Australian Historical Association 2015
Abstracts
Keynotes
Race, Liberty, Empire: The foundations of Australian political culture
Ann Curthoys
University of Sydney

Australian governments have found it extremely difficult to move beyond colonialist understandings of their relationship to Indigenous people. Although there have been major changes in government and public attitudes in response to Indigenous claims and cultural achievements and also to changing international pressures, modern Australian political culture is still haunted by the imperial context that created it. The past lives on in our present, leading the work of historians to become a matter of public interest and political contestation.

With these issues in mind, this lecture then explores the ways in which the foundations of Australian political institutions and political culture in the mid nineteenth century were shaped by the fraught relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples prevailing at the time. It emphasises how much the six colonies differed from one another in these relationships, and shows that the shift from imperial to local control of Indigenous policy was no simple matter.

The 'Crisis in the Humanities': a Comparative Perspective
Peter Mandler
Cambridge University

In this talk I discuss the performance of the humanities in undergraduate recruitment relative to other disciplines in the US, UK and Australia over the past 50 years. These have been years in all three countries of dramatic expansion in higher education and a correspondingly dramatic shift in the portfolio of courses on offer. How have these changes affected the standing of the humanities? Is there a crisis today? If so, how does this compare to similar crises in the past?
Captivity and the Foundations of Historical Neglect: Comparisons of Australian Prisoner of War Recovery and Repatriation after the Second World War
Bryce Abraham
PhD candidate, University of Newcastle

More than 30,000 Australians were held as prisoners of war between 1940 and 1945. The majority, some 22,000, were captured by the Japanese in the Pacific. These prisoners are often represented as sufferers of sustained trauma and hardship, with extensive and enduring medical issues. Australian prisoners of the Germans and Italians, however, despite being in a similarly emaciated state to their Pacific counterparts by the end of the war, are typically construed as the more fortunate, and their experiences are underrepresented in both the historiography and wider understanding of captivity during the war. This paper argues that the divergence between these representations had its foundation in the process of recovery and repatriation of these different prisoner groups. It presents an overview of these contrasting experiences, with particular reference to its political dimensions, to explain the foundation of comparisons of captivity in the aftermath of the Second World War.

‘Wondrous phantoms within us’: Charles James Fox in caricature, 1790-1800
Jamie Agland
PhD candidate at Monash University

This paper focuses on representations of Charles James Fox – the Member for Westminster and the chief opponent of William Pitt the Younger – in the caricature prints of the 1790s. Fox was the chief target of anti-revolutionary caricature because he enabled the caricaturists to connect the challenges of the French Revolution to pre-existing concerns about ministerial ineptitude and corruption. Many of the follies and ‘evils’ with which Fox had become tainted prior to the outbreak of the French Revolution – such as gambling and financial indebtedness, Francophilia, and demagoguery – could be superimposed with relative ease onto the debates which dominated political culture in Britain during the 1790s. In strengthening this link, the caricaturists facilitated the debasement of revolutionary ideas and actions by rendering them more familiar and tangible. Because of the extent to which he had been caricatured prior to the Revolution, furthermore, Fox was a particularly versatile and malleable subject who allowed the caricaturists to amplify their attacks on revolutionary principles and practices.

Discussing South Africans’ Presence: Exploring the Migration Patterns of South Africans to Australia
Brady Albrand
PhD candidate, University of Southern Queensland

South Africans constitute the eighth largest migrant cohort in Australia, however their migration remains underrepresented in historical literature. Migration remains an important issue within Australia, because of the way that policy, particularly the White Australia Policy has shaped the composition of Australia’s population. While immigration restrictions have been increasingly tightened, the historical trend of South Africans migrating to Australia continues to escalate. This often goes unnoticed in scholarly literature, possibly because of the consistency of their migration over time, their wealth and their lack of visible difference. South African migration has occurred been occurring over a long period of time, but more recently numbers have begun to increase significantly.

This paper uses Australian census data (1947 – 2011) to discuss migration trends throughout South Africa’s apartheid, as well as data on migrant settlement and visas from the Australian Department of Immigration and Border Protection. Using historical trends to understand the contemporary context it seeks to explore how the growing cohort engages in multiculturalism in contemporary times. Furthermore, the paper will use oral history interviews used within the researcher’s PhD project. The interviews will be used to frame a discussion of South Africans’ contemporary migration and settlement experiences in regional Queensland.
‘Inscribed in stone and bone: writing ancient Australian lives’
Malcolm Allbrook
Australian National University

Australian historiography has been reluctant to engage with a human history that precedes 1788 by many thousands of years. The skeletal remains of Lady Mungo, which emerged from the sands of Lake Mungo, in far western New South Wales, in 1968, provided for the first time, potent evidence that Australia had a human history that stretched back to the Pleistocene. Nearly 300 skeletal remains were found in the vicinity of Lake Mungo over the next 20 years. A gallery of footprints on a nearby clay pan presented eloquent evidence of the movements of a family group over 24 hours. And throughout Australia, rock paintings and petroglyphs show that a vibrant historical and visual culture accompanied human occupation. In Australia, this long human history has largely been the province of archaeology; yet some Australian historians have increasingly called for a re-think of the ‘great divide’ between history and archaeology, and between 1788 and the long human past. This paper will discuss some of the crucial issues in how national history projects such as the Australian Dictionary of Biography might engage with a human history that is much longer than the 230 of European settlement.

‘He struggled to promote the rights of Indians’
Margaret Allen
University of Adelaide

What ethical imperatives rendered some Europeans immune to the ubiquitous temptations of empire...to betray the claims of possessive nationalism in favor of solidarity with foreigners, outsiders, alleged inferiors?¹

Henry Polak was active on behalf of Indians domiciled in Australia in the first decades of the twentieth century. Indeed from his London based Indian Overseas Association, he took up the cases and causes of Indians across the diaspora, stretching from the Caribbean to East Africa and Fiji. In his remarkable career he lived and worked closely with Gandhi in South Africa, editing his newspaper Indian Opinion. He campaigned for the abolition of the system of indenturing Indian labourers to work abroad and championed the rights of Indians in East Africa. His decades of struggle against racial hierarchies saw his participation in a conference of NGOs to consider the draft Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Geneva.

This paper explores those ethical imperatives and the circumstances and nature of his solidarity.

¹ Leela Gandhi, Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the politics of friendship, p. 2

Challenging the foundations of friendship: Australian prisoners of the Turks after the First World War.
Kate Ariotti
University of Newcastle

Along with ‘Anzac’, Gallipoli saw the rise of another foundational legend of the First World War: the transformation of the Ottoman enemy from the ‘unspeakable’ to ‘Johnny’ Turk. The Australians and their Turkish counterparts reportedly developed a sense of mutual friendship and respect on Gallipoli that was given further currency after the war, particularly following Atatürk’s famous words assuring the bereaved that their dead had ‘become our sons as well.’ But one group of Australians complicated this idea: the 196 servicemen who were captured and held as prisoners of war by the Turks between 1915 and 1918. This paper examines how the prisoners and the families of those who died in captivity responded to the popularised image of their former captors, and how the different image of the Turks they articulated in the aftermath of the war was ultimately lost amid both international pressures and national narratives.
Michelle Arrow
Macquarie University

Shepherded into existence by Whitlam’s women’s affairs advisor Elizabeth Reid, and led by Elizabeth Evatt, the Royal Commission on Human Relationships emerged from the fractious 1973 parliamentary debate about abortion. Tasked with examining the ‘family, social, educational, legal and sexual aspects of male and female relationships’, the Commission adopted Reid’s strategy of conspicuous listening: just as Reid had consulted widely with women across the country, so the Commission created opportunities for ordinary people to speak frankly about their intimate lives. It received thousands of submissions and testimonies about private experiences of motherhood, sex education, homosexuality, disability, rape, child abuse, and domestic violence. As Evatt later noted, the Commission ‘was concerned with the [lives] of those who had no unions to speak for them:’ citizens whose interests were not accommodated within existing political structures. The Commission’s 500-plus recommendations laid out a new regime of protections and rights for women, children, and sexual minorities, blurring the public and the private, and founding the Australian state’s response to the feminist and sexual politics of the 1970s. The furious reaction to the Commission’s final report showed the ways that contemporary political culture struggled to accommodate the Commission’s politics of intimate and sexual life.

Reconfigured identities in the transnational childhoods of Anglo-Chinese Australians
Kate Bagnall
ANU College of Asia and the Pacific

The four letters that form the heart of this paper have sat in a government file for a century, one tiny part of the massive bureaucratic recordkeeping system that tracked and controlled the movements of Chinese across the borders of White Australia. The letters were written in 1910 and 1911 from a young Anglo-Chinese boy from Sydney, Charlie Allen, to his mum. Charlie’s Chinese father had taken him to China in 1909 and there Charlie remained until 1915. Charlie’s situation was not unique — hundreds of files in the archives attest to the movements of Chinese-Australian children between Australia and China from the 1890s to the 1930s — but his letters certainly are. While there are other accounts of mixed-race Chinese Australian children in China, Charlie’s letters offer an immediacy and honesty that make his experiences of life in China achingly real. Starting with the letters, and the context of Charlie’s life more broadly, this paper will consider the transnational childhoods of young Anglo-Chinese Australians as they travelled between Australia, Hong Kong and Guangdong in the early decades of the twentieth century. In particular I will consider how the detailed examination of ‘small lives’ like that of Charlie Allen can deepen our understanding of the complexities of Australian identity at home and overseas.

‘Woman to Woman’: Irene Greenwood and her audience
Jeannine Baker
Macquarie University

In 1948 broadcaster Irene Greenwood began producing and announcing a new daily radio program on the Whitford Network in Western Australia, called ‘Woman to Woman’. Although her sponsor had requested there would be ‘no politics’, Greenwood exhorted her women listeners to actively participate in political issues, and her invited guests included many capable and successful women in public life, including politicians. Greenwood’s process of involving listeners in program making, and the apparently informal style of the program, allowed Greenwood to convey political messages in a more palatable manner. Greenwood relationship with her rural, working-class audience was more dynamic than what she had previously experienced at the ABC, one that was ‘two way’ rather than just ‘passive listening’. The line between broadcaster and audience was often blurred, as listener correspondence was utilised as program content or advertising, or when Greenwood disguised her political acquaintances as listeners. This paper examines Greenwood and the creation and manipulation of her female audience.
Redefining the Foundations of Small Sugar Cane Growing in North Queensland
Blanka Vidonja Balanzategui
James Cook University

At Gairloch, between sugar field and the Herbert River, are scattered blocks of concrete of varying shapes. These are the physical foundations of the sugar industry of tropical north Queensland where the first crushing of cane was carried out at Gairloch Mill in 1872. Founded on the plantation model, twelve years later small farmers began to take up land. These small farmers, needing a unified voice with which to negotiate on common goals formed a representative body, the Herbert River Farmers’ Association. It has been suggested that “the idea of farmers combining to protect and advance their own interest had its birth in the Herbert River district with the formation of the Herbert River Farmers’ Association.” The impetus for small farming and Central Mills is usually attributed to the vision of millers such as the Colonial Sugar Refining Company and Commonwealth Government incentives. The accepted narrative does not attribute the small farmer with having become actively involved at an institutional level to bring about and then maintain the momentum of these developments. The local associations gave the farmers organizational experience preparing them for involvement in the larger legislative associations when they formed. This speaker seeks to shake the foundations of the conventional narrative of organizational history of the tropical North Queensland Sugar Industry by rephrasing the political role of small associations in the demise of sugar plantation production, the development of farm-based central milling in the Australian context and the formation of the legislative associations.

Children left behind: postwar migration and its remains
Ruth Balint
University of New South Wales

In 1950, a welfare report by the IRO (International Refugee Organisation) in Austria recorded the particulars of Julia Alexenko, a displaced person (DP) and her 6 year old daughter. Julia had been in forced labour when her daughter was born, and the father had disappeared under the Soviets and not heard from since. Now she faced, like many other hundreds of DP families, the immanent closure of the DP camps and desperately sought asylum in the West. But as the IRO medical report noted, her daughter, born prematurely, had severe physical and mental handicaps and there was “little hope for improvement.” These documents record the tragic dilemma faced by many families with disabled children whose applications for resettlement out of the DP camps in Occupied Europe between 1947 and 1952 were refused by countries like Australia. Some, such as Julia Alexenko, refused to separate from their children, and were forced into an uncertain future in the local economy. But others, often under considerable pressure from the IRO, accepted offers of placement for their sick children in institutions in Belgium and Norway before leaving for countries like Australia. Hundreds of children were left behind in this way. This article considers this hitherto hidden history in the light of Australian foundational histories of migration, which, although cognisant of the pragmatic nature of policies of resettlement and its domestic effects, are largely ignorant the international dimensions of this history for the migrant family.

‘How Shall we Reckon their Value?’: tourism’s formative role in a people becoming blooded to their own land within national wild-life reserves
Jillian Barnes
University of Newcastle

Following the developmentalism that surrounded WW2, Australia’s National Travel Association anticipated an impending rise in mass leisure that would put added pressure on ‘wilderness’ regions and assumed a leadership role in nature conservation movements to create a system of wildlife reserves across the continent. It also launched a revolutionary holiday: motoring, camping and exercising in nature as part of a broader urban progressive movement to maintain national virility and efficiency. Its marketing campaigns rebranded the Outback from a symbol of manifest destiny to the wild heart of an ancient island-continent and romanticised Aboriginal antiquity to give the nation a primordial identity embedded in nature rather than race. Historians who attribute the formation of national parks to individual entrepreneurs, and identify official tourism initiatives as anti-modern and nostalgic, disregard ANTA’s protracted campaign to build a national constituency for conservation based on the American model and misinterpret urban progressive aspirations. This presentation draws on archival records, transnational advertising, visual culture, and global scholarship in the fields of consensual marketing and mobility studies to view touristic movement into lands often reserved for Aborigines as an entanglement of relations and politics. This comprises physical movement, product packaging, and channelling of mobility into routes and rites. It focuses on ANTA’s identification of the natural showplaces of the nation, marketing of the naturalist travel tradition and inducement of
tourists to lobby for the preservation of ‘wilderness’ as a constitutive part of a people becoming blooded to and honoring their own land.

Masculinity, Class, and the Narrative of Work in King of the Coral Sea
Chelsea Barnett
PhD candidate at Macquarie University

This paper explores the relationship between masculinity and work in the Australian fifties, as represented in the 1954 Australian film King of the Coral Sea. In the aftermath of World War Two and in the beginning years of the Cold War, newly-elected prime minister Robert Menzies reaffirmed the institutional relationship between masculinity and breadwinning that also spoke to a specific national ideal. Additionally, he advocated an explicit understanding of value-based class distinctions that held particular purchase in the Cold War climate. Following the work of Mark Hearn and Harry Knowles, who argue that the Australian ‘national narrative of work’ has an explicit, historically contingent meaning within the context of broader national goals, this paper historicises masculinity to understand not only how it functioned in the Australian fifties, but also how it was represented in King of the Coral Sea. To this end, this paper argues that the film engaged in and represented gendered ideals of work and class that not only carried specific national meanings in the postwar era, but also had broader implications for understandings of postwar masculinity in the national context.

The Devil in the Landscape: Victorian Popular Belief and the Physical Environment
Sarah Bartels
PhD candidate, University of Queensland

The English landscape is scattered with places, which sport some type of diabolical association. These references and narratives take several forms, with one of the most common being etiological stories, which ascribe the creation or current form of a particular place to the Devil. Such stories play a notable role in the nineteenth-century popular imagination. They depict the Devil as an active and creative being, who leaves permanent marks on the physical environment and provide a convenient way of explaining any oddity in the local landscape. They were not necessarily literal but rather a part of a shared narrative tapestry, in which the ‘mundane’ world was embellished with imaginative or symbolic features. As they were passed from person to person, they became part of the way in which the people visualised the local environment and their place within it. The landscape became, in effect, a blank slate onto which its inhabitants could imprint their preoccupations, concerns, and flights of fancy.

The Flash Stockman in Colonial Australian History
Melissa Bellanta
Australian Catholic University

The ‘flash stockman’ was a recurrent figure in colonial Australian folklore, police gazettes and commentary on bush life. But who was he, exactly – or more to the point, what were the different ways in which men in pastoral and rural Australia styled themselves as ‘flash’, and why? This paper is a musing on the social, cultural and sartorial meanings of flash style in rural Australia during the colonial period. It is also a musing on the significance of dress for exploring Australian masculinities and social and race relations. Dress is an underutilised subject in the foundational historiography of colonial Australia, and yet was of intense interest to commentators and punters in the day.

Silent and silenced: recovering counter-voices lost to the integration narrative of French migration to Australia, 1870–1914
Alexis Bergantz
PhD candidate, Australian National University

The diversity and complexity of the personal stories of nineteenth-century migrants to Australia - their hopes and desires, their failures and regrets - have tended to be largely overshadowed by the narrative of the good assimilating migrant.

Beyond the historiographical limitations imposed by national histories, the problem with accounting for the diversity of migrant stories has also been one of sources: personal documents are difficult to locate and statistical analyses
rely heavily on government data produced by the point of departure and the point of arrival. As a result, migrants’ experiences are often encased in a single linear trajectory that posits them as rational actors choosing migration to better their lives.

Focusing on French migration to Australia in the period 1870 to 1914, this paper contrasts contemporary historiography on the French presence in Australia with a substantial corpus of letters sent to the French consuls from migrants and the families they left behind. This will allow me to find the people behind the numbers and restore some of the counter-voices lost to the integration narrative. Significantly, this corpus further problematizes the idea of direct migratory flows to Australia by highlighting the high mobility of migrants both from within and without formal empires.

‘I Think Until I Am At Home Again’: Unsettling British Settler Women’s Ideas about Home in Nineteenth-Century Australia
Felicity Berry
PhD candidate, University of Sydney

In recent years, (new) imperial histories have increasingly focussed their attentions on understanding the everyday lives of people operating within the more intimate spaces of empire, including the domestic colonial home. Leading the charge in this, historians such as Ann Laura Stoler and Antoinette Burton have highlighted the ways in which the colonial home acted as a site that reproduced European male imperial rule, through privileging particular ideologies, social hierarchies and cultures, to the exclusion of others. This paper seeks to build on such work, by considering some of the effects that these colonial homes had on the European mistresses that were expected to create and manage them.

Focussing on Anglophone female settlers in nineteenth-century Australia, this paper will consider how creating familiar domestic homes in these foreign, and sometimes hostile, colonial contexts might lead these women to rethink exactly what and where “home” might mean. In so doing, I seek to gently unsettle an assumption that remains implicit within foundational histories of the Australian colonies: that is, that the domestic colonial homes they created were always poor imitations of — and would therefore always be superseded by — their “true” Home in the British metropole.

The French Revolution, Napoleon, and the transformation of the female religious life
Gemma Betros

In February 1790, the French Constituent Assembly decreed the suppression of monasteries and convents, the beginning of a long process completed in August 1792 when all religious communities in France were closed down and their members told to disperse. Yet nineteenth-century France witnessed a dramatic expansion in the number of religious communities, especially those for women. This paper assesses the developments behind this revival and considers its implications for female religious communities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Focusing on three different types of communities—the Carmelites, the Sisters of Charity, and the new Society of the Sacred Heart—it traces the difficulties their members faced during the French Revolution and under the rule of Napoleon Bonaparte, and examines Napoleon’s efforts to monitor and shape the work of female religious communities in health, education, and welfare. Here it reveals the key role played by gender in the renewal of relations between the Catholic Church and the French state. Throughout, it argues that the policies of the French Revolution and Napoleon Bonaparte transformed the operation and outlook of religious communities in France in a way which, due to the nineteenth-century overseas expansion of many of these communities, is still widely apparent today.

Teaching history: is there a foundational curriculum?
Stefanie Biancotti
Australian National University

By 2016, it is intended that all schools across Australia will have transitioned from state or territory-based to an Australian curricula. It is a very dynamic period within which to observe the implementation of the Australian History curriculum and the many factors impacting on curriculum change and implementation, and importantly impacts for and upon teachers. This research investigates the implementation of Australian History curriculum initiatives by a junior secondary school department (Years 7-10) in North Queensland. Utilising a case study methodology (Koshy, 2010; Yin, 2003), it systematically and critically reviews the Australian national curriculum implementation processes.
and outcomes, within one Social Science department. Observations, interview and survey data, as well as document analysis provided the contextually rich data set. This paper explores the historical context of curriculum change, maps the network of History curriculum actors in this case study and then details some of the implications that have emerged such as redefining the place of the History discipline and what to teach within it. It also examines the way actors, including the researcher, conceptualised the purpose of teaching history and the ‘foundational’ knowledge and skills involved. Deep insights into the ways in which teachers shape their own professional practices in response to curriculum change are evidenced in the case study.

Of Tender Ties and Games of Scale: Investigating Narratives of Global History
Eva Bischoff
Trier University, Germany

Investigating the history of the British Empire through the lens of individual or family histories is a growing field within New Imperial History. Works in this line of inquiry tell the story of those whose lives transcended national boundaries by (forced) migration, trade or vocational choice. Their results disrupt established dichotomies and question the nation-state as the container of history. Yet, as I would like to argue in my presentation, the biographical approach also implies its own risks: larger processes and structures, one of the main research interests of scholars in global as well as imperial history, move out of focus. Additionally, these approaches rest on a modern European concept of the individual and its identity that favours continuity and coherence over discontinuities, ruptures, or non-linearities. As foundational narratives they follow the logic of the genus. In my presentation I will juxtapose this perspective with the analytical potential of alternative approaches such as micro history, histoire croisée or jeux d’échelles. I will investigate the case of Thomas Mason, a Quaker settler in both Tasmania and New Zealand, to demonstrate their potential for a systematic and multi-layered reconstruction of the interconnected processes that constituted the local, the regional, and the global.

Women’s Work Is Never Done: The Persistence of Small Business
Catherine Bishop
Australian Catholic University

Australian economic historians traditionally ignored women’s participation in the nineteenth century economy; their emphasis was on big business and large-scale economic developments. Feminist historians investigated women’s labour and found discrimination. They showed women were valued for reproduction rather than production in the first half of the nineteenth century, with women retreating more completely into domesticity after 1830 and employment options only expanding in the late nineteenth century. To give women agency in the economic story, feminist historians then quite rightly demanded that women’s role as domestic helpmeets be accorded value. They thus restored women to Australian economic history, their marginalisation from the mainstream economy explained by discriminating ideologies of domesticity and patriarchy, and their alternative, less obvious contributions to the economy highlighted. But the history of women’s work is never done, and it is never too late to revisit the archive. With the advent of the searchable, digital archive, a new story about women’s work is now visible. This paper suggests that thinking about women as employees, helpmeets or workers in the home and focusing on large-scale economic developments has unwittingly obscured the significance of mid-nineteenth-century women running small businesses.

Agnes ‘Mother’ Buntine: deconstructing a legend of the Gippsland goldfields.
Louise Blake
Monash University

Long before scholars revised the masculine Anglo-centric mythology of the goldfields to recognise women’s contribution to the social and economic development of the goldfields, one woman who made a contribution was already regarded as a legend. Agnes ‘Mother’ Buntine was a farmer and bullocky who carted supplies to the central Victorian and Gippsland goldfields in the mid nineteenth century. Amongst the stories told about Agnes is that she was the mother of the first European child born in Gippsland, and was the first person to cart supplies to starving miners at Stringers Creek (Walhalla) after the discovery of gold in 1862. This paper deconstructs the legend of Agnes Buntine in traditional goldfields and pioneer mythology that praised her physical achievements in a masculine occupation, and her pioneer status as a mother and bullocky. Using the tools of revisionist goldfields scholarship we
can now better understand Agnes’s life and experience in a way that does not mythologise at the expense of a broader understanding of the lives of all women on the goldfields.

**Chinese market gardeners and transnational history**

*Joanna Boileau*

In the case of Chinese immigrants to Australia and New Zealand, the short answer to the question of whether transnational history has a foundational narrative, in the sense of founding a new nation or community, is no. The majority of the Chinese who emigrated to the goldfields of Australia and New Zealand were sojourners, intending to return to their homeland. However the long answer is more complex. As Keir Reeves points out, the concept of Chinese as sojourners is problematic as it is based on a simplistic model of a single journey to the goldfields and return to China after the gold rushes. Many Chinese remained in their adopted countries, whether by choice or circumstance, and moved into other occupations. They founded families and formed enduring communities, becoming part of the multicultural societies in which they lived. At the same time, characteristic of transnational communities, they maintained ongoing ties with their kin and home villages in China, supported them financially and made return visits to China.

Market gardening was one of the major occupations which Chinese moved into after the gold rushes. This paper will discuss how market gardening provided an economic foundation for the transition of Chinese immigrants from sojourners to settlers. It will focus on market gardens as a locus of cross-cultural exchange and social and economic support for Chinese immigrants. It will discuss how Chinese market gardeners negotiated their positions in relation to the restrictive immigration policies which dominated their lives until well into the twentieth century. At the local level, they built relationships with people from all walks of life with whom they came in daily contact and actively manipulated these relationships to their mutual advantage.

**The problem of authenticity in Pat Barker’s Regeneration Trilogy**

*Christopher Bond*

University of Western Australia

Pat Barker’s *Regeneration* trilogy, which centres upon the experiences of the World War I poets Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon, is highly regarded as a work of historical fiction, but has been criticised by some war historians as “inauthentic.” Measures of historical authenticity, however, are inexact. Hayden White acknowledges that since historians utilise many of the techniques of fictional narration, such as employment, written history is “as much invented as found.” Barker carefully researched contemporary documents for content that is incorporated into her narrative, so that both the found and the invented play important roles in her reimagining of the horrors of the war. The merits of the *Regeneration* trilogy can only be fairly gauged by appreciating the importance of creativity and speculation in representing not how the past unquestionably was, but how perhaps it was.

**‘One of history’s one-night stands’? Rethinking Australia’s 1980s through the Bicentenary**

*Frank Bongiorno*

Australian National University

The intellectuals and historians have not been kind to Australia’s Bicentenary of 1988. It ‘is likely to be forgotten soon enough’, declared one group of academic critics in 1988. ‘It is one of history’s one-night stands’. Much analysis of the Bicentenary has focused on the Australian Bicentennial Authority and the political controversies it evoked, but how Australians responded to its initiatives, and to the Bicentenary generally, has received little scholarly attention. This paper draws attention to a Bicentenary that has escaped the attention of historians: one focused on historical foundations (1788), the local, the family, the personal and the unpretentious, light-hearted display of patriotism. ‘Settler’ Australians engaged in historical re-enactments and ceremonies of mock formality that sought to evade the racial politics of the Bicentenary, even as their rituals disclosed the tensions underlying this ‘celebration of a nation’. Such activities might have almost completely escaped the attention of posterity, except that the official historian of the Bicentenary, Denis O’Brien, placed advertisements in country newspapers asking people to report on what they had done on 26 January. This paper will explore these replies, as well as other evidence of popular engagement with the Bicentenary, as a ‘slice’ of Australian history in the 1980s.
Churchill and the Dardanelles Campaign: The Curran Thesis
Andrew G. Bonnell
University of Queensland

Debate has continued over the past century over First Lord of the Admiralty Winston Churchill’s responsibility for the Dardanelles campaign and its failure. In a posthumously published book, which has just appeared (2015), Tom Curran has provided the most detailed and cohesive account to date of Churchill’s role in the planning of the Dardanelles campaign, his responsibility for its failure, and his role in rewriting the history of the campaign subsequently. Curran makes a compelling case that in his determined advocacy of a naval attack on the Dardanelles, Churchill systematically misled in turn both naval commanders and Britain’s civilian government leaders. Subsequently, Churchill also set out to obfuscate the historical record on Gallipoli in his war memoir The World Crisis. As co-supervisor of the University of Queensland dissertation on which the book was based, and as its editor after the author’s untimely passing, Andrew Bonnell will present the key arguments of the Curran thesis on Churchill and Gallipoli.

Intimate histories: family and migration
Marilyn Bowler
PhD candidate, La Trobe University

In his 1942 report, Wheat farms of Victoria: a sociological survey, Alan J Holt commented that ‘The family is the basis of our present civilized society’. If this is true, then the role of parents within the family is fundamental to our society. Yet little study of the history of the family in Australia has occurred and the history of parenting has received even less historical analysis. Starting from the small rural community of Landsborough, Victoria, and its surrounding district, I am currently researching parenting in three generations of families between 1945 and 2000. I am interviewing those who remained in the district and those who have migrated elsewhere in Victoria. I am seeking to determine whether parental hopes, values and behaviour changed and, if so, what social, economic and cultural factors influenced those changes.

Medibank and the Foundations of Universal Coverage in Australian Health Care
Anne Marie Boxall and James Gillespie
University of Sydney

The Whitlam Government’s Medibank emerged from a fundamental debate about the Australian health system. Enshrining a passive payment model for health services delivered mainly by the private sector and primarily by doctors outside of hospitals, it supplemented a failing private health insurance-based scheme. Though Medibank was abolished shortly after the Dismissal, it was revived, as Medicare, in 1984, and it remains one of the few bastions of universalism in the Australian welfare system, surviving repeated attempts to reduce it to a mere safety net for the ‘poor’. Whitlam’s early (and misunderstood) embrace of public private partnerships gave Medicare the flexibility to survive changes of political regime. This paper will look at the practical limits of Medicare’s universalism, using the experiences of people in rural and remote Australia as illustration and highlighting a series of critiques: that Medibank’s conception of ‘health care’ was too narrow; that Medicare is unable to meet the health needs of an ageing population, in which the burden of chronic disease continues to grow. In thinking about the future of Medicare, policymakers, academics and the people who use the system should pay attention to these enduring debates about universalism and the implications for practice.

Australia’s Penitent Butchers: Hunters and Crocodile Conservation
Claire Brennan
James Cook University

Much big game conservation in Africa and North America has been led by former hunters, earning them the moniker ‘Penitent Butchers’. The role of such conservationists has attracted analysis in the African context, where it has been suggested that their concern has been not so much for the welfare of wildlife as for the exclusivity of the hunt.

The debate surrounding the end of crocodile hunting in Australia contrasts with this situation in interesting ways. In Australia crocodile hunting was not a pursuit of the upper class, and commercial crocodile hunters were drawn from a wide range of backgrounds. In addition crocodiles, while dangerous large game, differ from most African and
American big game species in being reptiles. As a result crocodiles lack the characteristics of mammals and remain
alien and threatening in the view of the public. Despite these two factors, many Australian hunters came to love the
beasts they pursued and actively sought protection for them.

This paper will examine the role of crocodile hunters in attempts to limit and end crocodile hunting in Australia in the
post-World War II period.

**Railways and environmental change in Victoria: The case of forests**

**Dr André Brett**

**University of Melbourne**

European settlement of Australia ushered in many environmental changes, and transport technologies such as the
railway were central to resource exploitation. Yet even when the contribution of the railway to environmental
change has been acknowledged, it has rarely been quantified. This paper will explore how rail transportation affected
forests in Victoria. I will look primarily at the state-run railways, but will also note the privately owned tramways that
pushed from railway stations deep into forests.

When railways began spreading throughout Australia from the 1850s, forest cover had already been considerably
reduced but many forests were too far from markets to be felled profitably. The provision of railways gave impetus
to the timber industry, enabling the destruction of large forested areas and facilitating the transformation of the
landscape from forest to agricultural or pastoral land. Victorian railways not only took timber to existing markets but
also created new demand—for sleepers, fencing, stations, carriages, and other purposes—and this had profound
environmental consequences. By identifying the diverse contributions of railways to forest history, this paper will
provide a deeper understanding of the role of transportation technology in Australasian environmental change.

**The other pictorial boards: rethinking the iconography of contact in Van Diemen’s Land, c. 1815–1830**

**Nicholas Dean Brodie**

Pictorial Huon pine boards that depict settlers and Aborigines cohabiting, a meeting between a chief and the colonial
governor, and the hanging of perpetrators of violence both black and white, are well-known and often reproduced.
They have been subjected to several specialised studies, and have regularly been situated at the centre of
discussions of colonial intent, action, and effect in wider narratives of colonial Van Diemen’s Land. ‘Discovered’ in the
late 1850s, in the late 1860s the archetype surviving board was identified as belonging to Davey’s governorship, and
therefore dated to the 1810s. By the 1870s, this attribution was being doubted, and the idea that they belonged to
Arthur and the late 1820s/early 1830s took hold and has remained firm since. But there were other images current
during this broad period between the 1810s and the 1830s, and a recent manuscript rediscovery and attendant
detailed analysis, borrowing the analytical tools and approaches of antique, medieval, and early modern scholarship,
allows for a rethinking of a foundational image of colonisation. This alternative imagery needs reintegrating into the
narratives of the Van Diemen’s Land frontier, and demands a rethink of the known images.


**Richard Broome**

**La Trobe University**

Most nations, organisations, clubs and societies have one foundation but the Aborigines Advancement League had
two. In 1957 it began in Melbourne as a black-white coalition forged out of a crisis in the western desert and driven
at first by the power of media and appeals to humanitarian sentiment. After a dynamic first decade it was
reformulated in 1969 as a black organisation under the influences of a ‘black power’ takeover. This paper explores
these two foundations and argues their histories are not as black and white as generally thought, but rather more
nuanced foundations. These complex foundations lay behind much of the League’s success and longevity to this
day.
Refounding the History of Xinjiang
David Brophy
University of Sydney
This year will see the release of the official Comprehensive History of Xinjiang (Xinjiang tongshi), a work commissioned at the highest levels in Beijing, and ten years in the making. This makes 2015 a good time to consider various efforts to found, and refound the history of a political entity called Xinjiang (Chinese Turkistan, Eastern Turkistan) in the twentieth century. My discussion will begin with early efforts to establish a historiography of Xinjiang in sections of the Soviet academy from the 1920s onwards: at established centres of Russian Orientalism (Vostokovedenie) in Saint Petersburg, new institutions such as the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow, and in regional academies such as that of Tashkent. The 1940s and 1950s were a particularly crucial period in the transmission of this historiography to China, and the working out of a set of new orthodoxies on Xinjiang between China and the Soviets, some of which are now being called into question by Chinese scholars. Along the way I hope to discuss not only points of historical controversy, but also the use to which various genres of history writing have been put across Eurasia.

Furnishing the prime ministerial mind: Whitlam and the national capital
Nick Brown
National Museum of Australia, ADB
Canberra, as Graham Freudenberg noted, ‘furnished’ Whitlam’s mind. From his childhood there, including his sense of his father’s networks in the inter-war Commonwealth public service, through to his vision of the role of central government and his courting of expertise to frame ‘the Program’, Whitlam drew much inspiration from the image and reality of the national capital. Labor’s election in 1972 saw a revitalisation of the ‘social laboratory’ role often attributed to Canberra, and offered recognition of transformations in government, research, planning and community-building with which the city was associated. Equally, the Whitlam government challenged the terms, traditions, interests and capacities of the national capital’s defining agencies and actors. This paper will assess the relationship between Whitlam and Canberra as both a distinct aspect of his personality and career and as a microcosm of the larger issues in the trajectory of ‘Whitlamism’ and the Whitlam government.

The Conservative Paradox of Australia's Federation Foundations
Paul Brown
PhD candidate, University of Wollongong.
Whilst the first decades following the Federation saw the Australian Settlement around the White Australia Policy and protection a number of progressive reforms were initiated from unlikely quarters. Early attempts to establish welfare protection for workers was commenced by the Deakin government in 1908 with the establishment of the first old age pension. Prior to that the conservative George Reed free trader government had established the Court of Conciliation and Arbitration in 1905 which would ensure the next 80 years of centralized wage fixing.

Moreover the paradox that in the debates around the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 opposition to the racism contained in this policy came primarily from conservatives such as New South Wales Liberal Bruce Smith and South Australia’s John Downer. This paper traces the paradox of how conservatives contributed in its formative foundation years following Federation and the influence they had on progressive legislation.

This paper also examines the foundational role of Labor influences migrating into conservative parties such as Joseph Cook and Billy Hughes bringing with them notions of equity. This in turn produced a restraining influence on unbridled economic tendencies of non-Labor Governments.

Narrating a refugee encounter in 1599: The challenges that provoke historical revisions
Jesse Buck
PhD candidate, Australian National University
What provokes revisionist narrations of foundational myths? In India an ethno-religious community known as the Parsis narrate a first encounter with Hindus that trades asylum for loyalty. In the dominant contemporary account the Zoroastrian Parsis flee by boat from religious persecution in Iran. On arrival in India a Hindu king presents them
with a full glass of milk to symbolise that the land is full. Parsis stir sugar into the milk to symbolise that they will mix in and sweeten the society. Versions of this allegorical encounter have been narrated by Parsis and Hindus since at least 1599CE. Each version uses the past to negotiate and explain their contemporary relationship with Hindus and Muslims. In this paper I examine the first written version of their foundational myth. I ask, what challenges provoked the Parsis to reproduce a new version of their encounter narrative in 1599? I argue that revisionist historical narrations of foundational myths are provoked by changes in the power relationship between peoples, the dominant historiography of the period and the medium by which the narration is transmitted.

Land reclamation: a history and archaeology of coastline extension in the Pearl River Delta and Sydney Harbour
Denis Byrne
University of Western Sydney

In projects of 'reclamation', people have been turning seascapes into landscapes since at least the 10th century in the Pearl River Delta of China and since the 19th century around the edges of Sydney Harbour. The histories of reclamation in these two areas are very different but are nevertheless imbued with commonalities of human and shoreline mobility, expansionary dreams, and openings to the more-than-human world. Rather than viewing them as elements of Anthropocene dystopia, I offer a nuanced historical-archaeological reading of them which registers positives and negatives, losses and gains. The Pearl River Delta reclamation are interpreted in terms of aspirations to lineage expansion in which land expansion is coupled with overseas migration to California, Australia and elsewhere. In Sydney Harbour, a sea wall built in the 1890s at Rushcutters Bay transformed a mangrove mudflat into an urban park, destroying one ecology but giving rise over time to another in which new forms of human and non-human mingling occur. The paper’s archaeological/historical ‘excavation’ of reclamation, in seeking to better understand the past and present of the Anthropocene, looks for clues to the puzzle of how we might survive it.

Early colonial New South Wales reconsidered.
Dr Paula Jane Byrne

In 1810 the Dromedary was preparing to return to England and lay in Sydney Cove. There was a ball on shore but two soldiers languished on ship, bored. They decided to take the ships boat and sneak on shore to set fire to a cottage with a thatched roof. ‘What fun!’ one of them wrote in his diary.

This paper examines a military culture that emphasised fun and booty. It also explores an administrative culture where clerks were publicans and entangled with the bright and brittle world of the military and seeks to reconsider public and private.

The Origin and Establishment of Savings Banks in the Antipodes.
Andrew Cardow and William Wilson
Massey University - Auckland Campus

This paper examines the development of savings banks in New Zealand from 1846 through to 1908 and the role they played in the new colony. The study relies on archival newspapers, archival records maintained by savings banks, New Zealand yearbooks, relevant Acts of Parliament and Parliamentary debates recorded in such as the Hansard to document the establishment and management of savings banks in New Zealand. New Zealand’s savings banks including the Post Office Savings Bank are briefly compared to those previously established in the United Kingdom. The research identifies differences between New Zealand savings banks and the previously established UK savings banks in that in New Zealand a savings bank could lend money on mortgages and did not have to invest in government stock. We also document tensions that existed between New Zealand savings banks and the POSB established in 1867; including two moves by the New Zealand parliament to close savings banks in favour of the POSB. This research contributes to the discussion surrounding the purpose of savings banks in that it documents the contributions made by both savings banks and the POSB in a developing colony. It also identifies the important role of savings in a pre-welfare state economy.
The Arts and Crafts Foundation of Christian Waller’s Stained Glass
Grace Carroll
PhD candidate, Australian National University

The strength of Australian artist Christian Waller’s (1894-1954) ecclesiastical stained glass windows emerged from the foundational influence of the late-19th century British Arts and Crafts movement. This paper examines Waller’s Arts and Crafts approach to the art of stained glass, drawing on her writings and on several of her key stained glass windows. Her initial training in the medium under William Montgomery in Melbourne and the influential trip to England and Europe she made with her husband, fellow artist M. Napier Waller in 1929-30, are also considered. While overseas, the Wallers undertook a period of study at the London stained glass firm Whall and Whall Ltd. The firm was established by Christopher Whall, a leading Arts and Crafts artist and teacher working in the medium. Whall’s seminal treatise Stained Glass Work (1905) had a significant impact on Waller’s approach to the art of stained glass.

In this paper, I analyse the ways in which Waller’s approach to stained glass espoused Whall’s Arts and Crafts principles of stained glass. I discuss how she harnessed these values to produce distinctive ecclesiastical stained glass windows for Australian churches.

The places at the edges of respectable whiteness: Class, gender and racial crossings in Darlinghurst and Fitzroy, 1927-1928
Kyla Cassells
PhD candidate at La Trobe University

In the 1920s the White Australia Policy was considered a bedrock of Australian society, an integral part of Australian nationalism and nationhood. Yet despite its all-pervasive presence in Australian racial discourses, there were slippages that suggested that the veneration of White Australia was not as impenetrable as it might appear on the surface. This paper will look at two interracial sex scandals from 1927 and 1928, which took place in the poor communities of Darlinghurst in Sydney and Fitzroy in Melbourne. Both were notable for the active agency of young white working class women in crossing the colour line. This paper will examine where the boundaries of appropriate racial behaviour lay for those who lived on the margins of respectability. It will explore what could motivate these women to embark on racial crossings, and interrogate the impact of class and place on the actions of the individuals involved.

Repatriation records from the First World War
Anne-Marie Condé
National Archives of Australia

The National Archives of Australia holds a large collection of records (perhaps as many as 600,000 individual files) of service personnel who served in World War 1, and who received post-war health care, welfare services and pensions from the Repatriation Department. Until now few of these records have been available to the public, but a process of description and selective digitisation has begun. This paper will discuss the huge potential these records have for understanding the impact of war individuals and their families in twentieth century Australia.

