HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS

A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education

ISSN 2203-7543 | Double Blind Peer-Reviewed | Open Access | www.hej-hermes.net

The search for truth: Filming the battle of Meewah

Daniel Maddock Margaret Baguley Martin Kerby Alison Bedford *University of Southern Queensland*

ABSTRACT

The Battle of Meewah (One Tree Hill) was fought just outside the city of Toowoomba in September 1843. The battle constituted the first major setback to European settlement in Queensland, though it slowed rather than halted the dispossession of First Nations' people. It offers an invaluable insight into the 'Aboriginal way of war' and challenges the widespread perception that First Nation's peoples were the passive victims of colonial expansion. The battle is the subject of a currently in-production documentary film with the working title *The Battle of Meewah*. For this documentary the filmmakers have developed a new approach to documentary film authorship that aligns more deeply with Indigenous story telling culture rather than the Western sole-authorship model.

Keywords

Auteurism, Cinema, Documentary, Frontier Wars, Yarning Circle.

CITATION

Maddock, D., Baguley, M., Kerby, M., & Bedford, A. (2023). The search for truth: filming the battle of Meewah. *Historical Encounters*, *10*(2), 106-119. https://doi.org/10.52289/hej10.210

COPYRIGHT

© Copyright retained by Authors Published 21 December 2023 Distributed under a CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 License

Introduction

In September 1843 a number of Australian First Nations' peoples from the Darling Downs region, in the Australian state of Queensland, defeated colonial settlers and pastoralists in the Battle of Meewah (One Tree Hill) just outside the city of Toowoomba (Kerkhove & Uhr, 2019). First Nations warriors were led by Multuggerah, a member of the Jagerra nation who united warriors from across different tribes in order to successfully conduct a pitched battle, a rare event in both form and outcome (Burke et al., 2021). Multuggerah's use of terrain and military intelligence, his understanding of logistics evident in the decision to conduct ambushes on the key transportation route between Moreton Bay and the Darling Downs, his use of deception, and a carefully planned withdrawal, all bear the hallmarks of a skilfully conducted, though ultimately unsuccessful guerrilla war. For though the battle constituted the first major setback to European settlement in Queensland, the dispossession of First Nations' peoples was slowed rather than halted. Nevertheless, the battle does offer an invaluable insight into the 'Aboriginal way of war' as it was practised during the Frontier Wars and thereby challenges the widespread perception that First Nation's peoples were the passive victims of colonial expansion.

The Friends of Multuggerah, a community-based group established to celebrate the endurance and resilience of local Aboriginal people and culture and operating under the auspices of the Catholic Diocese of Toowoomba organise an annual commemoration service for the battle which is held in Toowoomba. This battle and how it is remembered is the subject of a currently inproduction documentary film titled *The Battle of Meewah*. By telling this story through the medium of documentary film the authors explore a new approach to documentary film authorship. This approach aligns more deeply with Indigenous story telling culture rather than the Western sole-authorship model, which is usually described by cinema theorists as auteurism (Nelmes, 2012).

Historical context

In 1968 William Stanner (2020) coined the phrase the 'great Australian silence' to describe the pervasive "cult of forgetfulness practised on a national scale" that has ignored the less celebratory aspects of the nation's history, notably European "invasion and systemic massacres" (p. 120). The silence that Stanner so eloquently challenged has until recently obscured the extent to which a war was waged on the Australian frontier between 1788 and 1928, one which led to the death of 22,000 men, women, and children, 20,000 of them Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders killed either in official or non-official actions. Yet even the casualty figures are a cause for some dispute. Raymond Evans and Robert Ørsted-Jensen (2014) argue that the real number of First Nation's deaths was in fact in excess of 65,000 in the state of Queensland alone, which also has the unwanted distinction of being the site of the greatest number of white victims than any Australian colony. The proof that a war was fought on the Australian frontier is, however, both extensive and compelling, ranging from material held in archives in major cultural institutions in Australia and Great Britain to oral histories in Indigenous communities. White settlers and political and military figures described, often with a "disturbing candour ... violence [which] was very widespread, wellorchestrated and committed continent-wide from occupation until far into the 20th century" (Daley, 2014, para. 7).

Over the past decade, there has been significant progress made in mapping of the sites of atrocities perpetrated during the Frontier Wars (Burke et al., 2019; Ryan et al., 2013-2022; Sweeting & Krichauff, 2022). Henry Reynolds lauded these efforts but nevertheless argued that a new mode of historical research into Australia's Frontier Wars was required, one which moved beyond the 'massacre' narrative:

Up until now, Aborigines have typically been seen as victims and consequently either pitied or disregarded ... The common emphasis on the brutality of the frontiersmen and their racial animus might be understandable, but it leaves out the determining character of Indigenous initiative... Mass killing of the kind in question normally occurred during periods of enhanced conflict. Aboriginal bands in such circumstances cannot be considered as unarmed civilians ... It is clearly time to move beyond the idea that the Aborigines were victims whose fate was simply to suffer and to die. (Reynolds, 2020, paras. 13 - 16)

Reynolds explored this argument in his seminal *The Other Side of the Frontier*, first published in 1981. It has been only relatively recently that other historians have built on this scholarship, with Reynolds noting in particular the work of Clayton-Dixon et al. (2020) and Kerkhove and Uhr (2019). Subsequently, with Nicholas Clements, Reynolds produced Tongerlongeter – First Nations Leader and Tasmanian War Hero (2022) – a work which likewise demonstrates the success of First Nations' resistance. Other works continue to appear, most recently Ray Kerkhove's How They Fought (2023), a groundbreaking exploration of Indigenous tactics and weaponry.

