

**Full Abstracts**  
**Australian Historical Association Conference 2013**  
**'Mobilities and Mobilisations'**

Why Archaeology is not History: Science, Deep History and Lake Mungo

Dr Malcolm Allbrook, Research Associate, Australian National University

Malcolm Allbrook was awarded his doctorate in history from Griffith University in 2008. He works as a Research Associate in the Australian Centre for Indigenous History at the ANU.

Historians are increasingly curious about whether it is useful to take a long view of human history, to explore 'big history' and 'deep time'. The Willandra Lakes, and particularly Lake Mungo in south-west New South Wales, with its rich reservoir of historical knowledge, allows investigation of these questions in the context of a particular landscape. Yet the region is widely seen as the province of 'archaeology' or 'prehistory' and not history. Across these disciplinary landscapes, the meaning of 'history' can be diffuse and contradictory. Indigenous knowledges intersect across disciplinary divides, potentially fusing and converging the disparate narratives. The Willandra Lakes became a world heritage area in 1981 because of scientific discoveries that transformed it from a 'forsaken spot' of semi-arid climate, drifting wind-blown sands and marginal agriculture into a 'classic ground' of an almost unfathomably deep history of occupation by modern humans (Douglas 2010). Geological investigations on the Lake Mungo lunette led scientists to the remains of Lady Mungo, a young woman ceremonially cremated and buried over 40,000 years ago. Archaeologists later assessed the region as a 'Pleistocene archaeological record of grand proportions' (Johnston and Clark 1987). While Aboriginal people tell a different story about the key actors and key meanings, the focus of this paper is on the disciplinary disjunctions between scientists and historians, particularly the different epistemologies, intersections and commonalities between forms of scientific knowledge and the methods and framings of the discipline of history.

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Human equality...practised in so simple and natural a manner': Indian observations of life in Australia c1890-1950.

Prof Margaret Allen, Professor Emerita, University of Adelaide

Professor Margaret Allen, University of Adelaide researches Indian-Australian connections c 1880s-1940s. She has published across a number of aspects of this transnational field.

Shakuntala Paranjpye saw much to admire as well as much that horrified her during the years she lived in Australia as hostess for her father, the first Indian High Commissioner to Australia (1944-1947). She was an astute observer of Australian life and attitudes, which she shared in her book, *Three Years in Australia* (1952). While she was impressed by Australian egalitarianism, she seemed to regret some of its consequences. Some of her reflections were quite particular, reflecting her interests as a feminist and pioneer of the Indian birth control movement. Curiously, a number of her comments echoed those of earlier Indian visitors to Australia. Common themes will be drawn out of her paper and those of two men who toured Australia in the last decades of the nineteenth century. While these three figures were very different, one was a Bengali Christian convert, another a Muslim businessman and Shakuntala Paranjpye, a sophisticated and opinionated modern woman, their responses reveal crucial cultural differences between India and Australia

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Social Mobility and the Transformation of Summary Justice in NSW, 1820-1840

Mr Matthew Allen, Contract Lecturer, Sydney University

I am the 2011 Archival Research Fellow with Arts NSW, studying the use of summary jurisdiction by the NSW magistracy in the first half of the nineteenth-century. I recently

submitted my PhD thesis at Sydney University, examining the regulation of alcohol in nineteenth-century NSW.

(No abstract)

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#### Workers and Mothers: Gendered mobilisation in the DPRK workforce (1980s-1990s)

Ms Amanda Anderson, PhD Student, University of Wollongong

Amanda Anderson is a PhD candidate at the University of Wollongong. She is currently finishing her thesis about the DPRK's representation of gender relations in its international communications.

In this paper, I will argue that, although the DPRK government claims equal treatment of women and men since the Law on Equality of the Sexes in 1946, the representation of women in official documents and in media reveals gendered assumptions, which underpin a gender-segregated workforce. This can be understood by analysing articles and illustrations in the magazine *Women of Korea* in the 1980s and 1990s. From the 1980s the role of North Korean women as mothers who were able to work in both the home and outside was emphasised. On closer examination, however, we can see that the government mainly mobilised women in the "light" industries. Only a limited number of visual images in the magazine depict women in industries considered "hard" labour. Instead, men were allocated to these positions. Further, to ensure that women were able to leave the home for the workforce the government socialised childcare and the preparation of food by creating compulsory kindergarten participation and rice-cooking shops. This illustrates however, that women continued to be assigned to a stereotypical role within the home, primarily responsible for childcare and domestic work. There are no official documents or visual images in *Women of Korea* that represent men performing domestic duties. Similarly, there is no indication that men were encouraged to perform such roles. Gender equality laws promulgated over sixty years ago continue to be undermined by the segregation of women and men in gender-specific roles.

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#### Endurance: Life Narratives, Drought and Climate Change in the Mallee

Dr Deb Anderson, Lecturer, Monash University

Deb Anderson grew up in the wet tropics of Queensland. She was a Fairfax journalist before joining Monash University in 2013. Her interest in life-narrative research is reflected in her PhD (2012), a longitudinal study of oral histories on drought and climate change, which form a new collection for Museum Victoria.

Drought, like flood, bushfire and cyclone yet distinct in terms of time, space and mythology, has punctuated Australian rural, regional and national histories, playing a key role in the mythologising of rural battlers and landscape, shaping foundational narratives of struggle and hope. In this paper, 'drought' is viewed as a cultural term whose primary connotations are less related to rainfall than to an overarching, mythic narrative of endurance. Cultural engagement with climate is under constant renegotiation, however, as oral history is apt to reveal. An extensive oral history collection was undertaken for Museum Victoria from 2004 to 2008, a series of annual recordings in drought-affected communities dotted across the semiarid Mallee in Victoria. Research timing, in a period of recurrent drought, enabled the capture of significant moments of reflection and self-reflexivity, marked in public discourse by a dramatic shift in Australian beliefs on climate change. Despite that shift, the oral histories were found to embed discourses of survival, uncertainty and adaptation, discourses that arguably represent an historical narrative of endurance. The project was in a unique position to capture contemplations both unifying and divisive of a past, present and future rural way of life. These were narratives of the way it was, retold, re-lived in depictions of the way it is and, significantly, the way it could be in a climate-change world. Further, the histories illuminate

the self-preservative power of narratives of identity for a threatened culture. For in light of climate change, the people of the Mallee were gearing up to endure more.

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#### Trauma, Media Silence and the Australian Culture of Reporting War

Dr Fay Anderson, Senior Lecturer, Monash University

Dr Fay Anderson is a senior lecturer in the School of Journalism, Australian and Indigenous Studies at Monash University. Fay's co-authored book, *Witnesses to War: The History of Australian Conflict Reporting*, was published in 2011 and her recent ARC Grant investigates the history and significance of Australian press photography.

The Australian war correspondent, John Hetherington recalled seeing many of his colleagues during World War Two, 'crack under the strain of trying to do their job in the desert and Crete. They were willing enough in heart but could not stay the distance'. When journalists could no longer function, their accreditation was withdrawn due to 'ill-health', the euphemism for shell shock, depression or alcoholism. Post-traumatic stress disorder is not new for journalists and photographers who cover conflict but until recently there has been a denial of the costs of war and an expectation in a competitive and sometimes misogynist industry that journalists should simply cope. Entrenched within the persona of the journalist was a degree of self-deception: the idea that someone can confront war with impunity. This paper will examine the historic silence surrounding the emotional consequences of reporting in World War One and Two, the experiences of Australian journalists and the punishing journalistic culture. In addition, it will analyse how the journalists' own experiences of trauma directly influenced their reporting of violence and atrocity. It will argue that there was a tendency for journalists to negate the impact of trauma suffered by both soldiers and civilians because their own culture perpetuated stereotypes of masculinity, stoicism and Empire. This paper will consider the relationship between journalists' trauma and their reportage, how personal testimony was used, privileged or ignored and the impact on our enduring understanding of Australians in war.

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#### Mining Antarctica in an ecological age, 1969 - 1978

Mr Alessandro Antonello, PhD Candidate, Australian National University

Alessandro Antonello is a PhD student in the School of History, Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University. His thesis investigates the environmental and scientific diplomacy of the Antarctic Treaty regime between 1959 and 1980.

Beginning in 1969, the Antarctic Treaty parties began to consider questions about mineral resources. Should minerals be exploited? Who should be allowed to exploit and benefit? How should the environment be protected? Answers to these questions would touch on the most delicate issues of Antarctic politics and on the major developments in international law, international political economy and environmentalism. This paper is about how the Antarctic Treaty parties conceived of the practice of mineral exploitation before it began, exploring the diplomatic and scientific discussions on the issue conducted between 1969 and 1978. Influenced by the wide-ranging negotiations on the Law of the Sea, ideas of the 'common heritage of mankind', resource shortages in the Western world, and the emphatic dawn of an international and popular ecological and environmental consciousness, the Antarctic Treaty parties groped their way towards a resource order for the frozen south. In this first phase of the minerals debate, scientists and diplomats began to create an environmental and economic order founded on the expertise of science, conscious of the interconnected and extensive ecosystem, and fixed on the exclusivity and exceptionality of the Antarctic Treaty regime.

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## In and out of the archive: understanding Anglo-Chinese lives

Dr Kate Bagnall, Independent scholar, Independent scholar

Dr Kate Bagnall writes on the history of Australia's Chinese communities before 1920, with a focus on families, women and children. She has published in journals including *Australian Historical Studies* and *History Australia*, as well as in edited collections, and holds the National Archives of Australia's Ian Maclean Award for 2012-13.

Individual case files created by government officials in their administration of the Immigration Restriction Act document the presence of thousands of Chinese people in early 20th century Australia, including new migrants, long-term residents and those born on Australian soil. They also demonstrate the mobility of Chinese Australians, who were frequent travellers overseas for reasons of business, family and pleasure. These records provide real possibilities for empowerment and understanding they contain, for example, biographical information that helps families reconnect with their pasts and detailed paperwork that reveals the day-to-day workings of the bureaucracy of White Australia. Yet as any historian knows, all sources have their biases and these are no different. In this paper I will discuss the tensions, contradictions and, at times, confusion that have come with trying to reconcile the official record of Chinese Australian lives found in the archives of White Australia with the memories, stories and understandings of the same lives within families and communities. In particular, I will discuss my work on mixed-race Chinese families, the descendants of which often do not identify as 'Chinese' or as part of the 'Chinese community'. The official records document what were often contested moments in individual lives where identities were challenged, racial and moral judgements were made and families were separated. In the paper I will discuss the different ways that my work, and the increasing availability of archival material online, has been received and the effect this has had on the histories that I write.

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## Australian women war correspondents in Europe, 1939-45

Ms Jeannine Baker, Research Assistant, University of Wollongong

Jeannine Baker is a Wollongong-based public historian who has worked in museums, oral history and the media. Her PhD thesis, through the University of Melbourne, explores the experiences of Australian women war correspondents during WWII.

This paper looks at the response by the US and British military to the problem of women war reporters in WWII. The British War Office initially refused to accredit women as war correspondents. Stories about women's essential vulnerability and their inability to understand or cope with war conditions were used to legitimise the exclusion of women from the battlefield. Following the establishment of the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF), commanded by US General Dwight Eisenhower, a compromise was struck. In mid-1944 a separate gendered category of 'woman war correspondent' was created, distinct from the superior category of 'war correspondent', which was defined as an embedded male reporter of frontline combat. Although permitted to make short supervised trips to the Continent, women reporters continued to be strictly controlled, and were expected to remain confined to a demarcated domestic area of the military zone. Many women transgressed these limitations and rejected the notion that they should only be reporting war 'from a woman's angle'. These themes will be discussed in relation to the experiences of three Australian women reporters: Elizabeth Riddell, Anne Matheson and Margaret Gilruth.

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## Contested Mobilities: Establishing and Resisting a Formalised Australian Touring Culture

Dr Jillian Barnes, Research Associate and Casual Academic (teaching), The University of Newcastle

Jillian Barnes is a postdoctoral interdisciplinary researcher and teacher of transnational settler, Indigenous and Asian relations in Australian history, the history of travel and tourism, and the power of visual imagery. Affiliated with The University of Newcastle, Jillian contributes to editorial boards and coordinates public history symposia.

During 1929, Australia's national tourism organisation (NTO) embarked on a sustained, organised and centrally-directed campaign to launch The Outback onto British markets and educate white Australians to see, love and protect their heritage. It established pilgrimage traditions and drew 'open spaces' into tourism's grasp with a net of meaning and rites of colonial belonging. This paper historicises tourism's transformation of a rock (sacred to Indigenous Australians) into a national icon through the construction of tourist gazes. It locates these layers of touristic meaning within larger struggles over access to and protection of contested sites in public reserves and national parks. It then shifts register, by drawing on writings by authorities in Indigenous heritage mandated by NTO and oral histories to demonstrate that Indigenous Australians have long engaged in tourism to assert claims to ancestral lands and create new futures. It focuses on encounters between tourism and Gwoja Tjungurrayi when lands reserved for Aborigines were widely seen as a short term favour conferred to a 'vanishing race' and later, during an emergent movement to have customary rights legally restored. This paper thus documents the birth of official cross-cultural touristic negotiations that paved the way for much to follow, including present-day debates over aligning the World Heritage convention with the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

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## Swaggies and Suburbia: Masculinity in *The Shiralee* (1957)

Ms Chelsea Barnett, PhD Candidate, Macquarie University

Chelsea Barnett is a PhD candidate in the Department of Modern History at Macquarie University, Sydney, under the supervision of Robert Reynolds and Leigh Boucher. Her doctoral research is focused on the constitution of masculinity and its representation in Australian films 1949-1962.

