



WHAT IF? WHAT NEXT?

SPECULATIONS ON HISTORY'S FUTURES

SESSION 3A

COUNTERING THE CANON/S

**Living Cultures: Recovering Indigenous
Narratives in Architectural History**

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ARCHITECTURE AS INDIGENOUS HERITAGE: EXTANT AND VIRTUAL DORMITORIES IN CHERBOURG

Timothy O'Rourke | University of Queensland
Wei Win Loy | University of Queensland

Across Australia, the administrators of missions and government settlements employed spatial strategies to segregate and reform Indigenous children and create a labour supply for the landholding settlers. Dormitories for boys and girls, which separated children from their kin and society, were common to both missions and state-run settlements. The use of this building type was complicit in programs designed to erase language and cultural knowledge. This paper examines the changing uses and historical significance of two dormitories in Cherbourg, Queensland. Built in 1928, the Cherbourg boy's dormitory became a museum in 2012. It is now valued by the Aboriginal community as a symbol of injustice and as a place to narrate and share communal and individual stories. The two-story girls' dormitory was built in 1925 but destroyed by fire in 1997. The paper compares the two dormitories and describes the process of reconstructing a digital version of the girls' dormitory from an archival drawing, photographs and the existing architecture. Interactive use of the models with Aboriginal Elders, including a digital walk-through, elicited evidence of changing architectural details across time but also provoked personal memories of childhood experiences in the building. The architecture of both dormitories attest to state regimes of surveillance, control and discipline but they also operate as sites of memory. Architectural accounts of this under-studied building type are significant to historiographies of the State's treatment of Aboriginal people in the twentieth century.

Introduction

It's no wonder I became one of the naughtiest kids in the dormitory. Not the only naughty one, because we all suffered the trauma of separation and we were not old enough to know why.

- Ruth Hegarty¹

Separate dormitories for Aboriginal girls and boys were a persistent building type in both missions and government settlements across Australia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The dormitory system was founded on a mixed agenda of paternalism and calculated philanthropy. It offered to ameliorate the destitute in the fringe-dwelling Aboriginal society, a widespread legacy of the advancing colonial frontier. But the dormitory system also sought to remake Aboriginal society into one more aligned with the settlers' interests. To do so, both mission and state administrators created a custodial environment that segregated children from their kin, and distanced the inmates from their social and cultural upbringing. The missionaries emphasised conversion and moral improvement, which was described as a "Christianising and civilising" project.² For state-run settlements, the regulated assimilation of young Indigenous children given a rudimentary education would provide a more dependable supply of labour for the settler society.³

This paper examines the architectural history of two dormitories built to house Aboriginal children in the Queensland Government settlement of Cherbourg. This building type has been largely neglected in architectural historiographies,⁴ despite their impact on Indigenous society.⁵ As an institution, the dormitory can be compared with the Indian residential schools in both the US and Canada, which also traumatised generations of First Nations people.⁶ In this review of the type at Cherbourg, the two authors explored the history of the boys' and girls' dormitories in different projects and with different methods. The paper compares the material and digital representations of the two buildings, which offer new uses of their dissonant heritage in the twenty-first century.

Custodial Institutions in the Nineteenth Century

The Black Native Institution in Parramatta was the first precedent for the institutional separation of Aboriginal children from their kin and society. Governor Macquarie, on advice from William Shelley of the London Missionary Society, established the Institute in 1814 to educate and improve Aboriginal children.⁷ There was a philanthropic premise for housing destitute children and those orphaned by violence or smallpox although the rationale of both Shelley and the Governor was also to "civilize" the inmates and remove them from Indigenous cultural influence. As would become the norm in the dormitory system, the children in the Black Native Institution were denied regular contact with their families.

Missionaries were active around the colonies in the nineteenth century although their success and the duration of missions were mixed.⁸ A combination of Christian morality and European racial attitudes left little empathy for Aboriginal culture or sociality. For both the missionaries and state, the remaking of Aboriginal people into colonial citizens should start with the children, and ideally separation from their parents—the more permanent the separation, the more effective the change.

In the nineteenth century, the philanthropic and moral attitudes toward indigent children developed into legislation. Child poverty and aberrant behaviours made conspicuous by urbanisation led to the reform school movement in Britain, North America and the Australian colonies.