The relative paucity of historical scholarship is further compounded by the difficulty in accurately reconstructing 'site histories' of key affrays and skirmishes. In many cases, the 'landscape' of war - the exact nature and location of sites, and the manner in which a conflict 'played out' – is contested (Litster & Wallis, 2011). The problem is further compounded by the debates over whether Indigenous-settler confrontations were ever actually (Contos, 2000; Evans & Thorpe, 2001; Harris, 2010; Ryan, 2013; Statham, 2003) and the lack of understanding of how traditional Aboriginal warfare functioned. Some of these deficiencies are currently being corrected (Allen & Jones, 2016; Darmangeat, 2019; Kerkhove & White, 2022; White & Kerkhove, 2020). Moreover, a growing number of historians now acknowledge frontier war 'battles' (Clements, 2014; Coulthard-Clark, 1998; Gapps, 2018; Kerkhove & Uhr, 2019).' This has been supported by the Australian War Memorial's recent—and one suspects reluctant—recognition of the Frontier Wars and the associated massacres. The Memorial's governing council has after much delay committed itself to embarking on a "much broader, a much deeper depiction and presentation of the violence committed against Indigenous people, initially by British, then by pastoralists, then by police, and then by Aboriginal militia" (Knaus, 2022, para. 3). There is also renewed awareness of the importance of reconstructing sites locally (Cole, 2004). However very few sites have been thoroughly assessed with regards to their logistics, number of casualties and other factors. This inhibits a proper understanding of how individual battles or skirmishes unfolded and prevents them being properly commemorated. Reynolds (2020) is nevertheless encouraged by the fact that these scholars have, in his estimation, established "beyond reasonable doubt that the resistance by Aboriginal people was well planned, persistent and carried through with courage and determination" (para. 20). Technologies such as virtual reality are also beginning to provide important opportunities to represent the "arts, cultural stories, heritage, traditional knowledge and histories of First Nation people using new, immersive and interactive technologies" which include "interactions between first settlers and traditional peoples" (Trundle, 2020, paras. 1-2).

Battle of Meewah

The Battle of Meewah (One Tree Hill) was the culmination of a series of events which took place over several years between pastoralists and the local First Nations peoples on whose land they were increasingly beginning to encroach. In particular, the poisoning of over fifty First Nations peoples at Kilcoy Station using flour laced with strychnine made further violence inevitable. The First Nations leader, Multugerrah, united the different tribes and began ambushing the drays carrying food supplies and produce. The disruption of the main road that connected the settlers at the top of Toowoomba's escarpment with other large settlements at the bottom threatened the survival of white settlement in the area. To protect their drays from Multugerrah's attacks the settlers organised for them to be accompanied by armed guards. On 12 September 1843, 18 armed men guarding three drays dragged by as many as 50 bullocks fled when they were stopped by a hundred of Multuggerah's warriors on a steep and boggy stretch of the road that cut through thick bush. They returned with a party of between 35 and 50 men who engaged the warriors in a pitched battle the next day. Having been taken by surprise by the arrival of the settlers, Multugerrah's warriors retreated up the mountain. They threw spears and rolled boulders on their pursuers, and though they inflicted wounds and injuries, they did not kill any of the settlers, though they took an unspecified number of casualties in return.

As journalist David Marr has indicated, the exact details of the battle were never clear but the cultural narrative and embarrassment to the European settlers was keenly felt.

How many died on either side that day has never been clear. Perhaps none. Before it was forgotten, the Battle of One Tree Hill was celebrated in newspaper reports, books, and heroic bush ballads not as a bloodbath but a humiliating defeat of the pastoralists at the hands of the blacks. (Marr, 2019)

The response was as predictable as it was bloody. Eventually, about 75 to 100 settlers, including among their number most of Moreton Bay's soldiers and police, forced the First Nations peoples from the area and subsequently killed many of them in the Lockyer Valley area. Five years of attacks and raids followed, but First Nations resistance served only to delay the dispossession of Multuggerah's people.

The documentary format

Although contemporary audiences may well characterise documentaries as the binary opposite of fictional narratives, from the very birth of film, the extent to which moving images are capable of conveying objective truth has dominated scholarly discussion (Nichols, 2010; Plantinga, 2005). It was an issue that also came to dominate the planning and filming of the documentary *The Battle of Meewah*, a process further complicated by the demands of the collaborative process (Baguley et al., 2021) and the need to respectfully present Indigenous ways of knowing through Western conceptions of historical research.

The first sustained scholarly discussion of documentary film was written in 1898 by Bolesław Matuszewski, a pioneering Polish cinematographer involved with the Lumière brothers and others associated with the birth of cinema. *Une nouvelle source de l'histoire* (Eng. A New Source of History) and *La photographie animée* (Eng. Animated Photography) are recognised as the first film manifestos to consider the historical and documentary value of film (MacKenzie, 2014). Matuszewski argued that "animated film" had the capacity to document and archive visual material more powerfully than other communication mediums by providing "a direct view of the past" (Matuszewski quoted in Chapman, 2013). The growing field of cinema aesthetics and an awareness of how the form could be used to manipulate meaning through images and sound ensured that Matuszewski's claims to the "incontestable and absolute truth" of film (Matuszewski et al., 1995) were not universally accepted, even at the time of writing, and are now thoroughly discredited. Nevertheless, over subsequent decades "the question has been raised again and again whether and to what extent it would be possible to use film as a way of documenting contemporary history" (Terveen quoted in Chapman, 2013).