The 1950s have undergone somewhat of a makeover. While in the 1990s they were primarily used in political debates to represent either enviable stability or stifling conservatism (Murphy 2000, p.3), the work of historians (most notably John Murphy) has sought to dismantle the image of the 1950s as a time of monotony and conformity. However, while there is now recognition of the 1950s as more eventful than previous historical accounts credited, the period is still thought of as a low-point for gender relations. Stereotypes of breadwinning men and oppressed housewives remain dominant in public imaginings, subsequently denying the opportunity for accounts of resistance and change. A closer look at the years in the aftermath of the Second World War, however, reveals a more nuanced picture. Far from all Australians (and Australian families) aligning easily with Prime Minister Menzies' ideal nuclear family unit, both men and women found themselves negotiating largely contradictory social expectations, often struggling in the process. This paper will explore masculinity as a vulnerable and fluid concept within the social and political context of 1950s Australia, through its representation in the 1957 film *The Shiralee*. The film provides a striking representation of Australian masculinity and highlights its instability, given the emphasis on two contradictory images of Australian manhood: the swagman and the postwar suburban father.

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Reverend Tuilovoni: mobile Pacific leader in the era of decolonisation

Mrs Kirstie Barry, PhD, Deakin University

Kirstie Barry is currently a PhD student at Deakin University, her thesis focusing on the international and grassroots influences that helped push the Fijian Methodist Mission towards independence. She completed her undergraduate degree at La Trobe University, before finishing a Master of Arts at the University of Melbourne in 2009.

Reverend Setareki Tuilovoni was the first President of the independent Methodist Church of Fiji. The Mission was then still under the direction of the Methodist Church of Australasia's Department of Foreign Missions, but a new generation of Australian missionaries sought to push the mission towards an independent status, working to Indigenise Fijian Methodism. With their support, Tuilovoni started to travel the world during the 1940s both as a scholar and as a representative for the Methodist Mission in Fiji. Tuilovoni assumed a position as conduit, drawing international debates and ideals to the local Pacific contexts to influence processes of decolonisation in the region. This paper outlines the global networks he developed, ideas he shared and the independence movements that he witnessed during these decades and how they led him to reflect on the position of Australian missionaries in colonial Fiji, and on questions of race and power within this emergent Pacific Church.

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Sydney's oral history online

Dr Margo Beasley, Oral Historian, City of Sydney History Unit

Dr Margo Beasley is an author and professional historian. She is currently Oral Historian in the City of Sydney Council's History Unit, where she manages and curates the oral history collections.

This presentation will showcase the City of Sydney Council's new oral history website and discuss ways in which these interviews might be utilised in education. The City of Sydney has been collecting oral histories since the late 1980s. The appointment of a permanent Oral Historian in 2010 has led to the introduction of formalised collection procedures for oral history and the development of collection themes, which are reflected in the structure of the website. Themes include such subjects as religious and secular belief; housing; work, commerce and industry; urban ecology; and the visual and performing arts as they are experienced within the City of Sydney's very urban location. We expect that online delivery will mean that interviews will reach a broad audience both inside and outside Australia, and that viewers and listeners will include children, students, teachers and the general public, along with scholars and academics. To this end each interview is offered on two levels: as a short edited excerpt and as a complete interview, and in both those cases both text and audio are provided. Thus the interviews will be accessible to both casual and random users, and to dedicated researchers.

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'[Carter] screwed me': Restoring Perceptions of Democratic Party Foreign Policy Strength in the Post-Carter era.

Ms Samantha Bedggood, Ph.D. Candidate, University of Queensland

Samantha E. Bedggood is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Queensland. Her thesis is concerned with exploring post-Cold War US foreign policy through the prisms of gender and emotion.

When he left office in 1981, Carter was viewed as the personification of the weak foreign policy president; one lacking clarity, vision and resolve, and one who, in the words of former President Richard Nixon, had "œled America to the nadir of its strength and resolve. While

this characterisation was increasingly interrogated in subsequent decades, this popular perception of Carter remained pervasive. During the 1992 presidential campaign, the tendency to draw parallels between Bill Clinton and Jimmy Carter was perhaps inevitable, insofar as both were reformed southern Democratic Governors. However, for Clinton campaign strategists, the Carter administration was seen to be a case study in foreign policy incompetence and bureaucratic dysfunction whose legacy threatened their ability to position Clinton as a strong and capable Commander-In-Chief. This paper will explore the various means (both rhetorical and substantive) by which that Clinton sought to distance himself from both Carter and the Vietnam experience, in order to restore the credibility of the Democratic Party in the realm of national security. Bill Clinton, cited in: Dick Morris, *Behind the Oval Office*. (Random House, 1998), 5

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#### Vandemonian Characters at the Eureka Stockade in 1854

Dr Anne Beggs-Sunter, Lecturer, University of Ballarat

Anne Beggs-sunter is a lecturer in Australian History in the School of Education and the Arts at the University of Ballarat.

In 1854 the Victorian goldfields presented a marvelous multicultural canvas of people from all quarters of the world. Now the English, Irish and Scottish were being challenged by immigrants from all parts of Europe, the Americas, from Asia and the Pacific Islands. So who were the small group of physical force men who challenged the British government at the Eureka Stockade in Ballarat on 3 December 1854? What values did they share? My study of these men (and their womenfolk) concludes that a deep commitment to democracy and to justice made them put their lives on the line at Eureka. Whether they had been involved in Irish land protests, English Chartist protests, European revolutions, or victims of the slave trade in the Americas, men of many nations came together to proclaim a new Australian identity under their flag of the Southern Cross. This passion is celebrated at the new Museum of Australian Democracy at Eureka in Ballarat, which opens in May 2013.

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#### Out of the Shadow of Motherhood: The 1970s Father

Mr Johnny Bell, PhD Candidate, Monash University

Johnny Bell is a PhD candidate in history at Monash University, where he also teaches. His research, which is nearing completion, traces cultural representations of Australian fatherhood from the 1920s to 1980.

In the 1970s, the inequalities of family life in Australia were exposed. The increasing presence of mothers in paid employment had hardly lessened their domestic burdens, while the resurgence of feminism clearly identified the family as the site of women's oppression. In the battleground of home and childrearing, what became of fatherhood? This paper will provide some answer to that question by drawing on the testimonies and submissions of the Royal Commission into Human Relationships (1974-1977). While the relationship between Australian masculinities and the quaint pleasures of the home is still uncertain, this impossibly wide-ranging inquiry into the conditions of Australian family life provides an abundance of images of fatherhood that bear little resemblance to the staid - if indifferent - breadwinner of the 1950s and 1960s. With women busily liberating themselves from the oppressions of family life, it was suggested that fatherhood might now be liberated from the treadmill of working life. There was a faith that fathers could do more, and there was a conviction that they should do more. If some of these calls came bound in ambiguity and contradiction, they still made it perfectly clear that the old division of labour could no longer hold. This paper will argue that it was the transformation of motherhood in this time, as the bearing of children became detached from their rearing, which not only opened the door for fathers to play a more active part in their children's lives, but which gave them a good push to go with it.

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## Uncle Tom in the White Pacific: African-American Performance in Late-Colonial Australasia

Dr Melissa Bellanta, Lecturer, University of Queensland

Melissa Bellanta is a lecturer in history at the University of Queensland and former ARC postdoctoral fellow. She writes about the history of popular theatre, youth culture, gender and class, having published widely in Australian and international journals and edited collections. Her book, *Larrikins: A History*, was published in 2012.

In late-colonial Australia and New Zealand, a number of troupes of travelling African-American entertainers gave sentimental performances to popular audiences. Two of the troupes called themselves the Georgia Minstrels; the other was Frederick J. Loudin's Fisk Jubilee Singers. Their performances consisted of Uncle Tom's Cabin plays and choral renditions of 'negro spirituals', in each case foregrounding the suffering of American slaves before the Civil War. On the whole, Australasian audiences responded emotionally to these performances. Reports of tears over the hardships endured by black slaves were commonplace. Given that the late nineteenth century was a period of hardening attitudes towards 'coloured' people among white Australasians, how was this possible? My aim in this paper is to offer an answer to this question, drawing on perspectives from settler-colonial studies and the work of gender studies scholar, Laura Wexler.

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## 'Invasion of French Rascaldom': New Caledonian convicts in Australia

Mr Alexis Bergantz, PhD Candidate, Australian National University

Alexis Bergantz is a second year PhD Candidate at the ANU. His research examines the history of representations about France in Australia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, with a particular focus on the ways these ideas were mobilized by different groups of people.

By the late nineteenth-century, Australian fears of invasion were deeply entrenched in the colonies' consciousness. These were manifest in a home-grown literature and public discourse particularly antagonising the East. Yet another shadow loomed large in the Pacific: escaped convicts from the French penal settlement in New Caledonia. From 1864 until 1897, the French Government enacted its own version of the Australian penal model in the Pacific. While the founding ideological relationship between the small French settlement and the island-continent has received some interest in the past, the existing Australian literature on New Caledonia has paid little attention to the question of the escaped convicts who undertook the perilous journey to the eastern coast of Australia. Similarly, their reception in Australia has largely remained unexamined. This paper will address both gaps by placing the stories of these men within the broader history of Australia's nervous relationship to its Pacific location. Beyond an analysis of Australian material such as newspapers and published memoirs, this paper will specifically consider hitherto unused French sources such as consular reports and extradition cases. It is my contention that the level of public uneasiness at both the proximity of the Gallic Prison Island and the threat of convict infiltration took shape against the backdrop of lingering imperial rivalries in the region. Further, I wish to argue that beyond the hard-line public discourse existed a more nuanced state of affairs, one of human relationships made of mutual help and sometimes understanding.

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## Mary Taylor: Colonial Middle-Class Female Shopkeeper - Novelty or Not?

Dr Catherine Bishop, tutor, Australian National University

Catherine Bishop graduated from ANU in 2012. Her thesis won the ANU Gender Institute PhD Thesis Prize for excellence in gender research. She currently tutors at ANU.

One of Charlotte Bronte's best friends, Mary Taylor, was a well-educated, middle-class Englishwoman, who migrated to New Zealand in order to earn money. She has been



described by scholars as a 'novelty' because she was a woman 'working for a living' in the middle of the nineteenth century. According to the prevailing ideology of domesticity, women were restricted to the private sphere, responsible for housework and childcare, while their husbands braved the public world of commerce and politics. Indeed, New Zealand women have been portrayed as being particularly contented within their roles as 'colonial helpmeets'. This paper suggests that Mary Taylor's novelty lay not so much in her business activities as in her class, in her choice of occupation and, most importantly, in her personal eccentricity and attitude. A close examination of contemporary sources reveals a surprising number of women who were engaged in business in colonial cities in New Zealand and Australia in the middle of the nineteenth century. They were both respected and respectable, calling into question the apparently close association of domesticity and female respectability in the colonial antipodean world.

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Women in Flight: A sense of duty and keeping the West connected.

Dr Prudence Black, ARC DECRA Fellow, University of Sydney

Dr Prudence Black is an Australian Research Council DECRA Fellow in the Department of Gender and Cultural Studies at the University of Sydney. She has published in the areas of design, fashion and popular culture, and is the author of *The Flight Attendant's Shoe* (2011).

In 1945 MacRobertson Miller Airlines of Western Australia employed flight hostesses to fly on ex-military Douglas DC-3s from Perth to Derby. On a good day, the flight would take seven hours and make four stops along the way. Not only did these mobile, young women enter a world dominated by masculine archetypes: the entrepreneur, the bush airman and the military aviator, but the everyday working conditions were challenging; carrying urns of water across hot tarmacs, sleeping on the balcony of the Esplanade Hotel, Port Hedland and negotiating the effects of turbulence on the unpressurised planes. This paper discusses the gendered space of the MacRobertson Miller aircraft cabins during the 1940s and 1950s and the 'type' of young woman who chose a life of adventure, and social mobility over routine and domesticity.

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Deportation, coercive mobility, and the statecraft of American migration

A/Prof Ethan Blue, Associate professor, University of Western Australia

Ethan Blue, associate professor of History at the University of Western Australia, is the author of *Doing Time in the Depression: Everyday Life in Texas and California Prisons* (2012). Additional work has appeared in *Pacific Historical Review*, *Radical History Review*, *Humanities Research*, and *Crime, Law, and the Humanities*.

This paper examines the emergence of mass deportation as it was developed and refined by the United States in the early 20th century, paying particular attention to the history of 'deportation special' trains. These reconfigured railroad cars made constant circuits through the nation, gathering so-called 'undesirable aliens' disdained for their poverty, political radicalism, criminal conviction, or insanity, for delivery to borders and ports for exile. First developed to ensure the efficient expulsion of post-Exclusion Chinese, the trains were liminal legal spaces, and the paper assesses the deportees' journey as a cultural process in which national territory, political sovereignty, and biopolitical community's three defining features of modern nationhood were created and contested. Staffed by white guards and African American or Filipino porters, these mobile carceral spaces stratified national and international hierarchies, and enforced local and federal state agents' definitions of the proper racial, behavioral, and political contours of the nation. As the trains collected and removed those deemed 'undesirable,' they traced the underside of modern citizenship and state formation.