Interpretation of a Potter’s Protest: the William Ricketts Sanctuary, Dandenong Ranges, Victoria.
Nicole Conner

This research paper explores the way an Australian bush site, that became the exhibit of a naturalist’s love for the bush and the indigenous people expressed through clay sculptures, has been interpreted for the many national and international tourists that visit the site every year. In particular, the research will focus on the ideology and philosophy that undergirded William Ricketts’ art and how current interpretation has both highlighted and hindered his ideals. William Ricketts was a naturalist who was deeply concerned by the mass destruction of the environment and the disregard of the indigenous people; his protest and activism is mirrored in the faces and figures he created through clay. Ricketts’ philosophy is a vital intangible cultural heritage and this research will assess whether current interpretation remains faithful and authentic to the voice of protest that became the invisible backdrop to this site.
ABSTRACTS – AHA 2015

Undermining foundations?: History and the Royal Society of New South Wales
Anne Coote
University of New England

In *The Historian’s Craft* Marc Bloch highlighted what he called, an ‘obsession with origins’ amongst the ‘historian tribe’, and he warned against the tendency, particularly in popular accounts, to explain ‘the very recent in terms of the remotest past’. ‘[A] historical phenomenon’, he stressed, cannot be separated from ‘its moment in time’.

The timing and circumstances of its foundation is a story of some significance for the Royal Society of New South Wales. In 2016 this society will celebrate the sesquicentenary of its reorganisation under the title, ‘Royal’, and the 160th anniversary of the foundation in 1856 of the scientific organisation from which the Royal Society emerged, the Philosophical Society of New South Wales. But the Royal Society claims an even longer lineage. According to its web site, it is ‘the oldest learned society in the Southern Hemisphere, tracing its origin to the Philosophical Society of Australasia founded in Sydney in 1821’.

This paper explores the meaning of this foundation story, and assesses its explanatory power against evidence of change and continuity in the character and context of the Royal Society’s several perceived nineteenth-century incarnations.

Dear Mr. Haley: Letters from Viewers of the 1977 TV Miniseries *Roots*, and the Legacy of American Slavery
Clare Corbould
Monash University

For eight nights in January 1977, Americans were spellbound by an ABC miniseries, *Roots*, based on the Alex Haley’s book of the previous year. Some 130 million people saw at least one episode, and the miniseries helped to boost already impressive sales of the hardback book to 1.5 million copies within a year of publication. The miniseries also prompted an outpouring of letter writing from viewers, to newspapers but also to Haley, executive producer David Wolper, ABC in New York, and local television stations.

These responses are an unusual treasure, because it is rare to find such a wide cross-section of American people responding to a mass cultural event, even in an era of mass literacy such as the 1970s. The great variety among these letters offers an opportunity to reflect on how so-called ordinary Americans experienced the profound cultural changes of postwar America. In this paper, I focus particularly on their attitudes toward race, social movements, and toward the legacy of slavery in the United States.

Challenging the myth of the architect as individual: founding the Australian architectural practice HASSELL
Caroline Cosgrove
Professional Historian

Until recently, architectural historians paid little attention to the architectural firm, instead focusing on detailed studies of prominent individual architects. While investigating the architects and the buildings they designed is central to researching the history of an architectural practice, a broader perspective is gained by exploring all elements of the practice’s development. Examining an architectural firm from an organisational angle allows an analysis over time of its structure and methods, an area that architectural historians have neglected. In this paper Caroline Cosgrove argues that, as they grow, architectural practices develop as professional service firms, with similarities to other organisations that have attained professional standing. She examines the growth of the architectural practice HASSELL as a professional service firm from its foundation in South Australia in the early twentieth century. She also considers the effects of this interpretation on the myths surrounding the common perceptions of the architect.

‘Always plenty stitching to do’: Needlework and identity in gold-rush Victoria
Lorinda Cramer
PhD candidate at Deakin University

Throughout the nineteenth century needlework was the defining ‘work’ of woman, central to understandings of womanhood and to constructions of gender and class identities. Across the British world it was essential in the
education of girls, provided employment for vast numbers of working women, and was encouraged as a genteel occupation for ladies. Sewing was widely regarded as feminine behaviour and fundamental to the female experience.

This paper considers how female migrants to gold-rush Victoria responded to the challenges of isolation, transient housing, a lack of skilled servants, and fortune or failure through their sewing practices. It examines how different kinds of needlework were deployed in shifting or reworked constructions of the feminine, exploring the ways in which sewing was positioned alongside definitions of ‘useful’ and its nineteenth-century opposite, ‘idle’—loaded terms used by contemporary commentators, moralists and writers to encourage women’s productivity in demanding colonial locations. It aims to demonstrate how women’s skills with a needle could be especially valuable in controlling the appearance of both person and home, managing social position, and performing the genteel self in response to what could be severe dislocations from past lives.

Discomfort Man: the sad journey of a Korean soldier in wartime and post-war Southeast Asia
Robert Cribb
Australian National University

Between early 1942 and August 1945, Imperial Japan occupied most of Southeast Asia. With Japanese troops needed on the front lines, the Imperial authorities turned to their Korean subjects for less essential military tasks in the region. From 1942, Korean were conscripted into the Japanese army and sent to Southeast Asia, where they provided local garrisons, as well as guards for the hundreds of prisoner-of-war and civilian internment camps that the Japanese authorities had established for the captive Western population of the region. After the war, a significant number of these Koreans were accused of excessively brutal treatment of their captives and were charged with war crimes. After hearings in Allied military courts, some dozens were convicted and sentenced to prison terms which they eventually served in Japan, despite the fact that Japan had repudiated their former status as imperial subjects. This paper uses trial records to examine the experience of a single Korean soldier, who went by the Japanese name of Kumoi Eiji. Kumoi was prosecuted with nine others by a British court in Singapore in August 1946. Through the Kumoi case, this paper will enhance our understanding of Koreans in the Japanese army in wartime Southeast Asia.

Men, Money and Methodism: A Study of E. Frank Vickery
Patricia Curthoys
Charles Sturt University

Following the death of his father in 1915 until his own death in 1970, E. Frank Vickery was the most prominent member of one of New South Wales foremost Methodist philanthropic families. In this paper I seek to interrogate Vickery’s activities as a philanthropist, throughout the twentieth century, through the prisms of both gender and religion, in their intimate and public manifestations. How, for example, did Vickery’s maleness inflect his activities as a philanthropist, in contradistinction to the philanthropy of the female members of his family? In what ways did gender influence the nature of philanthropic endeavour in the twentieth century more generally? The paper also asks questions about Methodist understandings and expressions of philanthropy, as against those of other religious and non-religious groups in twentieth century Australia.

The Lady in the Graveyard
Robyn M. Curtis
PhD candidate, Australian National University

Nineteenth-century London was the powerful city at the heart of empire. It was the most populous in the world and the overcrowding resulted in strongly contrasting landscapes with words such as ‘swamps and filth’ used. To disperse disease-inducing miasmas, reformers sought to create a network of gardens. Isabella Holmes, of the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, was one who took on this task. Not content with paper, Isabella physically examined over 200 disused burial grounds in London that were potential public parks.

Isabella inspected areas in London’s ‘darkest’ slums, climbing fences, entering neighbouring houses and encountering local residents, not always friendly. Her middle-class presence in the decidedly poor East End embodied the notion of domesticating threatening urban spaces. Women like Isabella have been used as examples of the ‘colonization’ of the working-class. However, there are questions to be asked regarding the motivations of the women. What does her need to visit the sites tell of the physical representation of women in nineteenth-century environmental
organisations? It is possible to suggest that rather than a civilizing element, women in these organisations were utilising the rescue of green spaces as a way in which to rescue themselves and provide their own escape from domesticity.

**Intimate Interspecies relations: Dogs, kangaroos and domestic livestock in New South Wales, 1788 - 1840**

Nancy Cushing  
University of Newcastle

The complex relations between previously separate human groups which ensued from the colonisation of Australia could be argued to be the aspect of Australia’s past of greatest interest to historians in the early twenty-first century. Early contact between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians has been explored in its many forms and its effects traced over time. The ramifications of the novel relationships established between non human animals through colonisation have received much less attention. This paper will explore interspecies relations initiated by human action but conducted not by non human animals, focusing on dogs, kangaroos and domestic livestock in NSW in the period up to 1840. By extending treatments of contact to include more than human elements, richer and more nuanced foundational histories can be written.

**Working / Housewife: Diverging Womaness**

Shirley Daborn

In this paper, I discuss the main arguments that deal with the notions of ‘becoming a woman’ within the dynamics of mid-twentieth century modernity. In distinguishing between representations of women as either traditional or modern citizens, it is my purpose to highlight inconsistencies within contemporaneous notions of gender by pointing to the influence of visual communication at a level of everyday living.

Through mapping the language of consumerism, this paper assesses the extent to which popular media and advertising reinforces disingenuous constructions of identity, which in turn lays the groundwork for perpetuating the divide between women’s cultural identity to that of either housewife or modern woman. To explore and critique these issues, this article presents an overview of the demographics and cultural attitudes of post-WWII Australia, before providing a summary of the domestic home as a site primed for consumption. Next I review the portrayal of women in popular culture, such as magazines and advertising. Finally, I consider implications derived from perpetuating a dual identity of women’s societal role and argue that the artificial divide continues to compound contemporary understandings of woman’s societal place with impressions of femininity.

‘I did many things in play’: The boundaries of appropriate behaviour in an 1890s inquiry into a NSW Institute for blind women

Fiona Davis  
Australian Catholic University

‘I did many things in play with these girls that a man of my age without my temperament is too old to do.’  
Henry S. Prescott, head teacher in a submission to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Institution for the Blind, Strathfield

When in 1897 a Royal Commission was established to inquire into a Sydney institution for blind women, an isolated and murky world – for the most part, vividly described by senses other than sight – would emerge. In this sexually-charged space, boundaries of appropriate behaviour were constantly challenged and often completely transgressed. The inquiry heard extreme claims against head teacher Henry S. Prescott, of wandering hands and misplaced ‘privates’, in this place dubbed ‘Prurient Prescott’s Harem’ by sensationalist newspaper The Truth. More interesting, however, is the subtle – yet critically important – conflict around where those boundaries of appropriate behaviour lay that plays out in the inquiry transcripts between Prescott and the commissioners. My paper examines those boundaries and, in so doing, seeks to deliver new insights into the foundations of institutional care in Australia.

‘...a most picturesque mass of rags’: ‘Gypsy’ costume and undress in nineteenth century travel descriptions of Hungary and Transylvania.
Sacha E. Davis
University of Newcastle

For travel writers visiting Hungary and Transylvania, the Roma, who ethnographers claimed were the most ‘authentic’, ‘Oriental’, and ‘primitive’ population in Europe, provided a much desired element of exoticism for their narratives. Writers drew on ‘Gypsy Studies’ scholarship in order to guide the interpretation of their hastily made observations, which often went little further than noting the surface appearances. They took the frequently ill-matched, second hand clothing of poorer Roma, often in a poor state of repair and insufficient to meet bourgeois notions of decency, as evidence of their ‘primitive’, ‘Asiatic’ culture.

Furthermore, to the travel writers, Roma costume signified sloth, immodesty, lewdness and, in the case of children, parental neglect. At the same time, many writers dismissed the wealthier Roma they met, who often took great pains over their appearance, as ‘assimilated’ and inauthentic. In turn, ‘Gypsy Studies’ scholars recycled the travel writers’ descriptions as evidence supporting their own theories, further strengthening the foundational European narrative of the ‘Gypsy’ Other.

Voices of Dissent at the Edmonton and Brisbane Commonwealth Games, 1978-1982
Michael Dawson

From their inception in 1930, as the British Empire Games, through to the mid-1970s, the Commonwealth Games faced little in the way of political dissent. Despite brief controversies surrounding South Africa’s apartheid policy, for example, official claims that the Games served as a key foundation for Commonwealth unity and played a positive role in community development for the host nation went largely unchallenged. However, the Games held in Edmonton (1978) and Brisbane (1982) witnessed a marked increase in domestic dissent. In Edmonton, for example, local activists challenged the official and optimistic rhetoric that promised that the Games would bring widely shared economic development to the local community. In Brisbane, political action committees, student groups, and Aboriginal organizations held a multitude of protests and rallies challenging the organizers’ claims that the Games were “beyond” domestic political considerations such as Aboriginal and civil rights. As Australia prepares to host the Commonwealth Games in 2018, this paper will document the manner in which domestic dissent in Edmonton and Brisbane ushered in a new era in which the Games increasingly came to be seen as contested terrain upon which local, national and international concerns were debated.

Foundational Ventures in visual anthropology: Spencer and Gillen’s 1901 film Aboriginal Life in Central Australia
Jennifer Debenham
University of Newcastle, NSW Australia

Baldwin Spencer (1860 – 1929) and Frank Gillen (1855 – 1912) were amongst the first scientists to film Aboriginal people in the field in 1901. A ‘salvage’ mentality underpinned their motivation to record images of what was widely believed to be a fast disappearing people. The novelty of the new technology of film had generated the production of short films many of which contained images of exotic and primitive peoples that were viewed in nickelodeon arcades and Coney Island-like venues around the western world. This popular pastime encouraged the objectification and scrutiny of the Other based on curiosity and the pervasive ideas of Social Darwinism. While buying into film’s popularity Spencer and Gillen distanced their work from that of the arcade film by presenting their film in conjunction with lectures and scientific explanations about Aboriginal life and environment. By tracing Spencer and Gillen’s film presentations and by sourcing public reaction from newspapers, their diary entries and the findings of film academics such as Arthur and Corinne Cantrill, I argue that this method of recording and presenting became the foundation of visual anthropology in Australia. It opened up a new way of indulging in the voyeurism of the exotic and ‘primitive’ lives of Aboriginal people.

Traditions, myths and foundation stories: The Invention of Australia in the Feature Films of the Silent Era
Bruce Dennett

The oft-neglected era of Australian silent filmmaking (c. 1906-1930) coincided with the period immediately after Federation when Australians endeavoured to define themselves as a new nation.
An examination of the feature films from the 1920s offers rare insights into the mindset of Australians and how they saw, or preferred to see, themselves. Commercial feature films reflected the values of their creators and ideas of Australia that the filmmakers believed would resonate with audiences.

I focus on silent films because of their popularity in the first decades of the twentieth century and because of the gap that exists in the existing scholarship about the Australian, myths and foundation stories evident in those films.

The potential of filmmakers as mythmakers was evident as early as 1912 in an article in the film periodical The Photo-Play. Allowing for a degree of self-interest, the journal declared that films had a powerful impact on popular sentiment and with some prescience predicted, “the moving picture bids fair within a year or two to surpass in influence the combined forces of theatre, school, church and library.”

**Illusions of global historical foundations: the Egyptocentric narrative from NSW**

Robin Derricourt

University of New South Wales

For two decades, from the eve of the Great War to the mid 1930s, a Grafton born medical graduate of Sydney University proselytised in his 11 books an influential “alternative” world history in which pharaonic Egypt was credited as the source of a vast range of world cultural, religious, economic and technological developments, including Aboriginal boomerangs, Pacific island practices, Chinese civilization and European megalithic cults. This model, dismissed as Egyptocentrism, hyperdiffusionism or just pseudohistory by its critics, gained momentum from its appeal in an era of British imperialist ideology and colonial power, and from the stature of its author, Sir Grafton Elliot Smith, knight of the realm, Vice-President of the Royal Society and the leading academic anatomist in Britain. This paper considers why and how a NSW man chose to challenge convention and seek to rewrite the foundational narratives of world history. Did the successful and rapid transplanting of British culture to mid-19th century Australia provide a model that inspired Elliot Smith to create a revolutionary schema for an ancient world civilisation?

**Jim Crow in Wartime Australia: African Americans in South-East Queensland, 1942-1945**

Chris Dixon

University of Queensland

Dominic Hennessy

PhD candidate, University of Queensland

The influx of American service personnel to Australia during the Pacific War included thousands of African Americans. Alert to Australia’s racist record, and aware that its wartime Government had told American authorities that Black Americans were not wanted in Australia, African Americans anticipated a less-than-friendly reception Down Under. To the surprise of many Black Americans, however, they received a warm welcome upon their arrival in Australia. Indeed, for many Australians, African Americans were an exotic novelty, whose arrival in early 1942 also reflected the broader American role in thwarting the Japanese threat. Yet the African American presence in wartime Australia was inevitably controversial, exposing racial anxieties and portending social and cultural transformations that not only worried many Australians, but which were also deeply troubling for many visiting white American servicemen, particularly those from the still-segregated Southern states. By tracing the expectations and experiences of African Americans in South-East Queensland between 1942 and 1945, this paper thus throws light on the complex racial and cultural issues arising from the wider American presence in wartime Australia.

**The other military explorers: convict soldiers on Australian expeditions**

Patricia Downes

PhD candidate, Australian National University.

Australia’s foundational narratives abound with stories of the early nineteenth-century ‘intrepid’ explorers who risked life, limb and privation to solve the riddles of the continent’s rivers and mountain ranges. While every schoolchild knows of Mitchell, Sturt and Kennedy, what do we know of the convict servants who helped their masters achieve fame and glory? Historians have generally depicted the convicts as men who volunteered for an expedition in the hope of gaining the reward of early freedom. Yet several of these convicts were, like their leaders, soldiers of empire who aspired to exploring careers of their own. They accompanied more than one explorer, and continued to volunteer for expeditions as freed men. Their soldiering skills were invaluable in maintaining the organisation and discipline necessary for a successful expedition, but their military contribution has been overlooked.
This paper will examine the lives and legacies of three convict soldiers who made careers as expeditionary assistants. What can their experiences tell us about the contribution of convicts to the militarisation of colonial Australia?

**Australian Crusoes: masculinity and national identity**  
Karen Downing  
Australian Historical Association

Charles Rowcroft’s *Tales of the Colonies*, recounting stories of Australian settlers in the 1840s, was applauded by reviewers for its similarity to *Robinson Crusoe*. By its sixth edition the book had been retitled *The Australian Crusoes*. The pervasiveness of references to Daniel Defoe’s 1719 novel in the published and unpublished material from, and about, the emerging Australian colonies has led historian Alan Atkinson to describe the story as part of the ‘deep basis of imagination’ on which New South Wales was built. This paper will argue further: that in *Robinson Crusoe* we find the two narratives of white Australian history – the nomadic pastoral worker and the pioneer settler – that sometimes compete as foundational national stories but always combine to undergird a particular masculine national identity.

But is the difference between the stereotypical British stiff upper lip and Australian stoic taciturnity as illusory as Crusoe is fictional?

**The Rum Rebellion and Colonial Madness**  
James Harrison Dunk  
PhD Candidate, University of Sydney

The Rum Rebellion is understood as a founding moment of Australian society – the beginning of a fearless anti-authoritarianism. It was a moment of powerful lawlessness in which the executive, judicial and legislative functions of government broke down.

Conservatives in every age have called rebellion and revolution madness. In this paper I will show the ‘madness’ which accompanied the rebellion – the actual mental illness – but also the legacy which followed of anxiety, depression and suicide. I will argue that it was not the act of rebellion that was mad, for every dissident has a logic, but that the substrata of colonisation, especially this colonisation, of penal New South Wales, drove men and women mad. There was a deeper lawlessness in the colony which cannot form itself into a foundation mythology.

**In the Contact Zone: Aboriginal workers in Colonial Newcastle and the Hunter Valley**  
Mark Dunn  
PhD candidate, University of New South Wales

Most if not all of the colonial estates and farms around Newcastle and in the Hunter Valley employed Aboriginal workers in some capacity. Yet despite the commonality of the practice, foundation histories of the Hunter rarely mention them. While Aboriginal guides and trackers were the mainstay of the penal station, in the years after 1820, Aboriginal workers were equally important in the operation of agricultural estates in the region. These encounters occurred in what American cultural theorist Mary Louise Pratt has called the contact zone, an area of imperial encounters where people geographically and historically separated came into contact and established ongoing relations. Using first-hand accounts from diaries, letters and journals this paper will examine European motivations for engaging Aboriginal workers and explore some of the reasons Aboriginal workers may have had for involving themselves in work on estates that were spreading out across their Country.

**Are there lessons we should have learned from a war we have almost forgotten?**  
Robert Eales

The manner in which the Boer War was fomented, the course of the fighting when war broke out, and its ultimate failure in achieving the pre-war objectives all have their counterparts in subsequent wars. If the key features had been recognised and if the evidence of their recurrence in conflicts since the Boer War had been noted, the justification of more recent wars would have been untenable. The point is tested with reference to the Iraq War.
War, a foundational force in shaping the destinies of nations, is once again seen to be futile and counterproductive for both winners and losers, and, in a rational world, eminently avoidable.

The Second World War as an Unstable Foundation: Russia's History Wars
Mark Edel
University of Western Australia
Russia has been searching for a usable past ever since the implosion of the Soviet Union in 1991. The Second World War, or rather the war against Nazi Germany, was one foundation of a positive nationalism many leaders and led could agree on. This history, however, has been challenged by critical historians within and foreign scholars and politicians without. In the context of the Ukraine crisis, these confrontations came to a head, leading to unprecedented interventions from President Putin personally. This paper explores these interventions, their prehistories, and their context.

A Collecting Legacy
Elise Edmonds
State Library of New South Wales
In December 1918 the State Library of New South Wales began an extraordinary project to collect personal war diaries. Before most of the servicemen and women had returned home, Principal Librarian William Ifould began to advertise in the Australian and British press for servicemen and women or their families to sell their war diaries to the Library. Known as the 'European War Collecting Project' the collection reveals the personal voices and experiences of Australians serving in all theatres of the war. One hundred years on, this collection has been digitised and the Library is making the collection accessible for 21st century researchers.

Collecting Loerryminer’s ‘Testimony’: Quaker Humanitarian Anti-Slavery thought and action and the politics of witnessing in the Bass Strait Islands, Van Diemen’s Land, 1832.
Penny Edmonds
University of Tasmania
In 1832 British Quakers James Backhouse and George Washington Walker travelled 'under concern' to the antipodean colonies on a mission sponsored by the Religious Society of Friends. This paper examines Backhouse and Walker’s mission to witness the 'testimony' of Loerryminer and other Aboriginal women who had lived with sealers in the Bass Strait Islands, Van Diemen’s Land (Tasmania). It argues that this investigative journey is best comprehended in the context of the long tradition of Quaker transimperial travel ‘under concern’ and particularly their abolitionist witnessing undertaken from the late eighteenth century and its associated texts with their distinctive form, language and repertoire. Urging that we read ‘along the grain’ of the archive in line with Ann Stoler, the article explores the transnational travel and curious translation of humanitarian abolitionist sentiment, text, and action across and between colonies of slavery and settlement, and the various ‘species of slavery’ that were imagined, constructed and examined by Quaker humanitarians in this Age of Reform.

‘Fallen’ women, refugees and laundries – G. E. Ardill, the man behind the Aboriginal child removals in NSW
Richard Egan
PhD candidate UNIVERSITY OF NEW SOUTH WALES
At a meeting of The Board for the Protection of Aborigines in NSW (BPA) 10 May 1900, Mr Ardill reports – 'That an officer of the Reserve Work Society brought the child Richard ‘Smith’ from Moree...The mother refused to part with the other child one year old'. Board response: ‘Defer for further inquiry’. Removal of Aboriginal children, by the BPA prior to the Aborigines Protection Act NSW (1909) was not unusual. The BPA had no power to do it, but did so through coercion and threats to the parents of Aboriginal children.

George Edward Ardill joined the BPA in 1897 with a ready-made interest in ‘saving souls’ and an established network of Sydney contacts and refugees. In this paper I will explore the influence that Ardill had on the policy direction of the BPA with particular reference to child removal. Eminent historians like Read, Goodall, Haskins, and many others, have
well documented the impact of the Protection Board policies; this paper will shed some light on one of the policy drivers. It argues that, up until 1916 when he left the BPA, Ardill created the impetus for Aboriginal child removals and the policy framework for it to continue. His Baptist education, the founding of a number of homes for the destitute and his belief that hard laundry work ‘cleansed the soul’, had a transformative impact on the BPA’s approach to Aboriginal children.

History as place-making
Laila Ellmoos
City of Sydney
How are histories of places – localities, parks, landscapes, buildings - interpreted and communicated to the public? There is widespread recognition that better understanding of our history helps give locals a sense of identity and place; and that in turn promotes social cohesion and wellbeing. In places of urban renewal, history assists new residents to develop a sense of community identity and connection to place. History fosters public memory, community and cultural identity. In this paper, Laila Ellmoos will explore the role of history in ‘place-making’ and the different ways that history is communicated in the public spaces of our cities, drawing on examples in Sydney and overseas.

Singing and Identity Formation in Newcastle, 1860-1880: Choirs, Cultivation and Connectedness
Helen English
University of Newcastle
After the breaking of the Australian Agricultural Company’s coalmining monopoly in Newcastle, new mining townships such as Lambton and Wallsend were founded from the late 1850s. The communities that emerged were predominately made up of migrant miners. The incipient communities sought to create public identities that gave them a sense of distinctiveness, whilst connecting to the more established Newcastle community and the wider colonial world. To do so, they mobilised traditions and practices that were integral to their identity from their homelands, chiefly Northumberland/Durham, Scotland and Wales.

Music, as the favoured Victorian leisure pursuit, was central to this process. The traditions and practices that they recreated included the Eisteddfod, Caledonian Games, choral unions, brass bands and benefit concerts. This paper investigates the use of singing, as the most widespread musical skill amongst the miners and one that traversed the broader society, both geographically and socially. It draws on advertisements, reports and reviews in the local and Sydney-based newspapers of the time to contribute new findings about the pervasive use of singing in Newcastle settlers’ everyday lives: at school, in church, on the streets, at social gatherings and in concerts, demonstrating that music was integral to the formation of new colonial identities.

Foundational Floods: Memories of floods and migration in the history of Maitland
Gretel Evans
PhD candidate, University of Melbourne
Floods have been ever present in the history of the town of Maitland, located on the Hunter River in northern New South Wales. Early 19th century European migration and settlement in the Hunter Valley, combined with industry and commercial ventures, created the foundation for this regional commercial centre. As Maitland continued to develop, its foundations were often shaken by the reappearance of floods, which caused people to question the very location of the town. Floods are a pivotal part of Maitland’s history, but how do we remember them and what role do they have in Maitland’s narrative?

The 1955 flood was the largest recorded flood which inflicted great damage upon the town and caused several deaths. The flood was so severe that it resulted in the establishment of the SES and the creation of the Hunter Valley Flood Mitigation Scheme. This was also a period when the location of the Greta migrant camp encouraged immigration into the Hunter Valley area; therefore floods also affected the migrant population. By drawing on oral history interviews, this paper will explore how floods feature in the lives and memories of Maitland and its migrant community, and asks how floods and migration feature within Maitland’s history.
Alienation Via Anzac
Breann Fallon

‘Anzac is Australia’s National Civil Religion’ is a contention employed in media culture and in numerous academic pieces on the relationship between Australians and Anzac. However, no scholar has yet surveyed the Australian Public to ascertain the nature of their interaction with and understanding of Anzac as both a sacred and secular phenomenon. There is a wealth of information hiding in the homes and minds of the Australian people. In 2014, Breann Fallon undertook a survey of the general public in order to further comprehend the relationship Australians have with Anzac. Is Anzac truly is “religious” for the populace? Is there only one narrative of Anzac that is nationally revered? Is Anzac truly Australia's national Civil Religion? In the data of the cohort surveyed by Fallon, four narratives were unearthed. Two were pre-existing, dominant, civil-religious narratives also found in cultural forms – the ‘Traditional’ “Single, Homogenous Anzac” Narrative (47%) and the Carnivalesque Narrative (3%). The other two narratives present within the cohort were non-religious narratives hidden in the private world and mind of the Australian individual – the Passive Participation Narrative (34%) and the Anti-Anzac Narrative (16%).

In her paper, Fallon will present the finite details of these four narratives – demographic, favoured Anzac symbols, emotional ties to Anzac and preferred activities participated of Anzac Day. This shall illuminate the variation that exists in terms of interaction with Anzac, displaying critical nuance in the character of interaction with Anzac as sacred and secular entity. In terms of Anzac as a National Civil Religion, what Fallon has uncovered is not only the nationalistic, ritualistic and patriotic front, but a hidden face of the despondent, passive, non-religious and the disaffected – the latter of which is never given air time in the matters of Anzac. Anzac may be "nationalistic" and "Australian" but it is simultaneously alienating and affronting, a fact which must be be given due recognition.

Engaging with the founding fathers: Australians’ Commemorative Patterns at Villers-Bretonneux military cemeteries from 1990 to Today
Romain Fathi
PhD program between the University of Queensland and Sciences Po (Paris)

While historians have attributed the Anzac revival of the 1980s onwards to an increase of interest in family history, growing numbers of Anzac-related publications and the reappropriation of Anzac by the government, these analyses do not really explain how people feel about Anzac, and how they interact with official narratives or Anzac-related cultural productions. One way of evaluating the extent to which Anzac narratives promoted by the Australian government and government institutions have influenced, been absorbed, refused or rearranged by Australians who engage in commemorative practices on the Western Front is by studying the records these Australian visitors left in cemeteries and other personal accounts. Using quantitative and qualitative analysis, this paper draws on over 20 000 comments written in Villers-Bretonneux Military Cemeteries’ visitors books over two and a half decades, and hitherto unexplored primary material gathered in the Somme, to explore how Australians commemorate Anzac and interact with the main foundational narrative of their nation.

‘Business as usual’: Keith Officer and the Chinese Communist Revolution, 1948- 1949
David Fettling

In 1948 Keith Officer was made Australian Ambassador to China. Months later, after Mao’s sudden series of military victories, Canberra tasked him with pursuing informal diplomatic contacts with the ascendant Chinese Communist Party (CCP). That Officer failed to engage in any meaningful rapport with CCP officials is unsurprising given the task’s difficulty, but the particular reasons for his failure tell us much about why Australia with other Western nations was unable to come to terms with Mao’s regime in the mid-20th century. As Officer approached the CCP he applied a set of basic cultural assumptions about the nature of China and its relationship with the West, shaped by the previous era of semi-colonialism. Officer saw China as a place welcoming to foreign merchants, particularly Shanghai’s European settlers, and a place allowing the West to wield deeply asymmetrical power in its relations with Chinese governments. Such assumptions led Officer to pursue a set of priorities in China incompatible with the objectives of its revolution. A historical example of an Australian official confronting a sharply nationalistic and assertive Chinese nation, Officer’s 1949 diplomacy - a foundation of Australia’s 65- year relationship with the People’s Republic - has deep contemporary import.
The Use and Abuse of the ‘Barossa Germans’: Fashioning the German Diaspora in South Australia, 1838-1914

Samuel Finch
PhD Candidate, University of Queensland

Convict-free, avant-garde urban planning, and peaceful religious coexistence; these were a few of the elements that constituted the pedigree of South Australia, the state Douglas Pike coined the ‘Paradise of Dissent’. Having suffered the persecution of their ‘old Lutheran’ faith by Prussian monarch Friedrich Wilhelm III, the promise of religious freedom, economic opportunity, and the financial support of George Angas was enough to entice a large number of Germans to migrate to South Australia in the late 1830s and early 1840s. Bringing their skills and traditions to the fledgling British colony, the early waves of German migrants established the towns of Klemzig in Adelaide’s North East, Hahndorf and Lobethal in the Adelaide Hills, and Bethanien and Langmein in the Barossa Valley. Over time, these migrants formed an important moral touchstone within South Australian public discourse; lauded for their zealous adherence to the Lutheran faith, and the manner in which they applied themselves to their agricultural pursuits. This paper will address the migration of the ‘Barossa Germans’, and illustrate how South Australians and later waves of German migrants attempted to harness the power of their story to fashion both the character and understanding of the German diaspora in South Australia.

‘Us colonials through German eyes’: Convict transportation and the Nazi gaze.

James Findlay
PhD Candidate, University of Sydney

In the summer of 1937 Germany’s premier film studio UFA, then under Nazi control, released a motion picture dramatising the lives of convict women transported to the Parramatta Female Factory in New South Wales. Titled Zu neuen Ufern (To New Shores) the musical-melodrama was hugely popular, launching the careers of its director Detlef Sierck (later Douglas Sirk), and lead actress Zara Leander.

This paper will explore the events leading to the lives of convict women being re-imagined by pre-war Nazi cinema at a time when Australian filmmakers had all but abandoned once popular colonial histories. By investigating materials connected with the substantial promotional campaign accompanying the film’s release, which framed convict transportation as the product of a corrupt and elitist society, it will argue that Zu neuen Ufern anticipated a pattern of recognised anti-British propaganda appearing in later Nazi cinema depicting shocking aspects Britain’s imperial history.

It will also situate the film within the broader context of a series of international productions depicting the Australian convict experience, assessing the impact these representations had on international audiences and their understanding of Australian society past and present. And explore how such films worked to strengthen or undermine broader national settler mythologies when viewed by Australian audiences.

A Criminal Breed: French Pacific penal transportation and Australian engagements with hereditary crime in the late nineteenth century

Genevieve Fitzgerald
PhD candidate, University of Melbourne

The last decades of the nineteenth century saw the increasing medicalization of criminal deviance, and the medico-penal communities of Britain and continental Europe were producing a growing body of scientific evidence that criminal tendencies were hereditarily acquired. With convict transportation to Australia still a recent memory, the biological turn in criminal theory had disquieting implications for a white Australian population that contained a relatively high proportion of the descendants of convicted criminals. Existing historiography underestimates the extent to which late nineteenth century theories about hereditary criminality informed Australian understandings of crime. When in 1881 France proposed to transport its recidivist population to the French penal colony in New Caledonia, the fierce Australian opposition campaign was rich with the language of criminal biological determinism. Australia was horrified by the prospect of a criminal race propagating in the South Pacific region. Using the Australian campaign against French transportation as a case study, this paper seeks to understand how colonial Australians negotiated the terrain between biologically determined understandings of crime and white Australia’s penal origins. They did so, it argues, by constructing the foundational white Australian historical narrative of the morally innocent convict, driven to crime by cruel circumstance rather than inherent criminality.
'Stern Justice' and the wartime allies: The 'minor' war crimes trials of Japanese suspects, 1945-1951
Georgina Fitzpatrick
The University of Melbourne

On 26 July 1945, the Potsdam Proclamation issued by Truman, Churchill and Chang Kai-Shek (and later subscribed to by Stalin) included the following statement of intention concerning the Japanese and war crimes: ‘We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation, but stern justice shall be meted out to all war criminals, including those who have visited cruelties on our prisoners.’ Among these wartime allies, however, what was meant by ‘stern justice’? In this paper, I will offer some preliminary and comparative observations, building on recent published studies of the British trials in Hong Kong and the Chinese trials (both Nationalist and Communist) in mainland China and my own work on the 300 Australian-run war crimes trials at eight locations around the Asia-Pacific region.

In what ways did the Australian trials differ from the trials conducted by the KMT in China? Were the British trials in Hong Kong very different in intent and procedure from the Australian trials, supposedly based on British practice? This paper will also consider the extent to which any of the differences in the conduct of ‘stern justice’ were determined by international re-configurations of the post-war world.

Soviet History without 1917
Sheila Fitzpatrick
University of Sydney

When the Soviet Union ceased to exist as an entity in 1991, its history beginning with the October Revolution of 1917 abruptly ceased to be foundational. This paper explores the consequences of this change for Western conceptualization of Soviet/modern Russian history.

Representations of war in Australian historical fiction for children since 1945
Kylie Flack
PhD candidate at Macquarie University

Debates around school history textbooks and curricula show that historians, politicians, educators and the wider community are interested in how their nation’s past is presented to children. Such interest was highlighted in Australia in 2010, when Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds asked What’s wrong with Anzac?, identifying children as the target of resources issued by the Department of Veterans’ Affairs.

The conversations around What’s Wrong with Anzac? highlight how two prominent historians unsettled a foundational narrative in Australian history. Furthermore, they demonstrate the potential for historical products for children to be included in Australian historiographical debates.

My research aims to unsettle conventional approaches to Australian historiography, which have neglected representations of the past (especially public and popular representations) directed at children. In this paper, I focus on representations of war in children’s historical fiction published in Australia since 1945, showing there have been points of convergence and points of disjunction with foundational narratives. Through analysis of the growing body of war-related novels and picture books as historical/cultural artefacts, the value of viewing these texts from a historiographical perspective is shown.

Seeking a New Materialism in Australian History
Hannah Forsyth
Australian Catholic University
(with Sophie Loy-Wilson, University of Sydney)

Since the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, capitalism has become the subject of renewed scholarly and popular interest, worldwide. Thomas Piketty’s Capital in the Twenty-First Century, for example, is a global bestseller and is but one example of what has been called the ‘new history of capitalism.’ In Australia, the recent publication of the Cambridge Economic History might suggest a similar trend, though this volume has done little to connect to larger historical questions. This is in part because economics sits uneasily against Australia’s historiographical tradition, dominated by cultural history. In this paper we use our respective current research into the structures and events that have shaped
social and racial inequality in Australia to consider the promise and the pitfalls of using economics from within a sensibility shaped by our training in Australian cultural history. By drawing gently on settler-colonial studies and cultural, transnational and labour history, we have developed a new approach to our research which foregrounds the economic dimensions of cultural encounters and identity; a set of tools that in turn asks new questions of the history of capitalism. In so doing, we are finding ourselves revising unfamiliar forms of analysis to build a new approach to historical materialism.

**Migration, Nation and Public Histories in New Zealand: New Perspectives and Possibilities**

**Lyndon Fraser**

University of Canterbury and Canterbury Museum

In a recent article, historian Giselle Byrnes has offered an explicitly postcolonial approach to the relationship of migration and nation. Drawing on the work of various scholars, she reminds us that nations are modern constructions associated with ‘nineteenth-century colonial ambition’ and exploitation. The problem with the nation, she suggests, is not just the tendency to elide difference, but also its continuing role as ‘a colonizing tool’. This paper explores the implications of these kinds of critical perspectives – along with exciting new work in migration studies – for ‘public histories of migration’ in New Zealand. It seems clear that this scholarship has significance beyond the confines of the academy. It speaks to contemporary public debates over immigration policy and the discourses of biculturalism and multiculturalism: to indigenous claims for particular rights and resources; to questions of citizenship; and the ‘management’ of diversity. Above all, it draws attention to the limits of national histories like those presented at Te Papa (New Zealand’s national museum) or state-sponsored bicultural versions of the past based on the ‘principles’ of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840). Taking examples from local museums, television and the internet, I use this scholarship to critically reflect on selected historical narratives of migration outside the academy, including those on which I have worked as a public historian. I reveal how are they constructed and whom they seek to represent, and suggest future possibilities for thinking ‘under as well as across the nation’.

**The New Zealand Mudworm in the Australian Oyster: from invasive species to agent of adaptation**

**Jodi Frawley**

Queensland University of Technology

Historians describe invasive species as ‘matter out-of-place’, phrasing that emphasizes an anthropocentric perspective. Such thinking relies on static ideas about ecological function. In doing so, scholars close, rather than open, conversations about dynamic estuarine ecologies. I argue for reconsideration of invasive species as agents that facilitate adaptation in changing conditions. In this paper, I use the case study of mudworms *Polydora websteri* transferred in oyster stock from New Zealand to Australia in the 1880s to argue for this shift. All twelve target estuaries in New South Wales suffered mudworm infestations making oysters inedible without killing them. The dredge oysters, favoured by consumers, became a mass of foul smelling mud blisters. In response, fishermen expanded their methods of oyster culture.

Fishers used their knowledge of the life of the oyster and the predictability of estuarine tides to adapt their practice from dredging to farming. Rather than articulating the mudworm as a damaging invasive species, I instead want to think through the idea of the mudworm as an agent of change. In a time when climate change adaptation is a key requirement for building resilience for estuaries, mudworms may provide a lesson from the past to help plan for the future.

**Mythical mission foundations**

**Regina Ganter**

Griffith University

The founding of missions is cloaked in myths of individual enterprise and lonely pioneering, a sole missionary striking out into the unknown, even guided by a comet, or overnighting in a solitary cave. Beneath the foundation narratives echoing each other as in a hall of mirrors, we glimpse the crucial role of indigenous diplomats and Catholic Filipino helpers, and the territorial strategising of mission organisation.

**Mother and Son: the letters of Sarah Farrer, 1787-1791**
David Garrioch
Monash University

Sarah Farrer was the wife of an English businessman who had abandoned her and moved to France. Between 1787 and 1791 her son Joseph, who was in his early 20s, was a cavalry officer serving in France, and twenty or so of her letters to him survive. They are very conventional letters, expressing fond maternal concern and offering advice, sending news, discussing financial matters and family issues. But as much recent work has demonstrated, letters are not transparent reflections of family relationships. While reflecting individual personalities and concerns, they are strongly influenced by literary and rhetorical conventions and by the constraints of cost and material production. This paper examines what Sarah’s letters can tell us about the nature and norms of correspondence among the English middle classes in the late eighteenth century, and what they reveal about the way the relationship between mother and son was shaped and negotiated through letters.

Happy Holidays? ‘Binge Tourism’ and the Making of Fort Lauderdale, Lake Havasu and Surfers Paradise
Catherine Gidney
St Thomas University (Canada)

This paper explores the foundations of modern youth ‘binge tourism’ in the United States and Australia. Employing a comparative perspective, it examines the origins and development of three communities (Fort Lauderdale, Florida, Lake Havasu, Arizona, and Surfers Paradise, Queensland) that have come to rely on an influx of young people eager to embrace the party atmosphere offered by the “Spring Break” and “Schoolies Week” traditions. In addition to documenting the origins of these annual gatherings, the paper examines their economic, social and cultural significance. It explores the ways in which these communities have marketed themselves as ideal destinations for young revelers eager to celebrate their newly secured freedom from parental supervision. And it highlights the ways in which these tourist destinations have attempted to cope with the negative impact (accidental deaths, riots, vandalism, overcrowding) of these young visitors that are now such an important component of their economic development strategies.