Early recognition that documentary film offered an incomplete, and perhaps mutilated truth, has never been fully resolved, either in academic or popular circles. Bill Nichols, widely regarded as the most significant documentary film scholar in the world (Aitken, 2006; Bruzzi, 2002), acknowledged this tension when he noted that the documentary is "a filmmaking practice, a cinematic tradition, and mode of audience reception [that remains] a practice without clear boundaries" (Grant & Sloniowski, 2013). Indeed, as Shapiro has observed, documentary "straddles the categories of fact and fiction, art and document, entertainment and knowledge" (Shapiro, 1997). It is evident therefore that the filmic representation is itself not the real object and is an interpretation of the reality made by the author/s (Maddock, 2021). For whatever their

claims to authenticity, documentary makers are in essence expressing a point of view. As Morin claimed, the very nature of the cinema form can only lead to a director's representation: "there are two ways to conceive of the cinema of the Real: the first is to pretend that you can present reality to be seen; the second is to pose the problem of reality" (Morin quoted in Lee-Wright, 2010, p. 93).

If the author's touch is an inescapable part of creation, as the makers of *The Battle of Meewah* have found, the question of how it can be harnessed to make a documentary appear truthful becomes the defining question of any project. The framework of ethical principles for documentary filmmaking created by the influential Center for Media and Social Impact at the American University is framed by this imperative. The documentary maker, in their view, should create work that is a reflection of what they understand to be true and real, but which would withstand critical scrutiny if they told their viewers where and how they accessed their images (Aufderheide et al., 2009). Such a requirement demands that the documentary maker and the viewer should agree that the same thing occurred despite the fact the former was present at the real event and the latter only experiences a mediated version of it. How far the documentary maker is prepared to go in this mediation is a complex issue. Jill Godmilow, an American documentary filmmaker, takes one extreme, suggesting that eschewing emotive filmmaking for a strategy of "under-representation and Brechtian reconstruction" leads to a raw truth, "cold facts and hard reality" (Godmilow, 1999). In contrast, Werner Herzog (2021) suggested the 'fly-on-thewall' approach should be discarded in favour of shaping the "ecstatic truth to tell a beautiful and brilliant story". These contrasting views highlight the complexity of any engagement with the 'truth' of a story via a film documentary. This is also complicated by filmmakers often working with people they have chosen and therefore "typically see themselves as stewards of the subjects' stories" (Aufderheide et al., 2009, p. 7). Alternatively, some filmmakers believe that deceit is appropriate when documenting politically or economically corrupt acts, which often includes the subject "taking advantage of other people or when they are so completely convinced of their rightness, they would be happy with their portrayal" (Aufderheide et al., 2009, p. 8). These types of decisions are made by the filmmaker usually during the editing process as there is a widely held belief that they should "do no harm" and "protect the vulnerable" (Aufderheide et al., 2009, p. 6). Some theorists suggest authorial ideologies such as auteurism, which credits the director with everything from the film's storyline to the techniques used through the filming, thereby unnaturally elevate the director's place within a production (Gerstner & Staiger, 2003). The film critic André Bazin claimed Western art, which included cinema, evolved toward a personalisation, something clearly out-of-step with other world cultures (Caughie, 1981), including those of Indigenous people, whose commitment is to the group not individual recognition.

Authorship and protocols

Although the documentary filmmaker is telling another person's story, it remains that person's story to share. It is therefore presumptuous for a director to consider themselves the only author of consequence to the filmmaking process, narrative, and viewer (Grant, 2008). Gerstner and Staiger (2013) therefore define authorship for cinema as a "mutual connection" explaining that writers, directors, and producers create the work whilst cinematographers, editors, and animators (amongst others) create the world that viewers perceive as the work (p.12). This partnership approach to authorial control allows for a more truthful, democratic, and clear point-of-view to be presented to the audience. For First Nations Australians this is a very important step toward Truth Telling. As truth has long been hidden or obscured or presented entirely from a colonial perspective, Truth Telling has become one of the key processes for reconciliation in many countries where historical colonisation has severely and adversely impacted indigenous peoples (Wright, 2021). In terms of authorship, Indigenous cultural heritage is communally owned because many generations of Indigenous people "may contribute to the development of an item of knowledge or tradition" (Janke, 2009, p. 6).

As Janke (2009) highlights, although the medium of film can promote perspectives and advance understanding, Indigenous people have also been exploited by filmmakers. This has included having Indigenous cultural heritage "appropriated without proper consultation or sufficient acknowledgment" and stereotypical perspectives that "demean Indigenous cultural beliefs" (p. 4). As the issues paper titled *Towards a Protocol for Filmmakers working with Indigenous content and Indigenous Communities* states:

Non-Indigenous filmmakers who want to portray Indigenous stories must take responsibility for finding out about the cultures they are representing. Filmmakers often don't respect the authenticity of stories and cultural materials. Yet Aboriginal audiences can pick out the false cultural references, for instance, where the names and languages are not from the particular area and the stories and the dances are wrong. It's like putting a plastic bag in an English period film. (Janke & Australian Film Commission: Indigenous Unit, 2003, p. 9)

This includes respect for sacred sites and materials as under First Nations customary laws some images and knowledge are not to be made accessible to the public, or may be gender-specific, and therefore only to be engaged with by initiated men and (Janke & Australian Film Commission. Indigenous, 2003, p. 11).