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## Investigating Isolation: Australia and the Colonial Writing World

Dr Helen Bones, Independent Scholar

Currently a History tutor in Melbourne, in 2011 Helen Bones completed a doctorate in History at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch. Her thesis, entitled 'A Dual Exile? New Zealand and the Colonial Writing World 1890-1945' employs empirical methods to question the dominance of cultural nationalist thinking in New Zealand literary history.

A common theme found in the literature of the Antipodes is the plight of the beleaguered 'exile'. The isolated southern hemisphere outposts of the British Empire in the early twentieth century are not seen as sympathetic places for aspiring writers. To have any chance of a career, it is often said, writers were forced to leave for one of the centres of culture tens of thousands of miles away in Europe. This notion is very widespread in Australian literary history, but the concept has been sparsely interrogated for one mentioned so often. In the case of New Zealand, the idea of writers' 'exile' disintegrates under close scrutiny. The myth has been revealed to be the result of the dominance of nationalism in literary and historical thinking which has masked the transnational and transcolonial nature of life at the time. Australian writing has been subjected to these same distortions and thus the realities of literary production and interaction have been obscured. Australian writers, whether in Australia or elsewhere, participated in the 'colonial writing world': the system of networks that surrounded the globe as the result of Britain's colonial expansion into the southern hemisphere. This paper is a preliminary historiographical study assessing the viability of a larger, empirically-based project to investigate the extent of Australia's involvement in the colonial writing world and reclaim the contributions of those who have fallen through the cracks of nationalism.

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## The Fisk Jubilee Singers, Maloga Mission and 'Burra Phara'

Dr Kate Bowan, Lecturer, Australian National University

Kate Bowan is a lecturer in the School of Music at the Australian National University. Her research has examined aspects of early twentieth-century Australian musical modernism. Her current project with Paul Pickering on music and radical culture in the nineteenth-century Anglophone world is to be published by Manchester University Press.

Black meets Black: The Fisk Jubilee Singers, Maloga Mission and 'Burra Phara'. In 1937, Aboriginal activist and founder of the Australian Aborigines League, William Cooper, organised a concert as part of Melbourne's anniversary celebrations. Under his guidance the Coomeragunga Choir presented a varied programme that concluded with 'Burra Phara', a Yorta Yorta translation of an American spiritual. The search for an explanation of how this version of the song came into being takes us into a more distant past, to the banks of the Murray River where, in 1886, the world-renowned African-American singing group, the Fisk Jubilee Singers, came to sing to the Aborigines at Maloga Mission. The story of 'Burra Phara' not only captures an unlikely moment of cross-cultural exchange that reveals some of the complexities around inter-racial encounter, it also provides an instance of indigenous agency through musical appropriation. This agency gains in significance when considered against the general context of music making at Maloga Mission; a context that raises unsettling but important questions about the role of European music, particularly the singing of hymns, in the nineteenth-century civilising mission.

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## The suppression of the Sandakan tragedy of 1945

Prof Richard Braithwaite, retired

Richard W. Braithwaite is now retired after a long career as professional researcher, first as a biological scientist, and then as a social scientist in tourism. He is now a historian and recently edited a translation of the Japanese soldier's memoir 'An End to a War' (2012, Opus, Kota Kinabalu).

The loss of 1787 Australian POWs right at the end of the Second World War in North Borneo was a great tragedy for the country. My father was one of only six survivors and consequently was at the centre of the story as one of the few, and rather damaged, witnesses. In late 1945, the Americans pressured the Australians to go easy on the atrocity stories. They regarded them as no longer useful. The Sandakan story was in the papers but was left among the flood of end of war stories without endorsement by government. The story remained a little vague and blended into the other terrible Pacific War POW stories. Attempts to more accurately conceptualise what happened at Sandakan were thwarted by previous American exaggeration of the Bataan death march and Australian palliative myth-making. The final months of the Sandakan story where mateship often changed to inhumanity, were more similar to the extreme of the Holocaust than the usual terrible Pacific War POW narrative. A portion of the Australian community continue to quest for resolution of what happened. Since 1989, about 20 memorials have been erected in Australia specifically to those who died at Sandakan. Annual ceremonies are now held in many locations in Australia and Borneo. Even now, nearly 70 years later, there remains a strong sense of unfinished business. The unusual challenge remains that of keeping this aberrant process moving forward to reconciliation rather than perpetuating hatred.

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## Crocodile hunting: the Australian adventure

Ms Claire Brennan, Lecturer, James Cook University

Claire Brennan is a lecturer in history at James Cook University, Townsville. She researches the history of animals.

Hunting in Australia's tropical north has been the stuff of adventure stories for over a century. The dangerous game available in northern Australia has featured in newspaper articles, magazine articles, films, and books. Both crocodiles and buffalos have provided hunters with charismatic prey, and armchair hunters with vicarious thrills. This paper will examine popul

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## Mapping mobility histories: An historical GIS approach

Mr Chris Brennan-Horley, DECRA Fellow, University of Wollongong

Chris Brennan-Horley is an ARC DECRA Fellow based in the Australian Centre for Cultural Environmental Research (AUSCCER) at the University of Wollongong. As a human geographer, his research interests lie at the intersection between qualitative methods and geographic information systems (GIS), and how these emerging geospatial technologies might be applied to cultural research questions. His recent research has looked into the spatiality of creative and cultural industry work in regional Australia and applying historical GIS to road sealing.

On the NSW Far South coast, sealed roads are of relatively recent providence. How this recent history of road sealing influences the cultural life of the Bega Valley is the focus of this paper, where experiences of mobility have arisen as one means for understanding cultural infrastructure provision. This research has been experimenting methodologically with historical GIS (geographic information systems) as a means for understanding the evolution

of not only the road network, but the communities that are increasingly reliant on private motor vehicle transport. Examining the 'where and when' of bitumen reveals not only how key cultural sites like local halls are rendered accessible (or not), but how places, lives and communities can become defined by infrastructure provision. Furthermore, this research adds to the historical GIS toolkit by exposing historical maps to spatial network analysis techniques.

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#### Warfare and Provincialism in New Zealand, 1860-67

Mr Andre Brett, PhD candidate, University of Melbourne

Andre Brett is a PhD candidate at the University of Melbourne with interests in colonial, Pacific, and public works history, especially the evolution of statehood in nineteenth century New Zealand. His thesis examines the creation and demise of New Zealand's provincial system, 1853-76.

In 1876, New Zealand abolished its provincial system of government and became a unitary state. Some historians have identified warfare in the North Island between settlers and Maori, especially between 1860 and 1867, as key to this political transformation. I will argue against this analysis and suggest that warfare had notable but not dire consequences for provincialism. Although the central state gained significant powers during wartime, these rarely came at the expense of provincial powers. Central incursions into provincial affairs were minimal and restricted to the theatre of war, with little relevance for the rest of New Zealand. The botched implementation of the central government's New Zealand Settlements Act, which has been cited as evidence of provincial failure, actually reflected poorly upon both levels of government. The centralising impulse of the 1860s must be found elsewhere. It was up to the provinces to bring themselves undone through their own inability to manage immigration and public works. The clash of central and provincial loans on the London money market in the mid-1860s that dented New Zealand's creditworthiness and stimulated major centralising reforms was more due to reckless provincial borrowing for public works than wartime expansion of the central state.

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#### The 'ethnographic' writing of Indigenous Christians

Prof Peggy Brock, Emeritus Professor, ECU

Emeritus Professor of History at ECU and Visiting Research Fellow, U of A, FASSA.

In this paper I discuss the works of several Indigenous writers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who described their own or neighbouring societies in ethnographic terms. That is they discuss customs such as marriage, dress and bodily decoration, religious beliefs, creation narratives, warfare, cannibalism and many other aspects of their communities. The way they came to write about their societies was influenced by the knowledge that they and their people were objects of research by missionaries, settlers and anthropologists; and by their own deeply held Christian beliefs. Their communities and ways of life could no longer be taken for granted but needed to be explained, condemned or modified. These descriptions of cultural practices from which Christians distanced themselves helped to distinguish these new Christians from their past and the practices of those who had not adopted Christianity. These ethnographic writings therefore fulfil multiple functions - they describe lives which are in the process of change; they are a record of 'dying cultures'; they are a moral accounting of 'heathen practices' which need to be condemned or relegated to the past; and they are a means of distinguishing Christian behaviour and values from non-Christian. I will take a sample of writings from the Pacific, Canada, Australia and southern Africa to consider how these writers distanced themselves from aspects of their own societies, while remaining embedded in them.

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## My Kitchen Rules (the Waves): Domestic Science in Interwar Sydney

Dr Bridget Brooklyn, Associate Lecturer, University of Western Sydney

Bridget Brooklyn is an associate lecturer in the School of Humanities and Communication Arts, University of Western Sydney. She is working on a political biography of Mary Booth.

Mary Booth (1869-1956) feminist, environmentalist and conservative political activist, is best remembered for her volunteer work during the first world war and, later, her work in connection with the immigration of British boys. Therefore her decision to open a domestic science college in Sydney, which she did in 1936, may look as if, at the age of 67, she was travelling down an entirely new path. However, this was the fulfillment of an aim she had had since returning to Australia in 1900, after graduating as a physician from the University of Edinburgh. Booth was influenced by eugenics and specialised in child health before taking up volunteer work during the first world war. She shared with Empire loyalists of her generation a belief that the health of the Empire depended on the health of the home. For historians, eugenics is often tainted with imperial ideas of racial destiny that at times could come dangerously close to the extremism of Hitler's Germany. Feminist analyses of domestic science have, similarly, tended to analyse domestic science as shoring up dominant ideas about the social and the gender order. Less has been said about what it contributes to early twentieth century Australian feminism. While there is a good body of scholarship on interwar feminism, the link between feminism, eugenics and domestic science in interwar Australia needs further exploration. In the life of Mary Booth we see these three converge. I will use her domestic science college as a setting in which to explore them.

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## The Great Falsified War? Stalin and 1941

Dr Stephen Brown, Senior Lecturer, University of Wollongong

Dr. Stephen Brown is a senior lecturer in History in the Faculty of Arts at UOW.

History in Russia has become a much more democratic affair in recent years. The bookshops are full of accounts of Russian history written by Western historians, professional Russian historians and an army of amateur historians who invoke the past in a variety of different ways. It is this third group that is generating the most controversial reinterpretations. This paper looks at the evolution of pro- and anti- Stalin popular histories concerning the dictator's role in the events of 1941-45. The issue of whether Stalin was a hero or villain is a window onto the many trajectories of Russian nationalism that have emerged in the two decades since the collapse of Communism.

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## ANZAC: a demilitarized zone?

Dr Nicholas Brown, Research Fellow, National Museum of Australia

Dr Nicholas Brown is a senior research fellow in the Centre for Historical Research, National Museum of Australia, and an associate professor in the School of History, Australian National University.

Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds' *What's Wrong With Anzac* - subtitled 'the militarization of Australian History' - highlighted concerns at the capture of the history of the Great War in Australia by a range of interests, and the need to rethink the meanings and use of that war in the research and teaching of Australian history. This paper arises from a review of recent Australian historiography with the aim of contributing to a program through which the National Museum of Australia might mark the centenary of 1915, and the Great War in general. Taking account of the issues raised by Lake and Reynolds, and of the questions and approaches which have energized scholars dealing with and defining the topic, what are the points at

which the history of the Great War is currently growing? What is driving innovative work? And how might these new directions be related back to a museum program that seeks to engage and stimulate a fresh public approach to the social history of the war?

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#### The Intellectual and Political Heritage of the Downers

Mr Paul Brown, Post graduate student, University of Wollongong

An Honours graduate of the University of New South Wales Paul Brown has specialised in Australian British relations. He is currently researching the formative British experiences and political philosophy of Alexander Downer in a Doctoral Program with the University of Wollongong.

When Sir Alexander Downer as Minister for Immigration 1958-1964 in the Menzies Government abolished the dictation test through the Revised Migration Act of 1958 he simultaneously removed discriminatory legislation prohibiting Australian indigenous peoples leaving Australia without a Government permit. This set in train a series of immigration reforms which lead to the abolition of the White Australia policy when the Holt Government admitted non-Europeans for the first time in 1966. Perhaps what is less appreciated is that this progressive conservatism was continuous with the intellectual and political heritage of the Downers. Previously his father Sir John Downer in 1887 had introduced female suffrage in South Australia as Premier as well as equal voting rights for indigenous peoples whilst standing virtually alone in opposition to the racial discrimination provisions of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901. The source and motivation for Alexander Downer's political philosophy was forged in this intellectual and political tradition. A particular South Australian progressive conservatism reinforced through the formative experiences of his British education 1964 to 1975, deeply imbued with the liberalism of John Stuart Mill and the conservatism of Edmund Burke. This paper draws on previously unreleased interview transcripts held by the Australian National Library revealing the sources of Alexander Downer progressive conservatism and classical liberalism and how this prefigured a career including his contribution as Australia's longest serving Foreign Minister. Interviews with former Prime Minister John Howard and Alexander Downer himself have provided further primary research material.

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#### Berrima: Creating the perfect past

Ms Sharon Bulkeley, Curator, Canberra Museum and Gallery

Sharon Bulkeley is a curator, heritage consultant and part-time historian who has worked in the National Museum of Australia, the Australian War Memorial and Old Parliament House.