The Souvenir as a Token of Experience: Lady Elizabeth Holland’s ‘Knowledge of the World’
Emma Gleadhill
PhD candidate, Monash University

Lady Elizabeth Holland (1771 – 1845) was the captivating hostess of Holland House, London’s most famous international political salon. As the wife of the third Lord Holland, a nephew of the renowned Whig leader, Charles James Fox, Elizabeth toured the Continent extensively. She then used the souvenirs from her journeys to shape Holland House as an inimitable platform for cosmopolitan fashions, international guests, and scholarly debates at a time when travel to Europe was complicated by the Napoleonic Wars. Under her influence Holland House became the unofficial centre of the Whig opposition and attracted the likes of celebrated figures, such as Germaine de Staël, Talleyrand, and Byron.

This paper will ask how Lady Holland used her souvenirs to negotiate moments of self-definition within the gender constraints of early-nineteenth century British society. These objects played a central role in her quest to re-establish a place in London’s polite circles following a scandalous divorce, pursue her own scientific interests, and build a political connection with Napoleon. On a broader level, I will suggest that the souvenir itself, as a mnemonic object that is constituted by its possessor’s narrative of their past experiences and relationships, offers a valuable window into women’s subjectivity during the Georgian period.

‘It’s Time’: Labor’s Market Research, the Opinion Polls, and Whitlam’s 1972 Mandate
Murray Goot
Macquarie University

‘Every aspect of the campaign was practised, tested and run through internal party polling – the images of Gough and Margaret, the message, the advertisements – even the slogan “It’s Time” was polled... if the polls were right, he had also gained the [electorate’s] “informed consent” for the most comprehensive program of reform ever attempted in Australia’ (Hocking 2008, 384, 396). This paper examines what the Party’s market researchers set out to find, what their research revealed, and how the questions asked and the techniques deployed differed from
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Those used in earlier elections. Public opinion polls commissioned by the press also attempted to capture the 'public mood', the number of pollsters multiplying after the 1969 election and the publicity given to the polls becoming more prominent. What did the Party glean from these polls and how did it seek to incorporate their findings into its campaign strategy? By combining evidence from the Party's research with evidence from the polls, the paper asks what voters knew about Whitlam's program and to which policies it might be said to have 'consented'. Given the standard view that Whitlam, the 'leader', was above 'poll-following', to what extent was the program itself a response to 'the public mood'?

Histories of childhood and psychological research: new interchanges in studies of war, memory and trauma
Sarah Green
PhD candidate, University of Melbourne

Fass calls for historians of childhood to engage with other disciplines while retaining history as the central discipline to create 'a lively new interchange'. This paper explores how historians, particularly those working with war-affected communities, can engage with psychology's research on children and post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), while maintaining history as the foundation discipline.

During this paper I will draw on the example of Bosnian child refugees. It has been suggested that more psychosocial programs were implemented during the Bosnian conflict of 1992-1995 than in any other war. However, in the corresponding literature there is no consensus on whether interventions for "war-traumatised children", particularly those which involve remembering past atrocities, are psychologically beneficial or harmful.

The issue of whether revisiting a traumatic past will cause harm to survivors of war is familiar to historians who have debated the benefits and limitations of reviving memory. In response to this question, I will explore how historians can engage with concepts of trauma and PTSD to create a new interchange in historical research on war, memory and trauma.

Now you can’t pick them from the Aussies': the role of recreation in post-war migrant integration programs
Justine Greenwood
PhD candidate, University of Sydney

Settlement services, such as hostel accommodation and language classes, have been a part of the Australian government’s settlement strategies for migrants since mass non-British immigration began after 1947. While certain programs have been studied in detail, others, including recreation programs, have received little attention. This paper will trace the development of these programs from the beach camps of the 1950s, to the bush camps of the 1980s, to the return to the beach in the 2000s.

These programs offered migrants an experience not dissimilar to that offered to tourists. Migrants were welcomed through activities like going to the beach, visiting the bush, and sightseeing. Yet while tourists and migrants were encouraged to partake in many of the same activities they were subject to differing expectations regarding what they should gain from the experience. Migrants were expected to internalise such experiences, to learn and ultimately be transformed by them, in some indefinable way, into citizens.

The paper will explore the reasons behind the creation of these programs and their connection to ideas about creating 'good citizens'. Further, this paper will also explore how these programs represent the practical manifestation of changing immigration policies, noting that even though the policies were ideologically different continuities remained between the aims of the programs.

Conceptions of Sociability in Early British Socialism; Charles Hall’s Effects of Civilisation on the Peoples of Europe
Rhianne Grieve
PhD candidate, Australian National University

This paper will address conceptions of human nature and ‘sociability’ within early nineteenth-century British socialism, focusing upon the thought of the little known socialist, Charles Hall. Hall was born in England in the 1740s and practiced as a physician. In his major work, The Effects of Civilisation on the People in European States (1805)
Hall insisted that the medical profession provided first hand opportunities of acquiring knowledge about the lives of the people. His analysis in that work offered a powerful and poignant portrayal of the conditions endured by the labouring poor as well as a detailed examination of the historical, economic and social reasons for their suffering. Very little is known however, about the intellectual foundations of Hall’s work. This paper examines Hall’s lively and critical engagement with European philosophical debates about human ‘sociability’ and explores how these provided him with the theoretical means to criticise competitive commercial enterprise, growing industrialism and to propose an alternate form of social organisation based on principles of mutuality and co-operation. The paper will conclude with a reflection about Hall’s often neglected place in early British socialism and his relevance in the broader history of socialist thought.

Stories of World War 1 Stretcher Bearers: Boats, Camels and Mud
Kristina Griffin
Charles Sturt University

The Army stretcher bearer was an intrinsic part of the medical support to the ground troops during World War 1. With minimal or no specialised training and often co-opted from other corps they performed one of the most dangerous roles of warfare. Targeted by the enemy when wearing the Red Cross, with no protection or ability to return fire, their job was to retrieve wounded from the front line under constant fire and carry them to medical care and return again for the next man.

The story of these young men is portrayed through their eyes as they relate their stories, thoughts and feelings to loved ones back home through letters and personal diaries. They depict their sense of national pride, excitement, enthusiasm, mateship and trepidation as they set out on journeys to countries they had never heard of. These accounts relate tales of boredom through inactivity, descriptions of amazing lands, homesickness, fear, hardship, friendship and amazing sorrow at the loss of these friends. These young men were unprepared for what they were to face and their letters home and diaries give vivid insight into their personal journeys amongst the horrors of war.

Historians and the power of White Australia myths
Phil Griffiths
University of Southern Queensland

White Australia was one of the foundation policies of the federated nation in 1901. Two of the foundation myths of White Australia were that it protected the working class from the competition of the “cheap labour” of people of colour; and that it was working class activism that forced its establishment. These are myths that historians have rarely questioned. This is surprising given the emphasis within the discipline on deconstructing the discourses and ideologies of power. In this paper I will explore the blindness of historians to evidence of the colonial ruling class as the architects of white Australia, and the power of the White Australia myth in shaping the way historians interpreted events.

Post-World War II foundations of Australia ICOMOS (a society for heritage professionals)
Bronwyn Hanna
NSW Government’s Heritage Division

This is a positivist and interpretive description of the organisations formed and activities undertaken in the post-World War II era that led to the foundation of the Australian ICOMOS in the 1970s, pointing to international influences and linkages. It touches upon the formation of the National Trust (NSW) in 1945, the formation of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) at a conference instigated by UNESCO in Venice in 1964, the Australian Green Bans movement from 1971, the Whitlam Government’s initiatives including the Hope inquiry into the National Estate 1973-4 (with its radical understanding of “heritage”), Australia’s signing of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1974 and the passing of the Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975. The paper outlines David Yencken’s critical role as first chair of Australia ICOMOS in 1976. Australia ICOMOS made an outstanding contribution to the development of international heritage policy in 1979 when a committee led by James Semple Kerr wrote the Burra Charter, a self-consciously antipodean rethinking of the 1964 Venice Charter, ICOMOS International’s code of heritage practice. The paper points to ways in which the Burra Charter has been nationally and internationally influential, and critiqued.
Images of War at the National Library of Australia
Guy Hansen
National Library of Australia

Libraries, archives and libraries play a key role in storing and exhibiting objects, documents, ephemera and photographs relating to the First World War. It is my contention that this material culture record helps drive popular narratives about the war and plays a key role in constructing our memory of this period. In this paper I will focus on how some of the visual sources held by the National Library of Australia help us understand the history of the Great War.

Catch the Wave: Albany’s identity shift from the last whaling town to the origin of the ANZAC
Yoko Harada

On 1 November 2014, the nation’s eyes were on Albany, a small but spectacular port town in Western Australia. A century ago on the day, the first ship convoy which had Australian and New Zealand soldiers on board sailed out from Albany to be sent to battlefields in Europe which included fateful Gallipoli. Those soldiers later came to be known as the ANZAC. Because many of them never returned home, the town lately has been described as their ‘last glimpse of Australia’. Albany was written into the nation’s foundational history as the origin of the ANZAC.

What has been almost forgotten in the midst of the excitement of the ANZAC centenary commemoration was Albany’s another important historical face – the last whaling town – which is also connected to the foundation of Australia. Although the form of the industry had altered over the years, Albany always had a crucial commitment to whaling which dates back to 1820s. It was in Albany that the Australian whaling industry finally came to an end in 1978.

This paper explores the path which the town shifted its identity and consider which historical events are fitted to be written into the foundational history of the country.

Pan-Indigenous encounter in the 1950s: ‘Ethnic Dancer’ Beth Dean
Amanda Harris
University of Sydney

From 1950, ‘ethnic dancer’ Beth Dean made her living on a lecture demonstration touring circuit of the dance traditions of Australia, Papua New Guinea, New Zealand, the Cook Islands and North America. To assert her expertise, she claimed to have studied Maori and Australian Aboriginal culture for a number of years. Later, carrying out field research for periods of months in locations she keenly promoted as remote and “unaffected by white contact”, and then performing secret/sacred Australian Aboriginal dances in far-flung public settings, she boasted that she was probably the only woman in the world who could dance Australian men’s ceremonial dances. Inventing herself as a pseudo-ethnologist and expert on “primitive” dances of many continents, Dean exploited ignorance about Australian Aboriginal cultures, while simultaneously engaging with trends in American modern dance. This paper will investigate how Dean’s didactic performances proffered foundational knowledge about Indigenous cultures, supported by Adult Education Boards in NSW, Victoria, Tasmania and Western Australia and national arts organisations. Dean framed her performances as opportunities for encounter with Indigenous cultures by emphasising the authenticity of her renditions and repeatedly citing anthropologists Mountford, A. P. Elkin and T. G. H. Strehlow.

‘You Just Like Me ‘Cos I’m Good In Bed’: Sex in Australian Popular Music Cultures
Rebecca Hawkin
Macquarie University

Australian popular music has long been preoccupied with sex. From the exuberant live performances of Johnny ‘The Wild One’ O’Keefe, to AC/DC declaring “You Shook Me All Night Long,” to the roll call of explicit personal advertisements featured in The Whitlam’s ‘No Aphrodisiac,’ Australian musicians have consistently engaged with sex as both a lyrical and performative subject. This engagement has historically been informed by broader discourses of nationalised masculinities, with specific articulations of sex by predominantly (white,
heterosexual) male artists ritualised as distinctly ‘Australian’ modes of musical meaning-making.

In January 1975, youth radio station Double J began its inaugural broadcast by playing a song whose unapologetic lyrical articulation of sex had seen it banned from commercial radio airplay. The song was Skyhooks’ ‘You Just Like Me ‘Cos I’m Good In Bed,’ and it became embedded in the radio station’s foundation mythology. Sex, then, served as a marker of both a newly-emergent popular music culture and a broader national (musical) identity. Using Skyhooks as an initial historical case study, this paper contextualises popular music articulations of heteromasculine sex within historically specific discourses of national identity and gender, and asks the question — what made sex musicologically and culturally ‘Australian’?

‘Is there any Australian brand worth more?’: ANZAC in advertising 1980–2015
Jo Hawkins
PhD candidate, University of Western Australia

After the Anzac resurgence, many Australian traders recognised the growing cultural capital associated with this foundational national narrative, and the benefits of aligning their brands with the Anzac tradition. This ambition was not new. Traders began to market Anzac branded products and portray Anzac veterans in their advertising from 1915. However modern marketers approached the task with an enthusiasm and sophistication lacked by their early twentieth-century counterparts. Scholars from a range of disciplines have looked to advertising as a rich source from which to draw insights about society and culture. However scholarship examining the ways in which history is represented within advertising, and how these representations shape historical understanding, is under developed. This paper will explore how and why commercial bodies, including Telstra, Qantas, McDonalds, AFL, and Victoria Bitter, have appropriated Anzac to build their brands since 1980. I shall trace representations of the Anzac in advertising, and examine responses to commercial activity by the Department of Veterans’ Affairs (DVA) and the Returned & Services League (RSL), to argue that the political and commercial appropriation of Anzac has gone hand-in-hand.

Expanding foundations – the Dominicans in Ireland and Australia 1829 to 1914
Elizabeth Hellwig
Australian National University

Dominican nuns had been conducting educational institutions in Ireland since 1227, but the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 finally gave nuns legal status. For pragmatic reasons this ensured schools would become an important service of the Catholic Church in Ireland and, later, New South Wales. Here, early migrant nuns arrived with the understanding they would receive government support. However, state aid was withdrawn, bringing hardship but leading the Catholic community to rally around their religious schools and teachers. The story of the Dominican nuns who travelled from Ireland in 1867 illustrates the way in which strong, well-educated women met the challenge. A handful of Irish women inspired a hundred Australians to join them, and the nuns’ financial acumen and their mission to ‘teach the rich as well as the poor’ meant that by 1914 they had set up six significant boarding schools, day schools, a school for children with hearing impairment, and also staffed denominational schools. They mentored the new Josephite Sisters, welcomed the Mercy and the Brigidine Sisters to their diocese, obtained advice from lay educators, learnt how to work around the government requirements, and had a huge influence on the future role of Catholic women within and beyond their community.

Breaking the foundations – laïcité in France 1901-1914 and the Petite Soeurs de l’Assomption
Les Hetherington
PhD candidate, Australian National University

This paper examines the case of the Petites Soeurs de l’Assomption (PSA), an order founded in Paris in 1865 to tend to the sick in their homes. The order expanded considerably up to 1900 under the religious community arrangements established by Napoleon in 1801. However, after the passage of new association laws in 1901 and the separation of church and state in 1905, the PSA suffered what its historians have called ‘the persecution’, when government action sought to impose legal requirements on the order under its secularisation policies. By breaking the foundations of the relationship between church and state in France, these laïcité laws disrupted the necessary work of the PSA in France. Nonetheless, this paper will argue that they did so without altering the PSA’s fundamental role or support base. Passive resistance to the new legal requirements between 1901 and 1914 laid considerable stress on the orders’ members without directly advancing the ideological or political objectives of
the Third Republic governments which pursued it, but the PSA continued their work throughout these years. The response of government and sisters to the outbreak of the First World War brought an end to the persecution.

From diaspora narratives to ‘multiple mobilities’: rethinking foundational Russian emigration histories

Philippa Hetherington
University of Sydney

This paper will examine both Soviet and non-Soviet historiography on emigration and mobility from Russia throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. I will argue that both before and after 1991, this historiography has often remained mired in the study of particular ‘national’ groups, and that both within and outside the Soviet Union/Russia this has served to undergird the supposed inevitability of departure and reified the imagined cohesion of particular diasporas. In the second part of the paper, I will discuss recent developments in the social scientific scholarship on migration, including the breaking down of the ‘voluntary’ and ‘involuntary’ binary and discussions of ‘multiple mobilities,’ in order to propose potentially fruitful directions for new histories of emigration from Russia.

Javanese Princesses, Mass Murder and Other Foundation Stories in Oral History Narratives among Indo-Dutch Communities in the Netherlands and Queensland

Rosalind Hewett
PhD candidate, Australian National University

This presentation looks at a number of common ‘foundation stories’ in Indo-Dutch history, arising in oral history interviews held in the Netherlands and Queensland, and how they fit into broader historical currents and historical consciousness in the twenty-first century. After Indonesian independence was formally recognised in 1949, about 200,000 individuals with mixed European and Indonesian descent left Indonesia. Almost all were current or former Dutch citizens. They settled mostly in the Netherlands, with smaller communities in the United States and Australia. Sixty years on, these communities maintain contact with each other through transnational magazines, online forums and social gatherings, which they use to collectively remember a romanticised colonial past, shared traumatic experiences during the Japanese Occupation (1942-1945) and the Indonesian National Revolution (1942-1945), and the discrimination that many recall from postcolonial Indonesia. The ways in which these communities narrate their past have changed over time. A significant proportion today claim descent from a Javanese or Sundanese princess – unlike those in Indonesia – while recently many have come to highlight the violence and discrimination that they experienced from 1942 in contrast to the ‘good old days’ of colonialism, particularly after they joined campaigns for recognition and compensation from the Dutch government.

The status determination of Indochinese boat arrivals: a new understanding of the Fraser government’s refugee policy

Dr Claire Higgins
University of New South Wales

The punitive and controversial nature of Australia’s current refugee policy has drawn attention to an earlier period in our immigration history, when the Liberal/National government led by Malcolm Fraser responded to the nation’s first large-scale, irregular arrival of asylum seekers by boat. The Fraser government’s response to the boat arrivals is popularly remembered as having been generous and sympathetic. In recent years, however, a number of scholars and commentators have argued that the Fraser government’s response to the boat arrivals was ‘grudging’ at best.

This paper will argue that there is a much more complex and compelling story to be told. The paper will draw from a unique set of UNHCR records to re-examine the Fraser government’s response, focusing on assessment of Indochinese boat arrivals by the newly established Determination of Refugee Status Committee. The paper will provide behind-the-scenes insights into bureaucratic decision-making and will contextualise this period within changing international interpretations of refugee movements.
An air of sickness: disease and the shaping of Australian airspace

Dr Peter Hobbs
University of Sydney

In a 1936 memorandum entitled “Miss Amelia Earhart – around the world flight”, Australia’s Director-General of Health expressed little interest in the humans occupying her aircraft. He insisted, however, that all potentially disease-carrying mosquitoes aboard be destroyed before it landed in Darwin. This paper explores the intersection of two discrete meanings of ‘airspace’ in the context of disease prevention and Australian sovereignty. From eighteenth-century naval medicine to nineteenth-century immigration, British ships were required to provide a minimum air volume for each soul aboard. As the era of miasmas dissipated in the early twentieth century, the novel territorial concept of ‘airspace’ developed alongside the new Australian nation. Two of the earliest powers ceded to the Commonwealth after 1901 were unified defence and quarantine systems. If World War I highlighted the necessity for military protection against aeroplanes and Zeppelins, 1919 witnessed the arrival of both the influenza pandemic and the first England-Australia flight. With tiny cabins re-circulating airborne pathogens amongst passengers, aircraft could penetrate Australian airspace well ahead of the incubation period of dread diseases. Traced through cases from over a century of quarantine at Sydney’s North Head, the intimate, cultural and geopolitical ramifications of these confluent meanings of ‘airspace’ will be elaborated.

A Family at War: The Adam Family 1915-1918

Robert Hogg
University of Queensland

The invasion of Gallipoli has been embraced and nurtured by Australians as their foundational myth, labelled by many as the ‘birth of a nation’. But the impact of Gallipoli was felt, not only at the national level, but also at a personal and intimate level, by wives, brothers, sisters, fathers, and mothers. Jane Adam was the mother of two sons who fought and died on the Gallipoli Peninsula, and the wife of John Adam who enlisted at the age of 45. She was the sister of a fourth soldier, and the aunt of a fifth. She was also the landlady and friend of several more. Drawing on one hundred letters exchanged between family members and friends, as well as military records and contemporary photographs, this paper outlines the involvement of the Adam family in the First World War. The Adams’ history is the story of how one family negotiated war. The family’s story is a microhistory, a way of connecting to the macrohistory of the First World War and of Australia in the early twentieth century. This paper foreshadows a prosopography or collective biography of the Adam family, considering them as an historical group, as a case study of the larger history of their times.

‘To Govern Man You Tan’d his Hide’: Vandemonian Convictism and Electoral Smear Campaigns in the 1850s

Chris Holdridge
University of Sydney

Hobart electors nearly appointed a former convict as their mayor in 1856. Granted his ticket of leave four years earlier, William Thompson was championed by emancipists but ridiculed by his opponent the wealthy lawyer T.D. Chapman. A hand-drawn cartoon appeared on the streets, depicting Thompson flogging his fellow convicts: ‘Backs of poor wretches were thy guide/ To govern man you tan’d his hide/ ... And thy name broke on voters’ ears/ Like grim thunder shedding tears.’ In what ways did status and a penal past circumscribe inclusion in the civic sphere upon the advent of Australian settler self-government? In this paper, I will contend that 1850s Vandemonian elections – contested during and after successful protest campaigns against convict transportation – drew parallels between convictism in the colonies and the symbolism of slave abolitionism employed in British elections. Slavery was invoked to expose purported state corruption as an affliction against individual liberties. Although historians have explored the impact of abolitionism on anti-transportation – notably Kirsty Reid’s Gender, Crime and Empire (2007) – early Vandemonian elections have largely escaped scrutiny. Through examining placards, squibs, cartoons, meetings at the hustings, and private correspondence, I will discuss the significance of insults and attacks on character in this period.
Environmental consciousness in John Watt Beattie’s foundational vision of Tasmanian nature

Jarrod Ray Hore

Macquarie University

At the turn of the twentieth century Australian nature had become increasingly bound up in the symbolism of a young nation. From the appropriation of native flora and fauna in national imagery to the declaration of National Parks, the hostile foundations of nineteenth century settler orientations to the environment were being challenged by new modes of interaction with the antipodean landscape. This paper explores a symbiotic relationship between disaster and foundation in colonial Tasmania by charting a history of an alternative environmental consciousness that grew in response to the depredations of exploitation and degradation. This development is best illustrated in the work of Tasmania’s most significant photographer, John Watt Beattie (1859-1930). The trends and values embodied in Beattie’s photography — those of Tasmanian history, sentimental attachment to local scenery, and romanticism — communicated an orientation to nature based on sympathy, wonder and respect. By identifying how Beattie played upon the anxieties of his Tasmanian audiences, performed his role as a photographer-explorer and reproduced discourses of romanticism, this paper will explore the archaeology of a foundational environmental consciousness in turn-of-the-century Tasmania.

World War One: the founding of an Aboriginal tradition?

Jessica Horton,
PhD candidate, La Trobe University

To what other narratives does the history of Aboriginal service in the First World War contribute other than that of the expansive Anzac myth? Where Aboriginal men in the ‘Great War’ Australian or British patriots, or where they, in fact, Aboriginal patriots? Whose freedom where they fighting for? Aboriginal service in the First World War may have established a tradition of Aboriginal participation in the Australian military and provided a foundation upon which Aboriginal people could make claims to the rights of soldiers and veterans, and family members of such, but in another sense, it was a manifestation of an already well-established tradition. Since the earliest colonial encounters, Aboriginal people had sought to gain purchase on the rights of British subjecthood through seeking inclusion in European cultural institutions. Rather than an expression of the desire for assimilation, however, records from the Lake Condah Aboriginal reserve in the Victorian Western District suggest that Aboriginal enlistment in the Great War was, in some instances at least, an opportunity to articulate a proud Aboriginal identity and to proclaim the strengths and rights of Indigenous communities.

Straight from bush to beach: exploring the ambivalence towards the coast and sea in NSW art and narrative 1788-1915.

Dr Ian Hoskins
North Sydney Historian

The lack of attention accorded Australian coastal or maritime history, relative to studies of the interior, has been remarked upon several times since John Bach’s Maritime History of Australia in 1976. Insightful though they are, the many historical studies of our beach culture that followed Geoffrey Dutton’s 1986 Sun, Sea, Surf and Sand have not filled the greater void. There is consequently a sense in which white Australians, at least, stepped straight from the bush onto the beach.

My own research on the NSW coast has suggested that the apparent lack of historical interest in themes coastal or maritime reflects the ambivalent treatment of such subjects in the writing and art of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The absence of fisherfolk, for instance, is remarkable. Clearly, however, people developed relationships with the coast and the sea during this time. The NSW coast was, at very least, an essential highway for communication and transport in the absence of road and rail. This paper explores pictorial and textual representations of coastal culture with a view to placing this maritime heritage in the context of the development of a national identity.
The Failure of District Councils: A Reflection on the Foundations of Political Understanding in Colonial NSW
Ben Hu
Australian National University

The 1842 Constitution Act, a significant piece of legislation in colonial New South Wales’ ongoing ambitions for self-government, included a section enabling the colonists to establish district councils, a form of local government with powers to collect revenue and participate in limited self-governance. When Governor Gipps tried to force the establishment of these councils two years later to help fund policing, the colonists bitterly refused. Very few of these councils were ever established. This paper will explore why the colonists so ardently opposed the establishment of such councils, framed in contrast to the revered importance of voluntary local assemblies in colonial America in the years before Independence, and of local parish vestries in England before the 1832 Reform Act. In the American and English cases, these provided an alternate form of participatory politics before the advent of mass representative democracy. The NSW colonists’ refusal to develop similar spaces of local political participation will be used to advance a perspective on the foundations of political understanding in colonial NSW, to explore Australia’s experience of a broader transformation in the concept of politics in the nineteenth-century Anglophone world and to ruminate on possible alternate foundations to the Australian political system.

British origins to Australian originality: the coming of age to Australian stained glass.
Bronwyn Hughes
University of Queensland

The foundations of Australia’s stained glass were firmly based on British models and drew heavily on the Gothic Revival of the nineteenth-century. This paper examines the first stained glass artists to immigrate to Australia, almost all of whom were English or Scottish-trained and who adapted to very different opportunities, clients and conditions. They passed-on old values, experience and skills to new generations of artists. It further demonstrates the way national and international social and aesthetic imperatives impacted on the art in the twentieth century.

This paper also focuses on three artists: William Montgomery (1850-1927); Christian Waller (1894-1954); and Mervyn Napier Waller (1893-1972). Arguing that Montgomery was a crucial element in the Waller’s decision to specialise in the complex and demanding medium of stained glass, it will show how all three created some of Australia’s most significant stained glass during times of economic change and social upheaval in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Different Paths to Disparate Ends: Dialectical and Contextual Histories of International Law
Ian Hunter
University of Queensland

There are presently two main ways of writing the history of international law. Dialectical histories deploy a series of dynamic philosophical oppositions — between facts and norms, instrumentalism and formalism, ‘apology and utopia’, ‘managerialism and idealism’ — in order to write accounts of international law in terms of the progressive realisation (and frustration) of supra-state legal norms in history. Contextual histories situate particular forms of international law — treaties, agreements, conventions, customs and ceremonies — within concrete diplomatic, military, religious, and political circumstances, describing their use in these circumstances in historical narratives that have no intrinsic moral direction. In briefly sketching the form and limits of these radically different historiographies it is useful to touch on their own histories. Drawing on Kantian philosophy, dialectical histories of international law first emerged in the context of late-nineteenth-century internationalism as a kind of ‘estate history’ for a cadre of cosmopolitan philosophical jurists. Grounded in Renaissance legal humanism, contextual histories of international law and jus gentium first emerged in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century treatises intended as political advice for territorial rulers and as textbooks for the training of their diplomats and jurists. Given the depth of historical difference between these rival historiographic subcultures, it might not be possible to provide a broadly agreeable account of them within a single domain of academic reason.
**Bush-bred v. town bred in the First A.I.F.**

**Garrie Hutchinson**  
PhD candidate, University of Melbourne

In 1927 Charles Bean wrote: ‘Besides the quality of the leader, there was one  main factor, and only one, that was responsible for any slight difference observable between Australian regiments. That factor was the difference between what we may roughly term the bush-bred and town-bred Australian’.

Bean believed that bush-bred soldiers, when well led, outperformed their city-bred mates. He associated the bush with many other aspects of what became in his writing the ANZAC stereotype – the democratic nature of Australian soldiers, their attitudes to authority, determination, mateship, innovation, and the leadership qualities that enabled men to enlist as privates and become officers. The ‘country man having been bred to a habit of decision, whereas the mind of the city man was more dependent on the wills of those about him’.

This paper will explore the development of Bean’s thinking about the ‘bush-bred’ and ‘town-bred’ Australians through his pre-war journalism, and test his propositions about leadership, democracy, education and innovation in the experience and performance of men of the 5th (Victorian) Battalion and officers of the 1st Division and 2nd Brigade, with whom he formed relationships as they sailed to war aboard the first convoy flagship, HMAT Orvieto.

**The role of ‘foundation stories’ in Islamic State narratives**

**Haroro J Ingram and Kiriloi M Ingram**  
Australian National University

‘Foundation stories’ play a crucial role in Islamic State (IS) narratives. In fact, the group draws on three historically distinct but narratively interwoven foundation stories in its messages. The first, and most important, is Islam’s foundation story centring on the Prophet Muhammad and the salafs (Islam’s first community of believers). IS also leverages an ‘organisational’ foundation story that focuses around the group’s founder – Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. Finally, IS narratives perpetuate a multifaceted ‘contemporary’ foundation story that highlights the ‘disasters’ of modern history (e.g. colonisation) as the context from which IS frames its members as the architects of a living historical narrative that will purge ‘true Muslims’ of their shameful ‘recent’ history and return them to past glories. These foundation stories provide a diverse array of historical figures and events, ideological precedence and powerful politico-military examples from which IS selectively draws. IS messaging leverages these ‘foundation stories’ through more than just its narratives but also its imagery and symbolism. This paper explores how IS strategically interweaves these three foundation stories into its messaging to legitimise its politico-military agenda, appeal to transnational communities of support and propagate a narrative designed to shape perceptions, polarise support and mobilise its members towards action.

**Gough Whitlam and the re-imagined citizen-subject of Australian social democracy**

**Carol Johnson** is a Professor  
University of Adelaide

In a number of speeches, Gough Whitlam suggested that his concept of ‘positive equality’ sought to avoid the constitutional roadblocks encountered during the Curtin and Chifley years by bypassing much of the need for extensive government regulation (or resorts to nationalisation) and instead substituting the strategic provision of key government community services. However, this paper suggests that Whitlam’s concept of ‘positive equality’ in fact involved a far more substantial transformation of the Australian Labor project. Whitlam was moving beyond traditional Labor conceptions of the citizen-subject as predominantly a white, male wage-earning head of household, with female dependents receiving citizenship entitlements largely at second-hand. Rather, he was re-imagining the citizen subject in a far more gender and racially inclusive way. Furthermore, it was not just that the worker was no longer predominantly perceived as being male or white. At the same time, the class subject of social democracy was also being re-envisioned via a focus on educational opportunity. In short, Whitlam was re-envisioning the Australian social democratic project.
Colonial foundations of Kumaon: George William Traill - Raja of Kumaon
Mark Jones
PhD candidate, Australian National University

Regional foundational narratives often take on forms quite at odds with those of the nation. For Kumaon, the little patch of the Himalaya tucked up where India, Nepal and Tibet all meet in a tangle of green hills, plunging valleys and icy peaks, the region’s foundational narrative is grounded in an alternative colonial experience.

In precolonial times, Kumaon was politically, economically and culturally quite distant and distinct from the civilizations and empires of North India. The region was never held by a plains empire, the economy was relatively self-contained and, with cultural practices such as group marriages common, Kumaon stood well outside both Hindu and Islamic orthodoxy.

The British captured Kumaon in 1815. Well aware that they had entered into a very different kind of space, they implemented an alternative imperial policy and put the affairs of the region into the relatively unfettered hands of a young man barely 21 years old — George William Traill. The legal and administrative order Traill developed was based closely of existing Kumaoni custom and practice and emphasised the regions distinction from the plains. Traill became known to all as the Raja of Kumaon; a foundation narrative that persists to the present.

Queer treatments: foundations of sexual reorientation therapy in Australia
Timothy W. Jones
La Trobe University
Kate Davison
PhD candidate, University of Melbourne

Scholarly work in the field of Australian LGBT history has done much to uncover the significant – and usually negative – role that psychiatric treatments for ‘sexual deviations’ have played in the lives of many LGBTI people in the second half of the twentieth century. Particular attention has been paid to the brief but intense period of confrontation between the new gay liberation movement and some of Australia’s leading proponents of sexual ‘aversion therapy’ and psychosurgery. Less attention has been paid to the foundations of various treatments within the Australian psychological and psychiatric professions, and to why behavioural conditioning became the dominant treatment in Australia. Knowledge about these treatments circulated internationally via published medical literature and transnational scientific contacts. In 1962 a recent Adelaide PhD graduate, Sid Lovibond, travelled to Europe where he visited the institute of Dr Kurt Freund, a Czechoslovakian psychiatrist. Freund was a pioneer in applying behavioural conditioning to the treatment of male homosexuality. Lovibond brought his knowledge of this new method home to collaborator and colleague, Neil McConaghy, who developed a program of behaviour modification targeting homosexuality, publishing results from the late 1960s in Australian and overseas journals, and presenting at the American Psychiatric Association conference. McConaghy became the major figurehead of sexual reorientation therapy in Australia, and the target of an equally transnational gay liberation activist effort to eradicate the treatment.

Solid foundations: Geological specimens on display at the 1854 Sydney Exhibition and their role in the representation of the colonial identity
Judith Jonker
PhD candidate, University of Western Sydney

Natural history specimens displayed at the 1854 Sydney Exhibition made up the overwhelming majority of exhibits. Timber from the northern and southern districts of the colony, collections of geological specimens, minerals and prized samples of gold, shown alongside stuffed birds and preserved snakes. The colony’s unique geology, flora and fauna dominated the organisers’ depiction of the colony intended for presentation to the world at the 1855 Paris Exposition. A duality of uniqueness and economic value, the precious natural resources in their view defined the colony’s new identity, but which had been associated with New South Wales from its formative days. Nature turned ‘upside down’, colonial natural history was far removed from the natural world of the northern hemisphere, attracting naturalists to the colony, while many of the natural history exhibits came directly from the collections of the Australian Museum. People associated with the geological exhibits included, Rev W Branwhite Clarke, Frederic Oderheimer, Samuel Stutchbury and James Norrie. This paper discusses the significance of the geological specimens to our understanding of the colony during a transformative period.
Vitamins and values: the foundations of Australian nutritional consciousness, 1936-1939
Andrew Junor
Monash University

Between 1936 and 1939, an Advisory Council on Nutrition investigated Australian dietary habits on behalf of the federal government. This nutritional research, inspired by similar studies in post-Depression Britain and Europe, sought to identify consumption patterns and incidence of malnutrition through the collection of household surveys. Although the Council’s work was regularly reported in the contemporary press, the study also inspired a wider debate about the efficacy and fairness of the prevailing food system. Various interest groups contested issues of Australian food in relation to class disparity, gender relations, national race health, economic wellbeing and military preparedness. This paper argues that the chief significance of this pioneering nutritional research lies not its patchy and problematic findings, but in its exposure of contemporary fault lines concerning the social and political meanings of food – and the question of who was ultimately responsible for Australians being adequately fed. The nutritional study had minimal impact on material conditions. However, it inspired discussions that contributed to a new sense of Australian culinary consciousness, prompting broader reflection on the nature of Australian food culture.

A forgotten diaspora?
Jo Kamira (Te Rarawa, Te Aupouri, Nga Puhui, Ngati Whakaue, Ngati Kanguru)
Parramatta City Council

Maori have been a feature of Australian life since the inception of the Colony, yet there is a paucity of in-depth research on our history, our narratives and our contribution to Australian History. Is it because of our unique position of being indigenous yet invaders in this country?

Or that we do not see ourselves as a specific diaspora? In this paper, I discuss the writings of my ancestor Maria Amina Maning. Maria was the daughter of Fredrick Maning, the first Judge of the Maori Land Court in New Zealand, the niece of Chief Hauraki of Te Hikutu and the granddaughter of the Vice Provost of Trinity College Dublin. In the 1850s, after the death of her mother, Maria was sent to Hobart to be brought up with her paternal grandparents. In this paper I compare Maria’s experience with Paul Hamer’s recent research on Maori in Australia and argue that our collective experiences transcend time. Ultimately, the question of identity – who we are and how we position ourselves as migrants here – will form our future in Te Whenua Moemoea.

Effie Karageorgos

Australian soldiers on the South African battlefield between 1899 and 1902 had little understanding of the formal workings of morale. An analysis of their available letters and diaries alongside studies of modern soldiers does, however, reveal some parallels between these men and soldiers of other wars throughout history, revealing that combat motivation did have some effect on willingness to fight, discipline and attitudes towards superiors. These personal records reveal that soldiers frequently misbehaved - by indulging in alcohol, fraternising with female Boers, refusing to fight or committing violence against superiors, and even deserting. Although such acts can be directly connected to a drop in morale, there is also evidence that a relationship exists between factors such as boredom or unfamiliarity with military life and misconduct, highlighting the need for further examination of this Australian combat experience. This paper presents a renewed perspective of Australians during the Anglo-Boer War and the links between their battlefield lives and ‘bad’ behaviour.

Science or Nature Study?: Formulating a New Curriculum for New South Wales Public Schools, 1901-1904.
Dorothy Kass
Macquarie University

Nature study was an important component of “The New Syllabus of Instruction 1904” and was introduced to schools with enthusiasm and support from educators, administrators, politicians, scientists, and naturalists. As part of a reformed curriculum, however, its formulation was not uncontested. Commissioners G H Knibbs, University lecturer, and J W Turner, headmaster, travelled to the United Kingdom, Europe, the United States and Canada in 1902 to observe and report on educational policy and practice. One area of interest was the teaching of science in
elementary schools. The Commissioners made six recommendations relating to the teaching of science in New South Wales primary schools. In this period, educators in New South Wales became increasingly interested in nature study, a subject with a distinctive definition and methodology. Influential publications from the United States soon made their way across the Pacific, a significant Nature-Study Exhibition and Conference was held in London in 1902 and Victoria, Western Australia and New Zealand included the subject in revised curricula. The discussion of Knibbs and Turner’s recommendations on science at the Educational Conference of April 1904 exhibited confusion. Were the participants talking about science or nature study?

**Twenty acres for the price of two drinks - Residential Leases: Accommodating Miners and their Families**  
**Terry Kass**  
Consulting Historian

Responses to the 1890s depression and its resulting widespread unemployment included experiments establishing co-operative village settlements, which all eventually failed. There was an alternative in NSW which gave the poor working man an opportunity to lease up to 20 acres of crown land in Gold or Mineral Fields, for a very modest rent. Mining families could exist on these leases, building their own home, growing fruit and vegetables coupled with some modest production of livestock. ‘Residential Leases’, as they were officially termed provided a refuge well into the twentieth century in a harsh world where unemployment or under-employment was common. Residential Leases have been totally ignored by historians. This paper alerts researchers to their role providing sustenance and stability for working class families.

**‘An Utter Absence of National Feeling’? Australian Women and the International Suffrage Movement, 1900–1914**  
**James Keating**  
PhD candidate at UNSW

As Clare Wright argued recently, Vida Goldstein’s 1902 tour of the United States was a foundational moment in Australian history. Within months of arriving she helped establish the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) and positioned Australia as a progressive beacon in the metropolitan imagination. Given Goldstein’s performance, and the unprecedented political freedom the Commonwealth Franchise Act afforded white Australian women, one might have expected they would occupy the centre of the emerging international suffrage movement. Yet, in the following decade, Australia drifted to its peripheries.

Drawing on new sources, this paper re-evaluates Australia’s place in the international suffrage movement between 1900 and 1914. It finds that, before World War I, Australian women attended international conferences in greater numbers than previously acknowledged. While they were enthusiastic travellers, Australian women struggled to build a national organisation, a failure that inhibited their participation in an international arena predicated on national representation. It also precipitated discussion on the question of nationality in women’s organisations, informing debates on the international status of women from Europe’s sub-national minorities. Focussing on the IWSA, this paper offers a fresh perspective on Australian women’s post-federation negotiation of old colonial loyalties and the new responsibilities of national and international citizenship.

**Waller and the emasculated ANZAC: shattering a foundational icon of Australian commemoration.**  
**Susan Kellett**  
PhD candidate, University of Queensland

In 1951, and with the windows of the Hall of Memory at the Australian War Memorial behind him, artist M. Napier Waller completed a scheme of commemorative stained glass for a church in Melbourne. This paper examines how, rather than conforming to the prevailing iconography of Australian war memorialisation, he quietly subverted it. For Waller, who had experienced and lost much to conflict, contrived imaginings of a square-jawed Anzac came at a price. Speaking of death and penitence rather than victory and valour, these windows also reveal that the legacy of war was often carried long after a man returned and by those whom he loved.
Deconstruction Reconstruction: civic identity during the conscription debates and soldiers’ memorial scheme 1916-1924
Megan Kelly
PhD candidate, Australian National University
The conscription debates of WWI, and the soldiers’ memorial movement, not usually considered in connection with each other, highlight basal characteristics of the versatile ‘social identity’ of individuals. Using Young, NSW, as a case study this paper explores how the conscription referendums and the town’s post-war memorial scheme elicited public debate around ideas, ideals and practices of community. Appeals to civic identity failed in campaigns for and against conscription, which adopted instead highly divisive rhetoric in an attempt to personalise the issue of duty and morality. In contrast, the Soldiers’ Memorial Scheme sought to commemorate the district as a whole and therefore worked, with varying degrees of success, to subsume subgroups once again into a single homogenous identity.

Exploring these different campaigns in a specific context reveals that ideals of community, and of individuals’ identities within it, were products of constant negotiation in response to enduring divisions, changing political circumstances, and the purposes to be served by conflict and consensus in mediating between them. As much as these campaigns reflected distinct historical moments, they also reflected the foundational structures of a functioning community.

I am a doctoral candidate in the School of History at the Australian National University. In an attempt to understand community, my thesis uses Young, NSW, as a case study to investigate what constituted a sense of community and civic identity in the town from WWI through to the 1950s.