The Australian *Pathways & Protocols* (Janke, 2009) filmmaker's guide to working with Indigenous people, culture and concepts is underpinned by two key principles:

- Respect for Indigenous culture and heritage, including recognition of Indigenous cultural and intellectual property rights, maintenance of cultural integrity and respect for cultural beliefs; and
- Respect for Indigenous individuals and communities.

This respect for Indigenous individuals, communities, culture, and heritage is also embraced in the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Code of Ethics for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Research (AIATSIS Code of Ethics for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Research, 2020). Research which includes Non-Traditional Research Outputs (NTROs) such as filmmaking is underpinned by four principles that strengthen ethical and responsible research with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. These include:

- Indigenous self-determination (recognition and respect; engagement and collaboration; informed consent; cultural capability and learning);
- Indigenous leadership (Indigenous led research; Indigenous perspectives and participation; Indigenous knowledge and data);
- Impact and value (benefit and reciprocity; impact and risk);
- Sustainability and accountability (Indigenous land and waters; ongoing Indigenous governance; reporting and compliance). (p. 10).

The principles of this code which apply to people working with Australian First Nations people, including documentary filmmakers, are underpinned by the value of integrity, which at its heart "depends on the values and integrity of researchers and institutions" (AIATSIS, 2020, p. 11). The documentary film maker is located at the University of Southern Queensland (UniSQ) which has 40 years of involvement in First Nations' peoples higher education. It was therefore important to consider the Institution's approach. Professor Tony Dreise, a descendent of the Guumilaroi and Euahlayi First Nations of north-west New South Wales and south-west Queensland, was the inaugural Deputy Vice Chancellor for First Nations Education and Research. He was instrumental in developing the blueprint (2022-2025) which underpins UniSQ's approach to working with First Nations people, noting that "First Nations people are critically important to the very identity, spirit and culture of our University and region" (UniSQ, 2022, para. 4). The blueprint also aligns with the AIATSIS Code of Ethics noting that "research at UniSQ will be underpinned by cultural protocls,

112

provide tangible benefit to First Nations, and be led or co-led by First Nations people" (UniSQ, 2022a, p. 4).

This therefore necessitated an approach to filming the Meewah documentary that was based on the establishment of prior relationships, clear notification to First Nations participants of the aims and purpose of the documentary, the provision of free, prior and informed individual consent wherever possible, engagement of the participants throughout the process, and respect for custodianship, knowledge, and modes of communication that were respectful and effective and evident in the final documentary (AIATSIS, 2020, p. 21).

The Yarning Circle as a methodology for truth telling through the documentary form

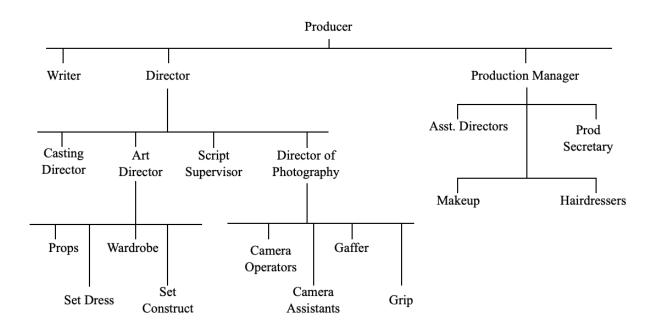
Collective authorship is closely aligned to traditional narratives passed down in First Nations cultural groups. These cultural narratives, known as 'Songlines' are passed from elder to elder but have no singular author and sometimes span many different nation groups across what is, post colonisation, the singular country of Australia (Glynn-McDonald, n.d). Songlines are oral histories about places and journeys which are linked to creation narratives. These stories are presented in song and often linked to ceremonies that are enacted in specific places (Poulter, 2017). This ideology of collective and culturally diverse authorship is also evident in the practice of a Yarning Circle. A Yarning Circle is a place to talk, share, discuss, and educate. Yarning for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples was, and still is, a conversational process that involves the telling of stories as a way of passing on cultural knowledge (Yarning Circle, n.d). The circle, by its very design, places an equal importance on all participants' contributions to the conversation. It is therefore a collaborative construction of narrative and ideology which is the antithesis of the "western intellectual property system [which] does not acknowledge communal ownership of cultural expressions and knowledge passed down through generations" (Briscoe, 2020, para. 31). Therefore, a critical part of this process was the importance of attribution. It was particularly important to ensure First Nations people who were featured in the documentary were identified by their names and clans, otherwise the lack of attribution "perpetrates the anonymity of Indigenous faces and continues to silence Indigenous voices" (Janke & Australian Film Commission. Indigenous, 2003, p. 12). In addition, it is important to acknowledge cultural beliefs around the representation of deceased people, such as Multuggerah, as "the reproduction of names and images of deceased people contravenes mourning practices and is offensive" (Janke & Australian Film Commission. Indigenous, 2003, p. 11).