Country towns are a distinctive element of the Australian character and landscape. They are associated with the perhaps out-dated Australian ideals of the 'bush' and 'the bushman', the outback and the pioneers, and many provide direct links to the country's early history. Yet many of Australia's small country towns are dying as primary industry declines, employment opportunities and facilities disappear and the younger generations move to the city. This paper considers an array of approaches adopted by Australia's small country towns in marketing themselves as tourist attractions, and what Berrima's case can tell us about shifting tourism trends. The study incorporated the evaluation of over 100 years' worth of tourism brochures, governmental studies and assessments, interviews with town locals, tourism managers and weekend visitors and statistical reports. The research indicated that Berrima has been relatively successful in re-inventing itself, consistently updating its image and 'product' to respond to consumer demand. It has been able to use its existing infrastructure of historic buildings and setting to capitalise on the visitor demand for 'history tourism'. However, as historic towns react to consumer trends rather than creating them, they face a constant battle of remaining relevant in the tourist psyche.

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## The Repatriation of Soviet Prisoners of War, 1945-6. The French Experience

Dr Greg Burgess, Senior Lecturer in History, Deakin University

Senior Lecturer in History, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, and affiliate in Contemporary History at the Alfred Deakin Research Institute, Deakin University

The English historiography of the repatriation of Soviet Prisoners of War from the western front to the Soviet Union after the end of the Second World War has been described as 'one of the most appalling episodes of World War Two'. From the British and American perspectives, it is a history of delivering victims of the war to Stalin and the Gulags. The French experience is little more than a footnote in the histories in English. This paper will examine the history of the repatriation of the Soviet Prisoners of War in 1945-6 from three perspectives: Charles de Gaulles' aims of a foreign policy independent of 'Anglo-Saxon' hegemony in post-war Europe, population exchanges and the resettlement of displaced persons, and the restoration of post-war order and justice, upon which French post-war legitimacy rested. This paper is part of a larger study the author is making in to post-war France.

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## Tom Thumb Lagoon and me: reflections of an honours research thesis

Ms Chanelle Burman, Cultural Heritage Researcher, Office of Environment and Heritage

Chanelle completed her BA honours (first class) at the University of Wollongong in 2012. She was recipient of the Aboriginal History Journal's 'White/Barwick scholarship award' and the NSW Office of Environment and Heritage's (OEH) 'Ray Kelly Scholarship award'. She now works as a cultural heritage researcher at OEH.

In 1848, the colonial landscape artist John Skinner Prout painted Tom Thumb Lagoon (TTL) as an 'Aboriginal arcadia'. While Dharawal people at the time utilised the lagoon for practical, spiritual and cultural purposes, the artist did not see TTL as an Aboriginal place. Rather Prout (like other colonists) saw the lagoon's landscape as a blank canvas on which to construct aesthetic, capitalist and nationalistic beliefs. Prout's depiction of TTL became a reconstruction of his own memory that attempted to exploit the picturesque landscape for commercial gains. The artist's artificial memory characterised a subjective vision for the landscape that informed, and was informed by, a Eurocentric and romantic view of history - a history that continues to be promoted (consciously and unconsciously) by Prout's painting in the public sphere today. As a visual reminder of the past, Prout's painting represents a historical record of what the lagoon looked like before it was transformed into the inner harbour of Port Kembla. It also represents a deliberately constructed memory of Wollongong's historical landscape. Moreover, as the topic of an honours thesis, Prout's painting signifies the start of this researcher's study into a significant place in the local landscape. Having recently navigated the hurdles of writing a thesis, this paper aims to examine and reflect upon the research process. From defining a topic and forming a framework for discussion to searching, selecting and writing about the archives, this paper will retrace the journey of researching an honours thesis.

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## Prime Minister Howard as a Wartime Leader

Dr Frank Cain, Visiting Fellow, University of New South Wales

Dr Frank Cain is Visiting Fellow in HASS at the University of NSW at Canberra where he conducts research on the Cold War and Australian Political History

John Howard was elected to be Prime Minister in March 1996 without any particular programme but then he introduced cut backs and redundancies. With re-election coming by November 2001 he adopted a policy of defence particularly over border security and anti-terrorism as a form of wartime leader. In August he ordered the military to stop the container

vessel. Tampa, disembarking 438 refugees it had rescued at sea. After the 9/11 events in New York in September 2001, he effected the terms of the ANZUS Treaty where Australia was to defend the US which was the reverse of the terms of the original treaty. He won the 2001 elections to great acclaim. He was embraced by President Bush and joined the British and American military planners in 2002 in arranging the invasion of Iraq and he had then joined that fight in March 2003 to seize WMDs. He won the elections in October 2004. For the war in Afghanistan he sent military forces in September 2001, but recalled them in December that year only to send them again in July 2006. However he lost the elections in November 2007. Howard was a great admirer of another Liberal Party Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, who governed for seventeen years during the Cold War. He believed a Chinese invasion as imminent, he had military conscription for all males and he joined the Vietnamese War. The paper will examine the degree to which Howard was influenced in his wartime leadership by that previous Liberal leader.

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Mobility and meaning: Raphael Cilento on health in the Pacific.

Dr Alexander Cameron-Smith, Sessional lecturer, The University of Sydney

Alex Cameron-Smith is a graduate of the history department at the University of Sydney. His research has explored twentieth century histories of public health and medicine in the Pacific, with special reference to connections between Australia and the Pacific Islands.

For most of his career Raphael Cilento enjoyed the kind of mobility afforded by his job as an Australian public health official. Global and regional imperial networks allowed him to study tropical medicine in London, serve as Director of Public Health in New Guinea and visit the wider Pacific Islands as a representative of the League of Nations Health Organization. Sometimes his own initiative led him to jump unofficially between networks, such as when he served in 1921 as a medical officer in the Federated Malay States. This paper touches on how Cilento's mobility, especially in the Pacific, fundamentally shaped the social and political meanings of health that were cornerstones of his involvement in Australian public health in the 1930s. A health mission to the Pacific Islands, conducted by Cilento and a French colonial medical officer under the aegis of the League of Nations, is a useful focus. Cilento's diaries of this mission highlight how the construction of race that was fundamental to Cilento's approach to public health in Australia took shape within a number of overlapping colonial connections in the Pacific. At the same time the Pacific health mission itself was in part an expression of Australian claims to an informal hegemony in the region, claims that competing projects and limited local resources always undermined. Understanding Cilento's career thus adds to developing understandings of Australian colonialism in the Pacific.

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Mobilities and Hybridity: Maui Pomare and Te Rangihiroa, 1890-1950

Dr Jane Carey, Monash Fellow, Monash University

Jane Carey researches across broad fields in the history of racial science, whiteness, gender and settler colonialism. She is the co-editor of *Re-Orienting Whiteness* (Palgrave, 2009), *Creating White Australia* (Sydney University Press, 2009), *Historicising Whiteness* (RMIT Publishing, 2007), and has a forthcoming book on Australian women and science.

Over the past two decades the mobility of people, knowledge, commodities and opportunity which marked European imperialism have attracted intense scholarly attention. But until recently Indigenous peoples have usually been viewed as intensely static and 'local'. This paper thus examines the mobile lives and cosmopolitan careers of Maui Pomare and Te Rangihiroa, the first two Maori medical doctors. Both travelled extensively in the course their studies and for professional, political and reforming purposes. Pomare, for example, undertook his medical degree at the Adventist College in Battle Creek, Michigan, in the 1890s, while Te Rangihiroa after WWI re-invented himself as an anthropologist, conducted field work across the Pacific, lectured at Yale and in 1936 became Director of the Bishop Museum in Hawaii. Equally significant, however, are their extensive journeys into unfamiliar



territories across New Zealand and the Cook Islands in the early 1900s when Pomare was appointed Maori Health Officer and Te Rangihiroa worked as his deputy. In this work they sought to spread a new doctrine of health and hygiene to stem the dramatic decrease in the Maori population. They also contributed, on the one hand, to creating a sense of common Maori identity across these disparate communities, while on the other they promoted 'racial fusion' as the ultimate future for their people. Indeed, in many ways they represented 'miscegenation' as the next great Maori migration. The paper thus raises questions about the nature and significance of 'extra-local' mobility and exchanges for Indigenous peoples, which might challenge current understandings of 'transnational' or mobile experience.

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Tom Stannage, local history and local historical societies in Australia

Prof David Carment, Emeritus Professor of History, Charles Darwin University

David Carment is Emeritus Professor of History at Charles Darwin University, a former colleague of Tom Stannage and the author of publications on Australian local and regional history. He has for many years been active in community and professional history organisations.

Tom Stannage had a passionate commitment to local history in Australia. This encompassed the encouragement of local history archives and publications as well as the recognition of Indigenous local histories. The commitment was reflected in some of his more significant books and his roles such as foundation chair of the Heritage Council of Western Australia. Based on its author's perspectives and in the wider context of Stannage's work and influence, this paper considers aspects of Australian local history and the community organisations that promote it. The focus is on New South Wales and the Northern Territory but attention is also given to the rest of the country. The paper argues that in spite of quite formidable challenges local history and numerous local historical societies survive and develop because they are solidly based in their communities. It also shows how developments in academic and professional history to which Stannage contributed encouraged local historians and societies to seek better ways of collecting, preserving and using a complex variety of materials. This growing understanding of the local past allowed both Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, as Stannage once observed, to shape a "history for their own purposes of identity".

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'Whole-hearted supporters of the White Australia idea': Unions, class and race in the 1928 Colored Idea Scandal

Ms Kyla Cassells, PhD Candidate, La Trobe University

Kyla is currently undertaking a PhD at La Trobe University, under the supervision of Dr Ruth Ford and Professor Marilyn Lake. Her research is centred upon the 1928 Colored Idea scandal.

In 1928, several African American jazz musicians were deported after being found keeping company with local white women. These musicians were contract performers, touring with the musical revue Sonny Clay's Colored Idea, at a time when the Musicians Union of Australia (MUOA) was battling to maintain control over the importation of contract labour into the Australian music industry. When the scandal broke out, the MUOA tried to use the situation to their advantage in negotiations over import restrictions, and quickly became associated with the deeply racist frenzy that saw the jazz musicians promptly deported. This paper will look at the role of the MUOA and the union movement more broadly in the Colored Idea deportations. Although they are popularly associated with the deportations, I will suggest that the MUOA's role was perhaps not as important as it is generally considered. More broadly, this paper will also explore the contradictions in the union's attitudes to the very vexed questions of race in the 1920s, by positing the scandal in the broader context of the increasing movements of musicians (as contract labourers) in and out of Australia.

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## Connecting to the past: how Australians see their history

Dr Anna Clark, Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Technology, Sydney

Anna Clark is a Chancellor's Postdoctoral Fellow in the Australian Centre for Public History at the University of Technology, Sydney. Her current project uses interviews from communities around the country to examine the meaning and place of history in Australia today.

Australian history has been dominated by explosive and heated debate in recent years. Politicians, public commentators and academics have weighed in, advancing lines of argument, and claiming to speak on behalf of so-called 'ordinary Australians'. Meanwhile Australians themselves have been notably absent from these public discussions over the past. This paper goes into household kitchens, neighbourhood tea-rooms and community centres around Australia to ask what do people think of their nation's past? How do they connect to Australian history?

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## Punishing Child Soldiers During the American Civil War

Dr Frances Clarke, Senior Lecturer, University of Sydney

Frances M. Clarke is a senior lecturer at the University of Sydney. She is currently working with Rebecca Jo Plant, an Associate Professor at University of California, San Diego, on a history of child soldiers in America.

By the time the American Civil War erupted in 1861, the traditional practice of enlisting young boys in military had been brought into question by changing ideals of childhood and family life. Yet these new ideals had not firmed up enough to prevent tens of thousands of underage youths from going to war. Their service touched off a host of debates ranging from medical disputes over the effects of military service on young bodies to legal concerns over whether underage youths could properly consent to their enlistments. These debates became particularly acute when underage soldiers transgressed military rules. In such instances, court martial panels had to decide on issues ranging from appropriate modes of punishment to whether or not youthful and mature soldiers should be held to the same standards of physical endurance, courage, or self-discipline. This paper charts the process by which military courts determined punishments for young offenders, focusing on the way defendants and their accusers narrated acts of transgression, comparing the courts' rationales in handing down sentences, and analysing the types and degrees of punishments meted out to younger versus older troops. Examining the response to these punishments in state and federal courts, as well as in public commentaries, it argues that these debates helped to redefine understandings of childhood and definitions of parental and child rights.

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## Bicycle Overlanding as a Settler Mobility Practice: Machines, Masculinity, Landscapes

Dr Georgine Clarsen, Senior Lecturer, School of History and Politics, University of Wollongong

Georgine Clarsen is a senior lecturer in the History and Politics Program at the University of Wollongong. Her research interests include the history of gender and automobility, and settler colonial mobilities as a distinctive constellation of mobility practices. She is a founding Associate Editor of the journal *Transfers: Interdisciplinary Journal of Mobility Studies* (Berghan Press). This paper is part of an ARC Discovery Project Grant, *Mobile Modernities: 'Around-Australia' automobile journeys, 1900-1955*.