No reformers were more confident of the advantage and success of their program than the philanthropists who founded child-saving institutions. For proponents, the movement to incarcerate the orphan, the abandoned child, the youngster living in dire poverty, the juvenile vagrant, and the delinquent promised enormous benefits while entailing few risks. Like their colleagues sponsoring insane asylums and penitentiaries and almshouses, they shared an

intense faith in the rehabilitative powers of the carefully designed environment and were certain that properly structured institutions would not only comfort the homeless but reform the delinquent.⁹

The carefully designed institutional environment was used in a consistent approach to the cultural conversion of Indigenous people in both Australia and North America. In Queensland, the colonial government's *Industrial and Reformatory Schools Act 1865* was aimed at the population more generally but the legislation was also instrumental in the justification of the Indigenous dormitory system. This Act defined the "neglected" children under 17 years of age who could be sent to the institutions for reform and training. Beggars, wanderers, and those residing with adults of ill repute as well as "any child born of an aboriginal or half-caste mother" were liable to be sent to a reformatory or industrial school.¹⁰ State-sponsored dormitory systems would help to reform Aboriginal girls into domestic servants and Aboriginal boys into agricultural labourers.

Missions and Government Settlements

Although a small number of settlers supported reserves for Aborigines, the missionaries were the active campaigners for Indigenous welfare in the colony of New South Wales. In 1838, German evangelists established the first mission in the new settlement of Moreton Bay, in the same year that free settlers entered the district.¹¹ Zion Hill Mission lasted 10 years and aided the settlement of Moreton Bay, but it failed to attract sufficient Turrbal people to sustain the endeavour. Aboriginal children performed well in the mission school and the missionaries believed that "they would have been successful if they could have separated the children from their parents."¹²

With limited success in Southeast Queensland, missionaries turned their attention to the north of the Colony in the 1880s.¹³ On Cape York Peninsula, the Moravians and Lutherans established more enduring missions at Cape Bedford (1886) and Bloomfield (1887), Mapoon (1891) and Aurukun in 1904. The German missionaries adapted the Moravian dormitory system that was deployed in a relatively consistent pattern across the remote settlements.¹⁴ Future government settlements in Queensland would follow the lead of the missions in implementing the dormitory system. Early in the twentieth century, the State developed its own reserves at Cherbourg (initially Barambah), Woorabinda and Palm Island. Over time, it also assumed control of a number of the missions. The Protection Act of 1897 provided the legislative framework for the establishment of the settlements and the control of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islander people.¹⁵

Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897

By the end of the nineteenth century, the excesses of racial violence—often perpetrated by the Native Police force—and the exploitation of Aboriginal people on the frontier could no longer be ignored by the colonial government. Promoted as a philanthropic solution to the violence and exploitation, the *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897* served a number of administrative purposes. The hierarchy of protectors to administer lives of Aboriginal people within their nominated districts.

It established a legal distinction between 'full-blood' and 'half-cast' Aborigines, and prohibited the employment of Aboriginal labour except by permit, in order to monitor all interactions between Aborigines and others. It created, in other words, a separate legal identity for most Aborigines as wards of the state.¹⁶

The Act promoted a system of reserves as a means of segregating the majority of Indigenous people from white settlements and pastoral properties.¹⁷

For Indigenous society, the most destructive section of the Act allowed the chief protector to remove and relocate Indigenous people to the government reserves and missions. The removals and the segregated dormitory system were highly disruptive to the traditional social structure of kinship and this network of relationships that underpinned Aboriginal governance and land tenure.¹⁸ Government administrators maintained this intention to disrupt and diminish

Indigenous culture well into the twentieth century. Chief protector from 1914 to 1939, John Bleakly held firm views on the removal of children: "I think that any child whom the Protector considered should be separated from Aboriginal conditions should be taken away as soon as possible so as to leave as little remembrance as possible of the camp in the child's mind."¹⁹

Planning Segregation and Spatial Domains

The missions and government reserves were planned to surveil and regulate the inmate's lives and two distinct spatial domains were consistently part of the settlement design. The early missions established settlement patterns based on the spatial segregation of a central administrative zone from peripheral areas of Aboriginal dwelling. The administrative core of the settlement was centred around the mission or superintendent's house, school, dormitories and church.²⁰ Outside of this precinct, orderly streets of cottages replaced Aboriginal camps that typically developed in clan-based clusters in the early stages of settlement. In his history of the Victorian Ramahyuck Mission, established in the 1860s, Bain Attwood identified the Moravian approach to cultural inculcation:

Fundamental to their reconstruction of Aborigines was a plan to produce a carefully defined and ordered social space. In this Hagenauer wanted to create a didactic landscape, an instrument to transmit Christianity and 'civilisation', mould the conduct of the Aborigines and express a conception of what he wanted the Aborigines to become."²¹

In his study of the mission settlement of Doomagee in the Gulf of Carpentaria, David Trigger identified the two spatially distinct domains of the mission and "village".