To visually indicate the authorial control and narrative point-of-view of the First Nations Aboriginal participants, Errol Morris' direct-address cinematographic method was utilised in the creation of the documentary. This approach enabled a conversational empathy from the participants as they presented their story directly to the lens and subsequently to the viewer (Maddock, 2022). The process of interviewing began with a discussion which guided an oral history rather than a line of questions which constructed meaning through authorial control [Jones, 2020]. However, the documentary also comprises historical evidence presented by historians and academics of European descent. As this story is not presented from their point-ofview, or even an omniscient third-person point-of-view, those contributors are composed using a traditional observational cinematographic method to visually differentiate this distinction (Maddock, 2018a, 2018b). The historians also refer to those presented in the historical narrative in third person whilst the Aboriginal contributors use second and first person by including themselves in the continuing narrative of their people's history. This form of documentary methodology sits outside of Nichol's six types of documentary film modes: poetic, expository, participatory, observational, reflexive, performative, though it does borrow components from the reflexive, observational and participatory modes (Nichols, 1991). In recognition of the AIATSIS Code of Ethics and the filmmaking guides for working with Australian First Nations peoples the methodology also include extensive consultation with First Nations people whose clans had connections with Multuggerah and the story of the Battle of Meewah; the inclusion of First Nations Elders who were acknowledged as being able to speak about these connections and story of Multuggerah; discussion of how First Nations people would be attributed in the documentary; and the inclusion of an aspiring First Nations filmmaker as part of the team.

This methodology therefore proposes a new form of documentary film, one aimed at participant co-authorial status, whilst also questioning the definition of cinema as a medium of auteurism and singular expression. This new methodology has been designed to lead to a more culturally appropriate narrative representation, a narrative which belongs to a culture, an entire group of people, rather than an individual. As indicated by Michael Rabiger and Mick Hurbis-Cherrier in Figure 1, although a producer holds financial, managerial, and completion authority on a film production, the director is charged with the authorial direction of the film as noted earlier in this paper.

Figure 1

Lines of responsibility in a small-feature filmcrew

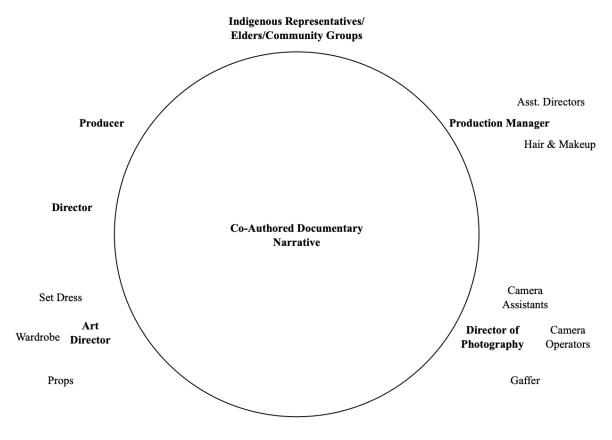


Note: Adapted from Rabiger et al. (2020, p. 336).

An alternative working structure to Figure 1 is represented in Figure 2 and shows an equal distribution of authorial status which is shared between the heads of department within the crew, including the director, and the documentary film subject owners such as the Indigeneous representatives, elders, and nation groups.

Figure 2

Co-Authored Documentary Model



Notes: Adapted from Rabiger et al. (2020, p. 336). A small documentary crew is represented by a central narrative as owned by the Indigenous representatives who work together with a film crew (department heads in bold type) using a Yarning Circle Methodology to achieve participant co-authorial status.

Conclusion

The creation of the Battle of Meewah documentary is significant and timely. There is growing recognition of the importance of acknowledging the Frontier Wars as an integral part of mainstream Australian history. The significance of First Nations peoples' resistance to European invasion has been submerged under stereotypes, including filmic representations of Aboriginal people as passive recipients of invasion. The establishment of the AIATSIS Code of Ethics and protocols for working with Indigenous peoples has resulted in important changes to how Aboriginal people are represented. National Indigenous Television (NITV), which is owned and operated by First Nations Australians, was established in Australia in 2007. This has created important opportunities for First Nations peoples to choose how they are represented, with NITV providing substantial work for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous industry practitioners (McNiven, 2019). The approach taken through this documentary provides important insights into the important protocols that must be observed by non-Indigenous filmmakers who seek to document First Nations peoples and their collaborative stories and culture in ways that honour, respect and educate.