Aboriginal Camps: the foundation of our towns, suburbs and parks? Evidence from South-eastern Queensland
Ray Kerkhove
Independent Consultant
Aboriginal camps are usually considered peripheral, shifting entities. More recent camps are even called ‘fringe camps’ on the assumption that they arose in response to the allure of white settlement (see Fisher 1992:73; Hunter 1991; Reynolds 2013:118).

However, there is increasing evidence that Aboriginal camping grounds were continually re-used (Smith 2001). Many ‘fringe’ camps in and around Brisbane pre-dated white settlement and remained on the same sites well into the late 19th century – and sometimes as late as the 1940s (Kerkhove 2014).

The current paper compares the history of Aboriginal camps and urban development in Brisbane and some of its outliers. The author argues that in many cases, ‘first’ (white) settlements were founded on the fringes of – and in direct relationship with – important Aboriginal encampments.

In other words, it is contested that Aboriginal camps founded much of the urban-rural landscape of south-east Queensland – shaping the history, naming, open spaces and travel routes of white settlements. The author will in particular consider the histories of Redcliffe, Breakfast Creek, North Brisbane, South Brisbane, Wynnum, Sandgate, Capalaba, Nundah, Nambour, and Bli Bli.

Commercialising Mythology: The Foundations of Cosmetic Advertising in Britain, 1850-1899
Samantha Khaw
PhD Candidate, Australian National University
Those wishing to lend authority to an idea often turn to classical mythology in an attempt to persuade. British Victorian consumer society was undoubtedly familiar with this form of rhetoric, which took on new significance as manufacturers of the period sought to rationalise and normalise mass consumption in the wake of changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution. Some entrepreneurs were keen to present their company and/or goods as part of a long and glorious tradition, encouraging customers through promotional tactics to see their products as stable and respectable. This is evident in the hitherto undereexplored advertising of cosmetic products in the mid- to late nineteenth century British popular press. Beauty culture and ‘making up’ remained contentious subjects of debate surrounding morality, femininity, and respectability in Victorian society; nevertheless, large numbers of women participated in beauty practices. This paper explores a range of classical references and allusions found in the text and images of nineteenth century advertisements for cosmetic unguents, powders, and paints. At its core, it seeks to understand the ways in which socially liminal products were marketed in the
period as part of the negotiation of obstacles and objections that contributed to the foundation of a global beauty industry.

Is knowledge redundant?
Paul Kiem
History Teachers’ Association of NSW

In an age when we are told that ‘kids have access to all the knowledge they need in their back pocket’, should history teaching be based around skills and concepts rather than knowledge? While most effective history teachers will accept the need for balance, some of the rhetoric suggests that progressive history educators should be emphasising skills and concepts over knowledge. This paper will argue that this is an area of vital concern that deserves much closer examination before particular approaches are privileged. Not only are knowledge, and the various sub-skills inherent in dealing with it, important to all aspects of the understanding and practice of history, but any attempt to devalue knowledge runs the risk of stripping the discipline of some of its most engaging elements. This concern is particularly relevant when viewed in the context of what can happen when well-intentioned curriculum emphases are poorly translated into teaching resources and classroom practice.

For Australia and Empire: The 1934 Australian Eastern Mission
Michael Kilmister
PhD candidate and sessional academic at the University of Newcastle

In the Asian Century, Australia’s diplomatic engagement with Asia is a normal state of affairs. In 1934 however, diplomacy with Asian nations was ground-breaking. That year, the Australian Eastern Mission (AEM) toured Japan, China and other countries in East and South-East Asia in the interests of fostering friendly relations. As Australia’s first mission of a diplomatic character to Asia, it is described in the historiography as a foundational step towards an independent foreign policy. This position overlooks the AEM’s Britishness. Although conceived by the Lyons Government and led by the Minister for External Affairs Sir John Latham (1877-1964), the Mission’s planning and execution was not an all-Australian affair. One of its features was close coordination with British authorities. Apart from frequent chaperoning by British diplomatic staff, Latham’s activities were closely observed by Foreign Office officials. Using governmental documents, newspaper articles and the personal manuscripts of Australians involved in the Mission, I argue the AEM did not represent a pivot away from Empire in the eyes of most Australian and British observers at the time. Rather, it was applauded by diplomatic circles in Canberra and London for its service to both Australian and imperial interests.

Beacon of Hope: The Foundations of Human Rights in Botswana
James Christian Kirby
PhD candidate, La Trobe University

After independence in 1966, Botswana established a predominant international image as a prosperous non-racial democracy, surrounded by the white minority regimes of Rhodesia and apartheid South Africa. The country appealed to Western notions of human rights, emphasising democratic freedoms and individual protections. Both geographically and economically vulnerable in Southern Africa, the symbolic worth of Botswana’s contribution to human rights was successfully advocated on a global stage in order to attract external aid and strategic support. This popular narrative of Botswana, however, tends to overshadow the wide demands before independence for economic and social rights. The voices for democratic freedoms were initially submerged by a concern, held by a vast majority of the population, for greater equality in their standard of living and social services. Likewise, the call for individualist freedoms was challenged by a broad appeal for communalist rights, including the nationalisation of white property. The process of building Botswana’s foundations as a non-racial democracy was a far more contested process than has so far been appreciated in both the prominent foundational narratives and the historiography. The resources to be used for this talk include those found in the Botswana National Archives and the National Archives of the UK.
Salient Stories: Towards a 21st Century Urban Indigenous Australian Foundational History

Graeme La Macchia
PhD candidate, Australian Catholic University

Across early 21st Century Australia in textbooks and well-worn documentaries, the late 1700s and 1800s still take pride of place. First there are the ‘benchmark years’ 1770 and 1788, then 1854 and of course 1901 – the year of Federation. In particular, we are informed that April 1915 saw Australia’s ‘coming of age’. Today many are coming to question this national narrative with renewed vigour.

What of the last half century? For urban Indigenous people and their communities, the second half of the 20th Century was an Age of Resurgence – the dawning of a new and dynamic era. The Tent Embassy, Mabo and the emergence of a university-educated generation shaped a distinct and volatile new urban Indigenous reality.

This is a resonant foundational history and one in which Indigenous Australians have been major players. Yet colonial history continues to dominate the Aboriginal dimension of Australia’s national narrative. Frequently, the Salient Stories of the 1970s – 1990s are treated as ‘sideshow’ in a saga of Indigenous displacement, oppression and under-achievement. Instead, the late 20th Century Aboriginal Renaissance demands painstaking and comprehensive re-examination and re-instatement.

‘The Mongolian Candidate’: James Chiam’s 1861 Election to the Maryborough Municipal Council

Howard Le Couteur
Independent Historian

New South Wales legislation of 1858 provided for the establishment of municipal government (incorporation) for towns petitioning for the privilege. After the separation of Queensland from New South Wales in 1859 towns such as Brisbane, Toowoomba, Ipswich and Maryborough followed that path. Maryborough was incorporated amidst local controversy in 1861, and the foundational council elected in May of that year. In October James Chiam, a Chinese settler, was elected at a council by-election with a landslide result. This paper explores the circumstances surrounding his election. It would be easy to see Chiam’s election as a racist political ploy as part of a factional fight amongst townspeople, and to view it from the perspective of the “British settler”. Recent historiography has highlighted the importance of Chinese language sources to get a better understanding of how Chinese viewed themselves as colonial settlers. In this case there are no manuscript sources; the only sources being contemporary (English-language) newspaper reports. However, close reading of newspapers does give us some insight into Chiam’s motivations and his self-understanding as a colonial settler and helps us recognise Chinese agency in local politics.

What can historians learn from cemeteries and gravestones?

Samantha Leah
Historian and Heritage Consultant with NGHenvironmental

Cemeteries and gravestones have been used as an information source by family historians for some time. They can be useful for providing information about family connections, name changes and key dates. However, gravestones can be interpreted to provide a deeper understanding into the lives of those commemorated in stone.

This paper will use the Wagga Wagga Monumental Cemetery as a case study into the type of information that can be collected from cemeteries, and the ways in which it can be interpreted. It will examine three graves from different dominations as case studies. In particular, this paper will look at:

- interpreting symbolism
- the meaning of monument style and design
- the relevance of scripture and religious script
- uses for inscriptions beyond names, dates and places

Samantha Leah is a Historian and Heritage Consultant with NGHenvironmental, based in Wagga Wagga. Most of her work is for State and Local government agencies. She has a particular interest in the building blocks of everyday life, such as roads, bridges, the railway and death, and how these aspects of life shaped the past.
‘Buying Back the Farm’: the Whitlam Government and the Attempted Australianisation of Mining

David Lee
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

In the period from 1960 to 1972, foreign capital became prominent in the mining of iron ore and black coal and in the aluminium industry. As federal Opposition, the Australian Labor Party promised to promote Australian ownership of Australia’s mineral resources - known as ‘buying back the farm’. Whitlam’s Minister for Minerals and Energy, R.F.X. Connor, formulated Australian equity guidelines for new projects, revamped the Australian Industry Development Corporation, to marshal risk capital for Australian companies, and tried to establish a Petroleum and Minerals Authority (PMA) as the main vehicle of the government’s Australianisation policy. The paper will examine, in particular, the government’s policies for an Australian-owned uranium industry and proposals for the Australianisation of Conzinc Riotinto of Australia (CRA). Despite the strong opposition to Whitlam’s policies from the Liberal-National Party Opposition, the States and parts of industry and the successful constitutional challenge against the PMA, the Whitlam government’s programme met with some success, and much of it survived the defeat of the Whitlam government in 1975.

Mapping urban heritage: Whitlam’s National Estate and the Australian City

James P. Lesh
PhD candidate, University of Melbourne

When in 1969, Gough Whitlam declared, ‘[The Australian Government] should see itself as the curator and not the liquidator of the national estate’, he was not invoking the Australian city. The National Estate never incorporated urban heritage neither in Australia nor in the United Kingdom or United States. That was until 1973, when Prime Minister Whitlam and ‘Minister for Cities’ Tom Uren launched the Inquiry into the National Estate. This moment has been understood as a watershed; celebrated as part of a sequence of events that led to the emergence of the Australian heritage field.

Yet the National Estate moment also produced challenges especially for urban heritage. A distinguishably Australian approach to heritage, the National Estate was democratic, expansive and hybrid. It represented a fleeting federal intervention into the Australian city. By 1975, however, even Whitlam had dismissed the National Estate, opting instead for an Australian Heritage Commission. This paper argues that as discursive formation, the National Estate had not engendered an articulate or even cohesive heritage vision for the Australian city. In having laid the grounding contours for the Australian heritage field, however, the National Estate posed challenges for Australian urban heritage.

Comparing foundational histories of Anzac Day in Australia and New Zealand

Rowan Light
PhD candidate, University of Sydney

My presentation is a transnational study of Anzac Day over the last fifty years, comparing Australian and New Zealand remembrance of the Gallipoli campaign.

The centenary of Gallipoli in 2015 is a reminder of Anzac Day’s centrality in Australian and New Zealand national discourse. However, despite copious popular writing and some academic scholarship on the Anzac myth, the history of Anzac Day remains largely unwritten.

How has Anzac Day changed over the last half-century, and how has it come to hold such an important place in our public discourse? How have alternative foundational narratives – in the context of Maori and Indigenous Australian cultural and political renaissance - and the collapse of contingent narratives, mainly the economic and racial hegemony of the British Empire, influenced or fragmented the Anzac narrative? These questions, unanswered in New Zealand and Australian historiography, are central to my research.

Through an analysis of public and political discussion around the ‘meaning’ and ‘tradition’ of Anzac Day, in print, radio, and television media, as well as in local, national, and international ritual of Gallipoli commemoration, we can consider how the fluid and hybrid ‘spirit of Anzac’ changes and adapts to suit contemporary politics and the discourse of citizenship: Anzac Day as a site of continuity and conflict.
Children’s classic or child’s danger? Enid Blyton in 1940s and 50s Australia
Bronwyn Lowe
University of Melbourne

In 1940s and 50s Australia, and across the Western world, Enid Blyton’s books for children enjoyed wide success. Blyton’s books have since sold over 600 million copies worldwide. Currently regarded by many as classics of children’s literature, Blyton’s books at the time were not so well regarded. Enid Blyton was one of the few contemporary authors of this period to be read in large numbers, to the consternation of many parents who worried that the ‘books’ simple language and themes would prevent girls from progressing to more challenging material. Members of the Australian media decreed the books as unworthy of merit; despite their intense popularity they were left off many published book lists. Yet there is evidence to suggest that parental consternation, and efforts to suppress the books’ popularity in the media, was unnecessary. In the autobiographies and memoirs of women growing up in this time, Blyton’s books were of course mentioned, but they were not seen as important or invasive to girls’ lives.

This paper will address the foundations of the wide consternation that Blyton’s books received at the time, their status in women’s autobiographies and memoirs, and the foundation of their status as children’s classics today.

Mobility, intimacy and Chinese Australian families in Shanghai, 1920–1990
Sophie Loy-Wilson
University of Sydney

In the first half of the twentieth century, a significant number of mixed-race Chinese Australian families made use of established imperial networks to move their families and businesses from Sydney to Hong Kong and eventually, to Shanghai. There they formed a unique community that travelled frequently between Australia and China up until the 1950s when “frontiers slammed shut” after the Chinese Communist Party banned emigration and imposed strict entry/exit controls on the movement of people and capital; some families would not be reunited until the relaxation of these restrictions in the 1970s. This moment of rapture caused a flurry of correspondence between families, Australian and British government officials and international agencies such as the Red Cross on the topic of regulating Chinese Australian mobility and intimacy. Correspondence written at this time, and reflecting back on decades of movement and inter-racial marriage, shows how Chinese Australian families shaped and were shaped by the interdependence of capital, mobility and intimacy in a number of overlapping imperial networks. This correspondence also reveals that thinking through the ‘Chinese Australian problem’ in the 1940s and 1950s influenced Australian government policies towards decolonizing Asia at the tail end of the British Empire.

‘Chimneys are chalk marked NO’: Soldiers and the World War I Conscription Referenda
Rebecca Lush
Masters candidate, University of Sydney

The World War I conscription plebiscites in 1916 and 1917 were incredibly divisive, causing a clear split in the fabric of Australian society. There were a range of individuals, groups and regions that held staunch beliefs regarding the conscription verdict and adamantly argued their position. Each State and Territory saw a spectrum of opinion emerge as the debates intensified. One particular group of individuals that has been largely marginalized from the conscription debates is the soldiers.

My conference presentation would explore between five and six letters/journal entries of some of the soldiers. This would cover not only the theme of war history but also that of intimate history, unveiling the soldiers and the reasons behind their conscription votes. The letters/diaries provide an insight into soldiers’ experiences and beliefs about the war. Similar to the home front, soldiers’ opinions were divided on the issue of conscription, however, the motives behind their personal stance were influenced by the actuality of war and not just by their personal background and values. Soldiers’ letters and diaries are important to examine as they allow for an alternative dialogue about the conscription debates to be explored.
‘Christian Heroes? John Gribble, Exeter Hall and anti-slavery on Western Australia’s frontier’.  
Jane Lydon  
University of Western Australia

In this paper I explore the 1885-1886 clash between missionary John Brown Gribble and Western Australian white colonists over the ill-treatment of Aboriginal people, in the light of Gribble’s immersion in evangelical culture and especially a tradition of muscular Christianity and anti-slavery. I briefly trace Gribble’s family and religious background and personal ties to this genre before examining his 1884 pilgrimage to London, when he met with key figures in Britain’s anti-slavery and evangelical network and paid homage to Christian heroes such as David Livingstone. I examine Gribble’s time in West Australia in relation to the political and legal events leading up to Western Australia’s 1889 Constitution. I argue that Gribble’s perspective was shaped by a missionary literary tradition fortified by his personal reception within London’s humanitarian milieu. I suggest that historians have tended to uncritically reproduce Gribble’s own self-consciously martyred persona with the effect of over-emphasizing his singularity and individual impact.

Chinese joss houses in the 19th century diaspora - hubs of transnational communal identity  
Paul Macgregor  
Historian

Wherever Chinese migrated to in the 19th century, joss houses, or temples, were established as key centres of communal activity and culture maintenance. Often regarded by Western observers as purely religious institutions, this paper will argue that they usually served a wide range of secular purposes as well as sacred ones. This paper will survey joss houses and temples in Australasia, Southeast Asia, North America, Hong Kong and Guangdong, and explore how the concepts of the village temple and clan hall in China were transformed to serve new purposes in a variety of overseas and translocal contexts. Most commonly, Chinese overseas organised themselves according to either alliances of district-of-origin in China, sworn brotherhoods with political goals, clan surname or commonality of profession. These organisations became major political, economic and social institutions in colonial environments. The halls they built in ports, mining towns and agricultural regions, while including altars, shrines and statues of gods, also served as meeting facilities, orientation centres, court houses and welfare hubs. They were often designed on a grand scale, embedding Chinese cultural identity with decor and furnishings rich with symbolic and affective power; keepers of the cultural flame, yet also nodes of transnational transformation.

‘Allegations of Indigenous slavery in the north Australian colonial pearlshell industry’  
Julia Martinez  
University of Wollongong

Since its inception in the 1860s the Australian pearlshell industry has been the subject of numerous reports and commissions seeking to address the problems of alleged slavery in the industry. Henry Reynolds wrote in This Whispering in our Hearts of the 1880s humanitarians who struggled to bring about change in Western Australia. In this paper I focus on the 1870s when the Western Australian and Queensland colonial governments took steps to try to protect Indigenous peoples. The notion that slavery was being allowed under British rule was already drawing outraged criticism in newspaper articles in the Australian press. As the South Australians took control of the Northern Territory they too were drawn into the debate, protesting that Port Essington peoples were being kidnapped by pearl masters. Catherine Hall reminds us that historians of anti-slavery should aim to place the slaves at the centre of the story. In this paper I attempt to trace not only the words and actions of the white humanitarians of this period, but also to consider the extent to which they were inspired by the testimonies and acts of resistance by Aboriginal peoples in the industry.

Labor reconstructs: the 1940s and the 1970s  
Stuart Macintyre  
University of Melbourne

The post-war reconstruction project pursued by Curtin and Chifley and the reconstruction undertaken thirty years later by Whitlam were the two most ambitious exercises in economic and social reform undertaken in this country. Both involved substantial reorientation of Labor policy and enlargement of the role of the national government. Both mobilised popular support and both had their legitimacy challenged. In both cases there was an attempt to reorient
foreign policy, to reduce economic and strategic dependence in order to play a more constructive role in regional and global forums – but both were hampered by vulnerability to world economic conditions and international conflict. Post-war reconstruction had its origins in the failure of the inter-war economic order, and it initiated a period of growth, full employment and rising living standards. Whitlam took up the reform project as that long boom was ending. A number of the participants (including H.C. Coombs and F.H. Wheeler) spanned the two periods, and many of those involved the reform project of the 1970s (including Whitlam) have testified to the formative influence of post-war reconstruction. This paper will explore the goals and methods of the two endeavours with particular emphasis on ideology, leadership, implementation and contestation.

Rights and Belonging: History of Deaf Education in NSW since the 1960s
Naomi Malone
PhD Candidate, University of Technology, Sydney

This abstract aims to uncover a new past by exploring the educational experiences of people who are deaf and hearing-impaired in New South Wales, Australia since the 1960s. From the 1960s, education for deaf and hearing-impaired students underwent significant changes due to technological advances including hearing aids and cochlear implants, which paved the way for auditory-verbal therapy, introducing speech reading and listening with residual hearing. This strongly influenced the mode of communication – sign or speech – to be chosen for deaf and hearing-impaired people. Previously, education had been provided through sign language. Further educational technologies also advanced the way for oral education such as the FM system and live captioning in the classroom. These changes triggered tensions for the students in terms of belonging – with the signing Deaf community or with the hearing world? The changes were also accompanied by disability discrimination legislation in 1992 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in 2008. This paper will analyse the students’ educational experiences particularly their right to a quality education delivered in their preferred communication mode – whether sign or speech.

‘Stranger In My Country’: Sweet country music and dark tourism
Toby Martin
New York University, Sydney

Vic Simms: 1960s child pop star, first Aboriginal man on television, writer and singer of the finest soul-country protest record ever made in Australia. Today, Uncle Vic takes tourists around his homeland of La Perouse, showing them not only bush tucker, but also the street that marked ‘no man’s land for Aboriginal people’ during the mission days. Roger Knox: the Koori King of Country, golden guitar award winner, possessor of a honeyed bear-hug of a voice. Today Uncle Roger is involved in the annual memorial ceremonies at Myall Creek and performs a song that remembers the 1838 massacre. Both these men, after decades of pointing out injustices through their music, are now turning to the potentials of tourism to educate non-Aboriginal people.

John Lennon and Malcolm Foley describe ‘dark tourism’ as a desire to gaze upon the problematic aspects of modernity (or colonialism). Within this context, ex-concentration camps and the remains of the Berlin Wall are common destinations during a trip to central Europe. Yet in Australia, visits to sites with troubled pasts are more often presented as an opportunity for ‘reconciliation’. What are the connections between country music, Aboriginal history and tourism? This paper will attempt some explanations.

Allegations of Indigenous slavery in the north Australian colonial pearshell industry
Julia Martinez
University of Wollongong

Since its inception in the 1860s the Australian pearshell industry has been the subject of numerous reports and commissions seeking to address the problems of alleged slavery in the industry. Henry Reynolds wrote in This Whispering in our Hearts of the 1880s humanitarians who struggled to bring about change in Western Australia. In this paper I focus on the 1870s when the Western Australian and Queensland colonial governments took steps to try to protect Indigenous peoples. The notion that slavery was being allowed under British rule was already drawing outrage criticism in newspaper articles in the Australian press. As the South Australians took control of the Northern Territory they too were drawn into the debate, protesting that Port Essington peoples were being kidnapped by pearling masters. Catherine Hall reminds us that historians of anti-slavery should aim to place the slaves at the centre of the story. In this paper I attempt to trace not only the words and actions of
the white humanitarians of this period, but also to consider the extent to which they were inspired by the testimonies and acts of resistance by Aboriginal peoples in the industry.

Before 1975: Australian responses to Portuguese decolonisation in Asia, 1955-1975
Robert Mason
University of Southern Queensland

This paper provides new context to understand Australia's responses to Timorese independence and Indonesian invasion. It does so by looking at Australian attitudes to Portuguese decolonisation throughout Asia in the decades following the end of the Second World War. Previous analyses of the Timorese-Australian relationship have focussed on the immediate events surrounding independence and invasion.

This paper explores the diplomacy and accumulation of knowledge within the Australian government about Portuguese decolonisation. It draws on previously unaccessed files from the National Archives of Australia, that detail Australia's long-standing engagement with Portuguese decolonisation in Goa, Macau, Timor and, to a lesser extent, Africa. It reveals the tension in Australian responses to events in Timor, as Australia sought to distance itself from allies such as South Africa and Portugal in the Asia-Pacific and the United Nations. It reveals new ways to understand the Australian government response as it sought to reposition itself as an Asia-Pacific nation.

The New Catechetics of Australia's 1960s
Katharine
University of Divinity, Australia

In 1964 a 'new look' series of six textbooks outclassed as well as replaced the small 'penny catechism' in Australian Catholic primary schools. The My Way to God books presented the foundational stories of Christian faith with colour illustrations, a wide-format text, and lesson plans that encouraged reflection on experience. Written by a team of teachers, mostly women in religious communities, the books were informed by long discussion of the "new catechetics" as the professional concerns of primary teachers spilled over into convent recreation. As Sister Josephine O'Donnell PBVM, author of Book Two, reflected: "what we had to do was change our view of life ...[from one where] everything whole was "up there" and everything dangerous was "down here"...[to] the sacramental view of God contained within the whole of life.' In the vanguard of the 'new catechetics', My Way to God opened the way to further revisions of the religious education curriculum.

This paper explores the significance of the change of teaching methods represented by the new books. It argues that the often bitter debate about the validity of the 'new catechetics' in Catholic parishes centred on competing understandings of the core narrative of faith.

Utilitarianism and Australia as the Christian Country Foundation Myth
Josip Matesic
PhD candidate, University of Wollongong.

It is often claimed by politicians that Australia is a Christian country or society with a Christian history. This claim is thought to demonstrate a foundation myth about post-1788 Australia: that it is Christian in orientation. My thesis argues that this claim of Christianity is superficial. Australian institutions may have been Christian or heavily influenced by Christianity from very early on and these institutions may have in turn had a large influence on society, but the twentieth century saw several significant social examples where Christian beliefs and practices were jettisoned for practical purposes. The presentation shows the results of my thesis research a few months before submitting. My findings demonstrate that Christian beliefs and practices concerning death, Sunday observance and divorce were replaced by utilitarian considerations when the respective bills were debated by parliamentarians. This undermines the foundation myth that Australia was a Christian country since if it was, these traditional Christian practices should have continued. The utilitarian reasons primarily concerned health, entertainment and welfare provisions. The presentation examines the major points of debate in the three thesis case studies and shows that the Christian foundation myth if it did exist, ceased in practical legislative terms in the twentieth century.
'Shelter from the Storm': Safe Houses and Underground Draft Resistance 1971-1972
Michael Matteson
PhD candidate, University of Wollongong

As Australian troops were withdrawn from Vietnam, opposition to conscription continued. This included draft resisters’ public refusal to register or obey a call-up notice. Depending on changes in the National Service Act this meant either 2 years or 18 months imprisonment. Underground draft resistance developed in the early 70s as draft resisters took up the idea of underground resistance either as an alternative to, or as a way of promoting, mass jailing of resisters. People, often with little previous political involvement, provided safe houses and transportation. Aware of the risk of prosecution, they helped in the organization of the network of support groups that developed over this period. Using a mixture of oral history and social movement approaches this paper examines how (some) of these people became involved, what they did, why they did it, and whether the process of long term involvement in small group decision-making had any effect on their later political ideology or action.

National Uniforms and the Democratization of Nationalism
Alexander Maxwell
Victoria University in Wellington, New Zealand

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, patriots from several European countries, inspired by the long tradition of sumptuary laws, proposed mandatory uniforms which all citizens would be compelled to wear in their daily lives. One can trace European political imaginations by examining how such uniforms were ostensibly to be designed and imposed. Eighteenth century reformers took for granted that the monarch would impose the uniform: civil society was to acclaim or at most petition princely authority. During the French Revolution (and associated upheavals from the Age of Revolutions), elite patriots imagined themselves designing or imposing the uniform through various complicated mechanisms of representation. By the nineteenth century, however, patriots looked to the peasantry for sartorial inspiration. The imagined locus of sartorial sovereignty thus fell down the social scale from monarch to peasant in less than a century.

‘Who is my neighbour?’ urbanism and the uncanny foundations of Australia
Andrew J. May
University of Melbourne

Sentimental Australian nationalism idealises the bushman or the digger as the quintessential national type. This paper seeks to assert the cultural place of neighbouring as a determinant of Australian character and of distinctly Australian forms of public sociability. Bypassing the hackneyed city/bush dichotomy, or the cultural demonisation of suburbia, it argues instead that the ways in which neighbourliness has been imagined, experienced, promoted and governed— in other words, the way that citizens and strangers get along— have both been transformed by and are transformative of notions of national character. The ways citizens and strangers interact in public are influenced by locale, inflected by the spatial design and dimensions of cities and suburbs, and tempered by gender, race and class. But is there a possibility that the historically negotiated protocols of everyday neighbourliness have played a more significant role in shaping something distinctly Australian in temper than have broad claims about egalitarianism, mateship and inclusiveness forged in heightened historical moments? In particular, there may be an argument that local government has played a key role in promulgating conceptions of what it means to be a good/bad neighbour, and thus moulding the intergroup relations of its citizenry.

This Modern Love: Sex, Love, and History in Historical Romance
Jodi McAllister
Popular Culture Association of Australia and New Zealand

Since the publication of Kathleen Woodiwiss’ The Flame and the Flower in 1972, erotic historicals have been one of the most popular sub-genres of the romance novels. The historical setting is key to the construction of the romance: historical heroines often find themselves bound by more restrictive social rules than their contemporary sisters, particularly when it comes to appropriate female sexual behaviour.
So what is the effect of this portrayal of a repressive society (a la Foucault)? Historical heroines regularly break the rules of their societies, but I contend that they regularly follow dominant contemporary scripts for romance, particularly when it comes to the relationship between love and sex, and that this is something we can see evolve over the genre’s history. The picture of romantic love offered by the historical romance is distinctly modern, despite the effort authors make to ensure their novels are historically accurate.

This paper will discuss the way the historical romance portrays romantic love as transhistorical and universal, and how the portrayal of love and sex has evolved as the genre has developed. By exploring the way several heroines of historical romance “do” love and sex, I will explore the role played by anachronism and attempt to elucidate the appeal of modern love in period dress.

**Loyal addresses, the first global British royal tour and colonial Australian civic culture, 1867-8**

Cindy McCreery  
University of Sydney

In 1867-8 Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha and the second son of Queen Victoria, spent five-and-a-half months touring the Australian colonies as part of the first global tour by a member of the British royal family. Alfred’s presence, and in particular the attempt on his life in Sydney in March 1868, provided a unique opportunity for residents to present him with ‘loyal addresses’. While all addresses expressed loyalty to the Prince and the British Crown, some also expressed delight in Alfred’s German heritage or his career in the Royal Navy.

Addresses varied enormously in appearance, from humble letters scrawled on cheap stationery to pompous treatises beautifully illuminated on vellum. This variation accorded with the diversity and ambition of their authors. A wide range of civic groups, based in small rural communities as well as in large cities, employed loyal addresses to assert their position within colonial society. Far from representing a homogenous ‘British’ or even ‘Australian’ voice, loyal addresses reflected a wide range of ethnic, national, religious and even class identities. From ‘The Chinese Residents of Victoria’ and ‘The German settlers of South Australia’ to ‘The Ancient Order of Foresters of Echuca’ and ‘The residents and miners on the Sofala gold fields’, these addresses constitute an important if neglected source for our understanding of contemporary civic culture.

**American Founding Myths: War Stories and the American Revolution**

Michael A. McDonnell  
University of Sydney

In his best-selling book, *1776*, David McCullough wrote that when a young John Greenwood heard news of the bloodshed at Lexington and Concord, he walked 150 miles to join the patriot forces, telling astonished listeners he was “going to fight for my country.” Yet Greenwood, even in his memoir written years later, could not gloss the reality so easily. He wrote that when the war started, he was serving an apprenticeship far from his family in Boston. He slipped away in the confusion, “to see my parents.” Only when Greenwood could not reach them did he enlist in the army - because he found himself alone and hungry. He stayed only long enough to be reunited with his family.

That McCullough could misread Greenwood’s memoir is testament to the power of a triumphantist narrative of the American Revolution as a founding moment. Such stories elide the social history of the period – especially the violence and trauma of the conflict and its legacy among the people who lived through it. This paper will explore alternate war stories told in Revolutionary memoirs and suggest we might more accurately frame this period as an American tragedy.

**More than a stroke of the eye: Transimperialisms at Atlantic and Indian Ocean ports of call between Britain and colonial Australia**

Julie McIntyre  
University of Newcastle

Foundation narratives of European Australia traditionally begin in England and leap deceptively through time and space to Botany Bay. As Emma Christopher noted, this effectively erases many months of sea travel from the historical record, which prompted her account of a convict’s experience of the “watery non-places” of oceanic transportation. Yet in-between the watery non-places that were in-between metropole and colony in the maritime
Discomfort at the Australian War Memorial: learning the difficult histories of war and conflict

Amy McKernan
PhD candidate, the University of Melbourne

Histories of Australian involvement in overseas conflict have become foundational to national identity, and are often a central concern in educating young Australians about their country’s past. Museums are an important part of this educative process, and the Australian War Memorial in particular plays a key role in constructing and educating about foundational histories of war and conflict. Increasingly, in response to criticism of glorified, simplified depictions of Australians’ involvement in war, curators at the AWM seek to present histories that engage with darker, more difficult histories of war, dealing with death, violence, and the aftermath of conflict with a view to confronting visitors with a complex, contested past.

This paper examines the role of the museum as a teaching space, exploring pedagogies and approaches used in the representation of these difficult histories. It asks where these histories fit in to the war stories that are foundational to Australian national identity. Are ‘difficult histories’ used to undermine or reinforce the myth of Anzac? And to what purpose do museums like the Australian War Memorial delve into histories that are likely to make visitors, and young learners, uncomfortable in the museum?

Remembering and forgetting 1974: Memories of a previous disaster in responses to the 2011 Brisbane Floods

Scott McKinnon
University of Western and University of Sydney

In January 2011, devastating floods struck large areas of Queensland, including the capital city of Brisbane. The floods were the largest to hit the flood-prone city since 1974. This paper looks at how memories of that earlier disaster were evoked during the impact and recovery phases of the 2011 event. Collective memories of the 1974 flood appeared in political and media narratives, attempting to build resilience through memories of successful recovery in the past. Some locals, however, felt betrayed by perceived political failures, falsely believing their city to have been largely flood-proofed in the intervening decades. The paper analyses memory narratives from a variety of sources – including media reports, political statements, and interviews with locals – in exploring ways in which collective memory of one disaster was enacted in complex and, at times, conflicting ways during a later disaster event.

Beyond the Intrepid Three: Aboriginal Intermediaries and Encounters on other Blue Mountains Expeditions

Annemarie McLaren
PhD candidate, the Australian National University

After myriad failed attempts, the Blue Mountains, 60 kilometres west of Sydney, were legendarily crossed in 1813 by three gentleman explorers. While this is well celebrated, what is less known are the circumstances surrounding the failed attempts or the plethora of expeditions that continued after this famous year. This paper takes one aspect of these expeditions: the presence of Aboriginal men as guides and intermediaries. I suggest that a closer examination of material and social exchange in relationships between explorers, their guides and those they encountered in the field can complicate assumptions about the intersection of race, class, power and knowledge when it came to colonial expeditions. They can also illustrate just how quickly Aboriginal people on the Cumberland Plain began to understand the changing socio-political terrain: we can catch glimpses of the re-configuration of their social networks as settlement spread West. By approaching colonial expeditions as a
specific cultural form and by appreciating the experiential and communal dimensions incidental to their goal, I argue that colonial lives of greater dynamism emerge from the exploratory accounts, newspapers and expeditionary images than previously imagined.

**Australian Dictionary of Biography articles from the foundations up**

Nicole McLennan
Australian Dictionary of Biography

Australian Dictionary of Biography article is typically thought of as a rich fact-filled biographical account, economically written, and retaining a recognizably consistent style. The best articles will capture their biographical subject’s appearance, personality and significance, as well as telling one hell of a story.

Yet what sources underpin ADB articles? How does one distill a life whose traces might have left behind an archive comprising hundreds of boxes of material into an entry no longer than a newspaper op-ed piece? Conversely, where such a documentary record has not survived or never existed, how might one produce a biography that does justice to its subject? This paper will survey the nature of the records used by authors and ADB research editors to compile biographical articles. It will discuss those primary and secondary sources that make up the foundation of most biographies, and explore changes in the documentary record underpinning ADB articles over time. How have the family history and digital revolutions influenced ADB entries? What challenges arise in researching the lives of subjects who lived in the recent past?

**Carved in Granite: re-examining the four pillars of the Kokoda Campaign (Courage, Endurance, Mateship, Sacrifice) through the lens of the Australian Field Ambulance.**

Jan McLeod
University of Newcastle

Courage, Endurance, Mateship, Sacrifice. These words, carved into four granite pillars at Isurava, are the foundation stones on which the historiography of the Papuan (Kokoda) Campaign of 1942-43 is constructed. This paper reflects on their meaning in light of the atrocious casualty statistics and the ad-hoc manner in which the medical campaign in Papua was conducted.

Unarmed Australian Field Ambulance personnel followed the fighting soldiers from Port Moresby, over the Owen Stanleys, and onto the northern beaches. For six months they tended the sick, mended the wounded and buried the dead. Analysis of primary source documents, letters and diaries not only shines new light on all aspects of the Kokoda campaign, but also gives voice to this group of men who have walked in the long shadow of Diggers and “Angels” for over seventy years.

**Educating the native in an era of freedom: interwar progressivism and its other**

Julie McLeod
University of Melbourne

Proponents of progressive education travelled extensively during the interwar years, with the exchange of ideas bolstered by a series of international congresses, informal and institutional networks and the support of philanthropic agencies. Debates about how to educate children and young people for world-mindedness and responsible future citizenship were accompanied by a child-centred philosophy and a self-conscious sense of a ‘new spirit of freedom’ in which education played a pivotal role. This paper juxtaposes the inclusive and cosmopolitan ambitions of progressivism with concurrent debates about the educability of ‘native’ peoples. The focus is a five-week residential conference convened in Honolulu in 1936, (Education in Pacific Countries referred to also as Education of the Native Races in the Pacific). Educationalists and anthropologists from across the Pacific and beyond reflected on the possibilities for and approaches to educating native people, including the circumstances of the Australian Aborigine, characterising the challenges in terms of confinement not cosmopolitanism, passivity not autonomy and limitations not possibilities. These debates about race, education and educability not only point to the omissions and underside of progressivism, but also highlight the dividing practices of internationalism and worldly citizenship in the interwar years.
Foundational histories of Christian mission in Greenland and Australia: A comparative perspective
Claire McLisky
University of Copenhagen and Griffith University

This paper considers the foundational histories of Christian mission in two very different eighteenth-century colonial contexts: Greenland (1721-1736) and Australia (1788-1791). In particular, it focuses on the foundational narratives that the first missionaries in each setting – the Lutheran minister Hans Egede in Greenland and the Anglican chaplain Richard Johnson in Australia – created concerning their relationships with Indigenous ‘helpers’ (a Greenlandic boy called Papa, and an Australian girl called Boorong). In both cases, the missionaries saw intimate engagement as crucial to communication with their ‘helpers’, believing that the cultivation of emotional bonds would prepare the way for the more sustained intellectual and spiritual engagements necessary for conversion to Christianity. Papa and Boorong’s motives for engaging with Egede and Johnson are less clear, however both invested time and emotional effort in their relationships with the missionaries. These narratives were influential – both at the time, and for subsequent generations of missionaries, colonists, and indigenous peoples. Yet far from revealing any core truth about the ‘redeemability’ of indigenous peoples in Greenland and Australia, the narratives missionaries created about their relationships with indigenous peoples were the product of specific colonial and cross-cultural dynamics, of personal and theological influences.

Localism and Regionalism: Competing means of addressing a ‘Quality of Life’ agenda in the 1960s and 1970s
Lyndon Megarry

Inspired by the promise of the Post-War Reconstruction era and informed by his own experiences as a young family man, Whitlam believed that it was the right of all Australians to experience the same opportunities for cultural, civic and social enrichment, no matter where they lived. His government sought to empower citizens in the suburbs, regional centres and remote Northern Australia, to attain quality of life and opportunities for the ambitious: ‘We must abandon the notion that if people want occupation, accommodation or recreation, particularly if they are young people, they have to go to the state capitals’ (Whitlam 1971). Whitlam’s attention to quality of life sought not only individual growth but also community life; both would benefit from Commonwealth support. This paper is about the achievements and the flaws of Whitlam’s local and regional policies. Whitlam’s ideas were sound, but they did not fully take into account the practicalities of implementing such measures over a large continent; nor did they anticipate political and regional jealousies. Whitlam’s contribution to local government has been neglected by historians, not least because he was ambivalent about that tier, believing that regional authorities were the best means of promoting ‘quality of life’.

The Whitlam government and the party of progress and party of resistance paradigm in Australian historiography
Greg Melleuish
University of Wollongong

The party of progress/party of resistance view of Australian political history was created in the first half of the twentieth century. The fate of the Whitlam government would seem to confirm its truth as a valid means of interpreting Australian history and to confirm the idea that the central theme of Australian politics is one of progress and reform. However, the nature of what constituted ‘reform’ changed under the next Labor government so that it seemed to mean what once had been described as ‘resistance’. Australian politics is still dominated by the idea of ‘reform’ but it could be argued that the term has been emptied of its meaning. How meaningful is it to use the idea of progress in Australian political history, especially in the context of the changes wrought by the Whitlam government, or is it the case that progress simply means, as John Anderson once commented, the ‘going on of what goes on’? If so, what is the significance of the Whitlam government in the wider context of Australian political history?
History and the Horse: exploring discourses of equine significance in Australia
Isa Menzies
PhD candidate, Australian National University

The cultural significance of the horse in Australia provides one of the foundational narratives in the formation and perpetuation of an Australian national identity. The figure of the horse appears frequently in Australia’s cultural iconography – Phar Lap, the Melbourne Cup, the Man from Snowy River, and the opening ceremony of the Sydney Olympics in 2000, to name just a few examples.

This paper explores the notion of the horse’s significance. Beginning with defining what exactly is meant when we consider ‘the horse’, I will then examine some of the particular contexts in which the horse is invoked. Ultimately, I attempt to answer the question of whether the horse truly is a significant animal to Australians.

The cultural significance ascribed to the horse is the cornerstone of my PhD research, and this paper represents my attempts to work through these notions. The paper also contributes to broader discussions about public history, and Australian cultural identity.

Shaking the ‘Bear Pit’ Foundations: The First Feminist in the NSW Parliament (1925–1927)
Wendy Michaels
University of Newcastle

The all-male NSW parliament earned the sobriquet ‘Bear Pit’ in the nineteenth century as a result of members’ verbal and physical behaviours. The parliament remained a female-free zone until the Legal Status Act 1918 granted women the right to stand for the Legislative Assembly, although it was another seven years before a woman won a seat. In 1925, endorsed Nationalist and feminist, Millicent Preston Stanley became the first woman to enter the chamber. Her election attracted considerable press coverage, the admiration of women’s organisations and the condemnation of those for whom it constituted a transgression of the God-given order. The foundations of this historic House were further unsettled when she rose to speak. As Deborah Brennan suggests, Preston Stanley’s inaugural speech on 26 August 1925, in which she censured the views of men opposed to women in parliament had a ‘galvanising effect’, as did her j’accuse speech on 29 November 1926 in which she condemned Minister George Cann’s attempt to bribe her. This paper analyses these two speeches and the parliamentary and press responses and argues her attempts to shake the foundations of the male fortress were thwarted by her oratorical stance which flouted the gendered logic of the social order.