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, there were two distinctive arenas of social life at Doomagee, which, to use local Aboriginal parlance, may be characterised as the 'Blackfella' and 'Whitefella' domains. These were arenas of material, intellectual and social activity which indexed to a high degree the social distance between Aborigines and Whites.²²

Late in the twentieth century, Trigger's ethnography of Doomagee documents the legacy of this enduring spatial divide. But although reform and assimilation agendas utilised spatial strategies that were destructive to Indigenous culture, new forms of Indigenous identity emerged in the missions and state settlements. Despite this adaptation and resistance, dormitories inflicted significant trauma on Indigenous families throughout the twentieth century.²³

Barambah Aboriginal Reserve

In February 1901, the Queensland Government gazetted an Aboriginal reserve on Barambah Creek near the town of Murgon, about 170 km north-northwest of Brisbane. Salvation Army missionary William Thompson had lobbied for a site in the district that would help him to save the local Wakka Wakka people from vice and temptation and enlist an army of Christian Soldiers.²⁴ He was appointed the first superintendent of the Barambah Aboriginal Reserve but his mission of salvation was short-lived. The Queensland Government assumed control of the Reserve in March 1905, appointing its own superintendent, who exercised complete authority over the minutiae of the lives of the Aboriginal inmates. The name of the settlement was changed to Cherbourg in 1932, adopting the Parish name in which it was located.

The Barambah Reserve gathered in Wakka Wakka people from the district, but from its inception the reserve became, in the words of one Chief Protector, a "dumping ground" for Aboriginal people from all over the State.²⁵ The rate of removals depended on the attitudes of the Chief Protectors who transported 1587 Aboriginal people to Barambah between 1905 and 1939.²⁶ Three years after the reserve was gazetted under the *Protection Act*, the Barambah settlement was declared an Industrial School under the *Industrial and Reformatory Schools Act 1865*. Both Acts worked to authorise the dormitory system, which expanded in the 1930s to house the high number of women and children transported to the reserve.

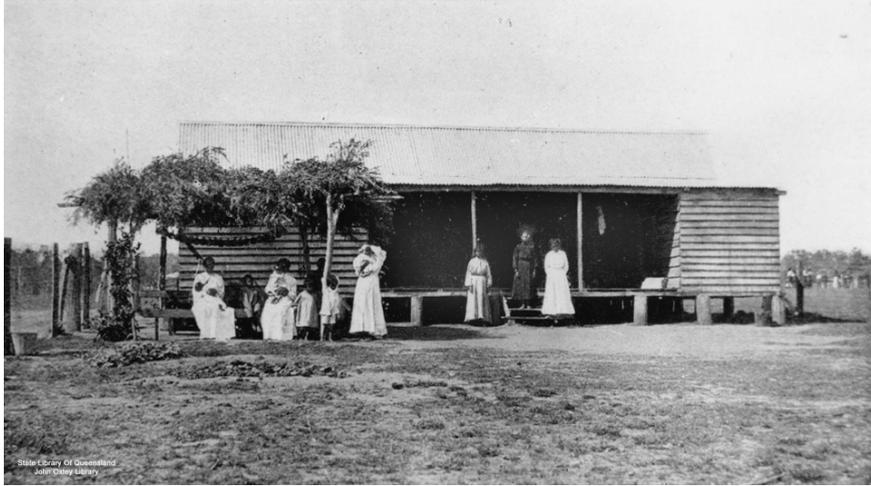


Figure 1. Mothers and girls in front of the first Girls' Dormitory in Barambah in 1910. Source: State Library of Queensland.

By the 1930s, 25 percent of all inmates were housed in one of the four dormitories on the settlement: dormitories for girls, boys and mothers with babies and single men's quarters.²⁷ Historian Thom Blake chronicled the deprivation, starvation and high mortality rates at Barambah during its first 40 years. Regular epidemics in the settlement were exacerbated by the crowding in both the cottages and dormitories. The health of the Aboriginal people was also affected by the poor quality and insufficient staples dispensed weekly at the ration shed.

With its proximity to Brisbane, the community received greater government attention than the other more remote settlements.²⁸ Cherbourg served as a labour depot for the agricultural sector but it also developed its own industries that included an active sawmill used to supply timber for the local buildings. In 1986, the State's administration of Cherbourg ended, and the reserve became a Deed of Grant in Trust governed by a municipal council of elected community members. Before the handover the State stripped the settlement of its productive assets and infrastructure.

