropology addresses a series of questions that humans have pondered for thousands of years. What is the nature of society? Why do cultures change? What is the relationship between the person as an individual and the person as a member of a distinctive social group/What are the distinguishing characteristics of humanness? Why are cultures different?

Prior to the 19th century philosophers such as Aristotle compared society to a human organism. The 14th century Arab geographer Ibn Khaldun explained the differences between cultures in terms of climate; passionate, expressive societies exist in warmer climates while restrained, impassive cultures exist in colder northern climates. It is only in the 19th century that such questions were answered in a more empirical, scientific manner in which evidence was drawn from extensive fieldwork and also increasingly from biologists such as Charles Darwin who regarded Man as essentially as an animal subject to the same evolutionary forces that influenced the development of *all* natural life forms.

Four men, Edward Tylor, Lewis Henry Morgan, Franz Boas and Emile Durkheim can be safely regarded as the founders of modern Anthropology. It is from the thinking and writing of such men that both governmental and individual attitudes towards the indigenous peoples of the newly settled colonies would be *partially* developed. Jerry. D. Moore writes,

A significant change occurred in the social sciences with the publication of Charles Darwin's (1858) The Origin of Species. It seems clear that the Darwinian theory of biological variation served as a model for inquiry into the nature of human cultural differences. The mid-19th century is a threshold; earlier may have thought about cultural differences and the nature of humanity, but their approaches to understanding are distinct from post-Darwinian science. It is not that earlier scholars were unaware of

cultural differences rather they lacked the 'slightest clue as to how cultural differences might be explained.' (Harris 1968, 15 in Moore) 'Morgan, Tylor, Durkheim and Boas stand on this side of that intellectual divide, and thus their ideas remain more immediate and direct'. (Moore, 1997, 16)

It is to Edward Tylor that we are indebted for the first clear definition of Culture. Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) was the first professor of Anthropology at Oxford University and his ideas greatly contributed to the development of Social Anthropology and a scientific analysis of cultural development. He provided the first working academic definition of Culture that is still recognized today by anthropologists. Jerry Moore writes,

> Culture or Civilisation, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, Art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by Man as a member of Society. (1997, 17)

In his book, Primitive Culture, Tylor set out to reconstruct the history of human culture and lacking any prehistoric written evidence, attempted to understand the 'complex whole' of culture and civilisation relying on two newly-established scientific principles, firstly Uniformitarianism, as propounded by the eminent Victorian geologist, John Lyell and then the of 'Survivals' as developed by Charles Darwin in the field of Biology and applied by Tylor to explain the 'evolution of culture'. Jerry Moore quotes Tylor from his work Primitive Society, written in 1871, to summarise Tylor's new way of looking at human cultural development:

> The condition of culture among the various societies of mankind, insofar as it is capable of being investigated on general principles, is a subject apt for the study of laws of human thought and action. On the other hand, the uniformity which so largely pervades civilisation may be ascribed, in great measure, to the uniform action of uniform causes, while on the other hand its various grades may be regarded as stages of development of evolution, each the outcome of previous history and about to do its proper part in sharing the history of the future. (Moore, 1997, 24)

Lewis Henry Morgan, along with Bronislav Malinowski, was one of the few exceptions to this criticism. In contrast to other anthropologists, Morgan began to explore the relationships within and also in comparison to, different societies as reflected in shared systems of kinship. Morgan began a global inquiry into kinship systems and, supported by the Smithsonian Institution and the State Department, sent a printed questionnaire requesting information about kinship terms to consular officials

around the world. After examining this extensive data, Morgan came to the conclusion that

> The latest investigations respecting the early condition of the human race are tending to the conclusion that mankind commenced their career at the bottom of the scale and worked their way up from savagery to civilisation through the slow accumulation of experimental knowledge. (Moore, 1997, 35)

Such a statement, to the modern reader seems blindingly obvious and uncontroversial. Yet to contemporary Victorians who largely believed that the boundaries and strata of human society had been established by a divine hand, it would appear radical because it asserted that human social development was caused by the same factors, namely evolution and uniform natural processes that had shaped the evolution of other life forms and human development and was no different to that of the animal kingdom. Moore quotes from Morgan's seminal work, Ancient Society, in order to summarise Morgan's explanation of the different stages of cultural development.

> Civilised nations had progressed through similar stages and profited by the 'heroic exertions and the patience' of barbarian and savage ancestors which was *part* of *the plan* of *the supreme intelligence* to *develop* a *barbarian* out of a *savage* and a *civilised man* out of *this barbarian*. (Moore, 1997, 39)

Franz Boas (1858-1942) was one of the founders of American Anthropology. Interestingly, according to Jerry Moore, 'Boas dismissed the evolutionary framework of Morgan, Tylor and others as untested and untestable.'(Moore,1997,48) Boas rejected what he considered as simplistic cultural generalisations. For example, he rejected the commonly held view that religions based on animism developed before polytheistic religions, the common inference being that animism as a primitive belief system had to progressively evolve into the more apparently sophisticated polytheistic religion.

Finally, when thinking of those who contributed to the theories of human cultural development, we must consider the influence of Emile Durkheim, the French sociologist and educator.

Durkheim (1858-1917) was concerned with the 'question of the relations of the individual to social solidarity.' Durkheim was interested in the apparent paradox of, for example a self-sufficient hunter and his need for a social identity as part of a larger

group. Interestingly, Durkheim highlighted the importance of religion in society, something often neglected by other anthropologists. His case study of the Arunta aboriginal people of central Australia examined the *social significance* of religion. Because Durkheim regarded aboriginal society as the most primitive on Earth he regarded it as *original* and therefore a kind of prototype for all later religious forms. Durkheim was interested in the importance of totems in aboriginal life. Totems such as red kangaroos identified certain clans. Such totems were sacred, but Durkheim insisted that such objects were not intrinsically religious, rather they were imbued by the wider social group with a quality of sacredness in order to serve a greater social purpose.

3. ISSUES OF CULTURAL AND POLITICAL IMPERIALISM

The ideas of the founders of modern Anthropology are important and relevant when thinking of the topic of the 'Stolen Generation'. They provide an intellectual framework for analysing cultural development as it became an appropriate subject of study in the nascent social sciences of the Victorian Era. Cultural differences, especially marked in the encounter between the early British settlers and the native Australian aborigines, started to be looked at from a scientific viewpoint as well as from a merely racial or moral angle. As will be observed later in an examination of the early history of colonial Australia, these new ideas did actually influence the ideas and actions of the early Aboriginal Protectors who were appointed to look after the interests of the indigenous population. As well as looking at the contemporary intellectual influences that would have influenced the thinking of early British settlers as they first encountered the Aborigines the political, economic and moral forces that drive cultural imperialism need to be investigated. Victorians social scientists as reference by the quotation of Lewis Henry Morgan, were largely the product of their own intellectual and moral hinterland. Notions of racial and moral superiority had not yet been abandoned, even in the corridors of academia.

Other more compelling forces namely, the economic ambitions of an imperial nation and its strong Christians moral imperative held greater sway in the development of the historical aberration that is the 'Stolen Generation'. Culture is not neutral. It can be manipulated and used by a stronger military and economic power to achieve its ambitions. To quote Barbara Bush 'Cultural transformations have characterised all

empires, ancient and modern, but it was the modern empires that developed the most sophisticated technologies of governance and/or cultural technologies.' (2006, 114)

In contrast to Tylor's definition of culture, Barbara Bush emphasises the political aspect of culture.

> Culture is here defined as a shared set of values linking language, religion, kinship, work and the individual conception of the world around them. *It is adaptive and dynamic and linked to power relations and can thus generate tension, conflict and resistance.* (Bush, 2006,115)

Initially, the first Europeans on new colonial frontiers had to engage in reciprocal relations with indigenous peoples on whose help they initially depended. Without aboriginal knowledge and help, the ill-equipped first convict labour settlements in Sydney would not have survived. As the early British convict population increased, tensions between settler and Aborigine escalated. As British imperial power developed in the 18th and 19th centuries, British cultural imperialism increasingly imposed hegemonic policies towards Australia's Aborigines. Barbara Bush writes,'cultural imperialism involves a dominant power imposing aspects of its culture on a society that is 'weaker' or 'backward' in some military, economic or technological sense'. (2006, 123) Power is maintained through hegemonic ideologies, the dominant or ruling set of ideas in a society, which worked in the interests of powerful groups in metropolis and colony. Bush highlights the channels of cultural imperialism thus:

> Conduits of cultural imperialism included Western medicine, science and technology, Christianity, European education and languages, and Western principles of business, law, taxation and accountancy. (2006, 125)

It was especially the tools of Christianity and education that impacted most severely on Aboriginal culture. These were primarily the forces that shaped the context in which the cultural policy of the 'Stolen Generation' took place. Bush considers that

> Missionaries were crucial to the civilising mission and have been targeted as prime agents of Westernization through education. The missionary project was also directed to transforming family life, gender relations and sexuality. (2006, 127)

Missionaries represented the cultural flag-bearers of European imperialist cultural hegemony based on essentially Judaeo-Christian values. As has been noted earlier, the

influence of a more scientific approach to cultural analysis gradually undermined the importance of missionaries in shaping the cultural impact on the indigenous population of the new colonies. Bush comments thus on this new trend:

> Most studies of missionaries focus on the period before 1914. Missionaries remained important during the twentieth century, but their role changed in line with imperial policies. Cultural interventions were now increasingly supported by knowledge of colonial 'others' derived from the new social sciences of ethnography, anthropology and linguistics. (2006, 128)

Examples of such efforts to place colonial knowledge on a scientific footing include the establishment of the London School of Economics (1898) and School of Oriental and African Studies (1938). Such institutions were founded to train colonial and social administrators. Strong intellectual links were forged between the colonial and domestic social agenda. This was the process in which changes in the values of European imperial powers were reflected in the attitudes of colonial settlers and this was no less true in Australia. Bush offers an interesting theory into the role of anthropology itself as a tool of cultural imperialism:

> There are strong arguments in support of the view that anthropology supported rather than undermined the structures of knowledge and racial discourses that underpinned imperial power. The anthropological concept of culture might never have been invented without a 'colonial theatre' that necessitated the knowledge of control and regulation.