Narratives of settlement and the problem of the shack and the river camp in mid-twentieth century Victoria
Peter Mills
Professional Historian

This paper examines negative reactions in country towns in inland Victoria to the river camps of shacks established on their fringes in the 1930s and 40s. The discourse in local press and government files frequently employed notions of the uncivilized in condemnation of the camp dwellers and their shacks. While the discourse of the slum was present, the particular treatment of these ‘slums in the sunlight’ also involved a foundational narrative of settlement, in which the civilizing of a wild continent was a greatly accelerated version of the civilizing progress of humankind. Temporary recourse to primitive dwellings was considered a necessary accompaniment to settling such a vast land, and the shack of the humble pioneer was valorised for this reason. By the 1930s and 40s, however, country townsfolk were proud to have achieved a civilized state, evidenced by the established infrastructure of their towns, and the shacks of the river camps now elicited shame and disgust. Where Aboriginal people occupied the river camps, the use of the discourse of the civilized was closely tied to reigning racist discourse. Recent popular histories valorising the Australian shack are shown to ignore this period when such dwellings elicited shame and disgust.

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Scarlet Women in the Limelight: Gender and Radical Theatre
Cathy Brigden
RMIT University
Lisa Milner
Southern Cross University

This paper considers the role of women in the New Theatre in Australia. The New Theatre employed a novel mix of conventional theatre forms, experimental performative styles and communist theories of ‘art as a weapon’. Its work and organisation were avowedly working class, and support from left-wing unions was important. Particularly during the mid-20th century, the theatre gave real opportunities to women as performers (acting, dancing, singing, playing music) and behind-the-scenes. Its female playwrights (for example, Oriel Gray, Mona Brand, Catherine Duncan, Nance Macmillan and Betty Roland) wrote plays of real significance during a period when home-grown plays were rare. Women also rose to embrace creative, pioneering and adventurous leadership positions as producers, directors and administrators. With the theatre relying on voluntary labour, many of the women combined roles, such as playwrights/producers/organisers/performers Mona Brand, Marie Armstrong, Miriam Hampson and Freda Brown. Drawing on primary research and oral history interviews, the paper examines the central role of women in the Sydney branch of the New Theatre, particularly as playwrights and in managerial positions.

A room with no view: remembering Charles Sturt’s underground room
Alison Moir
University of New England

Charles Sturt’s Central Australian Expedition of 1844-1846 set out to discover an inland sea in the interior of the continent. This goal was derailed when the expedition became stranded in what Sturt called a ‘ruinous detention’ at Depot Glen between January and July 1845. During this time, and in extreme summer heat, Sturt set his men to excavate an underground room near the centre of their camp. This room was the first European building to be constructed in Central Australia.

Although the underground room is a significant example of built heritage, the questions that naturally arise in connection with an undertaking of this type - Sturt’s motivation in constructing the room, the influences at play in its design and even its location - have been largely taken for granted by subsequent biographers. More importantly, the underground room itself has all but disappeared from the historical record, with the last positive sighting of its location claimed in the 1940s.

This research uses existing knowledge and previously unexamined sources from the 1840s to the present to unpack the mythologised memories of Sturt’s expedition. As such, it produces a more comprehensive understanding of the room’s place in Australian Exploration history and colonial heritage.

Revisiting the official history of Australia’s medical services in First World War
Alexia Moncrieff
PhD Candidate, University of Adelaide

The official history of the Australian medical services in the First World War was complicit in the development of Australia’s national creation myth. Written by Colonel Arthur Graham Butler, a member of the Australian Field Ambulance during the war, and supervised by CEW Bean, the history was published by the Australian War Memorial in three volumes from 1938 to 1943. Since then it has remained largely unchanged in its place as the definitive history of the Australian medical services of the First World War. Arguing the case for further engagement with the history of Australian medical care in the war, this paper examines Butler’s aims, approach, and methodology, and analyses the strengths and limitations of his history. In doing so it identifies some significant gaps in our knowledge of medical care in the war and the ideas which underpinned it.

Keys to the Empire: Britishness, Masculinity and Systemization of the Ideal Agent
Jon Moore
PhD candidate, Tulane University.

A small group of bureaucrats purposely forged the apparatus of the British Empire during the interwar (1919-1939) years through the systemization of recruitment, training and tracking of colonial administrators. This group created
new imperial typologies of “Britishness” and “masculinity” and fundamentally altered the balance of power between the metropole and Empire. Records from a professionalism program at Oxford and Cambridge; responses to imperial recruitment overtures by the Dominions of New Zealand and Australia; records of both producers (Colonial Office elites) and products (administrators themselves) of this process; and colonial records have enabled me to reveal this process of systematizing the keys to the British Empire – the administrators themselves. Ralph Furse, the Appointments Secretary for the Colonial Office, orchestrated a silent revolution to stifle alternative modes of imperial thought, to disempower the revolving door of politicians from controlling the Empire, and to construct a worldwide system of recruitment for imperial service that led to a redefinition of a “British” imperial representative. These officials actively and purposely transformed the administrative apparatus of the British Empire from an amateur, decentralized, multi-polar system into a systematized unitary system that radically repurposed the Empire.

**Moreton Bay Separation**

*Keith Moore*  
Queensland University of Technology

By 1850, residents of New South Wales increasingly considered the Home Government a powerful tyrant, the Governor its helpless instrument and that it was their duty to get rid of both. But for Moreton Bay residents, exploitation from Sydney magnified their outrage. ‘What New South Wales is to England, it seems Moreton Bay is to be to New South Wales’, many felt. ‘The scarcity of labour and the cause of that scarcity, the indifference of the government, Imperial and Colonial to [Moreton Bay’s] requirements, and the tardy influx of capital’ fuelled agitation for separation. With only one parliamentary member representing a district from Wide Bay to the Clarence River, the Northern Districts were ‘mocked with the ghost of legislative representation’.

In England, Robert Lowe believed separation inevitable, but feared ‘that it was for the purpose of founding a penal colony’. Many Northern District residents agreed, believing that for no other reason did the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Earl Grey, contemplate the introduction into the Australian Colonies Government Bill of the clause that would make separation possible.

This paper examines the extent to which Moreton Bay residents supported the receipt of exiled convicts in their desire to achieve separation.

**Locating a celestial black hole: Chinese-Aboriginal relatedness in North Queensland, 1873-1900.**

*Peter Moore*  
University of the Sunshine Coast

This article presents a summary of the author's Bachelor of Arts Honours dissertation, seeking to create a scaffold for further research into late-19th-century cultural contact between North Queensland Aborigines and Chinese migrants. Anglo-Celtic metanarratives continue to dominate Australian historiography with monocultural, economic and political continuities founded on European epistemologies and ontologies. With few exceptions, 19th-century-cultural-contact debates centre the Anglo-Celtic migrants' experiences with Indigenous Australians and non-Anglo-Celtic migrants. However, such historiography infers an inaccurate standpoint centring the Anglo-Celts' host status, and excludes a third significant contact experience between Indigenous Australians and non-European migrants. This is understandable, given the extant written evidence has been overwhelmingly created and preserved by Europeans to serve white-Australia's Anglo-Celtic perspective. Therefore, a more inclusive reconstruction of cultural contact, recognising differences and equality, requires the application of inductive analysis with a focus on discontinuities, in order to identify the events influencing the creation of the preserved evidence. Quandamoopah scholar Karen Martin's (2008) relatedness theory is applied as a framework exemplar, offering a new vocabulary that shifts perspective towards Indigenous agency and viewpoints as the original culture. This methodology is tested in an analysis of events recorded by late-19th-century Europeans in Cooktown, Palmer River and Atherton.
Historical Literacy
Denis Mootz

‘Foundational History’? Many people would nod their head in agreement to the proposition that kids need some foundation for the learning and study of History. But should it be knowledge, or concepts for the 21st century?

This presentation will argue that making school students historically ‘literate’ is more important than knowledge for knowledge’s sake.

Everyone Wants To Be An ANZAC
Ben Morris

The ANZAC legend and the myths that feed it are central to Australian military history and to the Australian national identity. These myths involve fearless young people defending their country in faraway lands against evil adversaries, and then returning home to live out their lives unscathed by their battlefield experiences.

Veterans’ organizations, politicians and senior military officers have crafted the ANZAC Legend to explain the overseas deployment of Australian forces. These myth makers have built into the legend myths to illustrate that war is character building for this nation. They have often claimed myth as factual history.

The heroic figure of the ANZAC soldier casts a long shadow over the battlefield accounts of returning war veterans. Many military events and experiences that do not fit this legend have been ignored or sanitized in the official military histories.

A number of authors have claimed that the military deployment to Vietnam was an ANZAC Force although only five of the sixteen battalion deployed to this theatre of operations had attached New Zealand troops in their unit.

In the paper I will consider the relationship between veterans and the ANZAC legend using the oral histories of some Vietnam veterans.

W(h)anganui and (London)Derry: The role of history in debates about place names
Ewan Morris

Naming is one of the key foundational events in the history of a place. It is little wonder, then, that history is one of the main resources used by participants in disputes over place names.

Over the past several years, residents of two cities on opposite sides of the world have debated proposals to change their cities’ official names. New Zealand has seen a sometimes heated argument over whether to change the name of Wanganui to Whanganui, in accordance with standard Māori spelling; while in Northern Ireland there has been a long-running dispute between nationalists and unionists over the name of Derry or Londonderry.

In both places, and on both sides of the debate, history has been used to justify changing or retaining the existing names. This paper will consider the role of appeals to history in controversies over place names, and outline three specific ways in which history has been used: as evidence that one name is more correct than the other; as a source of personal meanings or emotional associations with particular names; and as an explanation of underlying grievances or antagonisms that surface in these debates.

Dreams of Utopia and the ‘Sleep of Reason’: The ‘School of Nature’ as a foundation for the New World?
Valerie Munt

In this paper I look at some of the eighteenth and nineteenth century discourses and artworks which foreshadowed European conceptions of the ‘other’ – the ‘uncivilized’ peoples of the natural world, beginning with the romantic view of the ‘school of nature’ and ending with the economic rationalism which produced nightmares for indigenous peoples. I employ Foucault’s archaeological approach to investigate some of the curious ‘regimes of knowledge’ which animated the ‘science’ of ethnology, which later became institutionalized within academia.
‘A Smile Without a Cat,’ or; Do Signifiers Float in the Antipodes?

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2015 marks 150 years since Alice first tripped down the rabbit hole, wondering to herself as she fell whether or not she would reappear on the other side of the earth and ‘...come out among the people that walk with their heads downwards! The antipathies, I think...’ Alice may well have wondered in 1865 if she would have to utter the phrase ‘Please, Ma’am, is this New Zealand? Or Australia?’ but it would not be until 28 April 1866 that she would emerge in the colonies. In the 149 years since the first Australian release of Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland, Alice – as an icon of British children’s literature, as a metonymic image of attempted rationality in a world of absurdity, and as a symbol of feminine, childish curiosity – has undergone numerous and significant changes of meaning for Australian readers. First redrawn by Australian artists in 1922-4, new Australian visualisations of Alice have emerged every decade since. These range from illustrations for new editions, to Alice-inspired art works exhibited in galleries across the world, to the relatively recent trend of Alice-inspired cosplay.

This paper will explore how Alice – as character, symbol, icon, and motif – forms or expresses meaning in Australia from 1866 to the present. A British import redrawn and reformed in the Antipodes, the manifold Australian manifestations of Alice provide a case study for how she reflects social and cultural changes in gender and gendered national identity. Ultimately, Alice herself is a smile without a cat; she is a floating signifier, a gendered shorthand which signals – in the Australian context – a particular form of femininity, and a specific (historical, cultural, and geographic) relationship to an imagined metropole. Using a multidisciplinary approach incorporating historical and art historical enquiry, this paper will capture Alice as gendered signifier as she falls through the rabbit hole from colonial modernity to contemporary Australia, providing a means to capture and interrogate currents in Australian gender history and national identity.

Quicksands revisited

Klaus Neumann
Swinburne University of Technology

Some twenty years ago, I initiated a collaborative project about foundational histories in Australia and New Zealand. The outcome of that project was published in 1999 (Quicksands: Foundational Histories in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, edited by Klaus Neumann, Nicholas Thomas and Hilary Ericksen, UNSW Press). It dealt exclusively with histories of settler-indigenous relations; in fact, at the time it did not occur to me that histories – both in New Zealand and in Australia – which did not address issues of dispossession, could be termed ‘foundational’. Is such a privileging of the colonial past and postcolonial present (still) justified? To what extent could histories of immigration, which have long been neglected both in Australia and in New Zealand, legitimately also be considered foundational?

In Australia, the foundational nature of histories of dispossession was seemingly confirmed during the history war. Keith Windschuttle, who arguably started that war, thought that the history of immigration would be worth another stoush. And maybe he was right – albeit for reasons that are very different from those alluded to in his book on the White Australia policy.

CLR James and The Postcolonial Foundational History of the West Indies Cricket Team

Erik Nielsen

In keeping with other colonies of the British Empire such as Australia and India, the West Indies existed as an international cricket team prior to independence. Cricket was intimately linked to the independence struggle of the West Indian territories, due to the advocacy of Trinidadian editor, journalist and political activist CLR James. James saw the replacement of the white-skinned incumbent captain of the West Indies team Gerry Alexander by the Afro-Caribbean Frank Worrell as at the expense of as an integral aspect of the liberation struggle. The cricket team outlasted the short-lived West Indian Federation, and in this paper it will be argued that James’s arguments in the press and in his 1963 book Beyond a Boundary provided a foundational myth for the West Indies in the postcolonial era. This was compatible with the postwar anti-racist consensus, but required updating in an age of Black Power.
Australian biography is like 'Licking the cold outside of a champagne bottle on a thirsty day' (Ellis, 1955): The ADB and the foundations of Australian biography writing
Melanie Nolan
Australian National University

The Australian National University (ANU) Council invited Professor Keith Hancock to advise it about the establishment of a school of social sciences in 1947, hoping that he would become its inaugural director. Hancock in turn called on experts, including Professor R. M. (Max) Crawford at the University of Melbourne, to: survey their social science discipline; review publications in previous 15 years and the current state of research; and recommend what would encourage research in this field in Australia. Crawford provided a bibliography that included just three dozen biographies in his subsequent report on History, suggesting that the newly formed ANU would provide a service to Australian historiography by producing an “Australian Dictionary of National Biography”. When Hancock finally took up his position at the ANU, as the director of RSSS and inaugural professor of history in 1957, he convened the first conference of, by and for Australian historians. This gathering agreed that a dictionary was the single most important priority to stimulate the development of Australian history. There are now over 12,000 ADB articles online and the NLA catalogue currently lists over 19,000 items for ”Australian biography”. What was the ADB’s role in kick-starting biographical history in Australia?

The human motor: Australian cycling and the creation of the ‘national physique’
Daniel Oakman
National Museum of Australia

Australian sporting bodies have long been associated with health, vitality and a robust physicality. They have been central to the creation of foundational narratives around Australian-ness and the construction of a ‘national physique’. Cultural and social historians have traditionally examined cricket, surf-lifesaving and football as key sites for the analysis of these ideas. They have unwittingly focussed attention away from other sports that have produced equally compelling and complex narratives about the Australian body and the landscapes in which they perform.

This paper examines the sport of cycling in Australia through the life of the cyclist and politician Sir Hubert ‘Oppy’ Opperman. It argues that he challenged the prevailing images of sporting masculinity and prowess and that he reshaped understandings of the antipodean body and the Australian continent. It explores how Opperman attained his iconic status and why his feats of endurance resonated powerfully with the Australian public. More than a mere distraction in the economic turmoil of the Depression, Opperman’s significance can be explained within the context of broader concerns about modernity, national capacity, efficiency and race patriotism. This paper argues that for a nation insecure about its physical and moral condition, Opperman fostered new understandings of athleticism, masculinity and the capacity of white Australians to thrive in a vast and sparsely populated continent.

Ta’isi O. F. Nelson and the Mau: Australian dimensions to a New Zealand and Samoan history
Patricia (Patty) O’Brien
Australian National University

This paper explores how Australia and Australians played a role in the history of Samoan Mau. The person predominantly responsible for making and maintaining Australian connections was nationalist leader Ta’isi O. F. Nelson. Ta’isi had business interests in Australia, especially in Sydney, as well as unlikely friendships with a number of Australian public figures. It is the role these Australian public figures played in the complex machinations of the struggle between the Samoan nationalist movement and conservative New Zealand governments this paper will illuminate. As well as revealing another dimension to the story of the Samoan Mau, this paper also highlights a story of Australian engagement and interest in Pacific affairs in the interwar period that is little known. This interest is particularly curious when brought into the frame of relations with Indigenous Australians at the time as well as the country’s own mandated territory of New Guinea revealing an intriguing commentary on empire in the Pacific and Australia’s place in it.
The pelican slaughter of 1911: a history of competing values, killing and private property from the Coorong, South Australia
Emily O’Gorman
Macquarie University

This paper focuses on a particular event in early twentieth century Australia to examine wider questions of how particular places have been shaped by, and also shaped, laws. In 1911, approximately 2,000 pelicans were slaughtered on a group of islands within the Coorong lagoon, South Australia. The islands were a favoured nesting site and a group of people had waited until the eggs hatched in order to kill fledging as well as adult birds, to collect the maximum payout from a 1 penny bounty that had been put on the head of each pelican by the state Fisheries Department. The killings prompted advocates of bird protection, particularly ornithologists, to seek security for the rookeries against future raids by leasing the islands. A range of other interests became entangled in this decision, as some ornithologists also sought to prevent local Aboriginal people from harvesting bird eggs in the area. This paper examines why this event and its fallout are important in thinking about the history of bird and fauna protection, the persecution of particular species, and protected areas. Specifically, it examines histories of competing ideas about killing, private property, and protection that intersected in the laws, the event and its consequences.

From Bulli to Beaconsfield — some catastrophes that we don’t commemorate
Bobbie Oliver
Curtin University

In the Westralian Worker of 14 September 1900, during the South African War, Jabez Dodd (later a Member of the WA Legislative Council) published a poem, comparing the ‘honour’ bestowed upon ‘the soldier who fights for a living’ whose trade is to conquer, to wound and to slay’ with that accorded to the miner. ‘But honour and praise we are jealous of giving /to him who in danger works hard day to day’. In Western Australia alone, between 1943 and 2010, 657 people were killed in mining accidents, which is more than the number of Australian servicemen who died in either the South African or Vietnam Wars, but where are their monuments? In the 21st century, 48 miners have been killed in WA, more than Australian fatalities in the Afghanistan War. Additionally, thousands (both miners and family members) have died as a result of mining-related diseases.

In the spirit of Dodd’s poem, this paper asks why is so little ‘honour and praise’ given to miners, while it is lavished upon ‘the soldier who fights for a living’? It aims to put the militaristic fervour that has been gripping Australia in recent years in perspective.

Bold Experiment: an historical analysis of the Australian Assistance Plan
Melanie Oppenheimer
Flinders University
Erik Eklund, University College, Dublin
Joanne Scott
University of the Sunshine Coast

The aim of the Australian Assistance Plan (AAP) was to reframe citizen involvement at a local community level through the promotion of a new approach to community development. AAP’s funding came directly from the Federal government through newly instituted Regional Councils for Social Development (RCSDs). Thirty-five RCSDs were established across Australia, administered by the Social Welfare Commission. The AAP broke new ground in terms of Australian federalism, localism, regionalism and voluntary action. Heavily evaluated at the time using evidence based research (another innovation), the scheme was largely dismantled by the Fraser government and all interest in it dissipated: there is little mention of the scheme in standard historical narratives of the Whitlam period. However, evidence suggests that the RCSDs created momentum for social change in their localities, helping to establish new community groups and structures that continued long after the demise of the AAP. This paper, part of a new ARC study that aims to provide the first historical examination of the AAP, will sketch the parameters of the project and focus on the conceptual framework that recognises voluntary action as a core theme for understanding Australia’s past.
Meaning and Understanding in International Law and Intellectual History
Anne Orford
Melbourne Law School

In recent years, we have seen an explosion of scholarship concerned with the question of whether and how the imperial past is relevant to the internationalist present. Interest in the precursors to current forms of global ordering and their ideological justifications has fuelled new fields of study and new interdisciplinary encounters. The study of the past as it relates to international law is a project that is now being undertaken not only by international lawyers and legal historians, but also by scholars in world history, global history, imperial history, the history of human rights, and intellectual history, as well as philosophy, politics, literature, postcolonial studies, and critical geography. This presentation will explore some of the methodological questions to which these emerging interdisciplinary encounters have been raised. In particular, it will defend the claim that it is not possible to understand the contemporary operation of international law in its many forms without attending to the ways in which international legal argument, institutions, practices, and doctrines depend upon the movement of meaning across time and place. In particular, I will suggest that while many international lawyers and intellectual historians share a methodological commitment to studying ideas or concepts ‘in context’, the two fields take different approaches to the question of what the appropriate context is. In some of the polemics on understanding, meaning, and interpretation that have since served as founding statements of Cambridge school method, Quentin Skinner argued that it was a mistake to study past texts in order to trace ‘the morphology of a given concept over time’. He argued that instead scholars should concern themselves with studying what an author intended to do in the temporal context of ‘the given occasion’ when an utterance was performed. In contrast, I suggest that it is not possible to understand the role of international legal arguments as political interventions in particular social contexts and political power struggles without understanding the dependence of such arguments upon the idea that legal concepts have a history. The presentation will draw on recent debates about the legality of humanitarian intervention and the direction of trade negotiations to illustrate the analytical and political stakes of this methodological debate. It will conclude by asking whether we can imagine a world in which international law is purely presentist, and whether that is a world we would want to inhabit.

Education as Applied Anthropology: Race Relations and the Modernization of Colonialism in the 1930s
Fiona Paisley,
Griffith University

This paper considers debates about educability in the Pacific through closer analysis of the writings of Felix Keesing (one of the convenors of the 1936 conference discussed in paper one) and in collaboration with his work and life partner, Marie Keesing. While each was closely involved in the Institute of Pacific Relations in Honolulu and directly involved in organizing the conference and the book on which it was based, both Keesings published on the question of educational policy and the application of anthropology in the modernization of colonialism and race relations in the Pacific. The Keesings provide an insight into the ways in which global and regional debates were shaped by and helped to promote the careers of two New Zealanders who epitomize the vibrancy of transnational networks among progressive scholars and practitioners in this era engaged in questions of educability as a discourse legitimating colonial rule (that vibrancy is taken up in the context of ‘teacher exchange’ in paper 3 of this panel). The couple’s work illustrates also, I argue, that settler colonialism as a set of relations ongoing in New Zealand, Australia and Hawaii (among other places) remained for the most part at the margins of international debate about the future and purpose of ‘native’ education.

‘Holding a Court’ in the Colonial World: The politics of space and representation in 1850s colonial elections
Naomi Parkinson
PhD candidate, Cambridge University

In 1851, the forced exclusion of black and coloured Jamaican residents from a courthouse during a public election sparked a riot that divided the colony and prompted discussions over the suitability of representative government for Jamaica. While the colony had inherited aspects of Britain’s open-air or ‘hustings’ elections, where informal participation was common, in post-emancipation Jamaica it was deemed essential that elections take place within the policeable space of the court. Within this context, control over the space in which elections took place became a means through which the nature and scope of participation could be managed.
This paper examines the symbolic significance and practical implications of election sites in 1850s New South Wales and Jamaica. While the franchise has been scrutinised by historians of settler colonialism in recent years – particularly through the lenses of gender and race – less is known about the locations and proceedings of elections themselves. Drawing on written and illustrated accounts of elections in these two sites, I argue that the physical spaces of elections and their interaction with election culture worked to shape participation and representation in ways not adequately captured by the franchise.

Heritage, urban foundations and sites of memory
Aron Paul
National Library of Australia and RMIT

‘It was an era when you could take things on’: Remembering the radical origins of local community groups in Kensington, Flemington and St Kilda.

This paper looks at the origins of two community service organisations, St Kilda Community Housing and Doutta Galla Community Health. Drawing on oral history interviews and archival material, it analyses the way in which history and stories about their foundation have been mobilised in debates about their future within the context of changing demographic and economic circumstances. Both organisations were born of the radical ‘community organising’ principles of the 1970s, grounded in local activism and collectivism such as that espoused by Saul Alinsky’s ‘Rules for Radicals’. The paper traces the significance of this foundational legacy through periods of professionalization and difficult economic reform, as well as local gentrification – all of which challenged the meaning and significance of ‘community’. It compares and contrasts examples of the ways in which professional service organisations and their members have remembered and adapted the memory of their more radical foundational moments in the context of very different communal and organisational contexts.

Sentenced beyond the Seas: making digital archives available
Janette Pelosi
Society of Australian Genealogists.

Archival institutions such as State Records NSW are exploring the digital future of key historical records. It is not possible to digitise everything. The choices being made on which records should be digitised for both preservation and access will have an impact on the work of future historians.

Academic, professional and family historians can all benefit from the digital availability of archives. Presenting historical sources online involves challenges in the way the archives themselves are presented, the provision of indexes as well as metadata and context about the records. Sentenced beyond the Seas will be used as a case study on making digitised archives available.

Convict indents list the convicts transported to New South Wales. These significant records were listed on the UNESCO Memory of the World Register in 2007. Sentenced beyond the Seas was a project to digitise and index Australia’s earliest convict records, 1788-1801. Colour images of early convict indents were made available for the first time to mark the 225th anniversary of the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788 and an index of over 12,000 names was created. Sentenced beyond the Seas was commended by the Australian Society of Archivists in its Mander Jones Awards 2013.

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**Benalla Holding Centre: A Difficult Heritage**  
**Bruce Pennay**  
**Charles Sturt University**

The former migrant camp at Benalla (1949-1967) is one of the least publicly remembered of twenty-three similar centres which provided temporary housing for non-British arrivals in post-war Australia. There has hitherto been no general reunion, plaque, memorial, public history or heritage listing. That raises questions about perceptions and experiences of the facility while it operated and broader questions about remembering and heritage-making.

Holding centres are difficult heritage places. They raise embarrassing questions about discrimination against the non-British, family separation, forced movement and the inadequacy of support services for the most vulnerable. One of the Benalla camp’s keenest observers saw it as ‘a sad and tragic camp where widows and single mothers were sent’. Another claimed that, as a consequence, it had ‘peculiar difficulties’. It certainly ended miserably with the relocation of several widows and their families who had been resident in Benalla’s ‘short-term accommodation’ since their arrival in Australia seventeen years before.

In this presentation, I discuss how place memory has been cultivated and pruned within the frames of national/state, local and migrant family heritage. I explore the kinds of stories projected onto or read from difficult heritage sites.

**The Needle in the Haystack: A searching look at the use of digital tools**  
**Yvonne Perkins**  
**Professional Historian**

For many years Australian historians have excelled in bringing to light hidden acts and forgotten people. Digital History presents further opportunities for historians to find what has been obscured in abundant historical records. The search for the needle in the haystack has become easier, yet careful attention needs to be given to the construction of digital tools and caution needed in the conclusions drawn.

Using digitised World War I soldier diaries I will show how some basic technical knowledge can be used to uncover the actions of forgotten soldiers from India and Africa. I will discuss the importance of understanding how digital tools are constructed and applied. With the advent of new research techniques, exposing the research methodology behind innovative projects is increasingly important.

Secondly, I will discuss the implications of the large digitisation projects of historical material at cultural institutions which open up opportunities for the development of innovative applications drawing on advances in Big Data and other technologies. In the rush by developers to mine historical data and to present it with technology that bedazzles our society will rigorous historical analysis be left behind?

‘Sugar, Rum and “Suffering”: Daniel Wheeler’s Quaker Testimony in Pacific Islands 1835-1836’  
**Audrey Peyer**  
**PhD candidate, the University of Tasmania**

This paper will examine the testimony of the Quaker Daniel Wheeler within its greater tradition of ‘witnessing suffering’ by the Religious Society of Friends.

Daniel Wheeler’s Pacific Islands testimony brought an established Quaker humanitarian practice to a new region, and in doing so applied the established framework of ‘suffering’ to some of the most notorious and romanticised ‘contact zones’ of the great Pacific whaling era.

Wheeler, a minister of the Society of Friends, undertook a ‘voyage of concern’ to the Antipodes from 1833-1838 and recorded some of his most powerful testimony to the ‘suffering’ of indigenous peoples in the Society and
Hawaiian Islands in 1835 and 1836. Primary among these problems documented by Wheeler was the relentless traffic in alcohol evident in the harbour regions of Honolulu and Papeete and the conditions of ‘employment’ embraced by missionary-owned sugar plantations at sites such as Koloa.

This paper will examine the layers of text pertaining to Daniel Wheeler’s testimony in the Pacific, from its archival material to its publications, identify multiple threads of concern, explore humanitarian agendas and illuminate intriguing opportunities to examine the conditions on the volatile Pacific colonial frontier of the mid-1830s.

Foundations of crime: Placing early-twentieth-century thefts in the context of life histories
Alana Piper
Griffith University

Theft is part of many of Australia’s foundational stories, linked to many aspects of the nation’s colonial history. The early twentieth century, however, witnessed increased attention to the foundational stories of thieves themselves. The growing interest the judicial system showed in the life histories of offenders is evident from the variety of material that came to be included in trial briefs. Police began to provide detailed character reports on offenders to judges and prosecuting attorneys; letters from defendants to magistrates also became more common. Used as the basis for judicial sentencing, these documents included information on offenders’ family and educational backgrounds, personal relationships, employment and conviction histories, details of military service and any medical or psychological conditions suffered. These life histories were intended to illuminate any mitigating circumstances in relation to crimes, and also to determine whether, irrespective of their guilt, the offender was truly a ‘criminal’. Such material suggests a shifting focus in trials from the circumstances of a crime itself, to the wider context that led to criminal behavior. This paper will examine the reasons why this shift occurred, its implications for trial outcomes and what the collected life histories reveal about the factors that led individuals to be labeled thieves.

Gazing out from Trouwunna: An Encounter between the Tasmanian Aboriginal people and the French
Lyndon Pratt
Masters candidate, La Trobe University

On the 7th of March 1772, a small group of Indigenous people encountered an expedition led by Marc-Joseph Marion du Fresne, a French explorer, on the eastern coast of Trouwunna (Tasmania). Despite this being the first recorded meeting between the Indigenous peoples and European explorers, this encounter has primarily been examined as a chapter in the history of French exploration. This paper considers the impact that this encounter had on the history of all the Indigenous peoples of Trouwunna by analysing the discourses produced from this first crucial meeting.

Working to dispel the ideas of isolation and cultural decline, which have been prevalent in the literature on the island’s people, the complex nature of the Indigenous society and the interaction between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples is explored. Contrasts are made between the journals of du Fresne’s crew and a diverse set of perspectives on Trouwunna history. Primarily, this paper questions the idea of ‘isolation’ as a major force on Trouwunna, and provides fresh insights on a people that would never have considered themselves isolated.

Parenting as a foundation for schooling in The Australian Women’s Weekly, 1945-1960
Helen Proctor and Heather Weaver
University of Sydney

This paper examines the Australian Women’s Weekly during its mid-century heyday for accounts of ‘parenting for schooling’, particularly advice to mothers of schoolchildren about the relationship between home and school. Such advice about schooling was both direct and implied, and appeared across a variety of the Weekly’s sections: in cover illustrations, news, feature articles, advertising, letters and advice columns. Even as it offered practical strategies for the successful parenting of schoolchildren, the Women’s Weekly communicated messages about the related personal qualities and material resources that were essential or desirable. In seeking to reflect and inform such values in its readership, the Weekly served as a cultural—and educational—intermediary between schools and households, propagating a formula for how to be a successful parent of students, and creating a trope of such a parent in the process. Our paper tracks representations of the ‘good’ schooling parent, and analyses the expertise, disposition and resources that informed this idea. We are also interested in how the magazine framed the work and
responsibility of parents relative to that of schoolteachers and how it represented the relative expertise and authority of parents and schools.

A new rural ideal? The age of historical identity in Australian country towns 1945-2000
Louise Prowse
The University of Sydney

In the second half of the twentieth century, the past was the dominant expression of local identity for country town communities. Heritage and history became the most promoted visions of rural Australia and were most appealing to the post-modern tourist. Historical identity thus became the dominant expression and image of the post-war rural ideal. But this was not to last. As the twentieth century came to a close, the historical identity of country towns was repositioned as a backdrop. The charming heritage streets of the country town became a stage for an alternative expression of the new rural ideal: lifestyle and food tourism.

This paper explores the construction and deconstruction of the age of historical identity during the latter half of the twentieth century. It asks how promoters of country towns constructed identities based on the past and how they came to epitomize the twentieth century rural ideal. I argue that by the end of the twentieth century, the age of historical identity was over and the past became an appealing backdrop to new, dominant expressions of local identity and rural Australia. Most importantly, I suggest that the rural ideal continues, even after the age of historical identity has ended.

'They named this place "Angurrkwa" so the white fella could pronounce it': reconciling foundation stories of an Aboriginal mission
Laura Rademaker
Australian Catholic University

This paper explores stories of the foundation the Angurugu mission on Groote Eylandt in 1943: those of the Anindilyakwa people and those of the Church Missionary Society (CMS). Whereas in CMS reports, Aboriginal people were merely 'consulted', according to Aboriginal accounts, Aboriginal people led the project, sanctioned the mission’s construction, its location, and asserted their ownership of the mission and the continuance of their clan identities in the new mission context.

Following Minoru Hokari and Gwenda Baker, I ask, how should historians approach divergent stories as these? Perhaps nostalgia may have crept into Anindilyakwa memory. Yet I argue we should be wary of dismissing Aboriginal understandings of the past as mere nostalgia, especially stories which may serve as a corrective to histories that privilege missionary agency. It is possible that over time, Anindilyakwa historical memory evolved, crediting Anindilyakwa people with greater control. I argue that it is probable, however, that in 1943 Anindilyakwa people already interpreted events differently, asserting their agency in ways missionaries may not have perceived or understood. By paying attention to Aboriginal meanings – even when inadvertently hidden in colonisers’ stories – historians can move towards a more cross-cultural history that perceives agency expressed in different cultural languages.

An Education in Race: Australian Women encounter Jim Crow, 1940-1960
Anne Rees
PhD Candidate, Australian National University

Heather Lyon discovered race in America. A white woman, born and raised in White Australia, she had ‘seldom, if ever, been aware of anyone black’ during her youth in interwar Melbourne. This state of innocence was ruptured in 1958 when Lyon offered her seat to a ‘coloured woman’ on a bus in Alabama. ‘[A]ll hell broke loose,’ she recalled, and other passengers ‘shouted abuse’ until a ‘shaken and angry’ Lyon reclaimed the seat. For Australian women in the South, such encounters with the ‘colour line’ were often the first time they faced the brutal implications of white supremacy. This paper, which examines travel accounts from the twilight years of segregation, suggests that meeting Jim Crow gave Australian women an education in race, one which often unsettled the more theoretical racism imbibed at home. Exploring how these travellers grappled with the lived complexity of Southern race relations – which in many cases aroused distress or even outright protest – highlights the disjuncture between abstract imaginings and intimate apprehensions of racial difference, and points to the relative invisibility of race within Australia. Although the ‘colour line’ was foundational to Australian
nationhood, the efficacy of the White Australia policy ensured that Australians could remain near oblivious of racial politics until venturing abroad.

Frontiers of the Audible: Phonographic Recording and the Soundscapes of Ethnography in Australia
Henry Reese
PhD Candidate, University of Melbourne

In the late nineteenth century, new acoustic technologies — such as the phonograph — offered novel ways of making sense of the world and its sounds. The historical significance of the origins of sound recording lies in the phonograph’s ability to act as a catalyst for the hopes, expectations and power relations of those who gathered within earshot of its metallic horn.

This paper argues that the emergence of ‘modern’ Western relationships to sound cannot be wholly understood without taking into account the auditory imaginations that accompanied the practice of early ethnographic recording. I examine the role of the phonograph at two foundational episodes in the history of field recording in Australia: A.C. Haddon’s Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits (1898) and W.B. Spencer’s fieldwork in Central Australia (1901).

Here, I argue, the phonograph functioned as more than simply a means by which to obtain anthropological data; rather, the sonic experience of the field was related to changing metropolitan cultures of listening. In their movement from periphery to metropole, field to theatre, the wax cylinders created in these remote recording sessions can ultimately reveal much about the sonic dimensions of ethnic difference at the turn of the twentieth century.

‘Racy of the Soil’: Ian Mudie and the South Australian soil erosion crisis
Jayne Regan
Postgraduate, Australian National University

Ian Mudie was an Adelaide-based freelance journalist, short story and history writer, and most notably a passionate and political poet. During the 1930s and 1940s the increasingly publicised degradation of South Australian agricultural and pastoral soil inspired Mudie to take soil erosion as a poetic subject. This poetry problematised popular national narratives that celebrated the relationship between the farmer and the land. For Mudie, unspoiled Australian soil was a spiritual and ‘cultural asset’, rather than an economic one. It acted metaphorically as the foundation from which the Australian nation could grow: true Australian ‘flesh’ would be ‘quarried from its earth.’ Soil/growth was also a useful metaphor which Mudie could evoke in aid of his right-wing political stance inspired by writer and friend P.R. Stephensen. Critics and historians have described Mudie as a ‘nationalist or propagandist’ and a ‘herceting’ nationalist, or, alternatively, as an early conservationist and even a ‘proto ecologist’: none have interrogated the relationship between nationalism and environmental concern in his work. This paper considers this relationship, and argues that Mudie’s ‘blood and soil’ poetic rhetoric was a common literary response, cutting across the political spectrum, to the culminating international crises of the 1930s and 1940s.

A Foundational History of Friendship: The Transnational Significance of Imperial-Indigenous Relations in Mi’kma’ki and Wulstukwik
John G. Reid
Mary’s University

This paper problematizes in a transnational context key characteristics of imperial-Indigenous relationships in Mi’kma’ki and Wulstukwik, now part of eastern Canada and corresponding to the Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. Although as in other settlement colonies (including Australia and New Zealand) during the “long” nineteenth century, Mi’kma’ki and Wulstukwik experienced settler colonization that led to Indigenous dispossession, nevertheless the Indigenous peoples had previously established a foundational political and treaty-based relationship with the British crown embodying principles of peace and friendship. In both historiographical and legal senses, this pre-existing relationship – while unable in the era of colonization itself to mitigate the effects of settler colonialism – sets the region apart from otherwise comparable areas of British overseas settlement. It also gave rise to legal proceedings beginning in the late twentieth century that continue to reshape the relationship between the settler state and the Indigenous nations.
Where Should We Put the Memory? Commemoration and the Urban Public Park
Susan Reidy
PhD candidate, University of Melbourne.

Since the 1840s Australia’s urban parks and gardens have been used for the public display of memory. This is manifest in three conventions: in special landscaping, by naming, and through various commemorative and historical objects. Between the statue of Governor Bourke (1842, Sydney Domain) and the Anzac Peace Park (2010, Albany, WA), the history of the association between parkland and commemoration has been long and persistent, by way of landscape designs and plantings, Bicentennial parks, memorial gardens, the Bradman Oval, and countless objects such as monuments, cannon, farm wagons, plaques and fountains. This paper explores these conventions and ponders their effect on urban parks and gardens. Have public parks become emblematic settings or dumping grounds for public memory or, perhaps, a bit of both? What happens to the already singular character of urban public parks and gardens when they become sites of memory?

The Structure of Historical Inquiry
Tyson Retz
University of Melbourne

History educators find themselves in the peculiar situation of wishing to introduce students to the history discipline while lacking a clear conception of the features intrinsic to historical inquiry across its various specialisations and subject matters. In affirming that no one methodological charter hangs in the corridors of academic history departments we fail to provide an adequate justification for an education in history. The doctrine that history is an exercise in disciplined knowledge, a specific way of knowing, is weakened by disciplinary disquietude and dissimilitude. Three features, it is argued, impress themselves upon all who inquire into the past. In the learning and teaching of history, these three features assume a distinct structural shape. First, colligation consists in grouping the events and concepts to be studied according to their shared purposes. Second, historical distance, intimately tied up with tradition and collective memory, provides the means for identifying a past separate from the present to be studied in its own right. Third, reconstruction describes the process of supplying individual content to the general categories illuminated by the earlier stages. To work knowingly in this structure of historical inquiry offers no solutions to the problems of historical thinking, it is to work productively within these problems.

Tyson Retz is writing a PhD thesis on the history and function of empathy in historical studies at the University of Melbourne. He is guest editor of a special issue of Educational Philosophy and Theory on the philosophy of history and history education. In 2014 he was attached to the Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness at the University of British Columbia.

Masculine Narratives and Feminine Material Culture: Discovering the Invisible Women of the Bounty
Pauline Reynolds
University of New England, Armidale

The Bounty story has been celebrated in films and literature over the past two hundred years through a decidedly masculine and European perspective. However, these works have objectified the Polynesian women who, after the mutiny, left Tahiti’s shores aboard the Bounty bound for Pitcairn Island. This paper addresses the widely accepted depiction of the Bounty drama through masculine narratives that render invisible the women, and highlights the wealth of material culture that reveals the women’s agency. Specifically, the analysis of objects used and made uniquely by the women such as tapa (barkcloth) supported by the revision of primary sources such as visitors’ diaries and illustrations, oral histories and linguistic information, this paper reveals the rich tapestry of their experience and their agency in creating a new society and culture on Pitcairn Island. This paper tears away the widely accepted masculine Bounty narrative and illustrates how the women played a fundamental role in the Bounty story.

The Australian Experience of HIV/AIDS and the Language of War, Catastrophe and Trauma
Robert Reynolds and Shirleene Robinson
Macquarie University

The Australian HIV/AIDS epidemic disproportionately fell upon gay male communities. Between 1982 and 2009, 80% of HIV infections occurred in Australia through male to male sexual transmission. The overwhelming majority of AIDS
related deaths in Australia have come from gay male populations, especially from Sydney and Melbourne. During the years of highest mortality – in the late 1980s and early to mid-1990s before the introduction of new anti-retroviral treatments – illness and death haunted the gay communities of Sydney and Melbourne.