The Girls' Dormitory

By 1909, a rudimentary timber building with a bough shelter used as a kitchen served as the first dormitory for girls at Barambah (Fig. 1). As with subsequent dormitories, the system and building were planned to isolate the girls from the social and cultural influences of the Aboriginal camps.²⁹ With the influx of families into Barambah, the dormitory was soon overcrowded. The new two-storey girls' dormitory was open in 1925 by the Home Secretary James Stopford (Fig. 2).³⁰

Given its size and location, "the dormitory signified that the training and protection of young females was one of the most important activities of the settlement."³¹ The timber-framed and clad building was set on low stumps with the internal ground floor kitchen on a concrete slab. North and south elevations had long verandahs on each level with stairs on the verandah connecting the two levels. The first floor was divided into two segregated sleeping areas, each with its own stair for segregated age groups. The ground floor contained the dining room, kitchen and pantry, stores, dressing rooms, office and sewing room. Two thirds of all the children in the settlement were inmates of the dormitory system by the early 1930s.³² They either had family in the community, or parents sent away on work permits.

Life in the dormitory was highly structured and rule-bound, which included demeaning inspections of bodies and uniforms.³³ The floors of the sleeping quarters were scrubbed and polished with wax each day, and twice a day for the kitchen and dining areas.³⁴ Punishment was corporal and severe for trivial misdemeanors. A small two-cell gaol was located at the rear of the dormitory and used to punish girls—only imprisoned overnight—and women who could be incarcerated for a

longer duration. There was also the threat of removal to the distant government settlements of Palm Island or Woorabinda, and this punishment was used on children whose families remained in Cherbourg.³⁵



Figure 2. The Stopford Home for Aboriginal Girls in the 1930s. Source: University of Queensland Anthropology Museum

Within the fenced administrative domain, the dormitories segregated the inmates from social world of kin in the Aboriginal village and camps. Visits to families were only permitted during the day on weekends. At around the age of 14, girls were sent out to work as domestic servants, staying in the dormitory on return to the settlement. For the girls, marriage was a means of escape from the dormitory system.³⁶ Interaction with the boys in the community was highly regulated and, in the late 1930s, a six-foot barbed wire fence was constructed along the picket fence. In the 1950s, chain-wire mesh was used to enclose the verandahs after the fence proved to be an insufficient deterrent (Fig. 3).

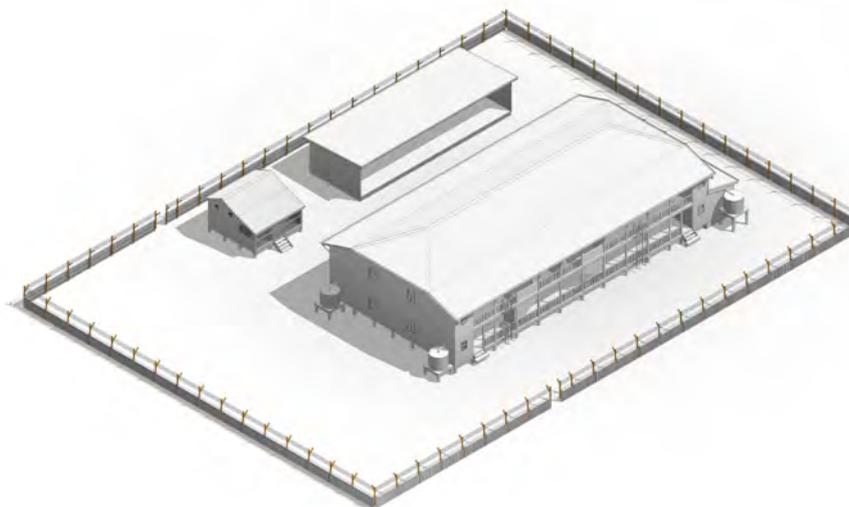


Figure 3. The girls' dormitory in the 1930s. The open verandahs were enclosed with chain-wire mesh after the six-foot barbed wired fence failed to keep out unwanted visitors. The gaol is the small building at the rear of the dormitory. Drawn by Loy Wei Win.

With a softening of State policy in 1965, a Cherbourg Community Council was elected to advise the superintendent. The symbolic and constitutional changes resulting from the 1967 Referendum signaled the demise of the State's draconian control and regulation of Indigenous lives. With the policy shift from assimilation to self-determination in 1972, Cherbourg inmates were given control of their own bank accounts in that year. The Girls' Dormitory was eventually

closed in 1980. The building was then converted into a temporary accommodation for the local community until it was destroyed in a fire in 1997.³⁷

The Boys' Dormitory

The single-storey Boys' Dormitory was completed in 1928, replacing a more rudimentary shed-like structure built in 1910. Set on ironbark stumps on a gently sloping site, the dormitory building, with its hip roof of corrugated iron, was built in a consistent style of robust timber architecture that characterised the buildings of the administrative domain. Adjacent to the superintendent's office (1925), the boys' dormitory along with the more modest mothers' quarters (1927) and the girls' dormitory established a consistent civic front to the main street of the settlement. White picket fences distinguished the individual territories of these buildings as part of an official domain.