Reference list

- Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS). (2020). *AIATSIS Code of Ethics for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander research.* https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-10/aiatsis-code-ethics.pdf
- Aitken, I. (2006). *Encyclopedia of the documentary film.* Routledge. https://books.google.com.au/books?id=7UMOAQAAMAAJ
- Allen, M. W., & Jones, T. L. (2016). *Violence and warfare among hunter-gatherers.* Taylor & Francis. https://books.google.com.au/books?id=nVmTDAAAQBAJ
- Aufderheide, P., Jaszi, P., & Chandra, M. (2009, September). *Honest truths: Documentary filmmakers on ethical challenges in their work*. Center for Media & Social Impact. https://cmsimpact.org/resource/honest-truths-documentary-filmmakers-on-ethicalchallenges-in-their-work/?q=making-your-media-matter/documents/best-practices/honesttruths-documentary-filmmakers-ethical-chall#ETHICS-AND-DOCUMENTARY
- Baguley, M., Kerby, M., MacDonald, A., & Cruickshank, V. (2021). Strangers on a train: The politics of collaboration. *Australian Educational Researcher*, 48, 183–208. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13384-020-00386-9
- Briscoe, L. (2020, June 11). Racism in media provides a blockage for Indigenous prosperity in a digital economy. National Indigenous Television. https://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/article/racism-in-media-provides-a-blockage-for-indigenousprosperity-in-a-digital-economy/3n0syvqmh
- Bruzzi, S. (2002). New documentary: A critical introduction. Taylor & Francis.
- Burke, H., Kerkhove, R., Wallis, A. L., Keys, C., & Barker, B. (2023). *Fortifying the frontier?* Archaeology on the Frontier. https://archaeologyonthefrontier.com/
- Burke, H. D., Wallis, L. A., Barker, B., Cole, N., Davidson, I., & Hatte, E. (2019). Frontier conflict and the native mounted police in Queensland Flinders University [data set]. https://researchnow.flinders.edu.au/en/publications/frontier-conflict-and-the-nativemounted-police-in-queensland-dat
- Caughie, J. (Ed.). (1981). Theories of authorship: a reader. Routledge.
- Chapman, J. (2013). Film and History. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Clayton-Dixon, C., Collins-Widders, N., Briggs, G., Widders, W. B., Dixon, N., & McDonald, B. (2020). Surviving new England: A history of Aboriginal resistance and resilience through the first forty years of the Colonial Apocalypse. Newara Aboriginal Corporation. https://books.google.com.au/books?id=vlbazQEACAAJ
- Clements, N. (2014). *The Black War: fear, sex and resistance in Tasmania*. University of Queensland Press.
- Cole, N. (2004). Battle camp to Boralga: a local study of colonial war on Cape York Peninsula, 1873–1894. *Aboriginal History, 28*, 156-189. http://doi.org/10.22459/AH.28.2011.07
- Contos, N. (2000). The Pinjarra Massacre Site Project. *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community*, 19(2), 13-19. https://doi.org/10.1300/J005v19n02_03
- Coulthard-Clark, C. D. (1998). *Where Australians fought: the encyclopaedia of Australia's battles.* Allen & Unwin.
- Daley, P. (2014, July 15). Why the number of Indigenous deaths in the frontier wars matters. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jul/15/why-the-number-of-indigenous-deaths-in-the-frontier-wars-matters

- Darmangeat, C. (2019). Vanished wars of Australia: the archaeological invisibility of Aboriginal collective conflicts. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, *26*(4), 1556-1590. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10816-019-09418-w
- Evans, R., & Thorpe, B. (2001). Indigenocide and the massacre of Aboriginal history. *Overland*, (163), 21-39. https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/ielapa.200112842
- Gapps, S. (2018). The Sydney wars: conflict in the early colony 1788-1817. NewSouth Publishing.
- Gerstner, D. A., & Staiger, J. (2003). Authorship and film. Routledge. https://books.google.com.au/books?id=RxGJHL02AW0
- Glynn-McDonald, R. (2019, August 20). *Songlines*. Common Ground. https://www.commonground.org.au/learn/songlines
- Godmilow, J. (1999). What's wrong with the liberal documentary. *Peace Review*, *11*(1), 91-98. https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659908426235
- Grant, B. K. (2008). Auteurs and authorship: A film reader. Wiley. https://books.google.com.au/books?id=6alpAAAMAAJ
- Grant, B. K., & Sloniowski, J. (2013). *Documenting the documentary: Close readings of documentary film and video, new and expanded edition*. Wayne State University Press.
- Harris, J. (2010). Memorials and trauma: Pinjarra 1834. In M. Broderick & A. Traverso (Eds.), *Trauma, media, art: New perspectives*. Cambridge Scholars.
- Janke, Terri & Gray, Cathy & Screen Australia & Australian Film Commission. (2009). *Pathways & protocols: A filmmaker's guide to working with Indigenous people, culture and concepts.* [Researched and written by Terri Janke; Edited by Cathy Gray and the Communications Branch staff, AFC & Screen Australia]. Screen Australia.
- Janke, T., & Australian Film Commission: Indigenous Unit. (2003). *Issues paper: Towards a protocol for filmmakers working with Indigenous content and Indigenous communities.* Australian Film Commission. https://www.wipo.int/export/sites/www/tk/en/databases/creative_heritage/docs/aus_film.pdf
- Jones, L. E. (2020). 'The greatness and the smallness of their story': Developing an oral history interactive documentary creative practice telling the Battle of Coral Balmoral, Vietnam 1968'. [Doctoral dissertation, Griffith University]. Griffith University.
- Kerkhove, R. (2023). *How they fought: Indigenous tactics and weaponry of Australia's Frontier Wars.* Boolarong Press.
- Kerkhove, R., & Uhr, F. (2019). *The battle of One Tree Hill: the Aboriginal resistance that stunned Queensland.* Boolarong Press.
- Kerkhove, R., & White, C. S. (2022). Indigenous Australians. In S. White (Ed.), *The Laws of Yesterday's Wars: From Indigenous Australians to the American Civil War* (pp. 3-43). Brill Nilhoff.
- Knaus, C. (2022, September 29). Australian War Memorial promises 'much broader, deeper' depiction of frontier wars. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/australianews/2022/sep/29/australian-war-memorial-promises-much-broader-deeper-depiction-offrontier-wars
- Lee-Wright, P. (2010). The Documentary Handbook. Routledge.
- Litster, M., & Wallis, L. A. (2011). Looking for the proverbial needle? The archaeology of Australian colonial frontier massacres. *Archaeology and physical anthropology in Oceania*, 46(3), 105-117. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1834-4453.2011.tb00105