In this paper, part of a larger study of the emotional impact of HIV/AIDS on Australian gay life, we consider how the language of war, catastrophe and trauma has informed and molded first-hand accounts of dying and surviving the HIV/AIDS epidemic of the 1980s and 1990s. Chronicling and remembering the epidemic through the prism of war – as well as communal catastrophe and trauma – has provided a language to legitimate the deep losses of the epidemic on a marginalized community.

Leah Riches
PhD candidate, Monash University

In the rush of national fervour surrounding the Anzac Centenary there exists, possibly, an opportunity to get lost in the ‘celebratory’ nature of our remembering and lose sight of Australia’s long thread of commemoration and what this has meant to the nation over the centenary and the significance of Anzac Day to this remembering. Yet despite the centrality of Anzac Day to the national narratives, a history of the day itself, considered by many to be Australia’s true national day, has been largely left unwritten. There are limited understandings of how Anzac Day has been commemorated during its centenary and how the day’s diverse meanings have been shaped and contested over time. How has observance of the day varied across Australia and what does this ultimately reveal about the social and cultural evolution of Australian life? On occasion too, this dedication to remembering has wavered and today’s popular observance overshadows the decades in which Anzac Day was thought by many to have faded from the national consciousness; as recently as the 1960s the decline of Anzac Day had been widely prophesied. The focus of this paper will address some of these themes and explore the complex and varied ways Australians have commemorated Anzac Day.

‘Just another start to the denigration of ANZAC Day’: Evolving Commemorations of Australian LGBTI Military Service
Noah Riseman
Australian Catholic University

In 2013, the Australian Defence Force permitted its members to march in uniform in the Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras. This was not the first time that Defence members marched, but as the first time in uniform it highlighted a shift in Defence policy from ‘tolerance’ to embracing LGBTI service personnel. It also marked the culmination of decades of activism from LGBTI service members, whose push for legitimacy and recognition within the Defence community mirrored developments in civilian Australia. This paper examines three particular moments in that history which demonstrate the dynamics of social change within the Defence establishment. The first was an incident in 1982 when the short-lived Gay Ex Services Association attempted to lay a wreath at Melbourne’s Shrine of Remembrance on Anzac Day. The second was in 1995 when the organisation G-Force encountered fierce institutional opposition to marching in Sydney’s Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras. The final moment is the first uniformed march under the leadership of DEFGLIS (Defence Gay and Lesbian Information Service) in 2013. These three historical moments reveal just as much about the dynamics of social change in the Defence community as they do the changing demands of LGBTI service members.

Popular Phrenology and Lantern Magic: Aboriginal Responses to Race Science at a Murray River Mission
Alexandra Roginski
PhD candidate, Australian National University

Nineteenth-century racial scientists fixed their gazes on Australian Aboriginal people as favoured objects of study. But what of the rare, ambiguous moments when Aboriginal people themselves consumed these ideas? One such example of Aboriginal reception of race science lies in the visit of the itinerant phrenologist JB Thomas to the Maloga Mission in 1884. During this two-day encounter, Thomas presented first a lantern show of the Holy Land, and then a phrenological lecture illustrating how Aboriginal cranial difference precluded integration into mainstream colonial society. According to written accounts by Methodist missionary Daniel Matthews, the Aboriginal residents
responded enthusiastically to both presentations, with several converting to Christianity after the lantern show. The paternalism of Matthews no doubt contributed to his glowing report of resident responses to the phrenologist’s racialising message. But by rereading the visit alongside related documentary sources, it becomes evident that the audience may also have been genuinely charmed by Thomas. For these Aboriginal residents, who were already inured to discourses of racial difference within the mission model, popular phrenology may have offered exciting avenues to self-improvement. Furthermore, any pejorative fragments from the phrenological lecture may have been lost in the dazzling technology of the lantern show.

Humanitarians at Loggerheads: The debate between Alexander Maconochie and G. A. Robinson about a Native Police force in the Australian Colonies.
Lyndall Ryan and Jonathan Richards
University of Newcastle

The origins of the Native Police force in the Port Phillip District now Victoria, has usually been considered as arising from humanitarian pressure in the Australian colonies, and in particular from Alexander Maconochie, secretary to the Lieutenant Governor of Van Diemen’s Land, Sir John Franklin. But other humanitarians, such as G.A. Robinson, Superintendent of the Aboriginal Establishment at Flinders Island were deeply opposed to the idea.

To understand their diverging views on this important subject, this paper draws on Maconochie’s long article in Murray’s Austral Asiatic Review, 16 January 1838 and on Robinson’s journal and correspondence on Flinders Island from September 1837 to February 1838.

Maconochie seems to have developed the concept of a Native Police Force from sources around the British Empire and from Robinson’s appointment of Aboriginal police constables at the Aboriginal Establishment at Flinders Island. Robinson, however, considered that Maconochie misunderstood their role and drew on his understanding of North American sources to promote another approach to the subject.

When the two men met on Flinders Island on 26 January 1838, each set out their position to Sir John Franklin. An analysis of their arguments produces new insights about divergent beliefs in the humanitarian movement about the role of a native police force and the issue of inclusion and protection of Aborigines in the aftermath of frontier wars.

Governments Imagining Their Citizens: Figures of Exclusion in Australian Migrant Policy
Emma Sarian
PhD candidate, Macquarie University

The title of this paper - governments ‘imagining’ their citizens - is chosen with two particular aims in mind: first, to suggest that governments act not only as political institutions but also cultural ones, and that state power likewise can be considered in terms of cultural effects. The second aim, as a consequence, is to suggest that citizenship’s role in defining inclusion within a national space can also be understood in terms of cultural technologies of power. This particular focus is adopted in order to make sense of the ways in which the formally inclusive institution of Australian citizenship has long served to exclude migrant subjects and bodies from the physical and symbolic space of the nation. It considers the migrant policy of the Hawke and Howard governments and suggests that, despite their differing ideologies, both were implicated in the imagining of an ultimately white Australia through their construction of an ‘ideal’ Australian citizen underpinned by a liberal political rationality. More than this, it suggests that such state articulations of citizenship, by deploying this liberal governmentality, worked as tools to regulate the population through the production of citizen-subjects in terms of the self-regulating ‘native’ white subject and its regulated immigrant Other.

An Inconvenient Myth — The Lambing Flat Riots and the Birth of White Australia
Karen Schamberger
PhD candidate, Deakin University

The Lambing Flat riots were a series of violent riots led by European miners against Chinese miners from 1860 to 1861 on the Burragong goldfields in NSW. They led to anti-Chinese immigration legislation in NSW in 1861 and the White Australia policy enacted after Federation in 1901. However, legislation and government policies were not enough to create a shared sense of national identity. After Federation, individual and collective memories of the Lambing Flat riots were re-imagined as a national foundation myth. The town of Young, where the riots had
occurred were proud of the role that they played in the foundation of a White Australia. Indeed, residents proudly participated in a film titled “The Birth of White Australia” (1928) and many memoirs published around this time also refer to the riots as the birth of White Australia. Today, however, pride in this myth has disappeared and the town struggles to redefine itself in a modern multicultural nation, especially when there are increasing interactions with Chinese Australians who want to be acknowledged for the roles they played in the creation of the Australian nation.

‘I can’t bear to think of her leaving!’: the role of domestic workers in the 1946 Pilbara strike
Anne Scrimgeour
Independent Historian
The 1946 Pilbara strike has been called a ‘foundation story of the post-war land rights movement’. It was a central plank of the postwar shift in the Australian Aboriginal rights movement that saw the ‘more masculine definition of equality and rights’ of the labour movement replace an earlier focus on a feminist concern for the protection of Aboriginal women, as Marilyn Lake argued in 1998. Accordingly, the strike has been framed in masculine terms as a ‘stockmen’s strike’, with historical accounts tending to focus principally on the role and experiences of male stock workers. Yet half of those who joined the strike were women, many of whom had been employed as domestic workers on Pilbara stations. Just as the contribution made by domestic labour to the social and political economy of the Northwest tended to be denied, denigrated and made invisible before the strike, historic accounts have obscured the contribution of female domestic workers to the strike effort. This paper, based on joint research by Anne Scrimgeour and Victoria Haskins, provides evidence that Pilbara stations were indeed highly dependent on the domestic labour of Aboriginal women, and profoundly impacted by the loss of this labour through the participation of women in the strike.

Tom Sear
PhD candidate, Australian Defence Force Academy
The centenary of the First World War is taking place in a highly connected digital world. At the same time as historians reflect on how the remembering of the war has become subjective, personalised, affective, mythological, mobile and ahistorical, much of the commemorative activity surrounding the conflict is taking place in the virtual realm.

This paper will draw on my experiences of being at Anzac Cove on April 25 2015, where I will be documenting the use of digital technologies by participants in the commemorative events, as well as recording and communicating my own observations as a ‘digital historian’ engaging on-site. It also locates these digitised personal experiences within digital commemoration that generated avatars for participants in the Gallipoli campaign, and played out their historical narratives in real-time on Facebook and Twitter, such as @ABCNews1915 and News Corporation’s www.anzaclive.com.au

The paper will reflect on how changing contemporary notions of ‘the self’ and their relationship to history in a post-digital age impact on what and who is celebrated in the commemorative remembering of the Gallipoli Centenary.

Divorce Court theatre in early twentieth-century Sydney
Claire Sellwood
PhD candidate, University of Sydney
From the outset, Sydney’s Divorce Court became a place of free theatre entertainment, with a public gallery routinely crowded with onlookers. The new sensational genre of Divorce Court journalism thrived on and fed this popular interest in divorce trials. Previous studies have tended to consider these public spaces separately, primarily focusing on the performative aspects of the courtroom and the commercial nature of divorce reporting. This paper explores how the Divorce Court and Divorce Court journalism interacted with each other, and the broader theatre and entertainment culture, in early twentieth-century Sydney. Of particular interest is the growing number of women who comprised Divorce Court audiences, theatre audiences and newspaper readerships. Judges and journalists expressed anxiety about young women being exposed to the intimate, often sordid, details of divorce proceedings. The paper also considers these negative responses, and the important role that Divorce Court theatre and Divorce Court journalism played in debates about expanding rights for women within divorce law.
Tender Natures Shudder: The Foundations of the Anzac Memorial and the Politics of Memorialisation

Jason Shea
PhD candidate, University of Melbourne

Months before the foundations of the Sydney Anzac Memorial were laid in July 1932 the project was shrouded in controversy. Twin Rayner Hoff bronze sculptures proposed for the exterior of the memorial, The Crucifixion of Civilisation and Victory after Sacrifice provoked a chorus of conservative opposition; particularly strong amongst Catholics. The conflation of hostilities towards various aspects of the sculptures was pivotal in the decision to abandon their casting, and the Memorial remains incomplete. This paper will re-examine the controversy, and highlight the decisive role of then N.S.W. Premier Bertram Stevens. In addition this will present new evidence on the controversy, that illustrates the boundaries of acceptable public memorialisation during the inter-war period and the influence of contemporary sectarianism on the debate.

Saving the 'one remaining pristine continent': Australia, France, and the Environmental Protection of the Antarctic, 1988-1991

Emma Shortis
PhD Candidate, University of Melbourne

In 1988, after six painstaking years of negotiation, it seemed certain that the parties to the Antarctic Treaty would allow mining to begin on the continent. In 1989, however, the Australian and French governments announced that they no longer supported the Antarctic Minerals Convention and would campaign instead for a 'World Park' Antarctica. This alliance of former environmental enemies was met with surprise and anger by many parties to the Antarctic Treaty, who had consistently favoured Antarctic mining. Yet by late 1990, a concerted international campaign led by Prime Ministers Hawke and Rocard, French celebrity Jacques Cousteau, and international environmental organisations, had persuaded those countries to reverse their positions. By late 1991, the parties to the Antarctic Treaty agreed to ban mining indefinitely and committed to the comprehensive protection of the entire continent. The history and development of this remarkable agreement, however, is barely understood. Drawing on records of the Hawke government, the Bush Administration, Greenpeace, the Antarctic and Southern Ocean Coalition, and interviews with activists and officials, this paper seeks to understand the decision by Australia and France to oppose Antarctic mining, and the role of non-state actors in this decision and the subsequent 'World Park' campaign.

Unaccompanied Child Refugees and Their Guardians: Imagining the Australian Family

Jordy Silverstein
University of Melbourne

In Australia in 1946, the Immigration (Guardianship of Children) Act was passed. This Act was intended to support the post-war migration to Australia of British children, unaccompanied by their parents, and provided them a guardian in Australia – the Immigration Minister. While the Act has been subsequently amended in various ways, this key provision continues: those unaccompanied minors who attempt to migrate to Australia are considered to be guardians of the Minister. This relationship has been critiqued most recently in the 2014 National Inquiry into Children in Immigration Detention.

In this paper I will trace the debates which have been raised about this provision of the legislation as it applies to refugee children. In 1948 Arthur Calwell, the then Minister for Immigration, described himself in Parliament as the “Father” of these children. This paper will explore what this “fatherhood” entails: what can it tell us about how children, families, and the role of the Minister in relation to child refugees, have been imagined over time? By focusing on the ways that this legislation constructs a particular idea of childhood, guardianship, and parenthood, we can gain a sense of the differentiated ways that the immediate family is produced as foundational in Australian society.
Marriage, modernity and the 'Australian way of life': the influence of post-war migration on the Marriage Act 1961
Dr Zora Simic
University of New South Wales

The Marriage Act 1961 was a foundational moment in the history of marriage in Australia, not least of all because the Federal Government finally exercised its constitutional right to legislate marriage across the nation. While in practice some state peculiarities remained, the Act modernised marriage law through such measures as the introduction of civil celebrants. In tandem with the Family Law Act 1975, the Act has been widely interpreted as paradigmatic evidence of a ‘remarkable period of social legislation …in advance of what the remainder of the common law world was able to offer’ (to quote legal scholar Frank Bates). More recently, the Act’s historical significance has been assessed in relation to the Howard Government’s Marriage Amendment Act 2004 and its clarification of the original Act’s common law definition of marriage to explicitly exclude partners of the same sex.

In this paper, I approach the Marriage Act 1961 from another direction by considering how post-war migration informed the passage and detail of the Act and subsequent amendments to it. Marriage behaviour was often used as an index of migrant assimilation to the ‘Australian way of life’, yet migrants often faced significant obstacles when it came to finding a partner and/ or having their foreign marriages recognised. In seeking to address these issues, the Marriage Act 1961 revealed assimilation to be a two-way process.

'A sacred duty': locating and creating Australian graves in the aftermath of the First World War
Julia Smart
PhD candidate, Monash University

In the aftermath of the First World War, the Australian government was faced with the bereaved families of more than 60 000 Australian war dead whose bodies would never be repatriated. Having assumed responsibility for the bodies of these men, the government was confronted with the overwhelming task of finding and recovering the Australian war dead. Working within the international framework of the Imperial War Graves Commission, specific Australian units embarked upon the grim and seemingly impossible task of locating, identifying and reburying the dead.

This work was critical in transforming the chaos and devastation of the battlefields into peaceful contemporary cemeteries; yet closer examination of the nature of this work and the experiences of the men charged with this task reveals a disjunction between the reality of their experience and the portrayal of this work to Australians at home.

The work of recovering and reburying Australian war dead created the foundation for contemporary cemeteries and memorials, which have become a focal point for pilgrimage and commemorative rituals. Examining this work offers insight into the foundation of contemporary cemeteries in a physical sense, but also offers insight into early attitudes towards these sites, even as they were being created.

The Making of the Australian Working Class
Babette Smith

Sources for the mobility of ideas that explain the strength of working class culture in Australia are scarce. Traditionally, educated (mainly middle class) Irish rebels, English Chartists, Scottish martyrs et al have borne the weight of historical argument, and the 'crime' they committed at home was the key to interpretation. This paper argues that the reaction of ordinary prisoners to the penal system was the crucial factor.

From the earliest times in Australia, employers were contested in the workplace by prisoners whose weapons were the strike, insistence on 'penalty rates' such as tea and sugar and tobacco, demanding 'time in lieu' for working on Sunday. Predominantly, it was they who structured their working day. By the end of transportation to New South Wales, they had entrenched a weekend consisting of half day Saturday and all Sunday. A strike by convict sawyers revealed that some also deployed enterprise bargaining. The fact these contests occurred across the mainland, and included Norfolk Island, demonstrates the profound role they played in the life and culture of the penal colony. I will argue that penal conditions were the making of the Australian working class.
**The ‘NZ’ in Anzac: Different Memories and Meanings**

Philippa Mein Smith  
University of Tasmania

As *The Cambridge History of Australia* notes, there is a difference in emphasis between Anzac Day in Australia and New Zealand. Whereas Anzac Day in New Zealand is solemn, observed by the laying of wreaths and services at war memorials and churches, Anzac Day in Australia is ‘also marked by public marches of returned men, cheered by large crowds ....’

This difference of emphasis, between the march of the veterans and the laying of wreaths, helps explain why Anzac Day is more funereal in New Zealand. My paper unpacks this difference through a study of myths, heroes, rituals, memorialisation, and reinvention.

Highlighting the ‘NZ’ in Anzac recasts the conference theme: ‘100 years of Gallipoli: what are we celebrating?’ to question the idea of celebration. The relationship with Australians is the main feature celebrated in New Zealand Anzac Day speeches. Why? The paper explores how and why the Anzac tradition, while shared, holds different memories and meanings for New Zealanders.

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**Māori archives in/of Australia**

Alice Te Punga Somerville (Te Ātiawa/ Taranaki)  
Macquarie University

After two centuries of Māori presence here, archives about Māori in Australia provide opportunities for dynamic and significant research, but what kind of work can be done with archives produced by Māori people? Research I initially undertook as a literary project has been reframed by the research process itself as an interdisciplinary historical project about Māori writers and what I call Māori acts of writing. Specifically, in this paper I trace the arc of writing by Māori people in Australia, from first Māori writers in Parramatta in the 1810s through to a 1960 article by Sydney-based Evelyn Patuaua about Albert Namatjira published in the Māori magazine *Te Ao Hou* and recent published poetry and fiction. Reading this Māori archive is neither parochial nor isolating. Instead, I argue in this paper that inclusive, expansive and specific engagement with Māori archives in Australia complicates any single origin story of Māori engagement with writing or, indeed, Māori presence in Australia. Ultimately, thinking about this non-fiction, expository and creative work as a distinctive Māori archive enables the production of different and alternative histories of Māori diasporic migration, Māori-Aboriginal networks, and sustained diverse Māori experiences in Te Whenua Moemoeā.

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‘Kidnapping in the South Seas’: Glocal Networks in the Nineteenth-Century Labour Trade

Karin Speedy  
Macquarie University

In 1858, a scandal rocked the foundations of Sydney society – the captain and owner of the Sydney-based barque the Sutton were accused of kidnapping 65 Pacific Islanders to sell to sugar planters on the Indian Ocean island of Reunion. While Dorothy Shineberg highlighted this incident in a 1984 publication, she based her story on official documents located in the French and British archives and, unsurprisingly, largely portrayed it as a diplomatic dispute between the colonial powers. This article revisits this notorious, yet little known, episode, going beyond a descriptive account, analysing the press coverage the affair received in Australia as well as the archival correspondence. It repositions the narrative in the complex colonial space of Sydney, where culpability was very much tied to local politics, class and notions of nationality, and it explores the impact of this affair on Australian society six years prior to the commencement of blackbirding for the Queensland plantations.
Foundations of Oligarchy: The Australian Workers Union 1886-1950
Scott Stephenson
PhD candidate, Australian National University.

The Australian Workers Union (AWU) was the nation’s largest and most influential trade union throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Historians have identified it as the archetypal trade union oligarchy, yet the nature of this oligarchy has been little analysed. My paper will contextualise AWU governance within the relevant sociological and political science literature on trade union democracy. I will demonstrate that while the AWU’s oligarchy changed over time, it remained grounded in the union’s centralised founding constitution and exclusive ethos of mateship amongst white, male shearsers.

‘Sketches of Australia’: Colonial Gender Relations in Transnational Circulation
Ana Stevenson
PhD candidate, University of Queensland and Visiting Scholar, University of Pittsburgh

During the late nineteenth century, Harriet Clisby, an English immigrant to Australia and homeopathic physician, lived in Boston and built associations with the suffragists and labour reformers of the American women’s movement. In 1873, she wrote a journalistic series entitled “Sketches of Australia” for Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell’s Boston- based suffrage publication, The Woman’s Journal. One of Clisby’s main thematic concentrations in this series was the gender relations amongst the indigenous population of South Australia, observed when she was a child and younger woman. Her analysis revealed the cross-cultural interaction between nineteenth-century attitudes toward gender, race, and colonisation. Yet this was complicated by Clisby’s own women’s rights perspective, as well as her series’ circulation amongst American suffragists and other reformers. Additionally, since the “Sketches” were written twenty years after Clisby lived in South Australia, the role of memory shaped the representation of indigenous life during the colonial period. The construction and circulation of Clisby’s “Sketches” had implications for the way foundational stories about indigenous gender relations in colonial Australia were understood in the United States.

‘Camping bodies’ and Aboriginal spaces: Understanding settler subjectivities through an embodied history of place.
Jodie Stewart
PhD candidate and Tutor, University of Wollongong

Bilgalera (Fisheries Beach) is a popular local camping site on the far south coast of New South Wales near Eden. It is also the start of the Bundian Way, a 265km Aboriginal pathway stretching from the coast to the high country. For thousands of years Aboriginal people met on this idyllic site for trade, socialising, and ceremonies. With the burgeoning leisure and tourism industry after WWII, this Aboriginal place became an important site of recreation and leisure for Eden residents, a practice that continued until the beach’s closure by the Eden Local Aboriginal Lands Council in 2011. Many Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal community members express a deep and abiding attachment to this picturesque beach, formed through temporal and spatial interactions with the landscape. This paper explores how the leisure practices of camping and touring configure particular understandings of contemporary Aboriginal space. Via an examination of the shared settler colonial and Aboriginal history of Bilgalera this paper argues that particular embodied practices embedded in the touristic experience of camping and touring (re)produce specific settler/Aboriginal subjectivities. In light of this examination it asks how these corporeal and historically contingent subjectivities might engender particular understandings of the contemporary Aboriginal past and how ‘shared histories’ of place can help foster new ethical relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.

‘I can’t stick this any longer’: Returned Servicemen and Suicide in post-World War One Western Australia
Leigh Straw
Edith Cowan University

One hundred years after the ‘birth of a nation’ at Anzac Cove, Australians continue to identify with World War One as a foundational history of the nation. For the servicemen who returned to Australia, the public and institutionalised Anzac tradition was often far removed from their personal experience of war. For some ex-servicemen, the trauma of war continued to affect their mental and physical wellbeing and impaired their process
of ‘return’. The war may have been over but their internal struggle to cope with it proved overwhelming. This paper explores war-related suicide in Western Australia through analysis of personal, family and community experiences of suicide in inquest and police records, newspaper reports and family recollections. In many suicide cases where inquest records have been lost or destroyed, newspaper reports serve as important historical records for inquest proceedings, family experiences of the death and community commemoration. This study aims to provide insight into the reasons behind each publicised suicide to document the deeply personal struggles of ex-servicemen after World War One unsettled the foundations of their self worth.

Global Saviour or Son of Satan? The Role of the Emperor in Seventh-Century Apocalyptic Discourse
Ryan W. Strickler
PhD candidate, Australian Catholic University, Brisbane

The seventh century C.E. was a period of sustained conflict for the Byzantine Empire. The beginning of the century saw Jerusalem and the True Cross in the hands of the Sassanid Persians, and Constantinople and Thessalonica under siege by the Slavs and Avars. An eventual Byzantine victory was costly and short lived, as the century closed with heavy losses to the ascendant Muslim Arabs and Jerusalem once again under enemy control. Such instability was reflected in documentary evidence from the period. A variety of sources from multiple genres, produced by a variety of religious communities, increasingly employed an apocalyptic discourse to discuss contemporary events.

Byzantine emperors, both historical and eschatological, feature prominently in such discourse. For the poet George of Pisidia, Heraclius was the King David reborn. For the monk Maximus the Confessor, he was capable of ushering in the apocalypse. For Jewish liturgists and apocalypticists an unnamed emperor would be the anti-messianic ‘little horn.’ According to the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius the Last Roman Emperor would overthrow the Arabs, restore material loss, and usher in the reign of Christ. This paper examines the role of the emperor in apocalyptic discourse and what it reveals about Byzantine response to crisis.

Far From Home: Refugee Settlement Experiences and Challenges to the Family Unit
Jessica Stroja
PhD Candidate, University of Southern Queensland

Following the Second World War, refugees that were displaced as a result of conflict became a global concern. Many of these Displaced Persons were resettled under the auspices of the International Refugee Organisation. Various East European Displaced Persons settled in Australia under this scheme, although Australian immigration requirements favoured Baltic nationalities. Large numbers of these Baltic ethnic groups settled in Australia during this period and included Ukrainian, Polish, Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian refugees. A significant number of these post-war migrants were initially settled in South East Queensland.

The wartime and migration experiences of refugees have the potential to influence settlement experiences. For Displaced Persons who settled in South East Queensland, these prior experiences continued to resonate within the family unit throughout the settlement process.

Based on an assessment of Polish, Latvian and Ukrainian refugees who migrated to Queensland with children after the Second World War, the paper will argue that the pre-migration experiences of Displaced Persons continued to influence the structure and function of the family unit throughout the settlement process. In so doing, it argues that the typical foundations of daily life were influenced and adjusted throughout this process, revealing the way in which refugees navigated these challenges to traditional familial structures.

From Westminster to Whitechapel: Jack the Ripper’s position in the Thatcherite Narrative
Matthew Thompson
PhD Candidate, Australian National University

In 1983 the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher began to advocate a return to what she called ‘Victorian Values’. Some of the values which she advocated included self-reliance, moral responsibility and innovative entrepreneurship.

Thatcher’s views, however, were seen as problematic to many academic and creative writers in the Neo-Victorian field who saw Thatcher’s views as exploiting the Victorian Era rather than actually exploring it.
One of the main figures that was used to disprove and/or debate the Conservative Government’s ‘ownership’ of the Victorian was none other than Jack the Ripper. Using the Ripper’s own symbolic capital as well as what he represented, Neo-Victorian writers like Alan Moore and Iain Sinclair attempted to show the fractured histories that Thatcherism was ignoring or silencing.

This paper will show the problems defining the Thatcherite notion of ‘Victorian Values’ in order to emphasise the issues that many Neo-Victorians had with the phrase. By doing this, the paper will be able to show how the Ripper’s symbolic capital could be utilised in order to further a counter-cultural position in the Neo-Victorian debate.

**Anzac Memories Revisited: Trauma, Memory and Oral History**

Alistair Thomson  
Monash University

In this paper I return to interviews I conducted in the 1980s with Australian World War One veteran Fred Farrall, armed with new historical sources (including Repatriation files now available in the National Archives) and new ways of thinking about war, suffering and memory. My interpretation of Fred’s war and its consequences was central to the approach to individual and collective memory, and their complex interaction across time, which I articulated in my 1994 book *Anzac Memories*. Focusing on Fred’s experience and narrative of ‘shell shock’, I now revisit and complicate my understanding of Fred’s war and postwar life, and of how he created and recreated his war memory in different contexts and relationships, including the relationship between interviewer and interviewee, historian and witness. I investigate ideas about trauma, intersubjectivity and memory composure that have become important theoretical tools for oral historians. And I’ll note in passing ways in which the oral histories of war veterans like Fred Farrall are still significant, though perhaps now in different ways in this postmemory era, in our war centenary years.

**Hopeful futures: The emotional tales of child refugees in Australian picture books**

Mary Tomsic  
University of Melbourne

Picture books are foundational texts that introduce reading, literacy and culture to children. A number of Australian picture books published in the early 21C do this through telling stories of displaced children, refugees and asylum seekers. Many of these were published in the wake of highly political debates about asylum seekers, immigration laws and election campaigns. Danger, loss, fear, sadness, happiness and hope feature in these picture books of family journeys from home to new countries.

In this paper I will interrogate the cultural stories presented. How do the texts situate the experiences of the children at the centre of the books? How are these children placed in Australian culture, and by extension, Australian history? Following scholarly work on emotions, I want to interrogate the political and historical work that these emotive stories do. Moreover, scholars working on visual depictions of refugees suggest images often standardise, sentimentalise and ultimately silence refugees. I suggest that while this argument holds in some cases, in others, the narratives and illustrations tell complicated stories that create opportunities for dialogue, which is integral for nuanced public history.

**The artist and the teacher-soldier: Hilda Rix and George Matson Nicholas**

Rosalie Triolo  
Monash University

Hilda Rix was an emerging and widely-travelled Australian artist in the early 1900s. She was a student of Frederick McCubbin, an exhibitor with the Victorian Artists’ Society and a member of the Melbourne Society of Women Painters and Sculptors. Her mother, Elizabeth, was a capable artist, and her father, Henry, was an inspector in Victoria’s Education Department. That connection, her artwork, and an unusual set of wartime circumstances facilitated her marriage in London in October 1916 to a teacher from Victoria’s Education Department, George Matson Nicholas. He had enlisted from the Melbourne Junior Technical School in April 1915 and had experienced Gallipoli and the Western Front before his marriage to Hilda, brief honeymoon, then return to France.

For a variety of reasons, Hilda’s art received limited attention in the early twentieth century. Her works have since become highly-prized, having been exhibited recently by institutions such as the Australian War Memorial, the Bendigo Art Gallery and the National Portrait Gallery. Yet, within the re-assessments, few commentators have
referred to George, his pre-war and wartime experiences and their enduring influences on her life and artwork. This paper brings new information to account.

**Gallipoli and the Armenian Genocide: events in parallel universes or inextricably linked?**

**David Trudinger**

In 1929, Winston Churchill wrote in *The World Crisis*, in relation to what has since become known as the Armenian Genocide: ‘It may well be that the British attack on the Gallipoli Peninsula stimulated the merciless fury of the Turkish Government.’ Here Churchill suggests a link that almost no Australian historian in 100 years of writing about Gallipoli has explored. Yet some contemporary observers also made the connection, and recently a number of international scholars attempting to explain the horrifying destruction of the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire do so as well. But if there was a connection, or connections, what were they? What role could Gallipoli have played in stimulating the Armenian Genocide? This paper will utilise recent historiographical shifts in thinking about genocide in general, and the Armenian example in particular, which focus on the contingent role of war, and perceived national security/disloyalty crises, and the consequent ‘cumulative radicalisation’ of policies which end in genocidal violence. The paper will then explore, as part of a project to widen our perspectives on Gallipoli, the influences that event may have had on a complex matrix of prejudices, fears and paranoia which contributed to the even greater tragedy which was occurring simultaneously in the Ottoman Empire.

**Exceptionalism, Empire and the Challenges to Abundance**

**Ian Tyrrell**  
University of New South Wales

Exceptionalism is the key American foundational narrative. Most studies have concentrated on the empirical bases of Exceptionalism and its comparative methodology. Obviously the US is “different” from various countries but is it exceptional? Much conceptual confusion has revolved around this question, but there is no doubt that the idea of exceptionalism has proven resilient in the face on a widening gap between “reality” and ideology. This paper will briefly state the foundational ideas of exceptionalism, but will stress the importance of exceptionalism as a flexible doctrine that has grown in prominence and incidence of use in recent years, even as material indices of exceptionality have declined. I wish to focus on just one aspect of those underpinnings here: material abundance. I will argue that American empire relies upon exceptionalism, but is called into question by systemic crises over abundance, crises that are shaping narratives of decline and regeneration. I shall briefly examine three episodes in American history, concerning the years 1900-1914, 1973-81, and 2009-13, focusing on how energy abundance and perceptions of scarcity and waste have interacted with the idea of American exceptionalism and affected the course of empire.

**‘Heart too full for words’: Concern through Satisfaction on Victorian Aboriginal mission stations**

**Nikita Vanderbyl**  
PhD candidate, La Trobe University

Late nineteenth to the early twentieth century Aboriginal mission stations and reserves attracted a range of international and local tourists. Some came from missionary backgrounds but others were motivated by sheer curiosity to ‘visit the natives’. Visitors completed their stays by inscribing a reflection on their experiences in visitor books. This paper examines two such visitors’ books, from Ramahyuck and Lake Tyers mission stations, as a aspect of colonisation through the history of emotions.

Compelled by convention to provide a positive response to their visit, the numerous visitors to Lake Tyers and Ramahyuck demonstrated their concern through expressions of pleasure, satisfaction and enjoyment that Victoria’s Aboriginal inhabitants were safe and well cared for. Through an analysis of these expressions of pleasurable concern in the visitors’ books this paper highlights the production of a set of settler-colonial emotions specific to the mission space. By re-examining the mission as a site of emotional self-production this study adds a new aspect to mission history and early tourism in Australia.
The Storm is Not Over: Class, War, and Taxes in Revolutionary Boston, 1776–83
Ben Vine
PhD candidate, University of Sydney

In the American Revolution, few places experienced a more stark contrast between the glory of rebellion and the pain of its outcome than Boston. The town was largely laid to ruins by the siege of 1775–76, the first campaign of the Revolutionary War. Much of the town’s populace fled in the early months of 1775, and many never returned. On top of rebuilding the town physically and demographically, Bostonians also had to deal with constant militia callouts, Continental Army enlistments, small pox, high prices, shortages of goods, increasingly heavy taxation, and the constant presence of both American and French soldiers in the town. Historians have never adequately laid out the price Boston paid for revolution in the short to medium term. Doing so reveals how the difficulties of war and its aftermath hardened class divisions in the town, and divergent understandings of the Revolution fought for supremacy in the public sphere. These trials of the birthplace of the American Revolution raise large questions about the traditional triumphant narratives of America’s founding era.

Laying the foundations for prosperity in the tropics: constructing Italians as pioneers in White Australia
Luke Vitale
PhD candidate, University of New South Wales.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Italian immigrants became a target of organised xenophobic agitation, especially within the sugar industry of North Queensland. In some sections of the Australian population, Italians were perceived to be a threat to White Australia, subject to employment restrictions and were dubbed the “Olive Peril”. In response to growing anti-Italian sentiment, some Italians sought to highlight their pioneering role in the colonisation and development of the north, writing themselves into the history of White Australia.

In this paper, I will examine how Italians constructed a space themselves in the foundations of White Australia with a focus on Il Giornale Italiano, a bilingual newspaper published in Sydney between 1932 and 1940. In highlighting the role of Italians as pioneers, this newspaper also emphasised a shared whiteness between Italians and Australians of British background and appealed to important features of Australian racism and colonialism. I will argue that, in doing so, Il Giornale Italiano was not only defending the right of Italians to settle in Australia but also asserting a claim to be involved in managing who was allowed into the national space and in defining what it meant to be white in a White Australia.

History’s Blank Pages: Contemporaneous political biography & Australia’s ‘Founding Four’ prime ministers
Chris Wallace
PhD candidate, National Centre of Biography, School of History, ANU

Federation joined Britain’s antipodean colonies New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, South Australia and Western Australia into one nation, Australia, in 1901. Six years later, in The Real Australia, journalist and writer Alfred Buchanan could as a contemporary observer already write about four prime ministers: Barton, Deakin, Watson and Reid. Yet the first biography of Barton was not published until 45 years after his prime ministership; of Deakin until 13 years after his prime ministership; of Watson until 95 years after his prime ministership; and of Reid until 84 years after his prime ministership. All these biographies were posthumous. While Deakin has been the focus of much scholarship, with J. A. La Nauze’s 1965 biography of him a fillip, the biographical neglect of Australia’s ‘Founding Four’ prime ministers overall is striking.

Escaping path dependency: Whitlam’s transformation of the prime ministerial office
James Walter
Monash University

The Whitlam government is principally discussed in relation to the pros and cons of his charismatic leadership and policy innovation. Less frequently highlighted is the way the prime ministerial office itself was transformed. In consequence, established patterns of executive-public service relations were unsettled, reinvigorating processes of policy development and debate. Central to this was an increase in and elaboration of the roles of private office
staff. The intention was to challenge a limiting path dependency that had emerged in the long period of coalition government. But it was also cognisant of international debates about contestable policy advice. Architects of the transformation (such as Peter Wilenski) soon conceded that the aspiration of the PM’s office to become the policy driver in government proved unrealistic. And there were unintended consequences: some argue that the Whitlam innovations were the genesis of much more problematic ‘command and control’ styles of leadership among recent incumbents. Yet the opportunity for policy reform enjoyed by Whitlam’s successors depended on the more complex policy dynamic generated by these initiatives. This paper reviews the objectives of Whitlam and his staff, and some examples of the way subsequent reform depended on the institutional change they wrought.

Malmsbury Bluestone – Foundations in Australian History and Heritage
Susan Walter
PhD Candidate, Federation University Australia

Malmsbury bluestone is a building or dimension stone that was widely used from the 1850s through to at least the 1920s. As an adjunct to the International Association of Engineering Geology, the Heritage Stone Task Group aims to construct geological and historical citations of culturally significant Australian stones to nominate them as “Global Heritage Stone Resources”. The author’s research examines the poorly recorded history of Malmsbury bluestone since 1856, its known and almost mythical physical properties, its past descriptions of it being “famous” and its use around the nation in buildings, infrastructure, and memorials. While is can be demonstrated that it is indeed a stone which has played a role in underpinning our nation’s heritage, the question is asked if it could be cited in its own right, or would it have to be part of a conglomerate of all Victorian bluestones to reach the benchmarks set.

Intermarriage, mobility and imperial networks
Angela Wanhalla
University of Otago

Between the 1840s and the 1880s, the children of Māori women and European fathers were located in various sites across the British Empire, ranging from Sydney, Melbourne, and Hobart, to the Cape Colony, and the United Kingdom. To date, little research has been conducted on the transnational mobility of cross-cultural families in colonial New Zealand. This paper explores these histories of colonial mobility, arguing for intermarriage as one pathway that fostered the movement of Indigenous women and their children to different parts of the British Empire. In doing so, it engages with a growing scholarship concerned with Indigenous mobility on the imperial stage during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by demonstrating how cross-cultural families sought to make use of global networks and colonial connections for their personal advantage, or on behalf of their family and community.

Cheryl Ware
PhD Candidate, Macquarie University

This paper recasts histories of HIV and AIDS to focus specifically on homosexual men who have been living with the illness since the 1980s. Oral history provides insight into men’s motivations for publicly disclosing their positive statuses. While scholars have conducted significant and valuable research into Australia’s political responses to the epidemic, the impact public disclosure had on men’s private lives remains underexplored by historians. This paper draws on a selection of interviews with homosexual men who were diagnosed with HIV between 1982 and 1996. It traces how these men’s experiences with disclosure evolved from concealing their positive statuses in the mid-1980s, to appearing in the media as the “face of HIV” the following decade. Specifically, Australia’s Third National AIDS Conference in 1988 instigated a significant shift whereby gay men began publicly sharing their personal stories through the media and in public forums. These men drew on the foundations of public disclosure, or “coming out” that was instrumental to the international Gay Liberation Movement of the 1970s, and publicly identified as having HIV. In doing so they resisted representations of them as ‘guilty victims’ or ‘dying patients,’ and sought empowerment by presenting a personal side to the illness.
Suffering Settlers: Fear and its Genocidal Potential, New South Wales and Van Dieman’s Land 1816–1830

Warren Michael

Particularly during the 1820s, fear engulfed many frontier communities across New South Wales and Van Dieman’s Land. Aboriginal resistance to British settlement forced stock keepers from their huts, leaving the properties of settlers abandoned and unprotected. A concern that Aboriginal people indeed meant to exterminate their white neighbours was given imaginative ballast in the pages of early newspapers such as the Sydney Gazette. Prompted by self-preservation, validated by such rhetoric, time and time again settlers pleaded with colonial administrators to protect them from Aboriginal “outrages”. Ostensibly humanitarian governors often obliged, enacting policies that aimed to terrorize Aboriginal communities and secure the dispossession of their land. The commemoration of frontier violence, particularly so officially orchestrated, sits uneasily in the Australian imaginary, lacking the emotional valence which has come with the commemoration of moments such as the Anzac landing at Gallipoli. Less a platform for mythologizing the virtue of Australian national character, the violence with which Aboriginal people were dispossessed of their land asks rather more pressing questions of the nation’s historical integrity and credibility. This is evidenced by historical and political debate over recent decades. Most as it may be, the question of genocide is the most pressing question of all. Historians have rightly sought ideological evidence which would suggest that the British state and colonial administrators intended to exterminate Aboriginal people. Highlighting the shortcomings of such an approach, Dirk Moses suggests that historians rather look for moments in which colonial policy was “pushed in an exterminatory direction” in line with the implicit ideological and structural imperatives of colonization: dispossession and economic capitalization. By examining the role of fear in the demands settlers made of colonial administrators in New South Wales and Van Dieman’s Land this paper identifies one such moment, or rolling moment, of “genocidal potential” which went with the expansion of settler colonialism in the 1820s.

‘Like a Nobleman’s Park’: The Landscape of an Expanding Colony

Imogen Wegman

PhD candidate, University of Tasmania

Following the 1803 British settlement of Tasmania the land was roughly mapped. Over the next thirty years much of this was granted out to settlers. Though the intentions and official procedure are well-documented, the actual process has never been systematically analysed. This paper discusses the potential for using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to bring a systematic geospatial approach to aid understandings of the developmental stages of a colony. Using land conveyance records and maps, surveyors journals, official papers and muster data, the paper will demonstrate the capacity for creating a visual and data-rich image of European expansion throughout the first thirty years of the Van Diemen’s Land colony. In particular the paper will discuss ways of using GIS to visually explore settler exploitation of pre-1803 land-use patterns, the stepped transition from a subsistence to export economy, and the distinct patterns of settlement.