Deep verandahs on each elevation protected single skin walls made from hardwood studs and hardwood horizontal V-J lining. Four rooms, used by the supervisors, were located on the corners of the building and were clad in weatherboards. A detached kitchen was connected via a covered walkway to the back verandah (Fig. 4). A separate ablutions block was located to the rear of the kitchen.

The dormitory operated until 1982. In the same year, the Cherbourg Community Council wrote to the director to the Department of Aboriginal and Islanders Advancement with a request to convert the old boys' dormitory "of good architectural design and very sound building" into a museum.³⁸ This would have to wait, as it reopened as the Beemar Yumba Children's Hostel in 1984, operating until 2005.³⁹



Figure 4. The rear of the Boys' Dormitory showing the detached kitchen building, in the 1930s. Source: University of Queensland Anthropology Museum.

The Ration Shed Museum

The Ration Shed Museum developed out of the activism and historical research of two Cherbourg sisters who had both been domestic servants.⁴⁰ Joined by other Elders, the sisters were successful in obtaining grants to relocate and renovate the 1927-built ration shed. Placed adjacent to the superintendent's office and boys' dormitory, the three buildings formed the core of the Cherbourg historical precinct. Since 2009, the Ration Shed Committee has successfully developed the precinct and its collections through a combination of grants, volunteers and revenue from venue hire. Jo Besley has described the memory work of the Museum and its significance to the sense of identity in the community.

Many Cherbourg people see the Ration Shed Museum as a chance for them to “set the record straight” and have their view of the past heard. At the Ration Shed, they are constructing memory and in doing so, are reclaiming their past, but also shaping Cherbourg identity in the present and into the future.⁴¹

The Museum documented the history of the dormitory system through reunions, documentary films, digital media and the adaptive reuse of the Boys' Dormitory building.⁴² One room of the dormitory recreates the boy's Spartan living conditions, while, in a documentary film, 30 “Domo Boys” describe conditions in the dormitory and how it affected on their lives. This mix of oral histories and artefacts narrated in the institutional setting makes use of the memories to portray a disturbing community history. Besley analysed the reuse of buildings associated with racism, abuse and trauma in the community: “In claiming a space for Cherbourg memory, the museum seeks to counter historical and contemporary discourses that construct the community as tragic, intrinsically dysfunctional, a place ‘without history’.”⁴³

As well as its active program of exhibitions, documentary film-making and community events, the Museum has collected architecture for its precinct. Located to the north of the Boys' Dormitory, the Domestic Science Building (built in 1941) was added to the precinct and the narrative of the domain. It retains its original 1950s kitchens used to train girls in simulations of their future work environments. Such architectural artifacts present an affecting reminder of the servitude expected of the dormitory girls at age 14. In 2012, the Cherbourg Aboriginal Shire Council acquired the old CWA hall, which was relocated to the precinct and repurposed as a studio and gallery space for the Yidding Artist group. Given this group's success, a 1930s house slated for demolition was moved onto the precinct to be refurbished as a pottery in 2018.⁴⁴

The Digital Dormitory

The authors of this paper investigated the architectural history of the Ration Shed Museum precinct between 2017 and 2019 in two capacities. The first author provided heritage consultancy and design documentation on renovations to the Ration Shed and Boys' Dormitory. As a part of a student research project, the second author reconstructed the girls' dormitory and administrative domain in digital and VR models, documenting changes to the administrative domain from the 1935 to 2018.