At the end of the 1890s newspapers in Australia were reporting on a new mobility practice, 'bicycle overlanding' through the 'uncivilised and uninhabited' regions of the continent. The reports suggested that bicycle overlanding filled 'empty' land with new people, things, activities and narratives, at the same time as it generated distinctive settler subjectivities –

'overlanders'. Men's gruelling bicycle journeys in the years surrounding the turn of the century were part of a longer history of settler mobilities across the continent, but bicycle overlanding constituted a major shift the practice from its nineteenth-century associations with organic modes of transport. By the mid-1890s bicycles were the fastest and cheapest form of individual transport that could be sustained over long distances. They greatly expanded the physical capacity of human bodies, and afforded new material practices and corporeal experiences that were very different to the rhythms, sensibilities, competencies, bodily demands, sounds and routines of overlanding by foot and animal power. This paper considers bicycle overlanding as a quintessential settler colonial practice, a 'nexus of doings and sayings', which reveals much about Australian settlerism at that historical moment.

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#### Finding your Anzac in a digital world

Mr Anne-Marie Conde, Senior Curator, National Museum of Australia

Anne-Marie Conde is a Senior Curator in the Australian Society and History program at the National Museum of Australia.

For about the last 30 years, access to records about the Australian experience of the First World War has been getting much easier. When Bill Gammage began his research for the book that was eventually published in 1974 as *The Broken Years*, a sign saying 'Staff Only' guarded the door of the Library of the Australian War Memorial. Now the Memorial is known internationally for its digitisation and accessibility projects. Other national and state libraries and archives have also made their First World War records available in sophisticated formats to an increasing numbers of family historians and other researchers. This paper briefly traces these developments, and probes the impact new technology is having on the ways that the First World War is remembered. How is enhanced access to archives shaping the expectations of the audiences for exhibitions and events in the centenary period, 2014-2018?

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#### Married to Freedom? Afro-American Missionary Women's Social Mobility

Ms Claire Cooke, PhD Candidate, The University of Western Australia

Claire Cooke is currently in the third year of her PhD at the University of Western Australia. Her thesis is on African-American missionary women in South Africa from 1880 to 1940.

I explore the social situation of African-American missionary women in South Africa during 1880-1940. Feminist studies of missionary women have highlighted that women had greater agency to exercise their power and talents in the mission field, but little attention has been paid to Afro-American missionary women and to notions of social mobility. I suggest that new perspectives on female African-American missionaries can be gained by using social mobility as a key theoretical framework and by considering the marital status of these missionary women as an important determinant of their social mobility. I consider social mobility as a theoretical framework that focuses on how missionary women travelled throughout the missions and the factors that determined how they moved. I make an original contribution to feminist mission studies by focusing on African-American missionary women's social mobility, which has not been subjected to rigorous inquiry, and by considering to what extent these factors affected their social mobility in South Africa between 1880-1940. My key questions are, how can the concept of social mobility be applied to African-American missionary women who had to negotiate a different conceptual racial hierarchy to that of white missionary women? To what extent did factors like marital status determine social mobility in the field? How did this social mobility in the missions compare to their social mobility in the US? Such study reveals that social mobility was determined by women's marital status and that they had greater social mobility in the mission field than they had at home.

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Mobilising advantage: Indigenous assistance and agency in colonial scientific endeavour.

Dr Anne Coote, Adjunct Associate Lecturer, University of New England

Anne Coote is an Honorary Associate Lecturer in the School of Humanities at the University of New England. She has published in the *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, the *Sydney Journal* and *Australian Journalism Review*.

Beginning in the 1980s the historiography Aboriginal people's reaction to European invasion has broadened. Stories of indigenous accommodation and survival now complement an earlier concentration on fierce Aboriginal resistance, indigenous agency being identified in both classes of response. Discussion of indigenous adjustment and cooperation has focused mainly on the assistance Aboriginal people gave to explorers, land-seekers, and law enforcement authorities, as well as on their role in the pastoral, pearling and mining industries. All this has highlighted the significant part the country's original owners played in the economic development of colony and continent. This paper focuses on a sphere of indigenous accommodation and cooperation meriting further investigation: the contribution Aboriginal people made to European knowledge of Australia's flora and fauna. Building on some other scholarship in this area, it interrogates a Eurocentric record of indigenous cooperation with nineteenth century field collectors, not only to survey the various ways in which European naturalists benefited from indigenous help, but also to identify indigenous agency in such transactions. It asks, in other words, what Aboriginal people, mobilised in the cause of European science, might have judged they stood to gain?

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Letters of Loss: Finding Aboriginal Women's Voices in Australian Archives

Ms Bryony Cosgrove, PhD student, Monash University

Bryony Cosgrove is a PhD student at Monash, researching the art and artifice of publishing letter collections; she edited *Portrait of a Friendship: the letters of Barbara Blackman and Judith Wright 1950-2000* (2007). She worked for over 30 years in publishing, and has coordinated postgraduate publishing programs at Melbourne, RMIT and Deakin.

A collection of correspondence from Aboriginal women, from the late-nineteenth to early twentieth century, is held in the Board for the Protection of Aborigines records (Victorian Public Record Office and the Australian National Archives). The letters belie the almost total silence of Aboriginal women's voices from this period of Australian history; they are the words of the least powerful and least privileged. These are letters of loss: loss of freedom, loss of children, loss of family, loss of land and loss of culture. The power of the written word is overshadowed by the heartbreaking and demeaning purpose to which it is being put, as these women use the language and written forms of white authorities in their attempts to negotiate with them. Being taught to read and write - by missionaries and government-appointed teachers - gave indigenous communities some means of addressing the authorities, but these negotiations were never conducted on an equal footing. Letters are regarded as revealing and insightful original sources, and the publication of women's letters, in particular, also gives voice to the previously unheard and often disregarded. Yet the 2002 publication of *Letters From Aboriginal Women of Victoria, 1867-1926*, edited by historians Elizabeth Nelson, Sandra Smith and Patricia Grimshaw, and drawn from the Victorian and National Archives collections, was met with almost complete silence; its print run minimal and its review coverage negligible. This paper will discuss the original letters within the context of publication of indigenous writings, specifically how editing, annotating and contextualising such material can interpose layers of new and additional meaning.

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## Mobilising an Emotive Patient: Hermaphroditism in Nineteenth-Century Medical Practice

Mr Sean Cosgrove, Doctoral Candidate, University of Sydney

Sean Cosgrove is a doctoral candidate at the University of Sydney examining the place of dream research within the sciences in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Broadly speaking, he is interested in medical and scientific history, histories of sexuality and of gender, and nineteenth-century popular culture.

Historians have recently come to terms with the patient as an active participant in interactions with the medical profession, however, we have yet to examine the ways in which emotion may play into this exchange. Emotional engagement with physicians was one of the tools by which patients could achieve their desired ends, whether that was a rectification of their problem of sex, or an early fix to avoid potential complications. This paper, then, seeks to rectify this situation through the examination of nineteenth-century hermaphroditic patients. Historians have also rightly noted that the category of 'true hermaphroditism' was one which eventually declined in popularity to the point of extinction in the early twentieth century. Through this paper, I also wish to engage with this narrative traditionally seen as dominated by the medical profession. Assuming culture to be a force shaping medical thought, this paper further argues that although medical professionals might have written this category out of existence, patients were equally as forceful in creating the conditions under which this shift was to occur. Although not a history of the patient, this is a history which attempts to bring the patient's influence and agency to the fore as shapers of medical intervention and medical categories. Individually, patients could influence their treatments, but on a larger scale they could also significantly alter medical discourses by bringing to the attention of physicians problematic conditions for which they demanded help.

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## 'One Day You Will Be Proud Of This Place': Museum Victoria's H.V McKay Collection and Sunshine

Ms Snjez Cosic, Curator, Sustainable Futures, Museum Victoria

I have been employed at Museum Victoria since 2012. I have been working as a historian for the last eight years and have been involved in various projects for museums and cultural heritage bodies. My areas of historical interest include immigration, urban development, industrial heritage, settlement, cross-cultural interactions and fashion.

Agricultural industrialist H V McKay established the Sunshine Harvester Works in the 1890s in rural Victoria. Around the turn of last century, he moved his factory and 200 employees to the outskirts of Melbourne's west in an area then known as Braybrook Junction (later changed to Sunshine). This shift saw the growth of modern-day Sunshine. Following McKay's settlement in the area, he established a housing estate for his employees, encouraged local businesses and ran the largest agricultural factory in Australia which, by 1910, was employing 1,900 workers. Following the factory's closure and demolition in the 1980s, Museum Victoria acquired a large collection of audiovisual material, documents and agricultural equipment from the company. In my paper, I will select particular McKay-related sites and buildings in Sunshine and show how Museum Victoria's H V McKay Collection can be used to interpret Sunshine's past. I will discuss this in relation to a series of narratives I am producing about the company's history for the Museum's Collections Online website (<http://museumvictoria.com.au/collections>).

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## Dressing the Part: clothing and gentility in gold rush Victoria

Ms Lorinda Cramer, PhD Student, Deakin University

Lorinda Cramer is a PhD candidate at Deakin University. Exploring the material culture of domestic needlework from the mid-nineteenth century, Lorinda is examining how handmade textile goods in museum collections can be drawn upon for understandings of the lives of women within an expanding colonial middle class.

In the maelstrom of Victoria's gold-rush migration, and in the complex webs of aspiration and social mobility, dress was an outward and finely nuanced expression of identity. Clothing, particularly women's dress, visually signified the middle-class values of good taste and modesty to knowing genteel observers. This contrasted the spectacular, if often short-lived, wealth of the gold diggers which found expression in way they dressed their new brides. Contemporary genteel commentators scorned the extravagant dress of the diggers' wives, and the unrestrained exuberance of new money. But beyond this prevalent gold-rush stereotype, how women dressed themselves and their families remained contested. This paper explores how women in mid-nineteenth century Victoria negotiated the uncertainties of clothing through their own sewing practices. It addresses the raft of challenges inherent in the colonial setting and considers the trajectory of nineteenth century garments through their adaption and readaptation, where a higher value was attached to the textile itself over the social cachet of a garment's perceived newness. This paper draws on the material culture of needlework housed in museum collections to examine how identity and class were expressed through the materiality of clothing, where the practice and products of a woman's sewing articulated social status in colonial society.

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## Reluctant Feminists? A transnational approach to anti-feminism and female citizenship

Dr Sharon Crozier-DeRosa, Lecturer in History, University of Wollongong

Sharon Crozier-De Rosa is a lecturer in history at the University of Wollongong. Her research interests include: anti-feminism; feminism, nationalism and imperialism; emotions and popular culture; and, late nineteenth and early twentieth century British, Irish and Australian history.

The early twentieth-century British Empire was home to a complex interweaving of anxieties about nation, race and empire. Gender anxieties wrought by the continuing, hotly contested suffrage campaigns in the British metropole and by the very existence of the female voter in other parts of the world added to this heady mix. The onset of World War I only intensified this amalgamation of worries, inflating what were already highly emotional political debates. This paper looks at the anti-feminist discourses from metropole to periphery, discourses that both reflected and shaped attitudes towards these interconnected national and international anxieties. It finds that early twentieth century concerns about the imminent fall of empire and agitating women's culpability for national and by extension imperial instability led to a suffrage debate that was particularly acrimonious and bitter. Shame was a heavily relied on tool for either bringing transgressive women back into the fold or confirming her exclusion from the fold of 'true' womanhood. But what of women at the other side of the Irish Sea where opinions about the imminent fall of the British Empire were in many ways diametrically opposed to those reigning on the British mainland? How were emotions employed in the suffrage campaign there? And what of women in the far-flung Australasian peripheries - women who already had the vote - how did they feature in anti-feminist discourses? Are there grounds for a transnational approach to the use of emotions in anti-feminist campaigns or were conditions so nationally contingent that they defy transitional comparison?

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The success of the Success: an Australian exhibition 'convict ship'

Ms Rose Cullen, Curator, University of Sydney

Rose Cullen is a Sydney University PhD student and Assistant Curator of the forthcoming Macleay Museum exhibition Touring the past

A curious floating Museum visited Australian ports in the 1890s. The vessel was the fortuitously named barque Success. Built in 1840, she was bought by the Victorian government in the early 1850s and used as a prison hulk for almost a decade. Sold at auction, the new owner sought to capitalise on the ship's colourful past, fitting her out as a museum by mid-1890. Waxwork felons and bushrangers occupied the ship's cells, macabre implements of torture were put on display and visitors were sold an increasingly sensational history of the ship and the brutality of 'old Anglo-Saxon authority'. Many curious Australians visited the Success. She toured Australian cities until 1895, before sailing to Britain where she was exhibited in English, Irish and Scottish ports until sailing for America in 1912. This paper will examine the cultural appeal of the Success and how it was promoted and received in Australia. A visit to the Success appealed to a morbid voyeurism and a strong curiosity about the convict origins of the Australian colonies. The exhibition was promoted in a business-like manner as a true object lesson in nineteenth century progress. However, historical accuracy fell victim to showmanship. The history told on board was embellished, reinforcing stereotypes about Australia's convict origins. As the convict era was fading from living memory, visitors to the Success were generally thrilled by the experience and only occasionally sceptical, despite later government attempts to discredit the promoters.

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Mass conservative mobilisation during the Depression: a Trans-Tasman approach

Mr Matthew Cunningham, PhD candidate, Victoria University of Wellington

Matthew Cunningham is a PhD candidate in the History programme at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, and a Research Analyst/Inquiry Facilitator at the Waitangi Tribunal. He has published four peer-reviewed articles and an encyclopedic entry, and is currently working on his first research commission for the Tribunal.