> (2006, 129)

Bush argues, however, that such criticisms of European Anthropology and other forms of cultural intervention, constituted a minority view and 'the evolving social sciences, missionaries and medicine became crucial to the modernizing mission in the colonies after the First World War.' (Bush, 2006, 130) It was this project of modernity that largely shaped values of firstly British and then later Australian settlers towards the indigenous Aborigines. Bush considers that

> The twin elements of British modernity; secular, rational utilitarianism and an evangelicalism that articulated a Christian morality for the modern world, had a profound influence on British domestic culture, the nature of its imperial mission and cultures. (2006, 84)

The spread of modernity stirred up fierce debates over the relationship between race, culture and progress. Anthropologists and some colonial administrators argued for a

less 'hands-on' approach towards indigenous cultures. Traditions were to be respected and native cultures should be left alone to developed at their own pace. Yet for the missionary these tribal peoples needed to be freed from superstition and ignorance. Native peoples needed to be guided towards assimilation into the modern, educated world of the white majority culture. Debates between assimilationists and segregationists were most intense in relation to 'primitive peoples'.

In Australia and Canada, assimilation into white culture until they disappeared, was seen as the modern solution to the 'problem' of indigenous peoples, 'as they had 'weak' cultures and were unable to resist the influence of a more vigorous, superior culture.' (Bush, 2006, 87) Children were taken from their families and placed in white homes, the most extreme example of this cultural policy of assimilation found expression in the issue of the 'Stolen Generation'. Conversely, segregation of 'civilised' and 'savage' was practised in South Africa and led to the vicious and oppressive policy of Apartheid. Assimilation and segregation were two different tools imperialist of cultural policy used to subjugate indigenous colonised populations.

3.1. Cultural Policy as a Tool of Imperialist Government

The 'Stolen Generation' represents a clear illustration of imperialist cultural policy. Miller and Yudice define cultural policy as referring

> To the institutional supports that channel both aesthetic creativity and collective ways of life. Cultural policy is embodied in systematic, regulatory guides to action that are adopted by organizations to achieve their goals. (2002, 1)

Miller and Yudice look at Michel Foucault's concept of governmentality as related to cultural policy. Foucault uses the term to explain 'the way in which the modern state began to worry about individuals.'(Miller and Yudice, 2002, 3) Government gradually usurped the role of Church in shaping the morals and values of European civilisation. As the economic and military power of European empires increased, it was accompanied by a more state dominated policy of cultural hegemony. Miller and Yudice state,

> Raymond Williams applies Gramsci's concept of hegemony to culture, defining it as the contention of *dominant versus residual and emergent* forms. Hegemony is secured when

the dominant culture uses education, philosophy, religion, advertising and art to make its dominance appear normal and natural to the heterogeneous groups that constitute society.

(2002, 7)

Once the cultural hegemony of capitalism, Christianity, and then social progress had been established in Europe, governments sought to impose cultural dominance in their colonies. Cultural policy was directed towards subversion and then domination of colonial indigenous groups.

3.2. Summary: The Need for a Multi-layered Approach for the Understanding of Cultural Change

To sum up, the historical and cultural clash between British settlers and native Aborigines can be analysed in different ways. It can be looked at from a purely historical perspective, but this approach takes no account of the complex forces that shaped that conflict. Neither can such a conflict be looked at in a purely anthropological way. Yes, the indigenous aboriginal culture was of great scientific interest to European social scientists that were trying to develop theories of human cultural evolution, but it was not possible to merely observe Aboriginal society in an empirical, objective way. It too, was caught up in the establishment of European cultural hegemony in its colonies. The 'Stolen Generation' needs to be regarded as an historical aberration, a product of European cultural, religious and political attitudes that constantly shifted throughout the period of time (1814-1969) when the episode of the 'Stolen Generation' took place. This term refers to the thousands of native Australians who were abducted and then assimilated into white Australian society as a way of dealing with the 'problem' of an alien culture. Who were these Aborigines?

4. HISTORY OF ABORIGINAL SOCIETY BEFORE COLONIALISM

It is estimated that there is archaeological evidence for a human occupation of the continent of Australia going back 50,000 years. When the British first established settlements in Eastern Australia at the end of the 18th century, it is estimated that there were only about 300,000 Aborigines scattered across the whole continent. It was across a land bridge that the first ancestors from Asia migrated. Racially they are believed to be related to the Proto-Dravidian peoples of India. They were a nomadic people having a hunter- gatherer society. They did not build substantial shelter and had limited hand-tools. They hunted kangaroos and fished in the bountiful seas of the Australian coastline. Frank Welsh notes 'all Australian Aborigines societies tended towards

polygamy.' (2004:20) Prior to European settlement, aboriginal communities were living within territories that were defined by complex rituals of ceremony, dance, symbol and song. Elders within each tribe were the custodians of these traditions and of the tribes' frontiers and boundaries. There may have been as many as 700 tribal groups of between 400 and 500 people each within in their own territory. Hunting was more predominant in the drier interior whilst gathering was more prominent in the southern and eastern forest areas. Frank Welsh comments:

> In a society without written records, customs took the place of formal law, but it was custom evolved through more than a thousand generations and its observance, was literally vital. The only predator Australians had to fear was man and the mutual observance of tradition could ensure that conflicts were limited and did not threaten the survival of the group. Traditions were transmitted and customs enforced by complex social and religious rituals celebrating and confirming Man's relations with the physical and spiritual world, relations between individuals and the passage of human life. (Welsh, 2004, 21)

It was geographical and cultural isolation that led to the innate conservatism of Aboriginal society especially when introduced to more technologically advanced societies. It was into this utterly alien world that the first British settlers entered and which would result in the 'Fatal Impact', to coin Alan Moorehead's memorable phrase, between the two cultures.

5. 'THE FATAL IMPACT': EUROPEAN CONTACT WITH AUSTRALIA AND ITS INHABITANTS.

The first British fleet arrived in Botany Bay in 1788. But prior to this a few European adventures, including Tasman and Van Diemen from Holland and also Antoine de Bougainville from France had made tentative contact with the then unknown continent of New Holland. James Cook, the famous British navigator and explorer, in 1770, surveyed the east coast of Australia and claimed the land in the name of King George III.

As has been emphasized earlier, these early navigators and explorers brought with them prevailing European attitudes to the native peoples they encountered on their voyages. These attitudes would directly influence the early cultural and political policies developed towards Australia's Aborigines. They would also later form the basis of the

moral framework in which the dominant imperial British culture gave itself permission to first subdue and then assimilate Aboriginal population.

5. 1. 'The Noble Savage'- The Age of Romanticism

Navigators, such as Cook and Wallis, initially were more interested in Polynesian Islanders. As well as bringing all the necessary material baggage needed for settlement, these early British explorers also brought with them the ideological baggage of contemporary European thought. These can be characterised by three main strands, namely Romanticism, the superiority of Christian civilisation and the need to expand Europe's overseas colonies.

Romanticism was largely inspired by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the French philosopher, who in his Discours sur le Arts et Sciences 1749, developed the theory of the simple and unsophisticated man living in Paradise. Initially, Tahiti became the focus for such utopian ideas, but these same ideas were projected onto the Aborigines first encountered by Cook in 1776. 'Yet for the moment Cook was inclined to envy them. 'They may appear to some, 'he wrote, 'to be the most wretched people on earth but in reality they are far happier than we Europeans..........they live in a tranquillity which is not disturbed by the inequality of condition'. (Moorehead, 2000, 117) Joseph Banks, the famous botanist who accompanied him, shared the same view. He wrote, 'Thus live these I had almost said, happy people content with little, nay almost nothing'. (Moorehead, 2000, 117)

After the Age of Enlightenment in Europe, came the Great Awakening. Evangelists such as George Whitfield and John Wesley had enormous influence in reforming the moral turpitude in 18th century Europe and America. After the brutal death of Cook and other explorers at the hands of the 'Noble Savages' of the South Pacific, Paradise found became Paradise lost. The South Pacific was now seen as a place of vice and spiritual darkness.

> Scientists like Banks wanted to expand their investigations in the Pacific, the merchants wanted empire and missionaries wanted to reclaim the pagans for Christianity. The missionaries were first in the field. (Moorehead, 2000, 79)

5.2. The missionary efforts

In Australia, the missionaries were in the vanguard of efforts to pacify 'heathen' Aborigines. Michael Cannon, in his book 'Who killed the Kouries', cites many examples of idealistic Christian missionaries trying to reach the Aborigines of Victoria. 'These good-hearted ministers soon found out that Aboriginal tradition was not easily set aside.' (1990, 200) The missionaries were caught between the Aborigines whom they were trying to protect and the squatters who were constantly expanding their grazing pastures onto traditional Aboriginal hunting-grounds. Cannon illustrates the invidious position the missionaries found themselves in. Charles la Trobe (the first Superintendent of the Sydney District (1839) felt that 'the missionaries should not shrink from the duty of openly exposing the vicious connexion which too often exists between the Europeans and the native women.' (Cannon, 1990, 201)

5.3. The economic and political colonisation

The third important factor that influenced early British attitudes towards native Australians was shaped by the strong desire to develop political and economic hegemony in the new colony of Australia. Initially, the unknown territory of New Holland was seen as an ideal location for the transportation of convicts from Britain's overflowing jails and prison hulks. A total of 160,463 convicts were transported to Australia. By 1868, when transportation ended, the continent's population was 1.6 million. The government declared all Australian land to be crown land and in 1836 a New South Wales court declared that the Aborigines were too few and ill-organized to be considered 'free and independent tribes'. Robert Hughes suggests that as much as it is possible to calculate, between 2000 and 5000 settlers and upward of 20,000 Aborigines had been killed in these colonial frontier conflicts. Hughes notes that many missionaries often complained that 'lower-class whites' - former convicts and their descendants deliberately undermined their efforts to educate and convert the fringe-dwelling Aborigines. It was against this background of increasing conflict between settlers and Aborigines that the 'Stolen Generation' issue came into being.