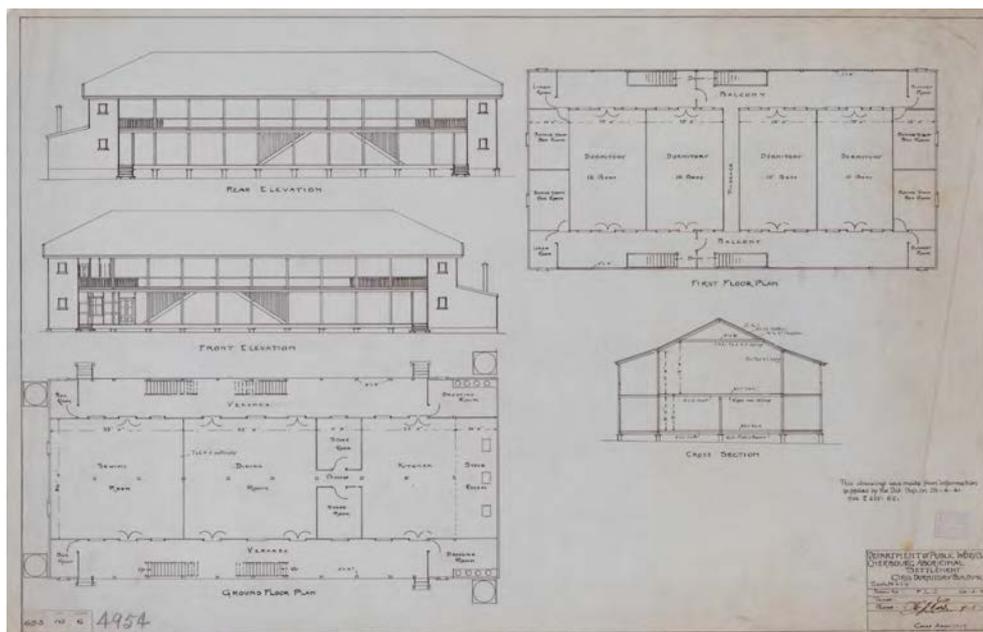


Figure 5. The one available architectural drawing that documents the Girls' Dormitory in 1942. Queensland State Archives ID: ITM583024.

An archival architectural drawing of the girls' dormitory provided the impetus and foundation for a digital model (Fig. 5). Dated 1942, the single sheet of dimensioned plans, long elevations and cross-section was significant, but the only drawing of the building to be located in the Queensland State Archives. The relatively large number of photographs of the dormitory provided significant information on the building fabric, as well as the location and dates of ancillary buildings and fencing. The archival documents and photographs, including aerial photographs, allowed for a reconstruction of significant changes to the dormitory and grounds, including the security fencing added over time. The topography was developed from in situ laser scanning of the current precinct and satellite data for the site of the girls' dormitory.⁴⁵

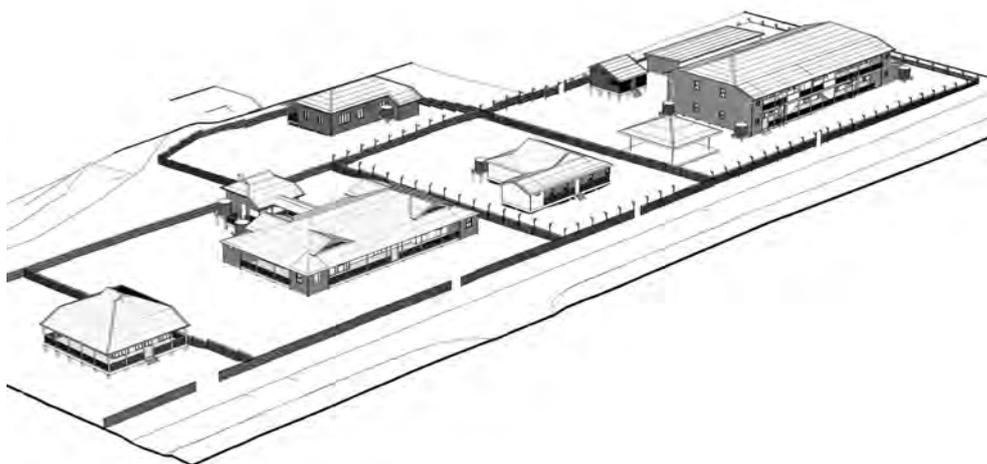


Figure 6. The major buildings of the administrative domain in the 1940s. Drawn by Loy Wei Win.



Figure 7. The 1:20 scale model of the Girls' Dormitory (used as an aide memoire in interviews with former inmates of the building. (Source: Loy Wei Win)

The consistent construction and design approaches to the administrative buildings, all built within four years, were particularly useful in developing the digital model. Drawings for the refurbishment of the Boys' Dormitory required detailed examination and documentation of the timber framed structure, its cladding, lining and joinery. For the digital dormitory, this evidence informed a reading of the photographic sources. It confirmed dimensions of construction elements and reduced the uncertainty for unseen structures such as the roof or subfloor.

Images of the digital model were shown to Cherbourg Elders who added information on details, commenting on finishes and colours in addition to recounting personal memories. Elders were also shown a 1:20 scale sectional model of the dormitory that stimulated more commentary on

the building and oral histories (Fig. 7). Toward the end of this project, a prominent Auntie was given a walk-through of the digital model and her narrative filmed to develop an interactive video of the dormitory. In 2019, the digital model was developed for use on virtual reality equipment although this had not been trialed in the community at the time of writing.⁴⁶

The production of an accurate and detailed digital representation of the girls' dormitory was therefore based on a process of close observation of the archival images of the building, which could be read against the extant fabric of the Boys' Dormitory (Fig. 8). Close inspection and accurate analogue measurement of this single-skin timber building informed this process. The digital model also demonstrated considerable potential as a research technique to elicit data about the architecture and its use. The sequence of digital models of the domain, registering the new structures and demolitions, offers useful historical evidence for conservation planning and future development of the museum precinct.