On 19 March 1932, Francis De Groot - a zealous member of a paramilitary movement known as the New Guard - famously cut the ceremonial ribbon at the opening ceremony of the Sydney Harbour Bridge. Less than two months later, the New Guard was embroiled in internal turmoil and a legal scandal that would leave it a shadow of its former self. Whilst he could not have realised it at the time, De Groot's action would become the movement's foremost - indeed, its only - historical legacy. The following year, a similar movement arose in New Zealand that would grow to include 20000 members. The New Zealand Legion, as it became known, was keen to stress from the outset that it was 'not a New Guard ... [or] a Fascist body'. Irrespective of its protestation, the Legion's claim reveals a striking awareness of the political turmoil that was occurring across the Tasman. This paper argues that the emergence of the New Zealand Legion cannot be fully understood without this trans-Tasman connection. It suggests that the two movements arose during the Great Depression as part of an Australasia-wide phenomenon of mass conservative mobilisation in which ideas flowed freely back and forth across the Tasman. This approach asserts the lingering importance of the Tasman world in the twentieth century rather than considering each movement in an isolated context. It also acknowledges the place of this Australasian phenomenon within the surge of right-wing movements around the world during the interwar period.

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## Exploring emotional history through the life history interview

Miss Nicole Curby, PhD Candidate, La Trobe University

Nicole is completing her PhD at La Trobe University in conjunction with the Australian Generations Oral History Project. She has worked as a research assistant at NSW Native Title Services, and completed Honours at the University of Sydney in 2008.

What motivates ordinary people to put themselves forward and tell their life story for a national archive, radio program and academic research? What do they hope to gain from the process? Psychologists, historians and therapists alike agree on the profound effects of telling one's life story. Oral historian Penny Summerfield has argued that interviewers want, even need, to believe in the beneficial effects of life review and remembering. However through their questions, the interviewer is equally capable of disrupting the narrator's relationship with their past, and their social context, creating an uncomfortable sense of 'discomposure' for the interviewee. The life history interviews recorded for this project yield rich insights into the emotional texture of everyday lived experience, as it is viewed in retrospect. Until recent years, Australian historiography has neglected the emotional realm, largely seeing it as anathema to Australian cultural life. Where emotions have been addressed, the tendency has been towards trauma and grief. These in-depth interviews with 'ordinary Australians' demonstrate the use of narrative and cultural scripts to understand experience, and their interplay with the complex emotional landscape that constitutes a human life. This attention to the individual's creation of, and reflection upon their own subjectivity allows a deeper understanding of historical forces that have primarily been considered through the lenses of cultural and social history.

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## From Gosford: post-institutional experiences of the late 1930s/ early 1940s

Dr Patricia Curthoys, Adjunct Lecturer, The University of New South Wales

Patricia Curthoys is a social historian interested in the intersections between religion and welfare in Australian history. She is currently working, with Tanya Evans, on a history of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales, which focuses on the family histories of former clients.

This paper explores aspects of the post-institutional life of boys released from the Gosford Training School, New South Wales, in the late 1930s and early 1940s. The institution, originally known as the Farm Home for Boys, Gosford was established as an industrial school, in 1912, under the Reformatory Schools Act of 1866, for boys aged 13 to 18 who had committed 'serious offences'. The paper details the experiences of boys, on their release, attempting to find employment and accommodation, even clothing and food. In so doing the role played by charitable institutions in these processes is revealed and interrogated, in particular the work of the Christ Church St Laurence Boys' Welfare Bureau, situated near Central (Railway) Station in Sydney. The Bureau had been established by Christ Church St Laurence (a central Sydney Anglican church) in 1936 in response to a request, to churches, from the Child Welfare Department, for assistance with the care of children who had appeared before the Children's Court. The records of the Bureau are used to reconstruct the post-release experiences of these ex-Gosford boys, as well as providing insights into the ways in which religious belief and practice interacted with current ideas about juvenile delinquency.

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## Marking the Leper: Disease Legislation in Colonial India

Ms Robyn M. Curtis, PhD Candidate, Australian National University

I completed my M.A. 'Diseases of Containment: Leprosy, Syphilis, Law and the Construction of the Diseased Body in Colonial South India, 1860-1900' at the University of Canterbury. I have now commenced my PhD at the Australian National University, examining issues of feminism and environmentalism in nineteenth century Britain.

Between 1860 and 1900 the British Colonial Government enacted numerous pieces of legislation which superficially sought to control disease transmission. With an appearance of medical necessity, these laws in reality attempted to identify and control subcultures that were marked as transmitters of infection. Legislation combined medical, legal and cultural concepts which formed the framework for the construction of an indigenous diseased body. This paper will offer tangible examples of this association of science, law and society. Further, using evidence from the legislation as well as contemporary reports and newspapers the cultural markers of the society which engendered the laws will be explored. The Contagious Diseases Act (1864/8) was introduced to control venereal disease, while the Lepers Act (1898) targeted leprosy sufferers. Historians have previously considered these acts as isolated examples. However, by examining the Lepers Act within a continuing framework of colonial control alongside the earlier Contagious Diseases Act, new questions about social legislation coloured by characterisations of gender, race, class and morality can be explored. Deeply stigmatizing for Europeans, leprosy carried an imagined significance out of proportion to its biological impact. Examining this law, it is possible to analyse the way in which this legislation, among others, reified the corporeal form of sufferers. A visibly diseased body was constructed, which then allowed authorities to focus their efforts on the control of specifically identified marginalised groups, segregate them and render the visible invisible - an illustration not so much of sanitary control but social control.

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## Keeping home fires burning? Domestic coal use in postwar NSW

Dr Nancy Cushing, Senior Lecturer, University of Newcastle

Nancy Cushing is a senior lecturer in History at the University of Newcastle and convenor of the Bachelor of Arts. She has published on several aspects of environmental history and is currently co-authoring a history of air pollution in Newcastle with Assoc. Professor Howard Bridgman.

The three largest cities in NSW had air pollution problems in the 1950s which the state government preferred to ignore. When forced into action by public outcry after the Great London Smog of 1952, the Cahill Labor government reluctantly appointed a Smoke Abatement Committee to investigate air quality and advise on clean air legislation. Its final report in 1958 largely repeated the British Beaver Committee on Air Pollution's findings, with the exception of a clear statement that in contrast with British cities where coal smoke from domestic fires was a major contributor to air pollution, in NSW domestic burning was not worthy of notice. This dismissal of a contribution to poor air quality from homes allowed the committee's recommendations to focus squarely on major industrial polluters and this emphasis was built into the Clean Air Act which followed in 1961. This paper will test the assertion that domestic smoke was not a significant pollution source by investigating evidence of coal use in NSW homes between 1945 and 1970 as recorded in newspapers, private sources and government reports. It will be argued that although there was an increasing availability of electricity and gas which reduced reliance on domestic fires, coal continued to be used for space heating, cooking and heating water in both private homes and blocks of flats and that this dispersed smoke had a negative impact on local air quality.

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## Negotiating Australian Boundaries of Rule: Papua New Guinean Mobility

Ms Lucy Davies, PhD Candidate, LaTrobe University

Lucy Davies is a PhD candidate at LaTrobe University studying the movement of Papua New Guineans to Australia from 1935 to 1975. Last year she was awarded the National Archives of Australia/Australian Historical Association Postgraduate Scholarship.

From 1935, when the Papua Legislative Council passed the first official attempt to control Papuan mobility, the 'Native Emigration Restriction Ordinance' to independence in 1975, Papua New Guineans maintained mobility across the Torres Strait to Australia. This paper explores how Papua New Guineans were instrumental in shaping colonial boundaries even as they obeyed, resisted or moved across them. I argue that the Australian government's preoccupation with controlling colonial and mainland boundaries was an attempt to manage the lives of native Papua New Guineans and, in turn, produce and maintain colonial power. Therefore, by maintaining agency over their movement, Papua New Guineans forced Australian officials to negotiate the semblance of colonial boundaries and, in turn, challenged colonial rule of the Territory. The mobility of Papua New Guineans across Territory and Australian borders will be considered within the larger conceptual framework of the mobility of subjects across colonial borders and how this mobility challenged, shaped and reinforced colonial rule. In particular, the paper looks at the historical agency of Papua New Guinean women and the ways that they influenced Australian colonial rule through mobility. I will use examples of Papua New Guinean women who entered Australia for work, education, career, marriage, conferences and travel and the role they played in shaping colonial boundaries and rule through mobility.

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## Vernacular or Official? Bonegilla Reunions as Participatory Spaces

Miss Alexandra Dellios, PhD Candidate, University of Melbourne

Alexandra Dellios is conducting her PhD at The University of Melbourne on Constructing Public History, Framing Collective Memories: a Case Study of Bonegilla Migrant Camp.

In Australia, the earliest efforts to commemorate post-war Migrant Reception and Training Centres, like Bonegilla, manifested in anniversary festivals. They began in the 1980s and were attended by thousands of ex-residents and their families. They constitute important moments in the formation of Bonegilla's public history. Tracing them is one of the first steps in exploring the articulation and evolution of Bonegilla's collective memories, and thus forming a framework for understanding the interaction of memories in the public-sphere. The first major event to commemorate Bonegilla's migrant past was the 40th anniversary festival of the camp's opening, in 1987. A larger 50th anniversary festival followed in 1997. Similar events have sporadically occurred since that time. Far from being ritualised, they precariously depended on the enthusiasm of individual ex-residents, their newly-formed committee, and their ability to garner support from ethnic community groups and state-backed funding sources. Later, local councils working with established ethnic organisations dominated these anniversaries. Accordingly, the media campaigns, dominant narratives and administrative frameworks surrounding the 1987 and 1997 Festivals differ. I focus on the interactions that occur during these events; for example, between the council-backed committees and separate ethnic community groups, and between families and the prescribed programmes of the Festivals. I thus underline the co-ordination, ongoing negotiation, and reappropriation of memories'familial, ethnic, official, individual'that occur in any formation of a public history site. This approach seeks to add nuance to the long-accepted mode of analysing public history: dichotomising vernacular and participatory forms with official and nationalistic ones.

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Desertion and Success in the Boer War: One man's story.

Mr Geoff Doherty

Retired mature age graduate/student. BA Hons, Part PhD completed, might finish it someday. Interests in family, military and convict history and any other interesting history I find. Currently travelling a lot and buying and reading books: SF and History - the good life, but someone has to do it.

This paper discusses how two small Australian National Archives files led to uncovering the real story behind Australia's first, most successful - and completely unknown - military deserter: Private James Alfred McGhie, 1st Victorian Contingent, South African War, 1899-1900. The two files mentioned concern the actions of two different people, though they are related by marriage, and cover two separate time-periods, some months apart. When they are considered together, the first file clearly gives an indication as to why James Alfred McGhie might have taken the actions that he did. But it is not the whole story; it is never that simple. With the aid of information from several other sources, the (almost) complete story of how, and why, Private McGhie managed to mobilise the resources of a military system which ordinarily would not have allowed him to return home legally, to do exactly that, comes to light. McGhie's odyssey is an example of mobility in the face of personal adversity. With an apparently glib tongue, and a large dose of luck, McGhie manoeuvred himself through every level of military bureaucracy, and crossed thousands of miles of land and sea - all the way from Bloemfontein to Melbourne. Then, on arrival in Melbourne, he promptly reported to headquarters.

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Legislating on adoption: social mobility in the early twentieth century

Miss Carina Donaldson, Postgraduate student, La Trobe University

Carina Donaldson is a postgraduate student at La Trobe University. Her thesis, a history of adoption in Australia from 1920s to the 1970s, explores how the borders of class, race, culture and nation have been transgressed or upheld in processes of family making and unmaking in Australia's past.

This paper historicises the Victorian Adoption of Children Act, 1928, which provided for the 'extinguishment' of parental rights and obligations, and their transference to adopting parents. While informal adoption had long been a constituent of the child-care landscape, the legislation was widely deemed revolutionary because it provided legal sanction and certainty to the adoptive relationship. The passage of the Act was driven by the perception that adoption provided for the upward social mobility of children who would otherwise be held captive by the smear of illegitimacy or by dissolute familial environments. Adoption advocates insisted upon the reforming effects of rearing children in loving and respectable homes, where 'bad heredity' might be eroded and efficient and responsible future citizens shaped. To the National Council of Women, legal adoption was also viewed as an opportunity for women to exert influence in the public arena and was envisaged as a field that might enable women's social, political and professional mobility. Women, the organisation passionately averred, intuitively understood the 'character and psychology of children', thus, it was important that their involvement in the adjudication of adoption cases be legislatively guaranteed. This paper situates the Victorian Adoption of Children Act within its wider historical context, demonstrating how its passage, whilst driven by belief in the desirability of social dynamism, revealed more complex, troubling social undercurrents. In doing so, it will explore how the idea of adoption produced and engaged with discourses about the possibilities and impossibilities of social mobility during the early twentieth-century.

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## A meeting of waters: Sites of Significance in NSW

Ms Emma Dortins, Cultural Heritage Researcher, Office of Environment and Heritage

Emma Dortins is a public historian working as a researcher with the NSW Office of Environment and Heritage. She recently completed a PhD in history at Sydney University.