- MacKenzie, S. (2014). *Film manifestos and global cinema cultures: A critical anthology.* University of California Press.
- Maddock, D. (2018a). Combat cinematography: Interpreting the cinematographic form of combat realism. In M. Kerby, M. Baguley, & J. McDonald (Eds.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Maddock, D. (2018). Uncomposed: Unconventional cinematographic composition in cinema and television. *Australian Art Education, 39*(2), 268-287.
 https://research.usq.edu.au/item/q4y62/uncomposed-unconventional-cinematographic-composition-in-cinema-and-television
- Maddock, D. (2021). Triumph of the will: A memorial in film. *Historical encounters*, 8(3), 41-54. https://doi.org/10.52289/hej8.304
- Maddock, D. (2022). Saluting their Service community stories website: Audio/visual recording. University of Southern Queensland. https://research.usq.edu.au/item/q78w7/saluting-theirservice-community-stories-website
- Marr, D. (2019, September 15). Battle of One Tree Hill: Remembering an Indigenous victory and a warrior who routed the whites. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/sep/15/battle-of-one-tree-hill-cutting-through-silence-to-remember-a-warrior-who-routed-the-whites
- Masterclass (2021). *Documentary: Truth in nonfiction* https://www.masterclass.com/classes/werner-herzog-teachesfilmmaking/chapters/documentary-truth-in-nonfiction#
- Matuszewski, B., Marks, L. U., & Koszarski, D. (1995). A new source of history. *Film History*, 7(3), 322-324. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3815097
- McNiven, L. (2023). *Indigenous Filmmaking: A short history*. National Film and Sound Archive. https://www.nfsa.gov.au/latest/short-history-indigenous-filmmaking
- Nelmes, J. (2012). Introduction to film studies. Taylor & Francis.
- Nichols, B. (2010). Introduction to documentary (2nd ed.). Indiana University Press.
- Nichols, B. (1991). *Representing reality: Issues and concepts in documentary*. Indiana University Press.
- Ørsted-Jensen, R. & Evans, R. (2014, July 7-11). *I Cannot Say the Numbers that Were Killed.* The Australian Historical Association 33rd Annual Conference. St. Lucia, QLD, Australia. https://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:353462
- Plantinga, C. (2005). What a documentary is, after all. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 63(2), 105-117. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0021-8529.2005.00188.x
- Poulter, J. (2017, February 7). Songlines in Warrandyte. *Warrandyte Diary.* https://warrandytediary.com.au/songlines-in-warrandyte/
- Reynolds, H. (2020, April 27). Frontier thinking: Books Two new books about frontier conflict bring fresh evidence that Aboriginal communities waged well-planned warfare on the settlers. *Inside Story*. https://insidestory.org.au/frontier-thinking/
- Reynolds, H., & Clements, N. (2022). *Tongerlongeter: First Nations Leader & Tasmanian War Hero*. UNSW Press.
- Rabiger, M., Hurbis-Cherrier, M., & Mercado, G. (2020). *Directing: film techniques and aesthetics*. Routledge/Focal Press.
- Ryan, L. (2013). Untangling Aboriginal resistance and the settler punitive expedition: the Hawkesbury River frontier in New South Wales, 1794-1810. *Journal of Genocide Research*, *15*(2), 219-232. https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2013.789206

- Ryan, L., Pascoe, B., & al, e. (2013-2022). Colonial Frontier Massacres, Australia, 1788 to 1930. Newcastle University. https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/
- Shapiro, A. L. (1997). How real is the reality in documentary film? *History and theory*, *36*(4), 80-101. https://doi.org/10.1111/0018-2656.00032
- Stanner, W. E. H. (2020). After the dreaming. In D. McDonald (Ed.), *The Boyer collection: Highlights of the Boyer lectures 1959-2000.* ABC Books.
- Statham, P. (2003). James Stirling and Pinjarra: A battle in more ways than one. [Paper in: History and Native Title, Choo, Christine and Hollbach, Shawn (eds.). Studies in Western Australian history, (23), 167-194.
- Sweeting, C., & Krichauff, S (Hosts). (2022). *Aboriginal way* [Audio podcast]. South Australian Native Title Services. https://www.nativetitlesa.org/mapping-colonial-violence-against-aboriginal-people-in-sa/
- Trundle, V. (2020, September 21). Preserving Indigenous culture through VR: Brett Leavy's virtual songlines. https://www.acmi.net.au/stories-and-ideas/preserving-indigenous-culture-through-vr-brett-leavys-virtual-songlines/
- University of Southern Queensland. (2022). *Ambitious future of First Nations education unveiled.* https://www.unisq.edu.au/news/2022/09/first-nations-education
- University of Southern Queensland. (2022a). *Placing uni in community. A blueprint. Future directions in First Nations education, research, and engagement at the University of Southern Queensland 2022 2025.* Internal UniSQ document.
- Wright, P. (2023, August 16). *The biggest step in truth telling about Australia's Colonisation history. ANTAR.* https://antar.org.au/blog/the-biggest-step-in-truth-telling-about-colonisation-history/
- White, S., & Kerkhove, R. (2020). Indigenous Australian laws of war: Makarrata, milwerangel and junkarti. *International Review of the Red Cross (2005), 102*(914), 959-978. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1816383121000497
- Shapiro, A. L. (1997). How real is the reality in documentary film? *History and theory*, *36*(4), 80-101. https://doi.org/10.1111/0018-2656.00032
- The University of Newcastle. (2022, April 5). *Yarning Circle*. https://www.newcastle.edu.au/campus-life/central-coast/ourimbah/spaces-and-places/yarning-circle