Architectural Memories

There are very few remaining examples of dormitories or administrative building in Indigenous communities across Australia. As symbols of the protectionist era, is not hard to see why they were demolished or left to decay. In Cherbourg, the "Whitefella domain", with its redundant but well-made buildings, was chosen as the museum precinct by Elders who had experienced discrimination and trauma within those buildings. The proliferation of oral histories and literature about the individual and shared experiences in the dormitories has shed light on the trauma and racism in Cherbourg but also distinctive forms of cultural resistance and collective identity in the community, more evident because of the Ration Shed Museum and its architectural setting.

The loss of the girls' dormitory to fire in the late 1990s removed a significant component of the administrative domain, and the most architecturally striking building. The digital reconstruction of this building and the broader historical precinct adds to the narratives in the Ration Shed Museum and the interpretation of the settlement. This type of digital architectural reconstruction and analysis is useful to the historiography of Cherbourg and the Ration Shed Museum memory project. The digital and VR models extend the reach of the Museum beyond its architectural setting although these representations were contingent on the analogue data and gain significance when experienced in the old domain. The dormitories, through both types of representation, deserve recognition beyond the community and South East Queensland for their part in our recent national history of incarcerating Indigenous people.

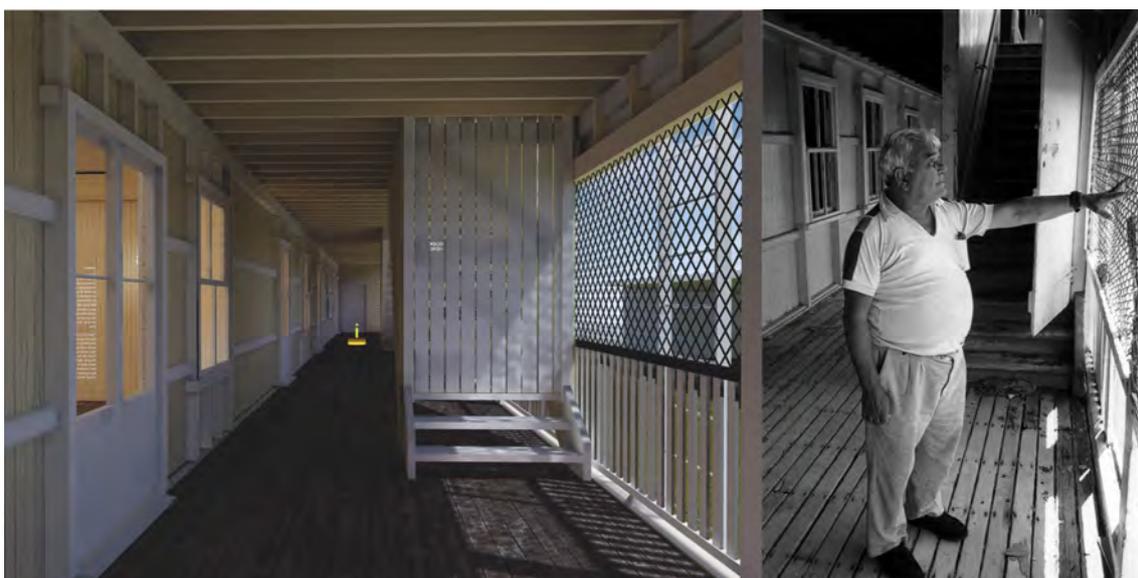


Figure 8. An image of the dormitory verandah from the digital model and an archive image used to inform the reconstruction. Drawn by Loy Wei Win; Image: AIATSIS.