The NSW Sites of Significance Survey began in 1973 as the National Parks and Wildlife Service came to terms with its new responsibility for the protection of Aboriginal objects, a responsibility that looked back to mid-century notions about Aboriginal people and the 'relics' they had left behind. The Survey, funded by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, was also conceived as a salvage operation - aiming to document vanishing traditional knowledge about sacred sites. Aboriginal people in NSW were presumed not to have maintained such knowledge, and the NSW Service secured funding from AIAS with difficulty. The Survey showed that Aboriginal people in NSW did have sacred sites, as well as many places significant for long histories of association and social meaning, and that in many cases they were concerned about the future of these places. Ray Kelly, a Dunghutti man from NSW's mid-north coast, was a key member of the Survey team, and his commitment to cultural revival became a vital strand of its philosophy and approach. The Survey also absorbed the conservation principles of the Service, and addressed the diverse imperatives of Environmental Impact Assessment and Aboriginal land rights. Though its energy was absorbed, and its archive dissolved, within the wider work of the Service, the Survey continues to underpin current conservation work. This paper looks through the Survey into the history of heritage conservation in this pivotal period, examining the intersecting traditions that shaped the Survey work and its archive.

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## Australian national identity at international exhibitions, 1876-1939: presenting Australia in the USA

Ms Louise Douglas, PhD student, Australian National University Former Assistant Director at National Museum of Australia. Current PhD student in Dept of History, ANU

On 23 July 1914 enthusiastic pledges, flag raising and singing of the 'The Song of the Commonwealth' saw the Commonwealth of Australia dedicate the site of its first national exhibition pavilion outside the British Empire. The pavilion was to be part of San Francisco's Panama-Pacific International Exposition and this was Australia's first attempt at presenting in the United States as a unified nation. From the 1850s Australia's colonial and federal governments actively used exhibitions held in the major cities of Europe, the British Empire and the United States to promote their national interests on an international stage. Substantial funds and resources were committed to sending exhibits in the hope they would generally enhance Australia's prestige and specifically attract emigrants, capital or tourists. Through examining displays sent to Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco and New York this paper will explore their role in developing the Australian-American relationship from 1876 to 1939.

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## Islands, trenches and deserts: Australian peacekeepers in the Pacific

Miss Kimberley Doyle, PhD Candidate, ANU

I am a PhD candidate in the School of History at the Australian National University. My current research is an exploration of the personal experiences and stories of Australian peacekeepers who served in the Pacific region between 1997 and 2007.

It has not been through the islands of the Pacific but through the trenches of Europe and the deserts of the Middle East that Australian peacekeepers who served in Bougainville, East Timor and Solomons Islands from 1997-2006 have mobilised memories and stories of their peacekeeping service. In a manner not too dissimilar to that explored by Alistair Thomson in his work on Great War veterans, peacekeepers in this project have shaped their memories of service by negotiating a space for themselves within the shifting and contested collective memories of the Australian Defence Force and the nation. Participants have explained their service almost exclusively in reference to conflicts past and present, as well as to the mythologised soldiers who served in them. Finding a place for themselves within that scaffold has not been a straightforward process. As current debates about the inclusion of peacekeepers on the Honour Roll at the Australian War Memorial demonstrate, the peacekeeper has occupied an ambiguous place in Australian and military memory. Many peacekeepers expressed this uncertainty and tension in their memories of their own service. However, in other ways the shadows of the war in Afghanistan and to a degree Iraq have provided a space in which the morality, the 'rightness', of peacekeeping was clear and uncontested. Memories of peacekeeping in the Pacific have not only been about the Pacific, but have been the product of mobilisations of stories about other wars and places, past and present.

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#### Mobility, locality and community: The case of early colonial surveyors

Dr James Drown, Research Assistant, University of Sydney

James Drown completed his doctorate on the early colonial surveyors of NSW and VDL at the University of Sydney in 2012. He has over twenty years experience as a non-fiction book editor, including numerous titles in various aspects of Australian history.

Early surveyors provide a valuable cohort with which to examine issues of mobility and its alternatives in an early nineteenth-century colonial setting. About sixty government surveyors served in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land between 1788 and 1836. These surveyors were always immigrants to the colonies, but do not conform to the model of 'imperial careerist'. Most had no experience from elsewhere in the empire; and most settled permanently in their colony of employment. Much of the colonial surveyors' work involved mobility in the field, but they were also always connected to their departmental headquarters - a local 'centre of calculation'. Similarly, the discourses in which they described both their work and the geographic field were rarely those of detached imperial observers. Their most prolific work involved measuring, marking and recording property boundaries. These descriptions feature both technical details of distances and bearings, drawn from a general Enlightenment 'mathematical cosmology', but also more local material and social phenomena, including marked stakes and trees, neighbours' sidelines, and the witness and memory of members of the local community. These local and community aspects were arguably the more important when it came to verifying land ownership and adjudicating disputes. For colonial surveyors, mobility did not mean detachment or neutrality. Viewed within their departmental contexts, their work exemplifies the complementarity of mobility and stability, and demonstrates also the overarching importance of the social or community context.

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#### Dangerous Insanity and the Slow Death of Van Diemen's Land

Mr James Dunk, The University of Sydney

James Dunk is a doctoral student at the University of Sydney. This paper is extracted from a chapter on insane asylums and the failure of reformation in Van Diemen's Land in a thesis mapping insanity amidst the peculiar terrain of the Australian penal colonies.

On 1 October 1855, the Lunatic Asylum, New Norfolk, was passed from the imperial government to the government of the newly-named and self-governed Tasmania. Now overseen by colonial commissioners and visited regularly, the asylum was opened up to the public, no longer a Bastille, but was quickly closed to the convicts for which it had been built.

The convict insane were moved to Tasman's Peninsula, there to join the bulk of convicts who lived tenuous lives governed by an unravelling convict department. With no new transportees arriving, the proportion of recidivists grew, accompanied by rises in the prematurely invalid and the convict insane. Soon, all were held at Port Arthur. At this famously penal site, boundaries between criminality and insanity, always dangerously porous, began to dissolve. Talk of the depredations of 'half mad criminal convicts' laid the groundwork for increasing separation of free and convict insane, horror at British plans to import the wretched, brutalised, and mad Norfolk Islanders, and calls to bolster Port Arthur's security. New Norfolk would be brought up to the standard dictated by the humane and progressive tenets of moral therapy; convict asylums would be prisons and female factories, damp and therapeutically impoverished. Robert Castel has shown that in revolutionary France, the regulation of insanity was shaped by the p

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#### Moving and stopping: Convict mobility and settlement at Hunter's River

Mr Mark Dunn, Student, UNSW

Mark Dunn is a PhD student at UNSW looking at the colonial settlement, clashes and conflicts over the environment in the Hunter Valley north of Sydney. He has worked as a consultant historian for 17 years and has a regular history spot on radio Fbi 94.5fm.

The Hunter Valley, north of Sydney, was one of the first areas outside the County of Cumberland to be colonised by Europeans. From 1804, convicts were sent in increasing numbers first to the penal settlement of Newcastle and later to work the vast estates of emigrant farmers. By 1828, 84% of the population of the Hunter Valley were convicts or ex-convicts. Despite representing the majority of the population and the bulk of the workforce, in the history of the European settlement and development of the Valley there is little mention of them. Where did they all go? Using data from colonial musters and censuses this paper explores the question of what happened to these convicts once their sentences expired. Did they stay in the Valley and if so did they stay close to their place of assignment, and what if any influence did they assert on the development of the Valley's identity?

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#### The representation of conflict in Indigenous art: a perpetual theme

Mrs Nerina Dunt, Postgraduate and Tutor, School of History and Politics, University of Adelaide

Nerina Dunt is a PhD candidate in the School of History and Politics at the University of Adelaide. Specialising in Indigenous art, she is also a tutor in Graduate Studies in Art History, a program developed jointly between the University of Adelaide and the Art Gallery of South Australia.

Conflict between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australian populations has remained a pervasive theme within urban-based Indigenous art throughout the last three decades. Represented both explicitly and implicitly, Indigenous artists continue to draw their subject matter from a spectrum of conflict that began in the distant past with the settlement of Australia. This paper will examine various visual representations of conflict, illustrated by urban-based Indigenous artists, and consider the significance of the theme's perpetuity. The relevance of my enquiry is to establish why the theme of conflict has been maintained by urban-based Indigenous artists over time and what impact its associated aesthetic trajectory has had on the genre as a whole.

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## Breaker Morant in the context of the Boer War

Dr Robert Eales, Retired

Dr Eales was educated in South Africa and Oxford. He is a retired banker (Sydney and London) with a keen interest in the South African War 1899-1902

The culpability of Breaker Morant and his co-accused for the killing of Boer prisoners in the South African War 1899 - 1902 has been debated in Australia since their conviction in 1902. The discussion was reinvigorated by the 1980's film 'Breaker Morant' (which suggested flawed trials) and again by recent attempts to obtain a pardon for him and his fellow accused. The debate so far has centred on the interpretation of unreliable and incomplete evidence surrounding the events of the killings. This paper takes a different approach. It reviews the trials in the wider context of the war and casts further doubt on the principal defence, namely that Morant and his men were ordered to commit the atrocities. The killing of prisoners is the opposite of what the British Commander in Chief would have wanted and contrasts with the commuting of death sentences imposed on Boer prisoners in other trials. The argument in favour of a pardon is further undermined. The work is based on published material and research in British and South African archives.

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## Transformative technology and disabled bodies in Post-WWII Australia

Mr Dave Earl, PhD Candidate, Sydney University

Dave Earl is a PhD candidate at Sydney University. He has taught and published on the history of disability, mental health, medical rehabilitation, childhood and the family.

From the late 1940s, occupational therapists and social workers from a network of non-government organisations began applying rehabilitation techniques developed for disabled veterans to Australia's civilian population. These rehabilitative schemes promised to provide economic participation and civic engagement to citizens formerly "thrown on the human scrap-heap". In this paper I examine how the promotion and practice of civilian rehabilitation transformed Australians' understanding of citizenship, work, and economic participation during the 1940s, 50s and 60s. Situating the schemes in the post-War climate of technological innovation, mass production and consumerism, I follow campaigns including the New South Wales' Spastic Centre's project to produce electronic wheelchairs at their Allambie Heights Sheltered Workshop ("Magic chariots, wheels that can take you anywhere at the touch of an electronically controlled joystick"), and the Civilian Maimed and Limbless Association's funding drive for a Medical Rehabilitation out-service at the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital (it could provide "wheelchair homes for disabled housewives").

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## Colonial Violence on Television: Watching a 1970s Historical Mini-series

A/Prof Catriona Elder, academic, University of Sydney

I am a member of the Department of Sociology and Social Policy at University of Sydney. My key research area is race relations and identity. Within this broad field I have projects on popular culture and race, as well as work on Indigenous politics and identity in relation to reconciliation and sovereignty.

This paper explores a 1970s historical mini-series - 'Luke's Kingdom' (1976) - in order to extend understandings about the ways in which frontier violence was included and excluded in popular narratives of Australian history. 'Luke's Kingdom' is an atypical example of the miniseries format. The genre is Gothic - with moments of extreme violence and confusion around race, family and belonging that lead to incest and murder. Further, in this series the frontier - the space of violence - is greater Sydney; and the plot focuses on a group of squatters, ex-convicts, thieves and misfits who exist outside the Law - geographically as well

as socially. Unlike so many of the mini-series of this time the narrative of Luke's Kingdom does not move toward nation formation, rather it presents a hyper-violent and catastrophic rendition of colonial life. By undertaking a close reading of the text, but also by analysing the reception of the series on its television premiere, I think through some of the ways in which frontier violence was imagined and represented at this time, but also some of the ways in which the class and gendered dimensions of race relations were understood. Analysing this outlier series makes it possible to see the ways in which narratives of race violence have been partly eradicated from the popular, but also to explore what is different about them when they re-emerge in the post-Mabo moment.

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#### Political manoeuvres: local council politics in 1930s Sydney

Ms Laila Ellmoos, Historian, City of Sydney History Unit

Laila Ellmoos is a historian with the City of Sydney's History Unit. She is the current President of the Professional Historian's Association of NSW.

In 1931, the City of Sydney's aldermen passed a resolution restricting access to Sydney Town Hall, especially for political meetings. This was in response to a disruptive meeting at the town hall in April 1931 when over 3000 people crowded in to hear future Australian Prime Minister Joe Lyons speak. Lyons was a divisive figure as a Labor Party defector, a denouncer of Premier Jack Lang and the leader of the newly formed United Australia Party. During his speech, the town hall was the scene of wild cheering from supporters and violent clashes between police and protesters. This paper will look at the impact of the 1930s depression on local council politics in Sydney, and will explore the interplay between the divergent political views of the City's aldermen and the impact of Commonwealth and state politics on the local level. The paper will draw on the biographical research of former aldermen of the City of Sydney Council, highlighting the importance of occupation, social connections and family background in understanding local politics.

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#### Music, Power, Public Space: a Case Study in Newcastle, NSW

Ms Helen English, Senior Lecturer, University of Newcastle

Helen English is interested in music-making practices in the nineteenth century, Australian music, and gender and music. She is currently working on music and identity in the Hunter Valley in the nineteenth century, focussing on music and space, music and the public sphere and music and social worth.