6. 'PACIFY THE NATIVES'- THE POLICY OF AN ASSIMILATION

The colonial administrators back in London could easily see that the native Aboriginal population was declining rapidly through disease and conflict. The traditional nomadic way of life was dying out,yet they were faced with a dilemma. How to mantain the rapid economic growth of the new colony with rapidly growing exports of wool and grain and at the same time satisfy the demands of an ever-increasingly vocal liberal, political lobby who, after the abolition of slavery in 1832, became more zealous to grant legal and moral rights to colonised, indegenous peoples.

6. 1. The policy of protection

As has been stated earlier Europe's imperialist, powers used assimilation or segregation to subdue native population. In Australia they used both. In 1839, stimulated by the foundation of the Aborigines Protection Society and shocked by frightful stories about the treatments od Aboriginals by convict shepherds, reformers saw a chance to impose stricter controls before the genocide of the Aborigines could occur. Subsequently, a system of protecters employed by the govenment and armed with magisterial powers,was put in place. It was hoped that these Protectors would not only prevent exploitation of the tribes but would also gradually persuade them to emulate the white man's seemingly superior and Christian civilisation. Cannon notes that many of the early Protectors were idealistic Christians, whose best efforts were often thwarted by the more aggressive community of settlers and farmers and their supporters in govenment. These Protectors helped to organize the settlement of Aborigines on reserves separate from colonial society. Some of these reserves were created in the coastal lowlands of south-east Australia, but as new settlers demanded more land in this area, so the reserves were moved into the interior. It was not until the 1930s that a number of remote reserves were established in central and north Australia where 'traditional' Aboriginal culture could be preserved. Robinson, Loughran and Tranter note that 'some reserves run by church organisations were established in other parts of the country, usually attempting to train Aborigines in techniques of cultivation and pastoral activity.'(2000, 70) The same authors, however, acknowledged that

> The reserves may have preserved certain traditional aspects of Aboriginal life, but *the imposed segregation has also promoted a deep sense of grievance in Aboriginal*

*communities.*The conformity to white norms and beliefs at the expense of Aboriginal tradition and culture meant the undermining of the Aborigines'extended families and tribal groups, group 'ownership' and nomadism. (2000, 71-72)

6. 2. The policy of assimilation

Parallel to the policy of segregation, the much more radical and ultimately scandalous policy of assimilation was initiated to deal with the Aboriginal 'problem'. According to the fact sheet on the 'Stolen Generation'or perhaps more accurately the Stolen Generations were the generation of Aboriginal children taken away from their families by State governments, church and welfare bodies to be brought up in institutions or fostered out to white settlers. Removing children from their families was official govenment policy in Australia until 1969.

However, the practice had begun in the earliest days of European settlement when children were used as guides, servants and farm labourers. The first 'native institution' at Parramatta near Sydney was set up in 1814 to 'civilise' Aboriginal children. Initially, the first British administrators saw themselves as 'Protecters'. The Aborigines Protection Board was established and oversaw the mass dislocation of Aboriginal people from their traditional lands onto reserves and mission station. Peter Read, an Australian historian, and a campaigner on behalf of Aboriginal rights, estimates that

The 'Stolen Generations' were 'some 100,000 Aboriginal children who were taken from their families on the territories, and raised in homes or adopted by white families.This was Australian state policy between about 1880 and 1960, but was concentrated around the 1930s. (Appleton on Read, 1)

Read argues that at the time the policy was regarded as benevolent, but with later research into the policy, the darker side of abuse was exposed.

As has been previously stated, the initial aims of the Aboriginal Protectorate were laudable. Their mission was to guide the main tribes around the countryside and to try to persuade them to settle down to a more settled way of life.Tragically, they were unable to protect all Aborigines from the worse excesses of convicts and settlers who saw the Aborigines as an obstacle to their desire to expand their farms into the interior.This tension was especially noticeable after Federation in 1901 when Australia became a self-governing dominion. No longer did the altruistic, benevolent attitudes of distant Victorian idealists hold sway in Aboriginal affairs. Australia was rapidly

developing into a major exporter of wool, wheat and other agricultural products.The influential farming lobby had to be placated. Frank Welsh notes:

> Attempting as best he could to stem the decline, Bishop George Frodsham of North Queensland lamented: 'the Aborigines are disappearing. In the course of a generation or two, at the most, the last Australian black fellow will have turned his face to warm mother earth...Missionary work then may only be the smoothing the pillow of a dying race. (2004, 487)

Welsh argues that for the majority of the white population, this opinion was universally held.

6. 3. The policy of control

As has been noted earlier in the section on cultural theory, a new awareness of the social sophistication on of so-called uncivilised societies developed due to increasing anthropological research. This slowly led to changed attitudes in mainstream Australian culture. Frank Welsh, notes that

> Some perception of Aboriginal culture was slowly developing among a very small number of anthropologists and such sympathisers as Mary Bennett, bought up in close and friendly contact with the Dalleburra people of Queensland. (2004, 487)

However, such individuals were not strong enough to withstand the cultural imperial attitudes towards Aborigines. Welsh says,

> To all Australian governments, state and Commonwealth, the concept of control was much more influential than that of 'Protection'. Little effort was expended on ensuring that Aborigines living on reserves were given tolerable employment conditions. (2004, 487)

In 1911, under the Commonwealth Act any Aboriginal under the age of 18, including 'half-caste', defined as anyone with an Aboriginal parent or grandparent,was automatically placed under the control of the Protector, who might remove, without any reason offered and without the parent's consent, any such child. *This Act set in law the Australian state policy of control and assimilation of its Aboriginal population*. After the Second World War in which a few Aborigines served in the Australian army, attempts were made to give Aborigines political rights. In 1949, the Commonwealth

Electoral Act gave Aborigines in South Australia, New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania, but in Queensland and Western Australia this priviledge was only granted to those who had served in the forces. Alongside these limited progress, the process of assimilation and abduction of Aboriginal children continued apace. Sir Paul Hasluck, in charge of Aboriginal Affairs from 1949 to 1961, later explained in 1980, the reasons for initiating the Commonwealth policy of removing children from Aboriginal families to be educated in foster homes and institutions.

> In the early 1930, a policy was accepted of transferring some children-described as 'octoroons' or 'quadroons'-out of the Territory into southern denominational institutions with a view to their ultimate adoption by white parents. Several children were transferred. It seems that part of the argument was that these children were waifs and strays, but to place them in government institutions for half-caste at Darwin and Alice Spring would not be suitable for their successful '_absorption_ '. _The transfer of children out of the Territory seems to have originated with the Christian missions._
> When I became minister of Territories, opinion in the Territorial administration was still divided about the policy of transfer, but in southern church circles and among those sympathetically concerned with the plight of Aborigines there was a strong continuing advocacy of giving children a 'chance in life'...In a minute of 12 September 1952, I wrote that the policy of assimilation was likely to be assisted by transferring out of the Territory into suitable institutions and private homes in the southern states 'those light coloured children who have no strong ties in the territory.(Welsh, 2004:491-492)

This admittedly long citation is however, extremely revealing about governments attitudes towards Aborigines. It confirms one of the main arguments of the earlier section devoted to cultural theory and analysis, namely, that the Church was a vital moral force in the execution of government policies towards its minority indigenous population. It confirms that state assimilation and abduction are acceptable tools of cultural imperialistic policies if it can be demonstrated that it is towards a better course. It also confirms the racial stereotyping that paler-skinned Aboriginal children were more acceptable for adoption than their darker-skinned brethren. Welsh notes that 'while there was later much justified criticism on the removal of Aboriginal children from their families, at the time it was considered the way forward to a better life, for whites from poor background as well.' (2004, 492)

One of the strong arguments of this thesis is that colonial attitudes in Australia were reflection of the European culture from which they were intrinsically connected to. Some justification for this policy was derived from a similar government policy in Britain before the Second World War and also during and after it, when thousands of

children were forcibly taken from often poor, working-class families often living in bad condition in urban slums. It was felt at the time that such children would have a better future in Canada and Australia. In modern Britain there has been an outcry at such apparently harsh treatment. Tv documentaries have revealed the bitterness and anger felt by the now much older abducted children. Australia simply echoed the policies of the mother country.Yet by May 1967, Prime Minister Harold Holt agreed to a referendum on whether all Aborigines should be given citizenships rights. By 1969, the Aborigines Welfare Board (formely the Aborigines Protection Board) was abolished. Poor record keeping and the loss of vital documents made it almost impossible to quantify the number of the 'Stolen Generations' of Aborigines. By general estimate it is about 100,000. Almost every Aboriginal family has been affected in some way by the policy of child removal. The fact sheets on the 'Stolen Generation' bleakly states that 'taking children from their families was one of the most devastating practices since white settlement and has profound repercussions for all Aboriginal people today'. (NSW government fact sheets) As exemplified in the important 1997 document **Bringing Them Home** and secondly, the Aboriginal response to the policy of assimilation and abduction. It might be helpful to look at how the policies actually worked out in two Australian states, New south Wales and Victoria.

7. THE HISTORY OF THE STOLEN GENERATION'S IN VICTORIA

Australia in both colonial and dominian eras was composed of self-governing states. Each could act indepedently of the national government in Canberra. Each had its own methods of controlling Aboriginal population.