Lack of Opportunity: Understanding the Exodus from Sydney to San Francisco at the start of the Californian Gold Rush.

Cameron White

Three thousand five hundred migrants arrived in San Francisco from Sydney during the first two years of the Californian Gold Rush (1849–1850). This paper looks at who these migrants were and why they left New South Wales. It analyses these Gold Rush migrants as skilled, urban, tradesmen, mechanics and artisans who had initially migrated from Britain to New South Wales prior to their departure from San Francisco. They left New South Wales because of lack of opportunity. From this perspective, the departure of these migrants provides an opportunity to consider the relationship between, firstly, enlightened policies of migration and colonialism being espoused and practiced by British authorities such as the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, and, secondly, the management of the colony by affluent landowners and colonial administrators such as, in this case, Charles Fitzroy. This analysis also provides an opportunity to reconsider the way these Gold Rush migrants were represented in San Francisco as an invasion of British convicts.
ABSTRACTS – AHA 2015

'The politician, the clergymen and the tourist do not reach so vast an audience' as the exchange teacher
Kay Whitehead
Flinders University

This paper focuses on a small but steady stream of "exchange teachers" who criss- crossed the Pacific to work in the white settler dominions of Canada, New Zealand and Australia in the interwar years. Opting for temporary overseas posts, exchange teachers spent one year abroad while retaining their permanent positions at home. Firstly I provide a profile of teachers (almost all women) who joined the League of Empire's exchange scheme. The following sections discuss teachers' perspectives of their lives and work in their overseas posts, along with the benefits of the scheme as reported in newspapers and magazines. Exchange teachers taught in government school systems, travelled widely and were invited to address diverse groups. Reports of their work show that they used whiteness as a strategy to differentiate the lands and peoples they encountered during their year-long appointment, as well as their experiences of progressive education. While affirming the British Empire, they portrayed their overseas posts as modern progressive white settler nations. In conjunction with the journalists who reported their activities, exchange teachers were shaping public opinion on all these issues on both sides of the Pacific in the interwar years.

Aquinas at the US Military Academy: The Laws of Armed Conflict and the Genealogy ofMorals.
Jessica Whyte
University of Western Sydney

In the course of the twentieth century, the revival of just war theory saw contemporary variations on Thomas Aquinas, embodied in what moral philosophers have termed the ‘principle of double effect’, inform much philosophical reflection on the killing of civilians in war. More recently, US military lawyers have referred to Aquinas in interpreting the laws of armed combat, and in attempting to reconcile tensions between the principle of ‘humanity’, and the principle of ‘military necessity’. If we accept Quentin Skinner’s argument that the classic texts of political thought do not provide answers to ‘timeless questions’, then it remains for us to ask what work the reference to Aquinas does at our own historical moment. How are we to understand this recourse to Scholastic theology in contemporary struggles to define the moral and legal limits of acceptable killing? For a contemporary Just War theorist like Michael Walzer, the contemporary “triumph of just war theory” is a product of the Vietnam War, which revealed the inadequacy of non-moralising languages in articulating (and denouncing) the brutality of US military conduct. Seen from the perspective of recent historical research on human rights and the rise of moral politics in the 1970s, however, the moralization of political language in the wake of the Vietnam War appears instead as a means to cleanse the United States of the stain of its wartime conduct, and thus to ‘reclaim American virtue’, as Barbara Keys puts it. In this paper, I aim to interrogate the relation between international law and morality, and between the history of international law and the ‘genealogy of morals’. In doing so, I suggest that neither a strict contextualism nor a teleological account of the progressive refinement of moral sensibilities over time is adequate in understanding the contemporary prestige of Aquinas in debates about the killing of civilians. Instead, I suggest that Walter Benjamin’s remarks on the philosophy of history provide resources that can help us decipher the ‘constellation’ that a moment of the past forms with the present.

Comparative transnationalisms – the case of Chinese and Italians
Michael Williams
Chinese Australian Historical Society

The simple answer to the question does - Does transnational history have a foundation narrative? – is, No. In fact very often transnational history seems to begin with the existence of a group that does not fit nation-state boundaries and then works backwards on the assumption that whatever is found in the history was working towards that end point. The lack of a foundational or motivational narrative making it difficult, if not impossible, to understand the dynamics of these histories.

This paper takes two diasporas – the Chinese and the Italian of the late 19th and early twentieth century and through historical comparatives seeks to tease out those elements of each that can perhaps be seen as foundational. The result is a fuller understanding of motivations and in particular the role of the family and the villages in determining the patterns that historians have perhaps too imprecisely labelled diasporas or transnational.
Aesthetics, identity and a decked car park, the story of an urban planning process on Sydney’s fringe.

Ian Willis
University of Wollongong

The urban planning process is under challenge again on Sydney’s southwest urban fringe. The process centres on a decked car park in Camden’s town centre which has risen like a phoenix from the ashes to again undermine the community’s sense of place and identity. A 2006 proposal had threatened the picturesque view St John’s church from the Nepean River floodplain and Camden’s bucolic rural landscape.

The current proposal has produced a problematic consultative process with fractious relationships developing between principal stakeholders and strident responses from the community. The paper examines the trust deficit that has opened up between stakeholders in the decision making processes and asks the question: why is this urban planning policy issue so divisive?

The paper also illustrates how the historian can provide clarity around a contentious contemporary urban planning process. The historian can create a story that allows a complex issue to become accessible to the average intelligent citizen. This may encourage more active engagement in the democratic process as more citizens are able to put issues in the broader context and thus make a more informed contribution to the planning process.

Beautiful and Made of Fine Materials: New Beginnings and Foundational Myths at the Commonwealth Institute, London

Tom Wilson
PhD candidate, University of Brighton & Design Museum, London

The opening of the Commonwealth Institute in London in 1962 was intended as a striking expression of faith in the emergence of an united and diverse Commonwealth. But despite the forward-looking ethos of the new building, the Institute was also a legacy of Britain’s imperial past; many of the exhibits inside came from the Imperial Institute, where they supplied material for the domestic imagination of the British Empire.

This paper identifies several metaphors of foundational narratives at work in and around the Commonwealth Institute. It shows how the use of materials in the new building were intended to suggest a mutually beneficial economic relationship between Britain and the Commonwealth, but argues that such discourses occluded the actual economic relationship that made the exchange of materials possible. Inside, the Institute’s exhibition galleries relied upon and repeated foundational myths about the British Empire, and this paper demonstrates how objects previously used in the service of Empire were adapted to fit positive narratives of decolonisation. In this light, although the post-war modernism of the Commonwealth Institute was intended to suggest new beginnings and progressive change, such rhetorical devices can also be seen as a modification of existing colonial practices.

‘Dear Sir’: women’s correspondence with the Repatriation Board, 1920-1940

Stephanie Woodbridge
PhD Candidate, Australian National University

The challenges and failures of the repatriation system are central to current studies of the Great War, and to our understanding of the legacy of that conflict and its status in Australian history as a foundational event. But what of the thousands of women who cared for, and loved, those who returned injured, sick and mentally scared? Thousands wrote, often extensively, to the repatriation board, asking and in some cases demanding more generous pensions, better medical treatment, educational opportunities and training services to assist their families. The paper will explore this body of correspondence, and the women who wrote it, as held in the Great War Pensions Appeals Repatriation Files. I argue that these correspondents negotiated new spaces for women that spanned the public and private spheres. I uncover the ways women approached the board by examining the language used to make their case and how this changed over two decades. Strategies employed by the correspondents, such as gaining charity and returned services organisation support, will also be interrogated. By using Pension Appeals files I explore the repatriation process through the eyes of women as active participants within the system, with an emphasis on including women in Australia’s Great War foundational narrative.
Foundational moments in Australian press photography from 1888 to 1956
Sally Young
University of Melbourne

This paper focuses on five foundational moments in the history of Australian press photography by exploring a series of ‘firsts’. The first news photograph in an Australian newspaper was published on 15 September 1888, of a derailed train at Young, NSW. On 22 April 1908 the first photograph appeared in broadsheet the Age, after years of resistance because press photography was viewed as ‘low-brow’; emotional and populist. By 11 September 1922 the first edition of the first pictorial daily in Australia, the Sun News Pictorial (Melbourne), was published, demonstrating the growing centrality of the image. On 28 July 1952 the first colour news photograph was published in the Argus. This is claimed to be the first time a newspaper anywhere in the world had produced an action news photograph in colour within hours of the event. In 1956, the first photograph to win a Walkley Award, was taken by Maurice Wilmott of Sydney’s Daily Mirror. But that photograph does not actually show what it purports to show and therefore illustrates ongoing debates about the ‘staging’ of photographs, ‘chequebook journalism’ and veracity. Together, these five ‘firsts’ illustrate the foundations of press photography and some of its continuing issues from working conditions to audience reception, technological innovation and ethics.
Panels
TUESDAY 7 JULY

RACIALIZED PRACTICES IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH
Chair and introduction: Warwick Anderson, University of Sydney
Panellists: Sebastián Gil-Riaño, University of Sydney; Miranda Johnson, University of Sydney; Sarah Walsh, University of Sydney, Christine Winter, University of Sydney
Discussants: Ann Curthoys, University of Sydney; Tim Rowse, University of Western Sydney

What do racialized practices—including race science, racial identity-making, racisms and anti-racisms—look like when we re-locate them to the Global South? North Atlantic debates about race have dominated the conceptual history of race. Is there something distinctive about racialized practice in the Global South? How should one research and write trans-national and comparative histories of racial thought and practice? These are the provocative questions that researchers at Race and Ethnicity in the Global South (REGS), an ARC Laureate Fellowship project, have been investigating over the past three years. In this panel we will discuss how our individual research projects answer, further problematize, and reshape questions of race from different locations.

FOUNDATIONAL FIGURES AND THE AUSTRALIAN DICTIONARY OF BIOGRAPHY
Chair: Christine Wallace
Panellists: Malcolm Albrook, Australian National University; Karen Fox, Australian National University; Melanie Nolan, Australian National University; Nicole McLennan Australian National University

PANEL ABSTRACT

In postwar Australia, it was difficult "to get even the most elementary background information" on subjects in Australian history. The Australian Dictionary of Biography (ADB) was established in the late 1950s and it is an ANU-led national history project, the largest and longest-running research collaboration in the social sciences and humanities in Australia. This panel, consisting of current ADB staff, considers the ADB’s relationship with Australian history and, more specifically, its foundational figures in a number of ways.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

Inscribed in stone and bone: writing ancient Australian lives
Malcolm Albrook
Australian National University

Australian historiography has been reluctant to engage with a human history that precedes 1788 by many thousands of years. The skeletal remains of Lady Mungo, which emerged from the sands of Lake Mungo, in far western New South Wales, in 1968, provided for the first time, potent evidence that Australia had a human history that stretched back to the Pleistocene. Nearly 300 skeletal remains were found in the vicinity of Lake Mungo over the next 20 years. A gallery of footprints on a nearby clay pan presented eloquent evidence of the movements of a family group over 24 hours. And throughout Australia, rock paintings and petroglyphs show that a vibrant historical and visual culture accompanied human occupation. In Australia, this long human history has largely been the province of archaeology; yet some Australian historians have increasingly called for a re-think of the 'great divide' between history and archaeology, and between 1788 and the long human past. This paper will discuss some of the crucial issues in how national history projects such as the Australian Dictionary of Biography might engage with a human history that is much longer than the 230 of European settlement.

The Shifting Sands of Fame: Changing Ideas of Foundational Figures in the ADB
Karen Fox
Australian National University

‘If nations are imagined communities,’ writes literature scholar David Amigoni, ‘then so too are a nation’s biographical dictionaries.’ During the nineteenth century, national biographical dictionaries became a requisite part of national life in Europe, enumerating the nation’s heroes and encouraging national pride. Along with other collective biographies of national worthies, such dictionaries have been produced in great numbers around the world. Some have been scholarly, measured, critical; others populist, celebratory, error-prone. Gathering together the stories of individuals
variously considered worthy, significant, famous, or heroic, each has offered a particular vision of a nation’s past, its history, and its foundational figures.

The is one of many biographical dictionaries and collective biographies produced in Australia since the mid-nineteenth century, albeit unique in its longevity, scholarship, and inclusion of the representative alongside the significant. This paper considers how the visions of Australian history and identity presented in biographical dictionaries have shifted over time as Australia has been transformed in myriad ways. Focusing especially on the ADB, it asks how the cast of foundational figures has changed, how their stories have been told at different times, and how the resulting vision of the nation has been shaped, recast, and contested.

**Australian biography is like ‘Licking the cold outside of a champagne bottle on a thirsty day’ (Ellis, 1955): The ADB and the foundations of Australian biography writing**

Melanie Nolan
Australian National University

The Australian National University (ANU) Council invited Professor Keith Hancock to advise it about the establishment of a school of social sciences in 1947, hoping that he would become its inaugural director. Hancock in turn called on experts, including Professor R. M. (Max) Crawford at the University of Melbourne, to survey their social science discipline: review publications in previous 15 years and the current state of research; and recommend what would encourage research in this field in Australia. Crawford provided a bibliography that included just three dozen biographies in his subsequent report on History, suggesting that the newly formed ANU would provide a service to Australian historiography by producing an “Australian Dictionary of National Biography”. When Hancock finally took up his position at the ANU, as the director of RSSS and inaugural professor of history in 1957, he convened the first conference of, by and for Australian historians. This gathering agreed that a dictionary was the single most important priority to stimulate the development of Australian history. There are now over 12,000 ADB articles online and the NLA catalogue currently lists over 19,000 items for “Australian biography”. What was the ADB’s role in kick-starting biographical history in Australia?

**Australian Dictionary of Biography articles from the foundations up**

Nicole McLennan
Australian National University

An *Australian Dictionary of Biography* article is typically thought of as a rich fact-filled biographical account, economically written, and retaining a recognizably consistent style. The best articles will capture their biographical subject’s appearance, personality and significance, as well as telling one hell of a story. Yet what sources underpin *ADB* articles? How does one distill a life whose traces might have left behind an archive comprising hundreds of boxes of material into an entry no longer than a newspaper op-ed piece? Conversely, where such a documentary record has not survived or never existed, how might one produce a biography that does justice to its subject? This paper will survey the nature of the records used by authors and *ADB* research editors to compile biographical articles. It will discuss those primary and secondary sources that make up the foundation of most biographies, and explore changes in the documentary record underpinning *ADB* articles over time. How have the family history and digital revolutions influenced *ADB* entries? What challenges arise in researching the lives of subjects who lived in the recent past?

**ON SHAKY FOUNDATIONS: HISTORIES OF EURASIA AND BEYOND**

Chair: Mark Edele, University of Western Australia
Panellists: Sheila Fitzpatrick, University of Sydney; Mark Edele, University of Western Australia; David Brophy; University of Sydney; Philippa Hetherington, University of Sydney

**PANEL ABSTRACT**

This panel (roundtable) examines changing foundational histories in Eurasia (that is, the former Soviet Union and bordering Chinese territories). Sheila Fitzpatrick explores the impact of the removal of 1917 as the foundational moment for histories of the Soviet Union. Mark Edele analyses the struggles in today's Russia over World War II as the foundational event of a national history. David Brophy examines similar struggles to create a foundational history in neighboring Chinese Turkestan. Philippa Hetherington, finally, looks beyond the Eurasian space in an examination of histories of migration from the Soviet Space.
INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

Soviet History without 1917
Sheila Fitzpatrick
University of Sydney

When the Soviet Union ceased to exist as an entity in 1991, its history beginning with the October Revolution of 1917 abruptly ceased to be foundational. This paper explores the consequences of this change for Western conceptualization of Soviet/modern Russian history.

The Second World War as an Unstable Foundation: Russia’s History Wars
Mark Edele
University of Western Australia

Russia has been searching for a useable past ever since the implosion of the Soviet Union in 1991. The Second World War, or rather the war against Nazi Germany, was one foundation of a positive nationalism many leaders and led could agree on. This history, however, has been challenged by critical historians within and foreign scholars and politicians without. In the context of the Ukraine crisis, these confrontations came to a head, leading to unprecedented interventions from President Putin personally. This paper explores these interventions, their prehistories, and their context.

Refounding the History of Xinjiang
David Brophy
University of Sydney

This year will see the release of the official Comprehensive History of Xinjiang (Xinjiang tongshi), a work commissioned at the highest levels in Beijing, and ten years in the making. This makes 2015 a good time to consider various efforts to found, and refound the history of a political entity called Xinjiang (Chinese Turkistan, Eastern Turkistan) in the twentieth century. My discussion will begin with early efforts to establish a historiography of Xinjiang in sections of the Soviet academy from the 1920s onwards: at established centres of Russian Orientalism (Vostokovedenie) in Saint Petersburg, new institutions such as the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow, and in regional academies such as that of Tashkent. The 1940s and 1950s were a particularly crucial period in the transmission of this historiography to China, and the working out of a set of new orthodoxies on Xinjiang between China and the Soviets, some of which are now being called into question by Chinese scholars. Along the way I hope to discuss not only points of historical controversy, but also the use to which various genres of history writing have been put across Eurasia.

From diaspora narratives to ‘multiple mobilities’: rethinking foundational Russian emigration histories
Philippa Hetherington
University of Sydney

This paper will examine both Soviet and non-Soviet historiography on emigration and mobility from Russia throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. I will argue that both before and after 1991, this historiography has often remained mired in the study of particular ‘national’ groups, and that both within and outside the Soviet Union/Russia this has served to undergird the supposed inevitability of departure and reified the imagined cohesion of particular diasporas. In the second part of the paper, I will discuss recent developments in the social scientific scholarship on migration, including the breaking down of the ‘voluntary’ and ‘involuntary’ binary and discussions of ‘multiple mobilities,’ in order to propose potentially fruitful directions for new histories of emigration from Russia.
UNCOVERING PRIMARY SOURCES FOR THE FIRST WORLD WAR
Panellists: Guy Hansen, National Library of Australia; Elise Edmonds
State Library of New South Wales; Anne-Marie Condé, National Archives of Australia

PANEL ABSTRACT
The popular memory of the Great War is fading. It is no longer possible to talk to a soldier or nurse who served in the war. With the passing of the First World War generation archival sources are more important than ever. In this panel discussion, speakers from the National Library of Australia, National Archives of Australia and the State Library of New South Wales talk about how quintessential sources contribute to our understanding of the war. Central to this is the importance of photographs, manuscripts, objects and documents in building our knowledge of the past. Libraries, archives and museums play a key role in interpreting and providing access to these materials.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

Images of War at the National Library of Australia
Guy Hansen
National Library of Australia
Libraries, archives and libraries play a key role in storing and exhibiting objects, documents, ephemera and photographs relating to the First World War. It is my contention that this material culture record helps drive popular narratives about the war and plays a key role in constructing our memory of this period. In this paper I will focus on how some of the visual sources held by the National Library of Australia help us understand the history of the Great War.

A Collecting Legacy
Elise Edmonds
State Library of New South Wales
In December 1918 the State Library of New South Wales began an extraordinary project to collect personal war diaries. Before most of the servicemen and women had returned home, Principal Librarian William Iould began to advertise in the Australian and British press for servicemen and women or their families to sell their war diaries to the Library. Known as the ‘European War Collecting Project’ the collection reveals the personal voices and experiences of Australians serving in all theatres of the war. One hundred years on, this collection has been digitised and the Library is making the collection accessible for 21st century researchers.

Repatriation records from the First World War
Anne-Marie Condé
National Archives of Australia
The National Archives of Australia holds a large collection of records (perhaps as many as 600,000 individual files) of service personnel who served in World War 1, and who received post-war health care, welfare services and pensions from the Repatriation Department. Until now few of these records have been available to the public, but a process of description and selective digitisation has begun. This paper will discuss the huge potential these records have for understanding the impact of war individuals and their families in twentieth century Australia.

SHIFTING FOUNDATIONS – WOMEN’S RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES 1790 TO 1914
Chair: Philippa Hetherington, University of Sydney
Panellists: Gemma Betros, Australian National University; Les Hetherington, PhD candidate, Australian National University; Elizabeth Hellwig Australian National University.

PANEL ABSTRACT
Responding to the conference’s call to interrogate ‘foundational narratives’ in history, this panel will compare and contrast, in French, Irish and Australian contexts, the ways in which the foundations of religious life upon which
religious women built their communities shifted over the course of the nineteenth century (1790-1914). In particular, it will review how the contested dialectic between religious and secular authority impacted upon religious communities at different times. The panel will illustrate how these communities were influenced by government intervention through the period, and how these communities responded, re-affirming their roles and seeing off challenges to build new, solid structures through which to pursue their work into the twentieth century.

The first paper will examine French Catholic religious institutions, which were suppressed at the turn of the nineteenth century, during the revolutionary period from 1790 to 1801, but which were nonetheless able to re-build and expand their presence and work in France and beyond after the 1801 Concordat.

Bringing a transnational context to this examination of female religious life, particularly with regard to education, the second paper will examine the expansion of the Dominican Sisters in Ireland after Catholic emancipation in 1829 and their establishment in New South Wales in 1867, showing how the colonial government’s approach to education detrimentally altered the circumstances in which the order operated. Nevertheless, the Dominican Sisters were able to expand significantly in the years up to the First World War, influencing Catholic education and the role of Catholic women during the period and after.

The last paper will consider how, at the beginning of the twentieth century, religious institutions in France again came under threat, in a government-led secularisation process enforcing the separation of church and state, undermining not only the role but the very existence of religious communities. How one foundation, the Petite Soeurs de l’Assomption (Little Sisters of the Assumption - PSA), responded to that threat from 1901 to 1914 will be reviewed.

The panel will seek to demonstrate how a detailed understanding of the experience of particular communities of religious women in the nineteenth century can illuminate their place in secularizing societies and their own determination and innovation in responding to the challenges that presented.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

Foundations of the Catholic female convent life in the 19th century: the religious and secular accommodation

Gemma Betros
Australian National University

In February 1790, the French Constituent Assembly decreed the suppression of monasteries and convents, the beginning of a long process completed in August 1792 when all religious communities in France were closed down and their members told to disperse. Yet nineteenth-century France witnessed a dramatic expansion in the number of religious communities, especially those for women. This paper assesses the developments behind this revival and considers its implications for female religious communities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Focusing on three different types of communities—the Carmelites, the Sisters of Charity, and the new Society of the Sacred Heart—it traces the difficulties their members faced during the French Revolution and under the rule of Napoleon Bonaparte, and examines Napoleon’s efforts to monitor and shape the work of female religious communities in health, education, and welfare. Here it reveals the key role played by gender in the renewal of relations between the Catholic Church and the French state. Throughout, it argues that the policies of the French Revolution and Napoleon Bonaparte transformed the operation and outlook of religious communities in France in a way which, due to the nineteenth-century overseas expansion of many of these communities, is still widely apparent today.

Expanding foundations – the Dominicans in Ireland and Australia 1829 to 1914

Elizabeth Hellwig
PhD candidate at the Australian National University

Dominican nuns had been conducting educational institutions in Ireland since 1227, but the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 finally gave nuns legal status. For pragmatic reasons this ensured schools would become an important service of the Catholic Church in Ireland and, later, New South Wales. Here, early migrant nuns arrived with the understanding they would receive government support. However, state aid was withdrawn, bringing hardship but leading the Catholic community to rally around their religious schools and teachers. The story of the Dominican nuns who travelled from Ireland in 1867 illustrates the way in which strong, well-educated women met the challenge. A handful of Irish women inspired a hundred Australians to join them, and the nuns’ financial acumen and their mission to ‘teach the rich as well as the poor’ meant that by 1914 they had set up six significant boarding schools, day schools, a school for children with hearing impairment, and also staffed denominational schools. They mentored the new Josephite Sisters, welcomed the Mercy and the Brigidine Sisters to their diocese, obtained
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advice from lay educators, learnt how to work around the government requirements, and had a huge influence on the future role of Catholic women within and beyond their community.

**Breaking the foundations – laïcité in France 1901-1914 and the Petite Soeurs de l’Assomption**

Les Hetherington

PhD candidate at the Australian National University

This paper examines the case of the Petites Soeurs de l’Assomption (PSA), an order founded in Paris in 1865 to tend to the sick in their homes. The order expanded considerably up to 1900 under the religious community arrangements established by Napoleon in 1801. However, after the passage of new association laws in 1901 and the separation of church and state in 1905, the PSA suffered what its historians have called ‘the persecution’, when government action sought to impose legal requirements on the order under its secularisation policies. By breaking the foundations of the relationship between church and state in France, these laïcité laws disrupted the necessary work of the PSA in France. Nonetheless, this paper will argue that they did so without altering the PSA’s fundamental role or support base. Passive resistance to the new legal requirements between 1901 and 1914 laid considerable stress on the orders’ members without directly advancing the ideological or political objectives of the Third Republic governments which pursued it, but the PSA continued their work throughout these years. The response of government and sisters to the outbreak of the First World War brought an end to the persecution.

**THE WHITLAM GOVERNMENT 1972-75: A FOUNDATIONAL MOMENT?**

**PANEL ABSTRACT**

By its own account and in the opinion of many political historians and commentators, the Whitlam Government transformed Australia. As the IPA has acknowledged; ‘no Prime Minister changed Australia like Gough Whitlam’. In doing so the Whitlam government created rupture - in law, in public policy and public administration, in federalism and civil society - underpinned by a public mood that favoured the modernisation, in many respects, of Australian society. This year marks forty years since that government was controversially terminated and is an appropriate time to explore the nature and impact, the myths and realities, of the Whitlam government and whether it can rightly be seen as a foundational moment in Australian history.

While the end of the Whitlam government – dramatic, poignant and of intrinsic constitutional interest – has attracted much attention, some critical aspects remain relatively unexplored: what was the significance of the government’s re-election at the 1974 double dissolution and the historic joint sitting that followed? What did the Whitlam government actually do between December 2, 1972 and November 11, 1975? To what extent can the Whitlam period be seen as both a rupture with the immediate past and in continuity with the reform agendas of the Curtin and Chifley governments? A series of focused panels could harvest the emerging scholarly attention to the conjunctures (global and domestic), the achievements, the failings, the political lessons and the personalities of the Whitlam government.

There are several contexts in which the Whitlam government can be placed. In what ways did it seek to further the Post-war Reconstruction agendas of the Curtin and Chifley governments? In what respects did it anticipate or initiate the reform programs of subsequent governments (even those of Fraser and Howard, but especially those of Hawke and Keating)? How was its agenda shaped by social movements that emerged in the late 1960s? What were its assumptions about the scope of state activity, what were its constitutional innovations, and in what ways did it change the modus operandi of public administration and the institutions of government? How did it seek to change Australia’s position in global affairs? What were the projects of what Michael Kirby has called ‘Whitlam’s internationalism’, and how did the Whitlam Government approach the decolonisation of East Timor and Papua New Guinea? With what narratives of Australian history and conceptual frameworks did the Whitlam government seek to justify its various projects? Which of its legacies persist? What interpretations have been presented in writings since 1975 – including the memoirs of those who participated in it? And what does it tell us about politics today?

We have been extremely pleased with both the number and the quality of EOs received in response to this call, being in excess of the original 2-3 panels that we had envisaged. From those papers received we have selected 4 panels with 3 papers in each for the organising committee’s consideration. Each of these panels is set out below and contains an abstract of 200 words and brief biographical details, as required by the AHA in its call for papers. We think these would make a strong contribution to the conference at a most appropriate time for a reconsideration of the Whitlam government’s historical assessment and, while we fully appreciate that the final decision is for the committee, we hope that the committee can accommodate them.
Panels:  
From inspiration to implementation: Understanding ‘the Program’  
Nick Brown, Murray Goot, James Walter  

Transforming Political Space: Whitlamism as Quality of Life  
Michelle Arrow, Lyndon Megarrity, Melanie Oppenheimer,  
(with Erik Eklund and Joanne Scott)  

Foundational Policies: Medibank, Mining and Military Engagement  
James A. Gillespie  
(with Anne-Marie Boxall), David Lee  

Whitlam and the Australian Political Tradition  
Carol Johnson, Stuart Macintyre, Greg Melleuish  

FROM INSPIRATION TO IMPLEMENTATION: UNDERSTANDING ‘THE PROGRAM’  

Furnishing the prime ministerial mind: Whitlam and the national capital  
Nick Brown  
National Museum of Australia and National Dictionary of Biography  

Canberra, as Graham Freudenberg noted, ‘furnished’ Whitlam’s mind. From his childhood there, including his sense of his father’s networks in the inter-war Commonwealth public service, through to his vision of the role of central government and his courting of expertise to frame ‘the Program’, Whitlam drew much inspiration from the image and reality of the national capital. Labor’s election in 1972 saw a revitalisation of the ‘social laboratory’ role often attributed to Canberra, and offered recognition of transformations in government, research, planning and community-building with which the city was associated. Equally, the Whitlam government challenged the terms, traditions, interests and capacities of the national capital’s defining agencies and actors. This paper will assess the relationship between Whitlam and Canberra as both a distinct aspect of his personality and career and as a microcosm of the larger issues in the trajectory of ‘Whitlamism’ and the Whitlam government.  

‘It’s Time’: Labor’s Market Research, the Opinion Polls, and Whitlam’s 1972 Mandate  
Murray Goot  
Macquarie University  

‘Every aspect of the campaign was practised, tested and run through internal party polling – the images of Gough and Margaret, the message, the advertisements – even the slogan “It’s Time” was polled...if the polls were right, he had also gained the [electorate’s] “informed consent” for the most comprehensive program of reform ever attempted in Australia’ (Hocking 2008, 384, 396). This paper examines what the Party’s market researchers set out to find, what their research revealed, and how the questions asked and the techniques deployed differed from those used in earlier elections. Public opinion polls commissioned by the press also attempted to capture the ‘public mood’, the number of pollsters multiplying after the 1969 election and the publicity given to the polls becoming more prominent. What did the Party glean from these polls and how did it seek to incorporate their findings into its campaign strategy? By combining evidence from the Party’s research with evidence from the polls, the paper asks what voters knew about Whitlam’s program and to which policies it might be said to have ‘consented’. Given the standard view that Whitlam, the ‘leader’, was above ‘poll-following’, to what extent was the program itself a response to ‘the public mood’?  

Escaping path dependency: Whitlam’s transformation of the prime ministerial office  
James Walter  
Monash University  

The Whitlam government is principally discussed in relation to the pros and cons of his charismatic leadership and policy innovation. Less frequently highlighted is the way the prime ministerial office itself was transformed. In consequence, established patterns of executive-public service relations were unsettled, reinvigorating processes of policy development and debate. Central to this was an increase in and elaboration of the roles of private office staff. The intention was to challenge a limiting path dependency that had emerged in the long period of coalition government. But it was also cognisant of international debates about contestable policy advice. Architects of the transformation (such as Peter Wilenski) soon conceded that the aspiration of the PM’s office to become the policy driver in government proved unrealistic. And there were unintended consequences; some argue that the Whitlam innovations were the genesis of much more problematic ‘command and control’ styles of leadership among
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recent incumbents. Yet the opportunity for policy reform enjoyed by Whitlam’s successors depended on the more complex policy dynamic generated by these initiatives. This paper reviews the objectives of Whitlam and his staff, and some examples of the way subsequent reform depended on the institutional change they wrought.

TRANSFORMING POLITICAL SPACE: WHITLAMISM AS QUALITY OF LIFE

Localism and Regionalism: Competing means of addressing a ‘Quality of Life’ agenda in the 1960s and 1970s
Lyndon Megarry

Inspired by the promise of the Post-War Reconstruction era and informed by his own experiences as a young family man, Whitlam believed that it was the right of all Australians to experience the same opportunities for cultural, civic and social enrichment, no matter where they lived. His government sought to empower citizens in the suburbs, regional centres and remote Northern Australia, to attain quality of life and opportunities for the ambitious: ‘We must abandon the notion that if people want occupation, accommodation or recreation, particularly if they are young people, they have to go to the state capitals’ (Whitlam 1971). Whitlam’s attention to quality of life sought not only individual growth but also community life; both would benefit from Commonwealth support. This paper is about both the achievements and the flaws of Whitlam’s local and regional policies. Whitlam’s ideas were sound, but they did not fully take into account the practicalities of implementing such measures over a large continent; nor did they anticipate political and regional jealousies. Whitlam’s contribution to local government has been neglected by historians, not least because he was ambivalent about that tier, believing that regional authorities were the best means of promoting ‘quality of life’.

Bold Experiment: an historical analysis of the Australian Assistance Plan
Melanie Oppenheimer
Flinders University
Erik Eklund
University College Dublin
Joanne Scott
University of the Sunshine Coast

The aim of the Australian Assistance Plan (AAP) was to reframe citizen involvement at a local community level through the promotion of a new approach to community development.

AAP’s funding came directly from the Federal government through newly instituted Regional Councils for Social Development (RCSDs). Thirty-five RCSDs were established across Australia, administered by the Social Welfare Commission. The AAP broke new ground in terms of Australian federalism, localism, regionalism and voluntary action. Heavily evaluated at the time using evidence based research (another innovation), the scheme was largely dismantled by the Fraser government and all interest in it dissipated: there is little mention of the scheme in standard historical narratives of the Whitlam period. However, evidence suggests that the RCSDs created momentum for social change in their localities, helping to establish new community groups and structures that continued long after the demise of the AAP. This paper, part of a new ARC study that aims to provide the first historical examination of the AAP, will sketch the parameters of the project and focus on the conceptual framework that recognises voluntary action as a core theme for understanding Australia’s past.

Melanie Oppenheimer (sole presenter of this paper) holds the Chair of History at Flinders University. Previously she held appointments at the University of Western Sydney and the University of New England. Her most recent book, *The Power of Humanity. 100 Years of Australian Red Cross* was published in 2014.

Michelle Arrow
Macquarie University

Shepherded into existence by Whitlam’s women’s affairs advisor Elizabeth Reid, and led by Elizabeth Evatt, the Royal Commission on Human Relationships emerged from the fractious 1973 parliamentary debate about abortion. Tasked with examining the ‘family, social, educational, legal and sexual aspects of male and female relationships’, the Commission adopted Reid’s strategy of conspicuous listening: just as Reid had consulted widely with women across the country, so the Commission created opportunities for ordinary people to speak frankly about their intimate lives. It received thousands of submissions and testimonies about private experiences of motherhood, sex education, homosexuality, disability, rape, child abuse, and domestic violence. As Evatt later noted, the Commission
was concerned with the lives of those who had no unions to speak for them: citizens whose interests were not accommodated within existing political structures. The Commission’s 500-plus recommendations laid out a new regime of protections and rights for women, children, and sexual minorities, blurring the public and the private, and founding the Australian state’s response to the feminist and sexual politics of the 1970s. The furious reaction to the Commission’s final report showed the ways that contemporary political culture struggled to accommodate the Commission’s politics of intimate and sexual life.

FOUNDATIONAL POLICIES: MEDIBANK, MINING AND MILITARY ENGAGEMENT

Medibank and the Foundations of Universal Coverage in Australian Health Care
Anne-Marie Boxall and James A. Gillespie
University of Sydney

The Whitlam Government’s Medibank emerged from a fundamental debate about the Australian health system. Enshrining a passive payment model for health services delivered mainly by the private sector and primarily by doctors outside of hospitals, it supplemented a failing private health insurance-based scheme. Though Medibank was abolished shortly after the Dismissal, it was revived, as Medicare, in 1984, and it remains one of the few bastions of universalism in the Australian welfare system, surviving repeated attempts to reduce it to a mere safety net for the “poor.” Whitlam’s early (and misunderstood) embrace of public-private partnerships gave Medicare the flexibility to survive changes of political regime. This paper will look at the practical limits of Medicare’s universalism, using the experiences of people in rural and remote Australia as illustration and highlighting a series of critiques: that Medibank’s conception of ‘health care’ was too narrow; that Medicare is unable to meet the health needs of an ageing population, in which the burden of chronic disease continues to grow. In thinking about the future of Medicare, policymakers, academics and the people who use the system should pay attention to these enduring debates about universalism and the implications for practice.

'Buying Back the Farm': the Whitlam Government and the Attempted Australianisation of Mining
David Lee
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

In the period from 1960 to 1972, foreign capital became prominent in the mining of iron ore and black coal and in the aluminium industry. As federal Opposition, the Australian Labor Party promised to promote Australian ownership of Australia’s mineral resources — known as ‘buying back the farm’. Whitlam’s Minister for Minerals and Energy, R.F.X. Connor, formulated Australian equity guidelines for new projects, revamped the Australian Industry Development Corporation, to marshal risk capital for Australian companies, and tried to establish a Petroleum and Minerals Authority (PMA) as the main vehicle of the government’s Australianisation policy. The paper will examine, in particular, the government’s policies for an Australian-owned uranium industry and proposals for the Australianisation of Conzinc Riotinto of Australia (CRA). Despite the strong opposition to Whitlam’s policies from the Liberal-National Party Opposition, the States and parts of industry and the successful constitutional challenge against the PMA, the Whitlam government’s programme met with some success, and much of it survived the defeat of the Whitlam government in 1975.

WHITLAM AND THE AUSTRALIAN POLITICAL TRADITION

Gough Whitlam and the re-imagined citizen-subject of Australian social democracy.
Carol Johnson
University of Adelaide

In a number of speeches, Gough Whitlam suggested that his concept of “positive equality” sought to avoid the constitutional roadblocks encountered during the Curtin and Chifley years by bypassing much of the need for extensive government regulation (or resorts to nationalisation) and instead substituting the strategic provision of key government community services. However, this paper suggests that Whitlam’s concept of “positive equality” in fact involved a far more substantial transformation of the Australian Labor project. Whitlam was moving beyond traditional Labor conceptions of the citizen-subject as predominantly a white, male wage-earning head of household, with female dependents receiving citizenship entitlements largely at second-hand. Rather, he was re-imagining the citizen subject in a far more gender and racially inclusive way. Furthermore, it was not just that the worker was no longer predominantly perceived as being male or white. At the same time, the class subject of social democracy was also being re-envisioned via a focus on educational opportunity. In short, Whitlam was re-envisioning the Australian social democratic project.
Labor reconstructs: the 1940s and the 1970s
Stuart Macintyre
University of Melbourne

The post-war reconstruction project pursued by Curtin and Chifley and the reconstruction undertaken thirty years later by Whitlam were the two most ambitious exercises in economic and social reform undertaken in this country. Both involved substantial reorientation of Labor policy and enlargement of the role of the national government. Both mobilised popular support and both had their legitimacy challenged. In both cases there was an attempt to reorient foreign policy, to reduce economic and strategic dependence in order to play a more constructive role in regional and global forums – but both were hampered by vulnerability to world economic conditions and international conflict. Post-war reconstruction had its origins in the failure of the inter-war economic order, and it initiated a period of growth, full employment and rising living standards. Whitlam took up the reform project as that long boom was ending. A number of the participants (including H.C. Coombs and F.H. Wheeler) spanned the two periods, and many of those involved the reform project of the 1970s (including Whitlam) have testified to the formative influence of post-war reconstruction. This paper will explore the goals and methods of the two endeavours with particular emphasis on ideology, leadership, implementation and contestation.

The Whitlam government and the party of progress and party of resistance paradigm in Australian historiography
Greg Melleuish
University of Wollongong

The party of progress/party of resistance view of Australian political history was created in the first half of the twentieth century. The fate of the Whitlam government would seem to confirm its truth as a valid means of interpreting Australian history and to confirm the idea that the central theme of Australian politics is one of progress and reform. However, the nature of what constituted ‘reform’ changed under the next Labor government so that it seemed to mean what once had been described as ‘resistance’. Australian politics is still dominated by the idea of ‘reform’ but it could be argued that the term has been emptied of its meaning. How meaningful is it to use the idea of progress in Australian political history, especially in the context of the changes wrought by the Whitlam government, or is it the case that progress simply means, as John Anderson once commented, the ‘going on of what goes on’? If so, what is the significance of the Whitlam government in the wider context of Australian political history?
THURSDAY 9 JULY

BIG QUESTIONS IN HISTORY – HISTORY FOR LIFE

Chair: Penny Russell
Panellists: Ann Curthoys, University of Sydney; Anna Clark, University of Technology, Sydney; Catherine Freyne, City of Sydney Council; Peter Mandler, Cambridge University; Mark McKenna, University of Sydney; Rosalie Triolo, Monash University

PANEL ABSTRACT

This year in the ‘Big Questions’ session of the AHA conference, panelists will explore different aspects of the biggest question of all – the relevance of history to contemporary society. How do we bridge the gap between scholarly historical research and broader community understandings of history? How and when should academic historians intervene in public culture? How can schools and universities respond to (and benefit from) the enormous popular enthusiasm for the past without sacrificing the depth, specificity and diversity of their curricula? How, in turn, might forums of community and popular historical knowledge draw upon the scholarly training and rigorous research practices of the discipline without sacrificing their capacity to reach wide and diverse audiences, and to respond to the full range of interest in the past? How can we strengthen the relationship between the history taught in schools and the history taught in universities, to the benefit and enrichment of both? How do, and how should, historians of all kinds negotiate the diversity of empathetic and critical understandings of the past? How can schools, universities, governments, cultural institutions and community groups foster historical interest and engagement, in children as well as adults?

ANTI-SLavery IN AUSTRALIA

Chair: Fiona Paisley, Griffith University
Panellists: Penny Edmonds, University of Tasmania; Julia Martinez, University of Wollongong

PANEL ABSTRACT

Australia’s past has too often been viewed as a narrative of colonisation and convictism, but the question of slavery and anti-slavery animated debates from the earliest times. Until recently this has been a neglected aspect of our foundational national history, only becoming truly apparent in an imperial/transnational frame. This panel explores how ‘anti-slavery’ discourse shaped humanitarian campaigns in Australia, including Aboriginal rights, indenture, and sexual slavery, by investigating the transmission of ideas and campaigns through international humanitarian networks in Britain, Europe and Australia. The significance of this panel lies in its focus on popular culture and the textual and visual representations of ‘slavery’, their influence upon public opinion and debate nationally and internationally throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

Collecting Loerrynminer’s ‘Testimony’: Quaker Humanitarian Anti-Slavery thought and action and the politics of witnessing in the Bass Strait Islands, Van Diemen’s Land, 1832.