Author biographies

Daniel Maddock (PhD) has a background in internationally award-winning media production and a particular interest in visual and digital literacies and the use of media in pedagogical practice. Daniel is the Australian representative on the editorial panel for the world's first academic journal about cinematography - Cinematography in Progress. His PhD thesis on the practice of cinematography was nominated for the Chancellor's Medal for Excellence in PhD Research at Griffith University. Daniel's research focuses on the form of film and creative media and how it is constructed for meaning in addition to and in support of the media's content. Daniel sees visual literacy and linguistic literacy as elements of a whole literacy and therefore advocates for a deeper understanding of non-literary forms of communication and expression. Daniel has also published internationally broadcast and award-winning television drama, internationally award-winning short-films, and nationally broadcast documentaries.

Email: daniel.maddock@usq.edu.au ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2746-9098 **Martin Kerby** is an Associate Professor in Curriculum and Pedagogy at the University of Southern Queensland. His research interests include biography and artistic and cultural responses to conflict. Dr Kerby holds two doctorates in the field of biography. He has received numerous research awards including several ANZAC Centenary grants, both state and national (2014, 2015, 2017). Dr Kerby was a 2018 Q ANZAC 100 Fellow at the State Library of Queensland with his project was titled 'A War Imagined: Queenslanders and the Great War'. He was recently awarded a place on the highly regarded Gandel Holocaust Studies Program for Australian Educators (2020). Dr Kerby has published extensively including The Palgrave Handbook of Artistic and Cultural Responses to War since 1914 (Kerby, Baguley & McDonald, 2009, Palgrave Macmillan). He is also the Chief Investigator on a USQ Capacity Building Research Grant titled 'Counter Memorials/Monuments and the Australian Commemorative Landscape'. He is also currently the Chief Editor of Australian Art Education.

Email: martin.kerby@usq.edu.au ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4073-2559

Margaret Baguley is a Professor in Arts Education, Curriculum and Pedagogy at the University of Southern Queensland, Australia with a specialisation in visual arts. She has received numerous awards recognising the high quality of her teaching and research. She is currently the Associate Head Research for the School of Education. Her research interests encompass the arts, arts education, leadership, group dynamics and creative collaboration. She has an extensive number of publications including The Palgrave Handbook of Global Arts Education (Barton & Baguley, 2017, Palgrave MacMillan) and The Palgrave Handbook of Artistic and Cultural Responses to War since 1914 (Kerby, Baguley & McDonald, 2009, Palgrave Macmillan). Dr Baguley is also a practising artist with 10 solo exhibitions and 47 group exhibitions with forty of these being invitational. Her most recent group exhibition received Australia Council for the Arts funding and she has been a recipient of grants from the Ian Potter Foundation, Craft Queensland, Arts Queensland and the Australia Council for the Arts. During 2020 Dr Baguley was one of a team awarded a USQ Learning and Teaching Open Educational Practice (OEP) Grant for the project titled 'Exploring social justice, democracy, human rights and citizenship: Engaging tertiary students through an open history textbook initiative'. Dr Baguley was co-awarded a Princeton University Library Research Grant (2020) with Dr Kerby to undertake research on the relationship between the artist and author of the Mary Poppins series of books. Dr Baguley is currently elected Vice-President of Art Education Australia (AEA), the national peak body for visual arts education.

Email: baguley@usq.edu.au ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0098-6378

Alison Bedford (PhD) is a lecturer in the School of Education at the University of Southern Queensland, Australia with a specialisation in History curriculum and pedagogy and education research. Her own research interests include the social function of fiction, science fiction and history pedagogy. She is the Book Reviews Editor for the Australasian Journal of Victorian Studies. Dr Bedford's publications are wide ranging. She has published a monograph, In Frankenstein's Wake: Mary Shelley, Morality and Science Fiction (McFarland, 2021), as well as a number of textbooks for both tertiary and secondary students, most notably Teaching Secondary History (Sharp, Dallimore, Bedford, Kerby, Goulding, Heath, Von Guttner, & Zamati, Cambridge, 2021) and Modern History Units 1-4 (Bedford, Martens, & Slavin, Cambridge, 2019) as a part of the Cambridge Checkpoints series. She has also recently co-edited Unlocking Social Theory with Popular Culture with Dr Naomi Barnes (Queensland University of Technology). Dr Bedford's work on History pedagogy has been published in a number of journals, including Historical Encounters and Agora.

Email alison.bedford@usq.edu.au

ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6708-9896