Victoria had a much smaller indigenous population than say New South Wales or Queensland. As early as 1836, mission stations and reserves were established to at first encourage rather than force Aborigines to settle. The arrival of the Europeans saw a dramatic decline in Victoria's Aboriginal population. Desease, violence and alcohol all took their toll. Many halfe-caste children were born from what is euphemistically known as miscegenation, ie., white settlers having sexual relationships with Aboriginal women.

By 1860, there was an inqiury into this state of affairs and as a result a central Board was to watch over the interests of Aborigines was established. The Board formed

the view that 'Aboriginal Victorians were a dying race and not capable of looking after themselves.' (Victorian government:historical overview, 84) There were genuine fears that the Aboriginal race would become extinct. The same article cites part of an interview with Wayne Atkinsons, a mixed-race Aboriginal, illustrating the attitudes of mid- concerning the issue of mixed race Aborigines. It is very revealing about the attitudes of mid-19th century colonialists towards Aborigines.'By removing the children by force and placing then in these institutions they would eventually be absorbed into European society and become white people.' (Victorian historical overview, 84) This quotation reveals the political and moral attitudes of Victorian colonialists, a mixture of paternalistic Christianity and naked economic and social imperialism. There was no room for a dispasionate anthropological appreciation of a nomadic society. A century would elapse before notions of self-determination and universial human rights, especially prominent after the Second World War, would be brought to bear upon the Australian government policies towards its Aboriginal population.

The Victorian government intensified its policy of 'control' and assimilation in 1869 when the Aboriginal Protection Act gave the Board special powers to transfer the custody of station children from their parents to the control of orphanages or the department of neglected children. However, 'the decision to force all Aboriginal people of the reserves generally failed.' (Victorian historical overview, 85) The nomadic way of life was still preferable to living an alien lifestyle on a reserve. Managed segregation was not working.

The more radical policy of assimilation was now pursued with more vigour. In the Aboriginal Protection Act 1886, instead of encouraging Aboriginal people to live in special areas, the Board could compel younger 'Part-Aborigines' and their families to leave the stations and missions to be absorbed into the broader white community. The remaining 'Full-Blood's' were concentrated on designated reserves, whilst a growing number of mixed-raced Aborigines were forcibly removed into the children's home system. Ironically, the economic poverty of the Aboriginal community, largely caused by land dispossession and marginalisation sanctioned by state policies, led to the increasingly condition of Aboriginal children who then had to be 'rescued' by the state! The article makes the point that the Aboriginal extended family system of child-rearing was not aprreciated by state officials who insisted on imposing European models of the

family and child-rearing. Again, this is a clear example of prevailing European attitudes of racial and cultural superiority.

In Victoria the removal of Aboriginal children was practised from the first European settlements until about 1900. Children were often separated from their families and placed in dormitories of Aboriginal missions and stations. In 1880 regulations were introduced specifing compulsory education for Aboriginal childen under 14. From the 1930s to the 1950s the Victorian government denied there was an 'Aboriginal problem'. But the abduction and fostering of Aboriginal children by white Australian agencies continued. According to the internet article regarding the 'Stolen Generation' in Victoria, the placement of Aboriginal children with non-indigenous families actually persisted from the 1950s to the mid 1970s. Paradoxically, within the Aboriginal community itself, children were often informally placed with families or friends.Yet, this tradition was ignored by the Victorian state government. Again, this attitude reflects the increasing involment of the State into all areas of social life. In this way, the Australian government was mirroring the ever-growing tendency of European governments to meddle in family life. This confirms Michel Foucault's thesis of 'Governmentality' in which he identified the State's desire to control the individuals of a nation's population. This trend has continued in the 20th century, often usurping the role of Church and Family.

8. THE HISTORY OF THE STOLEN GENERATION

The State of New South Wales had a much larger indigenous population of Aborigines. The internet article written by Peter Read about the 'Stolen Generation' issue in New South Wales is a highly polemical. It pulls no punches in its judgements on the same process of assimilation adopted in Victoria. It states:

> Missionaries,teachers,government officials have believed that the best way to make black people behave like white people was to get hold of the children who had not yet learned Aboriginal lifeways. They thought that children's minds were like a kind of blackboard on which the European secrets could be written. (Read, 3) The same article cites a statement in a report by the Aborigines Welfare Board in 1921,'the continuation of this policy of dissociating the children from camp life must eventually solve the Aboriginal problem.(Read, 3)

The 'Aboriginal problem' meant Aboriginal people who could not, or would not live as white people wanted them to do. The 1926 report by the Board futher clarifies the thinking and attitudes of State officials thus. 'When children were placed in a 'first class private home the superior standard of life would pave the way for the absorption of these people into the general population.' (Read, 3)

In contrast to state legislation in Victoria, New South Wales was much later in shaping laws to control Aboriginal children. In 1909, through the Aborigines Protection Act, 'children could be removed without their parents' consent only if they were found by a magistrate to be *neglectful*. Later amendments allowed the Board to remove a child if the Board considered it to be in the interest of the child's moral or physical welfare'. This clause could be open to interpretation and it led to widespread abuse of Aboriginal children. In 1939, in a new Child Welfare Act, a new clause of uncontrollability was introduced. This allowed the state to removed aboriginal children who, for example, refused to go to school.

Life in the homes was very harsh for Aboriginal children. One Aboriginal Board report in the 1920s predicted that 'the children, once institutionalised, would not allowed to return to any Aboriginal stations or reserve, except for the occasional visit to their parents.' (Read, 12) Life could be very brutal in the homes. Physical punishment and overwork was commonplace. According to the internet document concerned with New South Wales Aboriginal children,'the children and the race itself were held in the utmost contempt, even by some members of the Board.' (Read, 16) These overtly racist attitudes could be found expressed as normal in all Britain's colonies at this time in history. Racism and notions of white supremacy still outweighed more liberal, benevolent views towards the indigenous population in European colonies.

In the area of employment there was widespread abuse of Aboriginal children in state institutions and care homes. Often they were poorly paid.

The internet article on New South Wales Aborigines has a revealing quotation recording the tensions that underlay the relationship between Aboriginal children taken into care and their supervisors and employers.

> Nor did employers show any awareness that there may have been deeper factors underlying the confrontation between two individuals. When Wards threatened their employers with a broom or carving knife there may have been an element of racial defiance. A descendant of the indigenous people was threatening a member of the

invading race. For white people seem seldom to have realised, let alone acknowledged, that the battle for Australia was the same kind of war of dispossession which was fought by Europeans elsewhere in the world. Nor had they realised that military conquest did not necessarily imply psychological defeat. (Read, 17)

This is a good example of the cultural theory concerning imperialist and post-colonial hegemony, in which a dominant political and social group seeks to impose its beliefs upon another social/racial group. The actions and attitudes of the New South Wales government were simply extreme examples of the pervading European culture and thinking during the 19th and most of the 20th century.

Another aspect of the state policy of assimilation was fostering. In 1957 the Board placed advertisments in major newspaper calling for foster parents to look after Aboriginal children. The principal reason was economic. The state care homes were simply too crowded and in a few years more children were in foster care than in the two state homes combined. The article highlights numerous case histories where the fostering of Aboriginal children went wrong, simply because 'white people, who whatever their motives, understood nothing of the complexity raising a child belonging to another race.' (Read, 20-21)

At the age of eighteen, Wards and foster children were free to return home to their reserves or stations. However, even those that did go back found a very different world from that which they had been told to expect. A Professor Elkin, a member of the Board and the official anthropological adviser, in 1944 wrote:

The mixed-blood people, however, have been in the unfortunate position of possessing no social life worth the name, dotted about in small groups on reserves or settlements .....they have not shared in general community life nor have they any traditional or spontaneous life of their own. (Read, 23)

A black Aboriginal writer exclaimed that 'the denial of culture to southern Aborigines is the final colonial insult.' (Read, 23) The article acknowledges that

This opinion, so deeply ingrained in the minds of the white population, was the foundation of the assimilation policy. The whites were so mesmerised by their own view of society that they could not percieve the value of alternative child raising methods, which were an intergral part of the 'non-existent' black culture. (Read, 23)

9. NEW IDEAS AFTER WW II.

The importance of the extended family to all indigenous societies was ignored by most Australian opinion-makers. The nuclear family of the Christian European civilisation was regarded as the only suitable environment for child-rearing.

However, after the Second World War such apparently arrogant attitudes would be questioned and ultimately undermined by sweeping changes in European morals. Tyrannies had been put down and with the establishment of the United Nations, new ideas of self-determination, universal human rights and racial equality began to challenge the long-established notions of racial superiority and the assumption of the rightness of Christian civilisation. For many people, the ideas of social anthropologists such as Radcliffe-Brown and Franz Boas started to reach a wider audience. In Australia also, these new ideas and attitudes produced different responses in the white majority Australian population and also in the once downtrodden Aboriginal group. Aborigines found their voice and began to argue for political rights, land rights and even independence.