Penny Edmonds
University of Tasmania

In 1832 British Quakers James Backhouse and George Washington Walker travelled ‘under concern’ to the antipodean colonies on a mission sponsored by the Religious Society of Friends. This paper examines Backhouse and Walker’s mission to witness the ‘testimony’ of Loerrynminer and other Aboriginal women who had lived with sealers in the Bass Strait Islands, Van Diemen’s Land (Tasmania). It argues that this investigative journey is best comprehended in the context of the long tradition of Quaker transimperial travel ‘under concern’ and particularly their abolitionist witnessing undertaken from the late eighteenth century and its associated texts with their distinctive form, language and repertoire. Urging that we read ‘along the grain’ of the archive in line with Ann Stoler, the article explores the transnational travel and curious translation of humanitarian abolitionist sentiment, text, and action across and between colonies of slavery and settlement, and the various ’species of slavery’ that were imagined, constructed and examined by Quaker humanitarians in this Age of Reform.

Allegations of Indigenous slavery in the north Australian colonial pearlshell industry’
Julia Martinez
University of Wollongong

Since its inception in the 1860s the Australian pearshell industry has been the subject of numerous reports and commissions seeking to address the problems of alleged slavery in the industry. Henry Reynolds wrote in This Whispering in our Hearts of the 1880s humanitarians who struggled to bring about change in Western Australia. In this paper I focus on the 1870s when the Western Australian and Queensland colonial governments took steps to try to protect Indigenous peoples. The notion that slavery was being allowed under British rule was already drawing outraged criticism in newspaper articles in the Australian press. As the South Australians took control of the Northern Territory they too were drawn into the debate, protesting that Port Essington peoples were being kidnapped by pearl masters. Catherine Hall reminds us that historians of anti-slavery should aim to place the slaves at the centre of the story. In this paper I attempt to trace not only the words and actions of the white humanitarians of this period, but also to consider the extent to which they were inspired by the testimonies and acts of resistance by Aboriginal peoples in the industry.

KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS AND EDUCATION EXCHANGE ACROSS THE PACIFIC:
TEACHER, ‘NATIVE’, CITIZEN

Chair: Tomoko Akami, ANU
Panellists: Julie McLeod, University of Melbourne Fiona Paisley, Griffith University; Kay Whitehead, Flinders University

PANEL ABSTRACT

This panel adopts a transnational approach to the history of education in the Pacific. By placing networks of educational actors and ideas in centre frame, it draws on national and imperial histories of the history of education, Aboriginal history in Australia and Indigenous Pacific histories, and the history of ideas about citizen subjects and colonialism more broadly. Through an investigation of trans-pacific networks and educational conferences and exchanges during the interwar period, the panel places questions of ‘educability’, citizenship and whiteness in critical relationship to each other, arguing for the intersections/collisions between educational and anthropological expertise within international debates about pedagogy and their significance for understanding the interrelationship between the social sciences, national reputation, and world government in the context of colonisation.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

Educating the native in an era of freedom: interwar progressivism and its other
Julie McLeod,
University of Melbourne

Proponents of progressive education travelled extensively during the interwar years, with the exchange of ideas bolstered by a series of international congresses, informal and institutional networks and the support of philanthropic agencies. Debates about how to educate children and young people for world-mindedness and responsible future citizenship were accompanied by a child-centred philosophy and a self-conscious sense of a ‘new spirit of freedom’ in which education played a pivotal role. This paper juxtaposes the inclusive and cosmopolitan ambitions of progressivism with concurrent debates about the educability of ‘native’ peoples. The focus is a five-week residential conference convened in Honolulu in 1936, (Education in Pacific Countries referred to also as Education of the Native Races in the Pacific). Educationalists and anthropologists from across the Pacific and beyond reflected on the possibilities for and approaches to educating native people, including the circumstances of the Australian Aborigine, characterising the challenges in terms of confinement not cosmopolitanism, passivity not autonomy and limitations not possibilities. These debates about race, education and educability not only point to the omissions and underside of progressivism, but also highlight the dividing practices of internationalism and worldly citizenship in the interwar years.

Education as Applied Anthropology: Race Relations and the Modernization of Colonialism in the 1930s
Fiona Paisley
Griffith University
This paper considers debates about educability in the Pacific through closer analysis of the writings of Felix Keesing (one of the convenors of the 1936 conference discussed in paper one) and in collaboration with his work and life partner, Marie Keesing. While each was closely involved in the Institute of Pacific Relations in Honolulu and directly involved in organizing the conference and the book on which it was based, both Keesings published on the question of educational policy and the application of anthropology in the modernization of colonialism and race relations in the Pacific. The Keesings provide an insight into the ways in which global and regional debates were shaped by and helped to promote the careers of two New Zealanders who epitomize the vibrancy of transnational networks among progressive scholars and practitioners in this era engaged in questions of educability as a discourse legitimating colonial rule (that vibrancy is taken up in the context of ‘teacher exchange’ in paper 3 of this panel). The couple’s work illustrates also, I argue, that settler colonialism as a set of relations ongoing in New Zealand, Australia and Hawaii (among other places) remained for the most part at the margins of international debate about the future and purpose of ‘native’ education.

‘The politician, the clergyman and the tourist do not reach so vast an audience’ as the exchange teacher

Kay Whitehead
Flinders University

This paper focuses on a small but steady stream of "exchange teachers" who criss- crossed the Pacific to work in the white settler dominions of Canada, New Zealand and Australia in the interwar years. Opting for temporary overseas posts, exchange teachers spent one year abroad while retaining their permanent positions at home. Firstly I provide a profile of teachers (almost all women) who joined the League of Empire's exchange scheme. The following sections discuss teachers' perspectives of their lives and work in their overseas posts, along with the benefits of the scheme as reported in newspapers and magazines. Exchange teachers taught in government school systems, travelled widely and were invited to address diverse groups. Reports of their work show that they used whiteness as a strategy to differentiate the lands and peoples they encountered during their year-long appointment, as well as their experiences of progressive education. While affirming the British Empire, they portrayed their overseas posts as modern progressive white settler nations. In conjunction with the journalists who reported their activities, exchange teachers were shaping public opinion on all these issues on both sides of the Pacific in the interwar years.
FRIDAY 10 JULY

IS IT TIME FOR DEEP TIME?
Panellists: Prof Ann McGrath Australian National University; Prof Lynette Russell Monash; Prof Peter Hiscock, University of Sydney

PANEL ABSTRACT
This panel will discuss the importance of interdisciplinary research into Australia’s deep past with an eye toward a Centre of Excellence bid on the topic. Whether this is 1770, 1788 or earlier, Australian history still tends to start with European arrival stories. Given calls by David Christian, Daniel Smail, David Armitage, Jo Guldi and others to move away from the ‘Short Past’ towards a more ambitious history of the longue durée that embraces the potential for digital data, is it time for Australianists to get serious about breaking the barrier between ‘history time’ as ‘coloniser time’ and ‘prehistory’ or ‘archaeology’ as either a timeless zone or a scientific zone? This panel of historians and archaeologists will explore what tools do we need to change the way we think about the deep past of the Australian continent? And might this create a path for Australianists to start to envisage an Australian history that goes beyond the transnational to become truly global?

HISTORICISING INTERNATIONAL LAW
Panellists: Ian Hunter, University of Queensland; Anne Orford, Melbourne Law School; Jessica Whyte, University of Western Sydney

PANEL ABSTRACT
This panel will revisit ongoing debates about the form in which and the degree to which international law can or should be historicised. While many international lawyers and professional historians would agree that international law must be understood in its context, how this might be achieved remains a hotly contested question. At stake are competing visions of whether and to what extent ideas and concepts can move across time and space, how we should understand the proper context in which to study a text, and whether the relation between text and context can itself be historicised. The panel will bring together scholars from international law, intellectual history, and philosophy to explore the issues raised by this debate.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

Different Paths to Disparate Ends: Dialectical and Contextual Histories of International Law
Ian Hunter
University of Queensland

There are presently two main ways of writing the history of international law. Dialectical histories deploy a series of dynamic philosophical oppositions — between facts and norms, instrumentalism and formalism, ‘apology and utopia’, managerialism and idealism — in order to write accounts of international law in terms of the progressive realisation (and frustration) of supra-state legal norms in history. Contextual histories situate particular forms of international law — treaties, agreements, conventions, customs and ceremonies — within concrete diplomatic, military, religious, and political circumstances, describing their use in these circumstances in historical narratives that have no intrinsic moral direction. In briefly sketching the form and limits of these radically different historiographies it is useful to touch on their own histories. Drawing on Kantian philosophy, dialectical histories of international law first emerged in the context of late-nineteenth-century internationalism as a kind of ‘estate history’ for a cadre of cosmopolitan philosophical jurists. Grounded in Renaissance legal humanism, contextual histories of international law and jus gentium first emerged in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century treaties intended as political advice for territorial rulers and as textbooks for the training of their diplomats and jurists. Given the depth of historical difference between these rival historiographic subcultures, it might not be possible to provide a broadly agreeable account of them within a single domain of academic reason.

Meaning and Understanding in International Law and Intellectual History
Anne Orford
Melbourne Law School
In recent years, we have seen an explosion of scholarship concerned with the question of whether and how the imperial past is relevant to the internationalist present. Interest in the precursors to current forms of global ordering and their ideological justifications has fuelled new fields of study and new interdisciplinary encounters. The study of the past as it relates to international law is a project that is now being undertaken not only by international lawyers and legal historians, but also by scholars in world history, global history, imperial history, the history of human rights, and intellectual history, as well as philosophy, politics, literature, postcolonial studies, and critical geography. This presentation will explore some of the methodological questions to which these emerging interdisciplinary encounters have given rise. In particular, it will defend the claim that it is not possible to understand the contemporary operation of international law in its many forms without attending to the ways in which international legal argument, institutions, practices, and doctrines depend upon the movement of meaning across time and place. In particular, I will suggest that while many international lawyers and intellectual historians share a methodological commitment to studying ideas or concepts 'in context', the two fields take different approaches to the question of what the appropriate context is. In some of the polemics on understanding, meaning, and interpretation that have since served as founding statements of Cambridge school method, Quentin Skinner argued that it was a mistake to study past texts in order to trace 'the morphology of a given concept over time'. He argued that instead scholars should concern themselves with studying what an author intended to do in the temporal context of 'the given occasion' when an utterance was 'performed'. In contrast, I suggest that it is not possible to understand the role of international legal arguments as political interventions in particular social contexts and political power struggles without understanding the dependence of such arguments upon the idea that legal concepts have a history. The presentation will draw on recent debates about the legality of humanitarian intervention and the direction of trade negotiations to illustrate the analytical and political stakes of this methodological debate. It will conclude by asking whether we can imagine a world in which international law is purely presentist, and whether that is a world we would want to inhabit.

Aquinas at the US Military Academy: The Laws of Armed Conduct and the Genealogy of Morals.
Jessica Whyte
University of Western Sydney

In the course of the twentieth century, the revival of just war theory saw contemporary variations on Thomas Aquinas, embodied in what moral philosophers have termed the 'principle of double effect', inform much philosophical reflection on the killing of civilians in war. More recently, US military lawyers have referred to Aquinas in interpreting the laws of armed combat, and in attempting to reconcile tensions between the principle of 'humanity', and the principle of 'military necessity'. If we accept Quentin Skinner's argument that the classic texts of political thought do not provide answers to 'timeless questions', then it remains for us to ask what work the reference to Aquinas does at our own historical moment. How are we to understand this recourse to Scholastic theology in contemporary struggles to define the moral and legal limits of acceptable killing? For a contemporary Just War theorist like Michael Walzer, the contemporary "triumph of just war theory" is a product of the Vietnam War, which revealed the inadequacy of non-moralising languages in articulating (and denouncing) the brutality of US military conduct. Seen from the perspective of recent historical research on human rights and the rise of moral politics in the 1970s, however, the moralization of political language in the wake of the Vietnam War appears instead as a means to cleanse the United States of the stain of its wartime conduct, and thus to 'reclaim American virtue', as Barbara Keys puts it. In this paper, I aim to interrogate the relation between international law and morality, and between the history of international law and the 'genealogy of morals'. In doing so, I suggest that neither a strict contextualism nor a teleological account of the progressive refinement of moral sensibilities over time is adequate in understanding the contemporary prestige of Aquinas in debates about the killing of civilians. Instead, I suggest that Walter Benjamin's remarks on the philosophy of history provide resources that can help us decipher the 'constellation' that a moment of the past forms with the present.

INDIGENOUS FOUNDATIONAL HISTORIES?

Chair and Introduction: Miranda Johnson, University of Sydney
Panellists: Aroha Harris (Te Rarawa, Ngapuhi), University of Auckland; Stephen Kinnane, University of Notre Dame Australia, Broome; Michael Stevens (nō Kāi Tahu), University of Otago

PANEL ABSTRACT
In the wake of the publication of seminal histories of indigenous peoples in both Australia and New Zealand in the past ten years, this panel asks whether such ambitious projects serve as ‘foundational’ histories for scholars in Aboriginal and Māori studies in each country. Indigenous scholars who have worked on the *First Australians* (2008) and *Tangata Whenua* (2014) projects will reflect on the intentions and aspirations of these books, as well as the limits and difficulties inherent in producing general histories of indigenous peoples. We contemplate how these books are more than reference texts, and may constitute new approaches to indigenous history-writing, particularly in the attempt to write “deep” indigenous history. We debate whether such “deep” history is, in fact, “foundational” in the sense of serving as a substructure for these relatively new scholarly fields and how such approaches might speak to and challenge other scholarly historical projects.

history, creative documentary (both visual and literary), and tensions surrounding the ideals of sustainability and the relationships between individuality, community, country, economy and human development. He is a descendent of the Miriwoong people of the East Kimberley.
Religious History Association 2015
Abstracts
Keynotes
In the Beginning: The Origins and Impact of the Alliance between Church and State in the Delivery of Welfare Services in Australia

Professor Shurlee Swain
Australian Catholic University

In a nation where governments and churches have collaborated in the relief of poverty since 1788, such collaboration was seen as normative rather than problematic. Indeed most Australians would struggle to imagine a welfare system that was not built on such an arrangement. However, by the late twentieth century, the world views and ideologies of church leaders and politicians were no longer in alignment, creating tensions in the relationship. This paper will explore the origins and development of church-state collaboration in the delivery of welfare, and examine the impact this has had on both the shape of charity and the mission of the churches. As church-based agencies are increasingly challenged in an environment in which government funding is tied to policies which transgress the principles of the gospels, and victims of past welfare practices demand reparation for past wrongs, the paper will ask: how did Australia come to this state?
Papers
Spooks and Scientologists: Secrecy, Surveillance and Subversion in Cold War Australia 1954-1983
Bernard Doherty
Macquarie University

In 1982 the Church of Scientology lost an important legal case in the High Court of Australia (Church of Scientology v Woodward) in which they sought to take legal recourse against the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (A.S.I.O.), Australia’s domestic national security service, for its alleged surveillance against them. This case, which became an important test case in the history of Australian legal debate regarding the accountability of intelligence agencies, was the culmination of nearly thirty years of interactions between Scientology and A.S.I.O as well as other international security and intelligence organizations. One year later, however, the Archives Act 1983 was passed, which facilitated the declassification of Cabinet and intelligence files following a thirty-year period. While A.S.I.O. was initially reluctant to release any files, beginning in early 2000s the National Archives of Australia began releasing the A.S.I.O files relating to Scientology dating back to the mid-1950s. This paper will seek to given an overview of the content and historical context of these files, situating the surveillance of Scientology within A.S.I.O.’s wider ambit of combating subversion and perceived threats to the Australian state over the Cold War period. It will also examine what, if any, role A.S.I.O. played in the legislative restrictions on Scientology in Victoria (1965), South Australia (1968) and Western Australia (1968), all of which have since been overturned.

The Nature of Experience in Asian-Derived Meditation and Mind-Body Practices Popular in the West
Glennys Eddy
University of Sydney

The focus on personal experience is a significant factor in the Western engagement with Asian-derived meditative practices such as Tai Chi, Chi Kung, Yoga, and several forms of Buddhist meditation. These practices are currently popular among those with religious aspirations and those interested in the health benefits these practices bestow. Developments in recent decades include: the endorsement of secular applications of practices such as Tai Chi by medical practitioners and Vipassana meditation as mindfulness practice by psychologists; the growth in number and type of meditation and wellness retreats; and the mixing of practices, for instance the introduction of Tai Chi and Chi Kung into meditation programs at some Buddhist centres.

Although scholars such as Sharf and Tweed argue that experience is an inappropriate topic within Religious Studies because of the inaccessibility of the mental states and personal experiences of religious actors to researchers, I maintain that meditative experience can be studied by the way it is interpreted and attributed value by the practitioners; by its role in their meaning-making processes. Drawing on ethnographic research conducted for my doctoral thesis in two local Western Buddhist centres, I discuss the role of the experiential in the Western engagement with these practices.

Archbishop Mannix’s vision for a Catholic Australia
James Franklin
University of New South Wales

Archbishop Mannix became Australia’s best-known churchman through his role in the conscription debates of World War I. In that role he appeared as Catholic tribal leader, emphasising Catholics’ separate identity and provoking Protestant allegations of disloyalty. Mannix however had a much wider agenda for Australia, based on a mixture of papal thought on “social justice”, Irish anti-imperialism and Australian labour values. It included high wages, natalism, immigration, rural settlement, state subsidies to church schools and opposition to contraception. A very similar package was implemented in Ireland by Mannix’s friend de Valera. In Australia it was not implemented in general, but had influence in Labor politics, especially through the actions of Mannix’s associates Scullin, Calwell and Santamaria. Its biggest success was Calwell’s immigration policy, which created multicultural Australia.

Although Mannix died aged 99 over fifty years ago, his vision is far from dead – Australia’s Prime Minister and leading cardinal are both second-generation followers of Mannix. In religious thought, extinction is not forever. The paper includes findings from the new book, The Real Archbishop Mannix: From the Sources (Connor Court).
Pentecostal–Charismatic Christianity and Late-Modernity: A Symbiotic Relationship?
Mark Jennings
Murdoch University

Early twentieth century social thinkers such as Durkheim and Weber proposed the so-called Secularization Thesis, predicting that rationalism and science would produce a world with no place for religion. However, Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity (PCC) has demonstrated a remarkable ability to adapt and grow in late-modern, “secular” societies. PCC makes up 23% of the population of the United States, and is the fastest growing religion in France. Australia, a historically secular nation, boasts some of the world’s largest and most influential PCC congregations.

The fact that PCC has been shaped by the modernity in which it began and flourished has been well documented. Arguably, PCC also exercises a reciprocal influence on the cultural, political, social and religious landscape of the late-modern societies it inhabits. However, research that investigates the possibility of such a symbiosis remains to be attempted.

In this paper, drawing on the literature on secularization, modernity and PCC history and theology, I outline the historical, social, cultural and theological factors that have facilitated PCC’s adaptability and resilience. I argue that PCC has invisibly shaped late-modern society. I conclude with a sketch of a tentative historical genealogical approach that would render this symbiosis visible.

Australian Genesis? The bible & the quest for national foundations
Meredith Lake
University of Sydney

In recent years, several public figures have asserted the foundational contribution of the bible to the formation of modern Australia. According to Tony Abbott, for example, the bible is the ‘most important’ of ‘the great texts that are at the core of our civilisation’ – and every Australian school student should be made familiar with it! Such comments have often been made alongside problematic affirmations of Australia’s ‘Judeo-Christian heritage’ – and spurred strong reactions ranging from applause to condemnation. This paper looks beyond the crude sloganeering of the contemporary culture wars to consider the role of the bible in the quest for national foundations. While scholars of nationalism have explored the role of biblical tropes and categories in narrations of the nation – including, for Australia, Ann Curthoys and Graeme Davison – there remain large and curious silences around the appropriation and influence of the bible in Australia. Drawing on preliminary work towards a book-length study of the bible in this country, this paper will reflect on the presences and absences of the bible in the existing historiography of Australia, and sketch some of the ways in which scripture has been appropriated for the purpose of narrating the nation.

The Gospel According to Bart: The Folly of Ehrman’s Hypothetical Sources
Raphael Lataster
University of Sydney

This paper analyses an idiosyncratic and intriguing approach adopted by New Testament specialist Bart Ehrman in investigating claims about the historical Jesus. He constantly appeals to hypothetical foundational sources, which apparently underlie the few extant and problematic sources that concern the life of Jesus. Investigating the work of scholars specialising in Ancient History and related fields, I identify this approach as confined to the field of New Testament studies. In contrast, the importance of extant sources, particular those that are contemporaneous to the persons and events in question, is consistently stressed by mainstream historians.

Utilising insights from the analytical philosophy of religion, I suggest that this approach is unsound. Apart from the lack of certainty about whether such sources had once existed, such hypothetical sources cannot be verified with regards to authorship, date, content, or intent. Amongst many other problems, such as its inconsistent use, this approach seems wholly unworkable in advancing any scholar’s particular theory regarding Jesus’ actual sayings or deeds, since critics can easily claim that the hypothetical sources testify otherwise. I conclude by encouraging Ehrman and like-minded peers to abandon this practice, and to develop different, arguably superior methods for discovering what it is that the Jesus of history actually said and did.
Transparency in the Face of the Internet: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the ‘Gospel Topics’ Essays
Elisha McIntyre
University of Sydney

In late 2013 The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS, or Mormons) began releasing official statements, in the form of essays posted on the official Church website, that directly address controversial topics in Church history and theology that have previously been denied, ignored, evaded or otherwise underplayed in official Church relations, both without and within the organisation. The essays, or “Gospel Topics”, show an exceptional openness regarding the Church’s history with subjects such as polygamy, violence and racism. This paper will argue, along with the Church and many church commentators, that a major motivating factor behind this unprecedented level of disclosure is the internet and its influence on members’ access to information about the history of the LDS Church. These Gospel Topics essays reflect a new awareness in LDS leadership that technology is allowing members to discover information from unofficial (read unregulated) sources, and that in order to preserve church membership and morale, the Church as an institution needs to address directly the rumours and the facts that members are uncovering online, and often using as a reason for criticising and/or leaving the Church. In this paper I will examine the LDS and non-LDS responses to the Gospel Topics essays and discuss how they reflect the influence of technology on the way that Mormons engage with the history of their religion and what that means for LDS Church authority and identity.

The Colonisation of South Africa: A unique case
Willem Oliver
University of South Australia

From the late 15th century onward many countries have been colonised by the European world powers – Britain, France, Portugal, Spain and the Netherlands. The whole of Africa was colonised between 1495 and 1913, including South Africa. A few factors made the colonisation of South Africa unique, namely:

- This was the only country in Africa being colonised by two world powers – the Netherlands and Britain.
- This was the only country in Africa where a "new" nation was born – the Coloureds or Brown People.
- This was the only country where a new "rainbow" nation developed from all the colonisers and settlers who landed here.

Apart from the colonisation from Europe being executed from the south, South Africa also experienced a migration of people groups from the north. The colonisers and some the migrating groups met at the Fish River in the south of the country during the second half of the 18th century. This was the dawn of a time where bloody wars took place between the settlers and the migrators and also between different migrating groups.

The Imperial Entanglements of Sociology of Religion: Then and Now
Jack Tsonis
University of Western Sydney

This paper employs David Chidester’s analysis of how knowledge produced in the framework of nineteenth-century comparative religion was an integral part of Western colonial subordination. I focus on the third stage of what Chidester (2014) calls the "triple mediation" of knowledge – namely how information generated in colonial contact-zones was repackaged and recombined by scholars in the metropole (such as James Frazer), totally displaced from its context, then fit into grand theories of social evolution and cultural difference.

I then argue that knowledge about “primitive religion” produced in these circumstances (particularly its characterization as based on “magic” and “myth”) is still being recycled in some of the most influential and prestigious scholarship of the twenty-first century: namely in the work of Robert Bellah (1964, 2011), Charles Taylor (1989, 2012), and Jürgen Habermas (1979, 1981, 2013), whose independent projects of the twentieth century have joined forces under Bellah’s new evolutionary version of the “Axial Age” paradigm.
Identifying this is particularly important given that Bellah, Taylor, and Habermas all have major credentials as supporters of democracy and multiculturalism. I therefore close by suggesting that analysing the discourse on the Axial Age along these lines presents a valuable case study for those working to identify the continuing influence of imperial epistemologies in their more subtle and embedded forms.
Papers
Revisiting *For and Against Feminism*: Race, Colonialism and White Womanhood in Australian National Foundations

Jane Carey
University of Wollongong

In her classic 1992 work, *White, Male and Middle Class*, Catherine Hall, observed: ‘Racism, imperial, colonialism – there are issues for white women in Britain because they have shaped our histories, structured our stories, formed our identities.’ Hall’s comments echoed the new directions that had already been espoused in a number of Australian feminist history works – including Ann Curthoys’s *For and Against Feminism* (1988).

Where 1970s feminist scholarship was strongly concerned with class, potent critiques from Black American feminists, alongside Indigenous scholars and activists from Australia and elsewhere, challenged its neglect of ‘race’ and colonialism. In Australia, this challenge was exemplified in the Bell-Huggins debate, and in Aileen Moreton-Robinson’s 1999 book, *Talkin’ Up to the White Woman*.

Using *For and Against Feminism* as a launching point, this paper reflects on the impact of this critique and the new visions of feminist/gender history it promoted. Australian scholars were, and remain, at the forefront of an international shift to consider intersections between gender, race and colonialism. I will also reflect on how my own work has been inspired by these foundations - examining some of the meanings ascribed to white womanhood in the years around the founding of the Australian nation.

‘Swimming with the Spit’: How female swimming champions became women

Tanya Evans
Macquarie University

This paper will present a case study from my research as part of a local and community history of the Spit Amateur Swim Club, which began at the Spit Baths in Sydney in 1916 and moved to Balmoral Beach in the 1960s. Competitive male and female Spit swimmers were segregated into separate clubs, swam in separate baths and at different times until the mid-1960s. I will focus on the Spit’s female swimming champions including former Olympians Edna Davey, Gergaynia Beckett, Noeline Maclean and Kim Herford in order to trace the ways in which swimming and its historical meanings have changed in twentieth-century Australia. Following Jill Julius Matthews, this paper will explore ‘the specific meaning and experience of becoming a woman’ for these champions who came from different class contexts. It will show how these women negotiated ideas about femininity within this small community organization. If time is available, it will attempt to examine some of the tensions involved in writing feminist public and local history.

An Aboriginal and a ‘Lady’, a ‘savage’ and a mother, a Bushranger and a woman. Making sense of Mary Ann Bugg, race and womanhood in colonial Australia.

Meg Foster,
PhD candidate, University of New South Wales

In the mid-nineteenth century, colonial Australians were presented with a problem in the form of Mary Ann Bugg. The Aboriginal ‘wife’ of famous bushranger Captain Thunderbolt threatened white properties and lives when she helped her spouse in his daring escapades. She rode and dressed like a man, butchered cattle and undertook strenuous physical labour, but no one could deny that she was still very much a woman. Her feminine beauty did not escape the attention of contemporaries, her children accompanied her and Thunderbolt through the bush and colonial newspapers referred to Mary Ann the way that she described herself; as ‘the Captain’s Lady’. How then, did white Australians deal with such a troublesome woman? How did they approach a person who challenged, conformed and complicated their beliefs about race, womanhood and masculinity in almost equal measure? These are the questions that this paper will answer. In doing so, it will reveal the messy, complex, yet very real way that action and imagination worked together to shape women’s lives in the nineteenth century.
**Basedow’s Girls: Race, Domesticity and Womanhood in a twentieth-century Australian household**

*Victoria Haskins*  
*University of Newcastle*

In 1920 the noted doctor/geologist/anthropologist and former Northern Territory Chief Protector of Aborigines Herbert Basedow returned to Adelaide from a scientific expedition with two young Central Australian Aboriginal girls, Tjikana and Unndela, and installed them in his household under the care of his wife Olive (Nell) Basedow. Part-experiment, part-adopted children, part-servants, the two girls remained in the Basedow household despite intermittent controversies surrounding their removal, and were young women at the time of Basedow’s death in 1933. Shortly thereafter, they became the subjects of a tense struggle between Basedow’s widow Nell and his three spinster sisters, even as Tjikana and Unndela became adult women, with children of their own to worry about. In this paper, I look at the conflicting racialised and class-based representations of womanhood, femininity and family life that played out in the story of Basedow’s girls. Their story can be read not only as a Stolen Generations narrative, but provides an illumination of the “specific meaning and experience of becoming a woman” (to quote Matthews) in Australian households of the first half of the twentieth century.

**‘It Must Have Cost a Packet’: The Role of Slang in the Construction of Postwar Australian Femininity**

*Catherine Horne*  
*PhD candidate, Australian National University*

Speech and voice have recently begun to garner greater historical attention as markers of gendered subjectivity, as seen in the work of Lynda Mugglestone (2003) on Victorian England, Miyako Inoue (2006) on modern Japan, and Joy Damousi (2010) on colonial Australia. This paper will extend this burgeoning scholarship through an analysis of how particular forms of slang became an acceptable aspect of Australian femininity in the two decades following the Second World War. Concerns over the influence of American slang, particularly on teenagers, will be contrasted with the increasing use of other forms of slang as acceptable speech traits for middle-class, white women. Based on an analysis of selected case studies from print and broadcast media sources, this paper will examine how and why slang was constructed as a vocal signifier of modern postwar femininity by Australian media, which forms of slang were considered acceptable and for whom. This analysis will help to explore the broader question of what an analysis of speech can reveal about the historically and culturally specific meanings and experiences of becoming a woman.

**Silence in a Noisy Archive: Reflections on Judith Allen’s ‘Evidence and Silence’ (1986).**

*Kate Hunter*  
*Victoria University of Wellington*

Two recent research projects have sent me back to Judith Allen’s ‘Evidence and Silence: Feminism and the Limits of History’, a book chapter I first read as an undergraduate. It seems to me that while huge changes in access to primary materials have occurred in the last decade – especially with digitisation – the problem of silences in the archive as Allen outlined them hasn’t changed much. Indeed, the mass digitisation of newspapers and other records may have made that problem worse. As we celebrate the 30th anniversary of some of the founding texts of Australian feminist history, I would like to revisit the silence of those marginalised in historical records, and those who chose to be absent from them.
Single mothers as assimilation failures and the role of Holding Centres in Australia’s post-WWII migration scheme

Catherine Kevin and Karen Agutter
Flinders University

Ideas of assimilated citizenship are inherently gendered and during Australia’s post-war migration boom deeply were deeply and explicitly invested in ‘in marriage, in children and in ... sentiments about domesticity [that] shaped ideas about what it was to be a citizen.’ Anna Haebich describes the mirroring process in assimilation rhetoric, which reassuringly reflected back to settler Australians ‘their own dreams of prosperous modern life’. The role of Holding Centres within this vision was to facilitate these dreams – an awkward site of transition towards assimilated life for New Australians where women and children waited for husbands and fathers to return from work in distant places with enough money to pay their debts to the migration scheme and establish an independent life. But for single mothers, Holding Centres often became a more permanent home. For this group of women who had debts to pay and limited work options, opportunities to conform to images of assimilated family life, or at least comply with the economic imperatives of the scheme that had brought them here, were extremely limited. From the perspective of government agencies, these women represented economic and social failures to assimilate and a complex problem they struggled to solve. This paper examines the role of Holding Centres, with a focus on the lives of single mothers – their official representation, their dilemmas, coping strategies and forms of resistance.

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Sense or Sensibility: Runaway romance in the Colonial Courts

Kiera Lindsey
University of South Australia

In 1848, Mary Ann Gill, the fifteen-year old daughter of two Dublin convicts took to the witness box of Sydney’s Supreme Court and was, the Sydney Morning Herald reported, ‘for several moments too agitated to speak’. No wonder of it; her furious father was forcing her to give evidence against the man she hoped to marry. In court the girl’s emancipist father was tight lipped, her mother monosyllabic, while her would-be-suitor, a gentleman settler, refused to give evidence.

Twenty-three years later, a sixteen year old farmer’s daughter from rural New South Wales, stood before the Gundagai magistrate protesting her love for ‘a well-respected black tracker’ who she also wished to marry. In court, this sixteen-year old insisted that ‘her dear John’ was innocent of all charges because, the girl asserted, she had been the protagonist of the entire episode.

In both instances, female emotion ruptured the world of reason that was the nineteenth-century courtroom. Alas, when it came to matters of the heart, Australia’s colonial courtrooms were rarely sympathetic to those who ran away with young women, let alone their own emotions. There were, however, some exceptions and this paper draws upon a hundred years of abduction cases to consider how love and the law, sense and sensibility were often negotiated in Australia.

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In search of Komoriah: Gendering the Military Archive

Vera Mackie
University of Wollongong

In the 1930s and 1940s the Japanese Army and Navy established military brothels wherever the troops were stationed. Between 100,000 and 200,000 women of diverse ethnicities and nationalities were enslaved and forced to provide sexual services. In researching this history I came across some photographs in the Australian War Memorial, taken at the end of 1945. The subjects of the photographs are described as ‘Javanese girls who were liberated at Koepang from Japanese brothels’. An official military photographer from the Australian Army thought these women’s existence was worthy of documenting, but only one of the women, ‘Komoriah’, was named. In this paper I reflect on my attempts to find further archival and documentary traces of the women in these photographs. By the very nature of this topic, involving military conflict between nations and the
transportation of people across national borders, the records are scattered in different archives, documents and testimonials in different languages. The difficulty of tracing the fate of these women reveals the structure of the military archive, where the presence or absence of individuals reflects hierarchies of nationality, ethnicity, racialised categories, gender, class and status as soldier or civilian, enemy or ally.

Mary Daly: Theology and the Second Wave
Clare Monagle
Macquarie University

The feminist philosopher Alison Bailey noted, in an informal review of Feminist Interpretations of Mary Daly posted on Amazon in 2001, that she had never read Mary Daly closely ‘because the word on the academic streets was that she had nothing serious to offer’. By the 1990s Daly’s works were derided as excessively theological, utopian and essentialist. She was now radical in the wrong ways, in contrast to the anti-essentialist focus on performativity and desire that characterised much feminist thought of that subsequent era. Daly was much more interested in women, than she was in gender.

This paper calls for a re-reckoning with the oeuvre of Mary Daly, performed through a reading of her introductions to each re-issue of her first major work, The Church and the Second Sex. First published in 1968, it was reprinted in 1975 and 1985. Daly’s introductions to each reprint narrate her movement away from the author she was in the previous iteration, offering stories of intellectual and spiritual transformation in which the personal is political is theological is philosophical.

Rather than focusing on the correctness, or otherwise, of Daly’s feminism, I will read her introductory meditations and narrative of transformation as a historical source for the history of the radical feminist movement, in its theological aspects.

Negotiating race and gender: Aboriginal women and activism in Redfern the 1970s
Johanna Perheentupa
University of New South Wales

Indigenous women were central players in the Aboriginal movement in the 1970s. Accordingly, they had key roles in the establishment and running of the Aboriginal organisations that were set up in Redfern in the early 1970s to provide culturally appropriate services for Aboriginal people. At the time both Aboriginal and women’s movements subscribed to identity politics which maintained the narrative that everyone in the movement shared the same uniform identity. This posed challenges to Indigenous women, who were expected to privilege one aspect of their identity over another. For Indigenous women to emphasize blackness over women’s issues had strategic importance. Yet, they managed to pursue both Indigenous and women’s issues in their activism. In this paper I will explore the ways in which Indigenous women in Redfern reconciled gender and racial politics in their activism, as they worked towards common goals together with men and women, black and white.

Australian Prime Ministers: Foundational masculinities and new political citizenship
Bethany Phillips-Peddlesden
PhD candidate, University of Melbourne

The refusal in much political analysis to see men as gendered subjects has largely rendered invisible the implications of gender in male politicians’ lives. Using gender as an historical category of analysis instead reveals the domination of men as prime ministers in Australian history as the product of specific sociocultural structures, gender discourses and political arrangements. This paper will show that early prime ministers were instrumental in the gendered development of political leadership and that, furthermore, their wives were among the first to shape the traditions and expectations of federal political consort. This paper will thus explore the concurrent institutionalisation of women as relational identities - ‘wives’, ‘mothers’ and ‘daughters’ - and men as leaders, despite the formal equality of citizenship rights achieved by white women in 1902. Examining the gendered experiences, logics and relationships of some of Australia’s early prime ministers, including Alfred Deakin, Andrew Fisher and Billy Hughes, will provide important insights into how discourses beyond the narrowly defined political sphere shaped political leadership in the first decades of the twentieth century. This paper will thus seek to examine prime ministers as ‘men,’ highlighting the history and legacy of
masculine privilege in Australian political culture. It can thus challenge the simultaneous omnipresence and invisibility of men in political history.

Exposing the Family Man: Seduction and Credit in Colonial Sydney
Penny Russell
University of Sydney

John Thomas Wilson, aka James Abbott, aka John Thomas Sheath (? – 1846) lived no more than half a dozen years in Sydney, but during his brief colonial career he spectacularly seduced at least five different women – all the while bound in name and honour to the wife he had abandoned in England. Not once did he appear in a court of law to answer for his serial betrayals. His brushes with the law were of a different character. His name crops up in Sydney cases in the 1830s involving breaches of the peace, allegations of libel, debt, default and bankruptcy. Sydney society willingly turned a blind eye to the sins of the flesh: so long as Wilson was in favour with the city’s powerbrokers, no hint of seduction or betrayal was allowed to undermine his character. But credit was a serious concern, so when he fleeced Sydney’s rich and escaped from the colony some £60,000 in debt, his moral character was instantly unravelled. Examining the links between the legal cases in which Wilson was embroiled and the surrounding narratives of his seductions, this paper analyses interlocking forces of family, church, media, law and love in a tragi-comic episode of colonial Sydney.

Gay Lotharios and Unsuspecting Eves: Masculinities and child maintenance in colonial breach of promise of marriage cases
Alecia Simmonds,
University of Technology, Sydney

This paper will analyse a series of nineteenth century Breach of Promise cases to reflect upon the interaction between marriage, masculinity and the state in the Australasian colonies. Through examining cases involving women with illegitimate children who successfully sued under the action this paper will focus on both the significance of the suit for single mothers and the production of sentimental masculinities, defined through men’s capacity to keep their promises of marriage. I will tease out the tensions between a male breadwinner ideal crucial to ideas of ‘traditional marriage’ and the reality of poverty, the discrepancy between legal definitions of fatherhood as patriarchal right and the legal practice of fatherhood as financial obligation and the hilarity that ensued when men, whose rights to the public sphere were founded upon their reason and self-mastery, were exposed as irrational, giddy, feckless and nervous in the realm of marriage. From a Bachelors Club formed in 1854 to support men in breach of promise of marriage cases, to advertisements for invisible ink designed to prevent male love letters from being used in breach of promise actions, the suit functioned as both a horrifying spectre and a site of debate where changing models of ‘marital masculinity’ were defended, rewarded and punished.

Concentration camp controversies: gender and the protection of civilians in wartime in the early twentieth century
Christina Twomey
Monash University

The concentration of civilians in wartime, as it was practiced in Cuba, South Africa and the Philippines in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, drew the attention of humanitarian and philanthropic groups. Women were particularly prominent in their opposition to policies of confinement, the concentration camp system and in efforts to assist those who suffered as a result of internment. In the United States, Clara Barton, founder of the American Red Cross, was a prominent figure in campaigns to aid the reconcentrados in Cuba. In Britain, Emily Hobhouse was a key person in the concentration camp controversy and Millicent Garrett Fawcett led the government commission which essentially endorsed Hobhouse’s claims about conditions in the camps. This paper analyses the public view of reformers’ and campaigners’ work to establish whether the questions of camps and internment in wartime were viewed as ‘women’s issues’. The links between prominent reformers and the suffrage movement may well have reinforced this perception. Furthermore, the paper explores the possibility that hostility to female political activism prevented the development of better protection for civilians and non-combatants at international law in the early twentieth
century. Despite the concentration camp controversy of the previous decade, the Hague Conventions of 1907 did not elaborate or extend protections for prisoners of war to interned, civilian non-combatants.
Panels
WEDNESDAY 8 JULY

WRITING HISTORIES OF WOMEN’S LIBERATION: THEN AND NOW
Isobelle Barrett Meyering, PhD candidate, University of New South Wales; Jude Conway, PhD candidate, University of Newcastle; Petra Mosmann, PhD candidate, Flinders University; Sophie Robinson, PhD candidate, University of New South Wales

PANEL ABSTRACT

Forty-six years since the first meeting of women’s liberation took place in Australia, late-twentieth century feminisms continue to be revisited by scholars of gender history and often celebrated as a sign of social and ‘cultural renaissance’ (Magarey 2004). Just as the counterculture, new left, student politics and Aboriginal rights organisations of the 1960s and 1970s were encouraging people to collectively contest power, authority and discrimination in their everyday lives, women’s liberation – and similarly the emerging gay liberation movement – radically transformed the lives of many through their emphasis on destabilising sex roles and gender systems. These movements also transformed historical scholarship. In the acknowledgements to Good and Mad Women (1985), Jill Julius Matthews begins by thanking ‘the women of the Australian Women’s Liberation Movement, without whom I would never have defined the problem, and because of whom there is the possibility of change’ (viii). Women’s history, gender history and women’s liberation were intimately connected and constituted one another.

This panel showcases new scholarship on the history of women’s liberation. Our individual research areas, which span exploration of the politics of feminist archives, children’s liberation, lesbian politics and regional women’s groups, share a similar investment in this period of radical gender politics and historical scholarship. The session will involve an interactive panel discussion in which we reflect on our investment in the women’s liberation movement of the 1970s and 1980s and in foregrounding this period as foundational for transforming gender history. We will all respond to a range of questions covering the scope of our individual research, what aspects of feminism we are revisiting and how, our investment in this history and the approaches necessary given our different relationships and proximities to past feminisms.