Endnotes

- ¹ Ruth Hegarty, *Is that you Ruthie* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1999), 32.
- ² Bain Attwood, *The Making of the Aborigines* (Allen & Unwin, 1989), 1-20; Regina Ganter, *The contest for Aboriginal souls: European Missionary agendas in Australia* (Acton, ACT: ANU Press and Aboriginal History Inc., 2018).
- ³ Tim Rowse, *Indigenous and other Australians since 1901* (Kensington: UNSW Press, 2017), 111. Missions also aimed to train their inmates into reliable workers but were much more centred on creating a self-sufficient Christian community: see Jasper Ludewig, "Securing Territory: Grey Architecture and the German Missions of Cape York, 1886–1919" (PhD diss., University of Sydney, 2020).
- ⁴ Jasper Ludewig's PhD thesis "Securing Territory" provides a significant scholarly addition to Australian architectural historiography of missions. See also: Jasper Ludewig, "Mapoon Mission Station and the Privatization of Public Violence: Transnational Missionary Architecture on Queensland's Late-Nineteenth-Century Colonial Frontier," *Architecture Beyond Europe* 17 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.4000/abe.8032>
- ⁵ Brian McCoy "They Weren't Separated': Missions, Dormitories and Generational Health" *Health and History* 9:2 (2007), 48-69.
- ⁶ For the US see, for example, Brenda J., Child, *Boarding school seasons: American Indian families, 1900- 1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press 1998).
- ⁷ J Brook and J. L. Cohen, *The Parramatta Native Institution and Blacktown: A history* (Kensington, NSW: UNSW Press, 1991) 56.
- ⁸ W. N. Gunson, "The Nundah Missionaries," *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland* 6:3 (1960-1961), 520; John Ferry, "The failure of the New South Wales missions to the Aborigines before 1845," *Aboriginal History* 3:1 (1979), 25–36.
- ⁹ David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social order and disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1971), 206.
- ¹⁰ Rosalind Kidd, *The way we civilise* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1997), 19.
- ¹¹ Regina Ganter, "German Missionaries in Australia," Griffith University, accessed 23 August 2020, <http://missionaries.griffith.edu.au/qld-mission/zion-hill-mission-1838-1848#First%20Para>
- ¹² Gunson, "The Nundah Missionaries," 524.
- ¹³ See Regina Ganter, "German Missionaries in Australia," Griffith University, accessed 23 August 2020,
- ¹⁴ See Ludewig, "Securing Territory," 198–278
- ¹⁵ Kidd, *The way we civilise*, 44–48.
- ¹⁶ Regina Ganter & Ros Kidd, "The powers of protectors: Conflicts surrounding Queensland's 1897 Aboriginal legislation," *Australian Historical Studies* 25:101 (1993): 536–554.
- ¹⁷ Kidd, *The way we civilise*, 41-54.
- ¹⁸ Rowse, *Indigenous and other Australians*,
- ¹⁹ The Cherbourg Memory, Ration Shed Museum, accessed 5 September 2020, <http://cherbourgmemory.org/tag/1900s/>
- ²⁰ See Ludewig, "Securing Territory," 198–278.
- ²¹ Attwood, *The Making of the Aborigines*, 7.
- ²² David Trigger, *Whitefella comin': Aboriginal responses to colonialism in northern Australia*, (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 79.
- ²³ See, for example, Elsie Roughsey, Paul Memmott, & Robyn Horsman, *An Aboriginal mother tells of the old and the new* (Fitzroy, Vic: McPhee Gribble-Penguin Books, 1984).
- ²⁴ Thom Blake, *A Dumping Ground: A history of the Cherbourg Settlement* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2003), 4-14.
- ²⁵ Chief Protector Bleakley quoted in Blake *A Dumping Ground*, 34.
- ²⁶ Blake, *A Dumping Ground*, 34.
- ²⁷ Blake, *A Dumping Ground*, 105–6
- ²⁸ Barambah and Cherbourg were relatively well documented in official photographs and reports.
- ²⁹ Blake, *A Dumping Ground*, 68
- ³⁰ Blake, *A Dumping Ground*, 72.
- ³¹ Blake, *A Dumping Ground*, 72.
- ³² Blake, *A Dumping Ground*, 73.
- ³³ Hegarty, *Is that you Ruthie*, 39, 55, 58–9.
- ³⁴ Hegarty, *Is that you Ruthie*, 56; Blake, *A Dumping Ground*, 75.

³⁵ Hegarty, *Is that you Ruthie*, 25; Blake, *A Dumping Ground*, 83.

³⁶ Blake, *A Dumping Ground*, 72.

³⁷ Jo Besley, *On the Banks of the Barambah: A history of Cherbourg*, (Ration Shed Museum, 2013),.

³⁸ L. E Stewart, Cherbourg Community Council, Letter to Director of DAIA. 12 February 1982 (Queensland State Archives *Single Men & Boys' Dormitory*. Item ID: 645159).

³⁹ "The Cherbourg Memory," Ration Shed Museum, accessed 15 November, 2020, <http://cherbourgmemory.org/>

⁴⁰ Jo Besley, "Other People's Pain: trauma and testimony in Australian museums," (PhD diss., The University of Queensland, 2018), 59–60.

⁴¹ Besley, "Other People's Pain," 59.

⁴² Sandra Morgan, Robyn Hofmeyr (Producers) & Mark Newman (Director), *Domo Girls* [DVD], (2016) Ration Shed Museum.

⁴³ Besley, "Other People's Pain," 54.

⁴⁴ Not all of the significant pre-war buildings have been retained. The timber Anglican Church, important to many Cherbourg Elders, was under threat of demolition in 2018.

⁴⁵ The Girls' Dormitory site, to the east of the precinct, has been redeveloped.

⁴⁶ COVID 19 limited access to the community in March 2020.