10. THE STATE RESPONSE TO THE 'ABORIGINAL PROBLEM'

Firstly, let us look at the state response to the 'problem' of the 'Stolen Generations'. As has been stated earlier, attitudes towards indigenous groups in European colonies radically altered during and after the Second World War. The ideas that drove the Allied victory over undemocratic tyrannies in Italy, Germany and Japan were incorporated into the United Nations Charter of Universal Human Rights. Declarations about racial equality, the right of self-determination became universally accepted. The fight for independence in pre-war India and the role and ideas of Mahatma Gandhi in the peaceful overthrow of the British Raj, inspired numerous independence movements throughout many European colonies, especially in the British Empire. Although Australia, now a self-governing dominion, still hung onto the values and political attitudes of the formal colonial ruler, after the Second World War state attitudes towards minority Aboriginal population changed considerably. The first indications of changed attitudes were visible in the late 1920s when the Aboriginal Protection League proposed setting up a number of Aboriginal states, where Aborigines

could own land, govern themselves according to their own customs. Frank Welsh acknowledges that

> The war did much to change attitudes, black and white, army camps employed hundreds of Nothern Territory Aborigines, and the more friendly atmosphere with good rations and decent facilities, where Aboriginals were treated as valuable colleagues rather than as threats to white employment. (2004, 490)

10. 1. Increase in aboriginal population

Another factor in the changing post-war government attitudes towards the Aboriginal population was the increase in the Aboriginal population. Robinson, Loughran and Tranter state that 'by 1950 official estimates suggested Aboriginal numbers of around 80,000 or between one-quarter and one-sixth of the 1788 total. The reserves also offered better provision of health care and education.'(2000, 70) However, between 1971 and 1981 number rose by 50,000. This brought the number of full Aborigines to 160,000. Robinson, Loughran and Tranter acknowledge that during the 1960s with Aboriginal numbers increasing,'there was an acceptance of some Aborigine-controlled management bodies and the recognition of a need for positive discrimination in the provision of health care, education and housing provision.'(2000, 72)

It is no coincidence that the 1960s was a key decade in the American Civil Rights Movement when its black minority was at last granted political and social equality. Such notions would rapidly cross the Pacific and influence policy-makers in Australia. Post-war Australia became much closer politically and culturally to the United States. Instead of looking back to the mother country for cultural ideas, the Australians increasingly looked outwards to the United States and Asia as it expanded its cultural,political and economic ties.

10. 2. Change of attitude in the white Australian population

Although the abstract of this thesis highlights the first half of the twentieth century for examination of the topic of the 'Stolen Generations' as an example of British and Australian attitudes towards its indigenous population, the post-war period up to the millenium and beyond was the most significant period for truly radical change in Australian attitudes towards the 'Aboriginal problem'.

It has been established conclusively that the period from 1901 until the 1950s was the most important era for the widespread policy of government assimilation of

Aboriginal children into the white majority population. The political and social reforms that ended these policies finally culminated in the 'Sorry Day' when there was a national apology for those policies. In 1995, the Commonwealth Attorney General established a national inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait islanders' children from their families, to be conducted by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC). The language contained in the title of the Commission, using terms like 'human rights' and ' equal opportunities', is far away from the language of the racist and paternalistic attitudes of earlier British and Australian colonists. In Europe, the popular pre-war consensus towards colonial indigenous cultures radically altered through developing anthropological research into tribal societies and the establishment of the concept of universal human rights as espoused in the post-war UN Charter of Human Rights.

In Australia itself, attitudes changed more slowly. The internet article, the Stolen Generation notes that 'awareness of the Stolen Generation and the practises which created it, only began to enter the public arena in the late 1980s through the efforts of Aboriginal activists, artists and musicians.' (Wikipedia) The history of the Aboriginal community's fight to highlight the injustices of the government's assimilation policy, will be examined later.

In 1992, as media attention began to mount, the Prime Minister, Paul Keating made the first formal acknowlegement of the Stolen Generation by saying in a speech that 'we took the children from their mothers.....it was our ignorance and prejudice.' (Wikipedia) Such public statements concerning the 'Aboriginal problem' would have been unthinkable to previous generations of government politicians. This public awareness together with Aboriginal political pressure, culminated in the comprehensive government report, Bringing Them Home.

10. 3. Bringing Them Home Report

The inquiry in May 1995, presided over by Sir Ronald Wilson, the President of the Australian Human Rights and Equal Rights Commission, during the next 17 months, visited every state and territory and heard testimony from 535 Aboriginal Australians and received submissions of evidence from a further 600. In April 1997, the official Bringing Them Home report was released.The extent of the Australian government's

role in the abduction and assimilation of Aboriginal children was finally put into the public domain. The report acknowledged that at least 100,000 children were removed from their parents although the figure could be much higher as former records often went missing or were inadequately kept. One revealing paragraph from the report states that

> Nationally we can conclude with confidence that between one in three and one in ten indigenous children were forcibly removed from their families and communities in the period from aproximately 1910 until 1970. In certain periods and in regions the figure was undoubtedly much greater than one in ten. Most families have been affected, in one or more generations, by forcible removal of one or more children. (Wikipedia)

The report also examined the origins of the policy. This section is very pertinent to the main topic of the thesis. *The policy of removing Aboriginal children from their parents emerged from an opinion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that the 'full-blood' tribal Aborigine could be unable to sustain itself and was doomed to inevitable extinction. An ideology of the time held that mankind could be divided into a civilisational hierarchy. This notion supposed that Northern Europeans were superior and that Aborigines were inferior. The aim was to culturally assimilate mixed-descent people into contemporary Australian society!* The Bringing Them Home Report condemned the policy of disconnecting children from their 'cultural heritage'. The report actually recommended that the Australian government formally apologise to the affected families. Initially, the Conservative Howard government rejected the proposal on the grounds that it would lead to massive compensation litigation.

However, formal apologies were tabled and passes in the state parliaments of Victoria, South Australia and New South Wales and the Northern Territory on 26.May.1998. The first 'National Sorry Day' was held, and reconciliation events were held nationally and attended by over a million people. Public pressure increased and eventually even Prime Minister Howard was compelled to draft a notion 'of deep and sincere regret over the removal of Aboriginal children from their parents' and which was actually passed by the federal parliament in August 1999. Howard went on to say that The Stolen Generation represented ' the most blemished chapter in the history of this country.'

10.4. The influence of the Sydney Olympics, 2000

In July 2000, the issue of the Stolen Generation came before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva which heavily criticised the Howard government for its manner of attempting to resolve the issues related to the Stolen Generation. Australia was also the target of a formal censure by the United Nations Committee for the elimination of racial discrimination. During the 2000 Olympics in Sydney global media attention was focussed again on the Stolen Generation issue. A large 'Aboriginal tent city' was set up in the grounds of Sydney University to bring attention to Aboriginal issues in general. Interestingly, Cathy Freeman, the top Australian 400 metre gold medal winner and of Aboriginal descent herself, revealed in interviews that her own grandmother was a victim of forced removal. The internationally renowned rock group Midnight Oil obtained worldwide media interest when they performed at the Olympic closing ceremony wearing black sweatsiuts with the word "Sorry" emblazoned across them. Finally, in 2008 the Labour Prime Minister Kevin Rudd initiated another 'Sorry Day' acknowledging past injustices committed against Australia's Aborigines.

10. 5. The importance of the U.N. in shaping state policies

The fact that such state acts of and that the majority Australian population became aware of the Aboriginal problem and felt compelled to campaign on their behalf illustrates the change in the moral, political and social climate towards Aborigines. The contrast between the superior, racist and oprressive attitudes of former colonial masters and later Australian political leaders and the more liberal, inclusive attitudes at the end of the 20th century, could not be greater. The United Nations had become the sole forum and arbiter of cultural and political attitudes. Australian opinion was simply no longer accountable to the court of moral and political values in Britain and Europe. All over the the former colonies in Africa, Asia and Australasia the rights of indigenous people were respected and supported in the United Nations. The rights of American indigenous people after years of isolation and ill-treatment were championed and recognised by the state legislature. In South Africa the Apartheid regime was replaced by the black majority government led by Nelson Mandela. Because of the importance of

the United Nations in settling worldwide political issues, minority groups such as Australia's Aborigines could have political rights of equal importance to their former colonial imperial masters. The days of white cultural imperialism were truly over.

11. THE ABORIGINAL RESPONSE

Because the Aborigines were largely illiterate their views on the issue of the Stolen Generation in particular and Aboriginal grievances in general, their voices were largely ignored. Although the main topic of this thesis is concerned with the 'churn' in British and European attitudes and how they impacted upon social and political policies towards Aborigines, the influence upon the Aboriginal community and how that community itself, began to shape the cultural and political debate regarding its position in white Australian society, needs to be look at.

From the earliest days, Aborigines were regarded as figures of curiosity, often ridiculed and despised. Little effort was made to understand their culture and traditions. As has been previously acknowledged, it was anthropologists who first began to appreciate the complexity and depth of Aboriginal culture. For the Aborigines, the invasion of their land was a bewildering experience. Initially, they tried to accommodate the white interlopers, but as their tribal homelands began to be overrun by rapacious sheep farmers, they began to fight back. Initially, their spears, bows and arrows were no match for the rifles of the early colonists. The intolerant attitudes of Christian missionaries and administrators in a similar manner, challenged and overwhelmed their traditional beliefs and values. An Aboriginal view of history was advanced by William Cooper, founder of the Aborigines Progressive Association, proposing that the 150th anniversary of the First Fleet in January 1938, should be observed as a 'day of mourning' for an epoch of 'misery and degradation'. Interestingly, the first Australian cricket team to tour England in 1868 was Aboriginal! These were rare examples of Aboriginal participation in mainstream Australian society. The gap between industrialized, Christian European civilisation and the nomadic hunter-gatherer society perhaps was too great to bridge. Yet, during the Second World War and after, to their credit, Aborigines began to shape and influence Australian opinion 'in the 1960s, Aboriginal discontent was being manifested in the cities as a new types of leaders, such

as Charles Perkins, led 'freedom rides' on the American model to protest against discrimination.' (Welsh, 2004, 493)

11. 1. Aboriginal campaign for land rights

As Australia began to exploit its huge mineral resources in its empty interior, but which often lay on Aboriginal tribal territories, political tensions increased. Aboriginal land rights were now fiercely challenged in the courts. Under the leadership of Labour Prime Minister Gough Whitlam in the 1970s, promises concerning Aboriginal land rights, supported in the Woodward commission, were implemented. Woodward recommended in April 1974 that parliament should clarify what rights Aborigines did in fact possess, and that an Aboriginal land commission be established to help futher such land claims. Welsh state that 'more than 5.000 indigenous organisations had been founded, nearly all holding either title to land or benefiting from government grants to provide support for Aboriginal Australians.'(2004, 559) Land was of enormous significance to Aborigines not just because of the enormous mineral wealth underground, but because it contained ancient hunting-grounds and sacred burial sites. Through Aboriginal activism around the issue of land rights,the Aboriginal community became emboldened to highlight the injustices of the Stolen Generations.

11. 2. Aboriginal activism in Victoria

In Victoria during the late 1960s and early 1970s the Aborigines Advancement League (AAL) noted the increasing number of young Aboriginal people appearing before the court. At that stage 90% of young Aboriginal children facing court had been removed from their family or kin origin and placed with non-aboriginal caretakers. Many of these placements had failed. The League began to work with the State Government welfare department to find answers to the problems of failed placements and the lack of alternatives to institutions. Out of this pressure came the Aboriginal Affairs Act 1967, which required the police to notify the Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs if an Aboriginal person was charged with an offence. A Ministry social worker would then look at the situation and then arrange legal representation. In 1973 the Victorian Aboriginal Legal Service (VALS) was established to try to understand and meet the needs of Aboriginal children presenting at the children's court. As a result of these

innovative policies there was a fall in the number of children in care and protection applications being made Wards of court. This period saw the emergence of a group of skilled and committed Aboriginal activists who were becoming more active in protecting the legal rights and welfare of Aboriginal youngsters. Perhaps it is ironic and yet to be expected, that Aborigines were in a better position to care for their young people than the long-established Aboriginal Protection Board of the white settler community! Aboriginal organisations and groups began to lobby government arguing that *Aboriginal children should be both assessed and cared for by Aboriginal communities and Aboriginal agencies in 1976.*

The Aboriginal Child Placement Agency was established by Aboriginal activists as a direct response to the failure of cross-cultural foster care and group home placements. By 1978, The Victorian Welfare department issued instructions that its field staff must consult with VACCA (The Victorian Aboriginal Child Care Agency) in relation to any Aboriginal child which came to the attention of the department. The combine efforts of VACCA and the Welfare Department's Aboriginal Program reduced the numbers of Aboriginal children in children's homes by 40% over the two years from 1977-1979. The pioneering work of Victoria's Aboriginal Child Welfare activists was reflected in the passing of the Children's and Young Persons Act 1989, *specifically recognising the importance of Aboriginal self-management and self-determination.*
Here indeed is concrete proof that the Aboriginal community could manage its own people better than the often paternalistic, racist and oppressive white state Aboriginal Protection Agencies. The misguided policies of the 19th and early 20th centuries reflect a time of hegemonistic moral and political attitudes that disdained indigenous people. By embracing the legal process of the majority culture, the Aborigines have indeed turned the tables on their former masters.

12. SOCIAL AND MORAL CONSEQUENCES OF STATE ASSIMILATION POLICY

The history of the often bitter relationship between Aborigines and the white Australian majority has been examined, but the consequences of the policies that led to the 'Stolen Generation' issue now need to be considered. A lot of archival material cites state denial of the harsh treatment meted out to Aboriginal children. The intentions were

obvious: to make Aboriginal children more civilised, Christian copies of themselves. Yet, in reality this was far from the truth.

12. 1. Conclusion in the Bringing Them Home Report

The Bringing Them Home Report analysed in great depth the social and human cost of the assimilation policies adopted by the state, mainly from 1901 to the 1960s. Here are a few of them:

- They are more likely to come to the attention of the police as they grow up. The study revealed that 'removed' Aborigines as compared to 'non-removed' Aborigines on tribal reserves, were three times as likely to have acquired a police record and were twice as likely to use illicit drugs.
- They are likely to suffer low self-esteem, depression and mental illness.
- They are more vulnerable to physical,emotional and sexual abuse. The report found that 17% of females and 8% of males experienced some form of sexual abuse while under institutional or foster care.
- They had been almost always taught to reject their aboriginality and Aboriginal culture. The report notes that children removed to care institutions were often punished if caught speaking their indigenous language.
- They are unable to retain links with their land.
- They cannot take a role in the cultural and spiritual life of their former communities.
- They are unlikely to be to able to establish their right to native land.

The report notes, without a hint of irony, that the only notable advantage,'removed' Aboriginals possessed was a higher average income which was most likely due to the increased urbanisation of removed individuals and hence greater access to welfare payments than for Aboriginal living in tribal communities! In essence, as in common with many marginalised indigenous groups around the world, such as the Eskimoes in Canada or the Gypsy people of Eastern Europe, they were reduced to a state of economic dependency for which they are heavily criticised despite *the active involvement of the state in destroying their former totally sustainable nomadic way of life.*

13. THE STOLEN GENERATION IN AUSTRALIAN LITERATURE

In the development of European civilisation. Literature and Art have been major transforming forces. One only has to think of the influence of Charles Dicken's books upon the social reformers in Victorian Britain, or in more modern times the transforming ideas of Alexander Solzhenytsin in such books as the Gulag Archipelago. It could be argued that his insights into the horrors of the Soviet concentration camps helped provide the catalyst for the defeat of Communism as a political ideology in the former Soviet Union.

Writers and artists often hold up a mirror to the injustices and evils within a society, ideas which are perhaps too radical for a politician to express. How much writers influences society or how much they themselves are influenced by social and moral changes evolving within a society, is debatable. However, just as in Europe, writers, artist and film-makers in Australia have highlighted the plight of the Stolen Generation of Aborigines. They brought the issue to a wider audience and thereby possibly had some influence in shaping the debate about Aboriginal issues in modern Australia. Two books stand out, One Bright Spot written by Victoria K. Haskins and Rabbit-Proof Fence by Doris Pilkington, upon which an important feature film, made in 2002, was based.

13.1. One Bright Spot

For every Aboriginal child taken away from their family in Australia, there was at least one white family involved in their life. One bright Spot tells the story of one of these families. Joan Kingsley-Strack, or 'Ming' as her family knew her, was a well-to-do Sydney wife and mother who hired Aboriginal domestic servants in the 1920s and 1930s. Often they were girls forcibly taken by the state and put out to work in an attempt to erase the Aboriginal race. But Ming would turn against the system, to join with Aboriginal political activists in calling for Aboriginal citizenship rights and an end to Aboriginal child removal.

Many years later, her great- grandaughter stambled across Ming's papers, lying forgotten and untouched. One Bright Spot is based on the reconstruction of these papers in consultation with the Aboriginal women's descendants. Ming's story tells of a

remarkable, poignant and long-silenced history of women's relationships across apparently insurmountable barriers.

On p. 27 of One Bright Spot, the author confirms the existence of the policy of forcible removal of Aboriginal children from their communities and placement in white households. Haskins notes that in New South Wales the policy was directed overwhelmingly at female Aboriginal children. She acknowledges the influence of Social Darwinism, an ideology imported from Britain in the second half of the 19th century, as the basis for this policy.

Established in 1883 when this ideology, positing the inevitable extinction of the Aborigines, was hegemonic. The New South Wales Aborigines Protection Board (APB) secured legislative powers in 1909 and 1915 to hasten this process by placing Aboriginal girls as servants in the households of privileged white women. (Haskins, 2005, 27)

Haskins contrasts her own method of historical research with the traditional Aboriginal methods of storytelling in oral histories, often very personal and emotional.

> For the first time I realized how family history and genealogy, such a tiresome embroidery exercise to me, was alive and shot through with politics and conflict for Aboriginal people. The dislocation of families and individuals over successive generations of enforced removal from their land and of their children left people bereft of a personal identity.' (Haskins, 2005, 37)

One Bright Spot is not a dispassionate historical account of the 'Stolen Generations', rather it is often an emotional and tragic account of the lives of individual Aboriginal girls who Ming came into contact with.

The story of Del illustrates the tragic consequences of the state assimilation policies in the life of one young Aboriginal girl. Del was a young half-caste Aboriginal girl transferred to Ming's employment in her home in the suburbs of Sydney in January 1933. Ming records in her diary her first meeting with Del. 'I have found the most unhappy little half-caste I have ever seen sitting on a suitcase outside the door, with a large notice above her stating that *this* was the Aborigines *Protection Board*.' (Haskins, 2005, 84) Ming soon realised that Del was ill. It later emerged that she was pregnant after being sexually abused by the son of her previous employer, Mrs Lowe. Even after taking up employment with Ming. Del was continuously harassed by Mrs Lowe's family, accused of being a sexual maniac! Ming recalled how Del was taken to hospital

vomiting blood. A female doctor examined Del and concluded that Del had been sexually assaulted, despite the protestations of the APB. Later on, Ming recalled how Del was beaten and attacked by men when she was away from home. Del's story is one of thousands of personal tragedies endured by abducted Aboriginal children. Haskins makes the point that Ming understood the victimization of Aboriginal children even when they were under so-called state protection! 'Del was repeatedly interrogated, compelled to give evidence that was then turned against her.' (Haskins, 2005, 105)

13.2. Rabbit-Proof Fence - the story from an aboriginal viewpoint

Rabbit-Proof Fence is the remarkable true story of three young Aboriginal girls who crossed the harsh Australian desert on foot to return to their home. In the book, Doris Pilkington traces the captivating story of her mother, Molly, one of three young girls uprooted from her community in South-western Australia and taken to the Moore River native settlement. At the settlement, Molly and her relatives Gracie and Daisy were forbidden to speak their language, forced to abandon their Aboriginal heritage and taught to be culturally white. After regular stays in solitary confinement, the girls-scared and homesick - planned and executed a daring escape from the grim camp. The girls headed to the nearby rabbit-proof fence, (erected all over Australia to protect grazing lands from the vast population of rabbits introduced by British settlers). It stretched over 1000 miles through the desert towards their home. Their journey lasted over a month and they survived on everything from emus to feral cats, often avoiding the hostile attention of the police, trackers and farmers. The significance of the publication of this book is that it *celebrates* an example of Aboriginal courage and defiance. Formerly, Aborigines were labelled lazy, dirty, degenerate good-for-nothings. How times have changed. Another illustration of how cultural attitudes towards Aborigines had changed so radically in Australia. The fact that it was considered such an important book that it was to be made into a major feature film starring Kenneth Branagh, again highlights the contemporary Australian awareness of and interest in Aboriginal matters.

Rabbit-Proof-Fence is the authentic personal voice of Aboriginal anger at their treatment by white settlers. Doris Pilkington's ancestors were the Nyungar people of the remote north-west desert area of the province of West Australia. She writes,

The Nyungar people, and indeed the entire Aboriginal population grew to realise what the arrival of the European settlers meant for them. It was the destruction of their traditional society and the dispossession of their land. Didgup and Meedo (Aboriginal hunters) complained to Yellagonga after several attempts at unsuccessful hunting trips.

(2002, 13)

The colonists took advantage of their Aboriginal cultural beliefs to further their own gains.....their pain and suffering remained hidden indeed and repressed, silent and deep. They remembered the corroborees and songs that they were forbidden to dance and sing. (2002, 16)

The author describes how 'official concern shifted from the decreasing numbers of traditional or full-blood Aborigines to the half-castes and part-aboriginal children who were being born all over the country.' (Pilkington, 2002, 40) She does not mince her words as to who is responsible for this state of affairs 'a few critics were honest when they said that many white men satisfied their lustful desires with the native women until they were able to return to white society.' (Pilkington, 2002, 40) Such a remark would be unthinkable to a white Australian official, often in denial of the shameful acts of his white compatriots. Eventually, the Western Australian government decided to establish two institutions for Aboriginal children with white fathers: one at Carralup settlement near Katanning in the south-west and the Moore river native settlement north of Perth. It was to this camp that Molly, Grace and Daisy were forcibly removed in July 1930.

Doris Pilkington describes how the degrading and inhumane conditions in the settlements were so bad that 'a staff member pronounced that anyone living there was doomed.' (2002, 75) The three girls had had enough and on a cold, wet day in August 1931, managed to escape. What is so striking about their epic journey is their ability to use their native Aboriginal instincts for survival in the arid Bush. They could identify plants and animals, alien to white Australians, but for them, suitable to eat. On p.129 the author points out that their journey was one of the longest walks in the history of the Australian outback. While other explorers used horses and camels these girls simply travelled on their bare feet. It is telling that in modern Australian cultural environment such an epic journey could be celebrated equally by the white Australian community.

14. THE MODERN DEBATE IN AUSTRALIA ABOUT THE ISSUE

Such a shameful episode in Australian history as the 'Stolen Generation' has provoked considerable debate in political and cultural circles in modern Australia. A stronger parallel can be found in post-war Western Europe in the Jewish Holocaust during World War II. Germany has spent years trying to forget and also atone for the Nazi atrocities committed against Jews. Europe has truly been scandalised by this dark episode in European history. Yet there are academics and historians who seek to deny the extent and even the existence of the Holocaust! The same is true in Australia regarding the issue of the 'Stolen Generation'.

14.1. Peter Read's arguments

Two of the main protagonists in this debate are Peter Read, an Australian historian who has campaigned on behalf of the 'Stolen Generation' for twenty years. His main opponent, (at least in the newspapers), is Keith Windschuttle, another historian. It is worth looking at the debate, because it reveals the complex cultural forces that created the issue and then the later response to it after the policy was ended.

Peter Read gave a lecture on the subject at the British library in London on November 6, 2002, The title of the lecture is Australia's 'Stolen Generation' and the extinction of Aboriginality. Read acknowledges that the benevolent interpretation of the policy (an opinion long held by most white Australians) began to be challenged in the 1980s. He and other historians began to tell the stories of the Aboriginal victims of this policy, tales of beatings, rapes, identity crises and their mothers' grief. Read, explored the Aboriginal *oral histories* and discovered their feelings that conquest and attempts to assimilate Aborigines were immoral, barbarous and regretful. Read is a polemicist for Aboriginal rights. However, his interpretation is hotly disputed by Keith Windshuttle as expressed in an article in the respected Australian newspaper, 'The Australian'.

14.2. Keith Windschuttle's arguments

In the article, written just before the 'Sorry Day' of 2008, Windschuttle attempts to counter many of the arguments and historical interpretations supporting the need for a State apology to the Aborigines. He rejects the emotional nature of the word 'genocide', a term used to describe the character of the 'Stolen Generation'. Windschuttle argues

that if genocide was truly committed against the Aboriginal peoples, and, as according to the HREOC Bringing Them Report, a substantial sum should be paid to them in compensation, then Kevin's Rudd's government's apology is not enough. Windschuttle detects a hint of State hypocrisy.

A second debating point for Windschuttle is the accuracy of the evidence relied upon for the conclusions of the Bringing Them Home Report. Windschuttle argues that the document (NSW, the story of the 'Stolen Generation') was compiled by Peter Read in 1981 and which had enormous influence on Aboriginal communities by saying institutionalised children had *not* been failed by alcoholic parents who neglected to provide them with food and water. Rather, it was all the work of the white men, of faceless white bureaucrats who wanted to eliminate the Aborigines.

According to Windschuttle, Bringing Them Home did no original research of its own in New South Wales. Instead, it relied upon Read's writings. It quoted verbatim his claims that the files on individual children removed by the Aborigines Protection Board confirmed his case. Some managers cut a long story short when they came to that part of the committal notice 'reason for board taking control or the child.' They simply wrote *'for being Aboriginal.'* According to Windschuttle, in a debate with Read at the History Teachers Association's annual conference, he asked Read how many files bore these words. Read confessed to the audience there were only two. When Windschuttle investigated the same batch of 800 files in NSW archives, he claimed he only found one.

Another point of dispute is the question of young Aboriginal males being forced to do harsh unpaid work. He claims that many young Aboriginal boys were actually taken on as apprentices in the agricultural sector, just as many white Australians of the same age. He also questions whether many of these teenagers were permanently removed, as the charge of 'genocide' infers. According to Windschuttle's interpretation of the archival records, the majority of them returned home to their Aboriginal settlements.

A fourth point made by Windschuttle, concerns the actual number of Aboriginal children put into state care homes. According to Windschuttle, the 125 places at the welfare institutions represented a mere 4.5 per cent of all the places provided for Aborigines at public schools. Windschuttle argues that if these figures are true it hardly represents a concerted and systematic programme to destroy Aboriginality by stealing

children from their families! Rather, Windschuttle praises the NSW Aboriginal apprenticeship system, operating from the 1880s to the 1940s. It provided real jobs and skills and gave young Aborigines 'a way out of the alcohol-soaked, handout-dominated camps and reserves of their parents. 'In fact Windschuttle argues for its revival saying 'it could rescue children from the sexual assault and substance abuse prevalent in remote communities.' (Windschuttle, 2008, the Australian)

Some of Windschuttle's arguments resonate with a large number of working-class Australians who witness everyday the drunken, empty lives of urban Aborigines throughout Australia. But he ignores the historical and political forces that created the demise of the Aboriginal people in the first place. Modern-day Australia is now paying for the two hundreds years of ill-treatment, cultural oppression and economic marginalisation of Australia's Aborigines. The fact that over a million Australians came out on 'Sorry Day' to show their feelings of shared pain and anger, surely shows, how modern perceptions of the issue have changed. Can Australia ignore the 'Stolen Generation' episode and move on?

14.3. An overview by Josie Appleton

Certainly, for Josie Appleton, a writer on the subject, the answer is yes. In her article on Peter Read's lecture at the British Library she writes:

> The discussion about the stolen generations is really a discussion about the shape of contemporary Australia. Should Australians be trying to forge an integrated nation, or should Australia be a multicultural association of peoples? Will Aborigines always be separate from the mainstream society, or will they become part of the mainstream? What does it mean to be Australian now that the colonising myths are cast into doubt?' (Appleton, 2)

Josie Appleton is surely reflecting an ongoing debate about the place of Aborigines in modern Australia. In this she is echoing the contemporary debate in Europe that is trying to integrate minority racial groups from its former colonies into mainstream society. In Britain and France, the ever-growing population of Asian Muslims and North African Muslims in France, is becoming more vocal in their demands for special treatment of Muslim beliefs and customs. The issue of the prohibition of the wearing of the burqa by women in France has created enormous controversy. In this particular debate and also the historical and political arguments about the 'Stolen Generation' it is

possible to see how former European colonies still struggle with the legacy of former cultural imperialism. In the modern context, the intellectual 'churn' around the'aboriginal problem' has totally different cultural parameters as compared to the same debate in the 18th , 19th and early twentieth centuries. Yet the controversy still has the same intensity. Now the two sides in the argument are coming from a consensual basis of equality, based on new ideas about human rights. The future now, however, for Australia's Aborigines, appears much brighter.

15. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the topic of the 'Stolen Generation' may initially appear an obscure and little-known event in world history. Yet, as has been noted, the ideas that shaped the policies that created it were inspired by the same dominant ideas that powered European civilisation to a position of political, economic and cultural dominance throughout the world for nearly three hundred years. To look at the 'Stolen Generation' question is to look at the history of shifts in European thinking and values over the same period. The 'Stolen Generation' represents an extreme example of the execution of many of these ideas in a far-off land, perhaps insulated, because of distance from Europe, from more moderate ideas regarding the assimilation and integration of minority populations conquered in Europe's rapidly expanding overseas empires.

This thesis first tries to show how the debate about this issue constantly changed in European intellectual circles. Initially, it was the Judaeo-Christian outlook that provided a moral and social framework for thinking about this topic (how to deal with the natives?!) Then, we can see with the development of Social Anthropology and a more scientific approach to the study of human society, new ideas permeated the thinking of British imperial administrators. When discussing this topic, the scientific approach to understanding the evolution of human society does not answer all the questions. This issue has a human dimension and requires a more complex analysis that needs to address the more cogent, economic and cultural impact of European colonialism in Australia. This aspect was examined in the context of cultural imperialism, especially in the work of Barbara Bush. The effects were not neutral. Its purpose was economic and cultural hegemony over any minority group that got in its way. Assimilation or segregation became two of the standard imperialist tools to deal with problems of indigenous peoples.

Next, the historical impact of British colonialism upon the Aborigines was looked at and the various strands of thought and value judgements that shaped early policies towards the Aborigines.

Finally, the history and development of the 'Stolen Generation' episode was analysed using the framework of cultural theory. Special attention was paid to the how the 'Stolen Generation' issue was regard to the parameters of the title of this thesis,

namely how the policies that shaped this topic were intrinsically round up with a parallel debate in Europe around the management of indigenous minorities.

In conclusion, as with many controversial historical subjects, for or example the Jewish Holocaust, the debate is coloured with historical revisionism and the muddling of facts, often with political groups seeking to protect vested interests. But as in many shifts in human progress, the process is often messy and painful. One can say, at least, that the voices of the stolen generations of abducted Aborigines are finally being heard. White Australians are being forced to confront a dark episode in their history.

16. RESUMÉ

Australská kultura měla málo času na rozvinutí vlastní identity. Austrálie je převážně produktem evropského kolonialismu, především britského impéria.

Je snadné spatřit úzké styky s Velkou Britanií, zejména v lásce Australanů ke kriketu a tenisu, dva sporty dovezené z Anglie. Je snadné zapomenout, že Austrálie byla pravděpodobně poprvé obydlena před 30 000 lety. Původní obyvatele, takzvaní domorodci, se tu objevují jako zkamenělé, prehistorické kultury. Podobné společnosti lze nalézt v tropických lesích Brazílie, jihovýchodní Asie a střední Afriky. Avšak domorodá kultura Austrálie se liší v rozsahu a izolaci. Evropští objevitelé a navigátoři 17. a 18. století byli téměř jistě prvními bílými lidmi, kteří přišli do kontaktu s domorodci rozlehlé Austrálie. Tato veliká izolace, zeměpisná a kulturní, stála za vznikem jedinečné kultury domorodých Australanů. Domorodci měli vliv na utváření australské krajiny, protože jejich metody lovu a sběru zformovaly jedinečnou vegetaci Austrálie. Jejich vypalovaní keřů, například vyvolalo neobvykle zalesněné krajiny.

Tématem této práce je 'Ukradená Generace', která nabízí jedinečné nahlédnutí do 'kulturního střetu' mezi starobylou domorodou kulturou a mnohem později britským koloniálním vykořisťováním kontinentu. Všechny evropské imperiální mocnosti se setkaly s domorodými lidmi při svých pokusech o kolonizaci vzdálených území na jiných kontinentech.

'Ukradená Generace' představuje důležitou epizodu v dějinách Austrálie. 'Ukradená Generace' je také fascinujícím příkladem kulturní výchylky způsobené ve 'Fatálním Dopadu' mezi nejvyspělejší evropskou mocí svého času a pravděpodobně jednou z nejvíce 'primitivních' kultur třetího světa.

Existuje mnoho způsobů posuzování takové zajímavé historické epizody. Historie vzniku tohoto tématu rovněž odhaluje neustále se měnící postoje dominantní evropské kultury směrem k původně zvláštní a cizí kultuře takzvaných 'primitivních' lovců a sběračů. Jak se morálka a společenské postoje v Evropě měnily, tak se i zacházení a přístup k původním obyvatelům změnil.

Předtím než se podíváme na hlavní téma této bakalářské práce, je užitečné stanovit druh rámce nebo šablony, podle které je možné analyzovat detaily ' Ukradené Generace'. Kulturní studia jsou poměrně novým oborem společenských věd. Tradičně byla součástí sociální antropologie. Předtím než se rozvinula ve vážnou vědu v polovině

19. století, většina lidí pohlížela na kulturní a rasové rozdíly skrze náboženské a rasové stereotypy. Často nadřazenější a silnější vetřelec zacházel s odlišnými rasovými kulturními skupinami s brutalitou a nevědomostí. Rčení, moc má pravdu, obecně převládalo u historických kulturních střetů.

Avšak díky rozsáhlému antropologickému výzkumu do tradičních kultur, spolu s rostoucím vlivem Darwinovy teorie evoluce, se kulturní teorie kolem kulturního rozvoje změnila. Tyto změny pronikly do evropských postojů, čím více se Evropané dostávali do styku s takzvanými 'primitivními' společnostmi.

S obnovou evangelického křesťanství v Britanii a s vlivem John Wesleyho a George Whitfielda, si britští koloniální správci vzali za úkol, jako součást jejich koloniální mise, přinést křesťanskou civilizaci 'nezachráněným' pohanským kmenům s kterými přišli do styku.

Ostatní dvojný pilíř směrem k modernitě byla touha přinést výhody moderní západní průmyslové technologie do rozšiřujících se kolonií.

Toto byly tři prameny kulturního rámce, který přináší pochopení historie 'Fatálního Dopadu' britského imperialismu na australské domorodce. Otázku ' Ukradené Generace' nelze jednoduše považovat za historickou odchylku. Může být pochopena kulturní analýzou intelektuálních, sociálních a morálních sil, které formovaly jejich rozvoj a vývoj.

Historie britské kolonizace Austrálie zpočátku odhalila převažující romantický postoj k domorodým obyvatelům. Tento postoj brzy vymřel, když domorodci začali bránit svoji půdu proti bílým vetřelcům. Čím více farmáři a osadníci emigrovali do Austrálie, tím více se stupňoval tlak na tradiční loviště domorodců. Tradiční loviště byla zneužita pro pasení ovcí chtivými farmáři. Nemoci, konflikty a sexuální zneužívání domorodců přispěly k rychlému poklesu domorodé populace.

Koloniální správci v Londýně se začali obávat o osud domorodé menšiny. Domnívali se, že zánik domorodců je otázkou času. Proto politika segregace a později asimilace byla adoptována, aby se ubývající domorodé obyvatelstvo začlenilo.

Domorodci se často vzpírali pokusům o civilizaci. V důsledku toho byly míšené domorodé děti násilně uneseny a umístěny ve státních dětských domovech pro jejich vlastní dobro. Zákony byly schváleny státními parlamenty k legalizaci tohoto procesu. Asimilace se stala prostředkem k řízení 'problému s domorodci'. Rostoucí míra státní

kontroly se odrazila v rostoucím počtu zákonů v souvislosti s otázkami domorodých obyvatel Austrálie.

Nový Jižní Wales měl větší počet domorodců než stát Viktoria. Adoptování domorodých dětí bílými rodinami se stalo upřednostňovaným nástrojem státní politiky asimilování. Toto často vedlo k zneužítí dětí.

Po druhé světové válce, nové myšlenky sebeurčení a lidských práv, zejména ve fóru Organizace spojených národů, postupně začaly ovlivňovat australské politické postoje k své domorodé menšině. Ideologická hegemonie nadřazenosti křesťanské civilizace začala být zpochybňována. Práva domorodých obyvatel začala být brána vážně.

Tyto nové myšlenky změnily australské právní předpisy týkající se domorodých záležitostí. Uznání práv na půdu, zejména na kmenových územích, vedly k zvyšování pomoci a svobody domorodých obyvatel. Za druhé, čísla domorodého obyvatelstva vzrostla. Toto vedlo k dalším hlasitým požadavkům.

A na závěr ve zprávě: Přineste Je Domů z roku 1997, australská vláda formálně uznala existenci a rozsah 'Ukradené Generace'. Ostudné důsledky této epizody byly konečně veřejně přiznány. Formální státní omluva za činy byla požadována a poté vydána pod názvem 'Národní Smuteční Den' v roce 1998.

V roce 2000 se konaly letní olympijské hry v Sydney. Tato světová událost byla využita domorodými aktivisty k zvýraznění křivdy spáchané proti domorodým obyvatelům Austrálie.

Od konce druhé světové války, se Organizace spojených národů stala hlavním forem v řešení politických a sociálních sporů. Dříve, australská morální a sociální stanoviska byla formována britskými a evropskými postoji. Domorodci teď měli stejná lidská práva a byli schopni uveřejnit své stížnosti na světové scéně.

Společně se změnami v postojích bílých Australanů se objevil také zásadní posun v reakci domorodců na státní politiku asimilace.

Domorodý aktivismus vyvolal silnou kampaň za práva na pozemky a rovněž za reformy státní legislativy týkající se péče o děti domorodých obyvatel. Domorodý aktivismus byl ponejvíce efektivní ve státě Viktoria.

Zpráva, pod názvem Přineste Je Domů, poprvé podala pravdivý a komplexní účet historie a politiky, která vedla k tragedii 'Ukradené Generace'. Uvedeny jsou také děsivé důsledky, které utrpěly domorodé děti a jejich rodiny.

Problém domorodých obyvatel Austrálie získal širší publikum díky vydání dvou důležitých knih, One Bright Spot a Rabbit-Proof Fence. Obě knihy zvýšily povědomí o domorodé kultuře ve většinové australské populaci.

Stejně jako u mnoha kontroverzních historických událostí, například u židovského holocaustu v Evropě, epizoda 'Ukradené Generace' vyvolala vášnivou debatu v australských intelektuálních kruzích, účinky této diskuze přinesly větší povědomí a ochotu se omluvit za minulé křivdy. Toto také přineslo pozitivní postoje vůči domorodým obyvatelům Austrálie ze strany většinové populace Austrálie.

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