This paper investigates the role of music in creating identity in Newcastle colliery townships in the 1870s. At this time, working-class mining communities practised, performed and listened to music both indoors and outdoors in an array of settings, including paddocks, streets, schools, meeting rooms, halls, tents, on railway stations and steamships. What was music's significance in these spaces? I will argue that music's physical presence and power was used to mark out and claim spaces. Furthermore, music was mobilised within these spaces for specific purposes, such as to support miners' demonstrations or to raise funds for community members through benefit concerts. These activities were in turn used to project desirable social attributes such as worth and respectability for the communities. The uses of music and their reception are examined through recourse to the five local newspapers of the period. Amongst these a working-class paper, the *Miners' Advocate and Northumberland Recorder* (1873-1876) is of significance in its detailed reporting on miners' business. Advertisements, reports, concert reviews and minutes of meetings are drawn on to give insight into the communities' music-making activities and the newspapers' responses to it. I will suggest that these practices were central to an understanding of the creation of the translocated community's new identity.

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## Loyalty in British travel writing on Australia, 1870-1939

Dr Sofia Eriksson, Casual Tutor, Macquarie University

Sofia received her PhD from Macquarie University in 2012, and currently teaches at Macquarie and UWS. Her research interests revolve around the British Empire, processes of identity formation in settler colonial contexts, history and theory, and more recently the relationship between discourses of health and beauty in a historical context.

By the final decades of the nineteenth century, the British settler colonies in North America and the Pacific had become so established that they functioned rather like states of their own. They were still tied to the metropole through a shared culture and set of traditions, and they were subsumed under it in matters of foreign policy. But as the century progressed they developed increasingly sophisticated political institutions, and their leaders and populations developed agendas that did not always or entirely coincide with those of the imperial metropole. In this context it became increasingly urgent to consider what the future would hold for the settler Empire. This paper aims to explore the responses of ordinary Britons to this problem. It will look at the specific context of the Australian colonies, and examine what metropolitan British visitors had to say about the imperial relationship. The paper will argue that a significant shift in how the travellers represented the connection between the metropole and the colonies occurred in the 1880s. Prior to this, the imperial bond was assumed rather than discussed, and the certainty with which the travellers regarded the relationship between their home country and the colonial settlements allowed these earlier travellers to leave it without much comment. From the 1880s, however, diplomatic tensions and diverging interests made the relationship more fraught - something that reverberated in these travel accounts as an emerging preoccupation with the nature of the bond that kept the colonies and the metropole together.

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## Searching for Legitimacy: Single mothers and the Benevolent Asylum

Dr Tanya Evans, Lecturer, Macquarie University

I am a lecturer in the Department of Modern History at Macquarie University. I have a long-standing interest in the histories of philanthropy and voluntary organisations and I'm working on a history of Australia's oldest charity, The Benevolent Society, focusing on the family histories of former clients of the Benevolent Asylum.

This paper will explore some of the meanings and experiences of poor, white single mothers who migrated from Britain, settled in NSW and gave birth in The Benevolent Asylum in nineteenth-century Sydney. The Benevolent Society of New South Wales, Australia's oldest surviving charity, was established in Sydney in 1813 to cater to the colony's poor. The asylum was built where Central Station now lies. From the early 1860s, the charity's efforts became focused primarily on the relief of destitute women and children. By 1863 it functioned as 'a lying-in hospital, a foundling institute, a refuge for deserted women with young infants, and an asylum for the temporary reception of destitute children; while at the same time it dispenses weekly assistance in kind and money to the really indigent'. This paper will focus on single mothers' use of the lying-in hospital in the late nineteenth century using family histories shared by descendants of clients of the asylum. It will explore the historical experiences of these fatherless families, the ways in which migration shaped their lives and the intergenerational experience of poverty in the nineteenth century. It will show the ways in which some women negotiated with charitable and state authorities in their struggle for legitimacy.

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## That's what being a woman is for': Public Responses to Marital Rape Reforms

Dr Lisa Featherstone, Lecturer, University of Newcastle

Dr. Lisa Featherstone is a Lecturer in Australian history at the University of Newcastle. She has published widely in the history of sexuality, and also on reproduction, gender and medicine. Her latest research project is with Amanda Kaladelfos, on sex crimes in 1950s Australia.

From 1976 until 1994, Australian states and territories introduced a raft of reforms to sexual assault laws. Most of these were welcomed, and were seen to reflect women's changing status within a modernising society. One reform, however, was especially contentious. The British law had proclaimed that a woman could not be raped within marriage: the marital bond included a husband's right to sexual access to his wife. Following South Australia's lead, all Australian jurisdictions introduced changes to this law, making it a crime to rape a woman within marriage, either before or after separation. It was a fundamental challenge to the way familial authority was conceptualised, established and policed. In a period where feminism had infiltrated many layers of political and social life, we might expect this change to the law would have been greeted with relief and even celebration. The response to changes to marital rape laws was, however, both muted and ambivalent. Even feminist groups did not offer unequivocal support, and in general public opinion was at best reserved. Further, many conservative groups understood the new laws as an assault on the sanctity of the family itself. Drawing on a wide range of sources in the mainstream and alternative media, as well as parliamentary debates, government enquiries, academic studies and legal reports, this paper will explore the multifarious responses to legislative change. It will uncover the complex ways sexual violence and female bodily autonomy were understood within and beyond the borders and boundaries of the home and family.

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Bolters, blacks and bushtopias: convict escape on the Australian screen.

Mr James Findlay, Doctoral Candidate, The University of Sydney

James Findlay is a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Sydney where his research focuses on representations of the convict experience in popular culture. He has worked extensively in film and television production, primarily in documentary, for organisations including the BBC, ABC, Film Australia and Beyond Productions.

Stories of convict escape have fascinated scholars of colonial Australia, novelists and filmmakers alike. Embedded within these histories are inherently dramatic feats of survival, naivety, deceit and death, fertile material for producers of cinema and television. This paper will investigate how land based escape narratives have developed into one of the primary modes of representing convict histories on screen. Focusing on three eras including early silent cinema, the 'renaissance' or 'boom' period for Australian film and television between the mid 1970s and 1980s and more recent cinema of the late 2000s. The paper will explore how the transition from prisoner to convict 'bolter'; and the subsequent movement from colonised spaces into either treacherous wilderness or safe refuge, has been used by filmmakers to comment on present social and political concerns. These include environmentalism, gender politics and broader themes such as civilization against nature and freedom versus responsibility. It will also demonstrate the emergence of a powerful screen mythology that depicted convict escapees assimilating into Aboriginal tribal societies, allowing filmmakers and audiences unfettered access to constructed notions of Aboriginality.

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Drop-outs or drop-ins?: Bega Valley in the late Twentieth Century.

Mrs Fiona Firth, PhD candidate, ANU

Fiona Firth is a PhD candidate at the Australian National University and her topic is the migration of new settlers into the Bega Valley in the late Twentieth Century. Fiona has lived in the study area since the 1980s and has also completed a local history of the Bega Valley from 1850-1900.

The population of the Bega Valley Shire on the far south coast of New South Wales more than doubled between 1966 and 1996. The migration to this sparsely populated, some would say, 'forgotten corner' of NSW was part of the broader population turnaround of the time: a reversal of the previous trend of rural to city migration. New settlers, often young people, moved to the Bega Valley seeking an alternative to life in the cities which they viewed as overly materialistic and capitalist. This research seeks to uncover the in-migrant's aspirations and expectations for a new way of life in a rural area. Studies of the migration to rural and regional Australia in the 1980s and 1990s are quantitative and have a broad geographical spread. Using oral history interviews in conjunction with paper based records, I will bring a qualitative and local perspective to the research on rural repopulation in Australia. This study of the doubling of an established population by an equal number of newcomers with different backgrounds and lifestyles will show the effects on all groups of a migration which was both unexpected, and at times, unwanted by the original community. Newcomers were initially trying to escape from bureaucracy and limitations of their traditional cultural norm of a life in the city or suburbs. Over time they were forced to engage with local and state bureaucracies to influence the growth and development of the place they now called home.

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I want some fun': Australians and the Spanish-American War

Ms Emily Fitzgerald, Postgraduate, University of Melbourne

Emily Fitzgerald is a PhD candidate at the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies, University of Melbourne. She is researching the connections between Australia and the United States during the development of federation.

The people of the Australian colonies responded not just with interest but outright enthusiasm to the Spanish-American War, something which has received little historical attention. This enthusiasm and support was directed, for the most part, to their Anglo-Saxon cousins across the Pacific, the United States. In this paper I will use the correspondence and reports of the United States Consul in Sydney and United States Consul-General in Melbourne, together with related contemporary newspaper reports, to consider this strong positive reaction. This includes offers volunteering to serve in the United States Military during the conflict, and the provision of supplies to the US forces in Manila. This paper does not challenge the idea of Anglo-Saxon racial identification as a reason for Australian enthusiastic support of the United States during the war, but rather seeks to demonstrate how other motivations such as adventure, career and financial gain connected in to these racial identifications.

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Mobilising for Law: Recruiting personnel for Australia's war crimes trials, 1945-51

Dr Georgina Fitzpatrick, Research fellow, Asia Pacific Centre for Military Law, Melbourne Law School

Appointed Research Fellow on an ARC Linkage grant, Australia's Post-World War II Crimes Trials of the Japanese, in 2009, I have completed eight essays providing the context for the 300 Law Reports of the trials. I am currently working on cannibalism, death sentences and executed airmen for a companion volume.

To ensure the smooth operation of the 300 war crimes trials conducted by the Australian Military Forces at Morotai, Wewak, Labuan, Darwin, Rabaul, Singapore, Hong Kong and Manus between 1945 and 1951, Army HQ in Melbourne had to source men with a wide range of skills. Linguists, stenographers and, above all, legal officers were needed in some numbers. Those willing to defer prolong their war service into the years of peace were joined by others who for various reasons had missed the war. These men (and later some women) had to be prepared to venture into uncomfortable places and unfamiliar situations. Why did Lyston Chisholm leave his suburban solicitor's practice in December 1945 for the war crimes trials in Rabaul? Why did ex-Changi prisoner of war, Herbert Dick, defer his return to civilian life until 1950? How did John Brock cope with his sudden transfer from the Rabaul trials to Hong Kong? This paper will explore the paths to recruitment, the differing motivations of those recruited and the experiences of some, concentrating in particular on officers of the Australian Army Legal Corps. Using letters in both public repositories and in private hands, diaries and interviews as well as departmental records, it will draw upon my study of the Australian-run war crimes trials.

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#### Mobile states and sedentary statehood in the Eurasian *longue duree*

Dr John Fitzpatrick, independent scholar

John Fitzpatrick has taught international relations at various Australian universities, especially at Flinders University from 1988 to 2012. His research interests are 'international relations and world history'; war, state and society relations; environmental and food history; and 'great divergence' debates.

'Sedentarization' and taxation, James Scott suggests, are the two oldest state projects, the first being a precondition for the second. At one level, *longue duree* 'China' and 'India' provide impressive confirmation of this proposition: great sedentary empires incorporating multiple irrigation agriculture cores; enduring geographies of metropolis-periphery relations; complex transport networks underpinned by state redistribution; and vast internal markets for food and other bulk goods. However, the most potent state-making impact on these empires came from not from inside the irrigation agriculture regions but from the inner Asian arid zone - from highly mobile outsiders, relatively small in numbers but militarily potent and with exceptional logistical reach. Even Beijing and Delhi as capitals were located not near the centre of the irrigation agriculture zone but near its edge, reflecting the military 'bridgehead' logic of recurrent inner Asian conquests. Much later a new wave of mobile conquerors came from Atlantic Europe - Pannikar's 'invasion of the sea nomads'. Their initial bridgeheads were located around the coast and in the wet-rice agriculture periphery. However, when the Europeans retreated the paradoxical legacy was the re-emergence of great sedentary states with stronger infrastructural capacity than had been possible before the European impact, but metropolis-periphery geographies still largely reflecting those established in the era of land-based conquests from inner Asia.

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#### Surfing in sewage and other moments in coastal environmental history

Dr Caroline Ford, Hon. Associate, University of Sydney

Caroline Ford is the author of *Sydney Beaches: a history* (UNSW Press, forthcoming 2014). She is a researcher with the NSW Office of Environment and Heritage and an Honorary Associate of the University of Sydney's History Department.

When the NSW government first decided in 1880 to drain Sydney's human waste into the ocean north of Bondi, few complained. A century later, the ocean had been transformed in the public imagination from something limitless that could purify the excesses of humanity into a finite resource that must be protected. This paper provides a brief overview of some of the famous and less well-known moments in the environmental history of Sydney's ocean beaches: a century of battles over the city's ocean outfalls which culminated in highly publicised and well-attended protests in the environmentally-conscious 1980s; community

opposition to the regular dumping of household garbage - including kitten carcasses and rotten vegetables - in the sea in the early twentieth century; the physical transformation of the coastal landscape to create the foundations for residential development; and a shift in the place of sharks in the popular imagination, from their construction as 'monsters' of the sea to more recent attempts to conserve them as 'endangered species'. This paper provides new insight into the creation of a coastal landscape. It shows that Sydney's beachgoers and coastal residents have fought to protect beaches against pollution and development since long before 'environmentalism' became a potent political force. Nonetheless our modern coastal environment is not a natural space but a culturally constructed landscape which has been shaped and reshaped by political and economic decisions and the demands of a growing urban population over the past two centuries.

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#### Controlling professional knowledge in Australia: implications for social mobilities

Dr Hannah Forsyth, Postdoctoral Research Fellow, University of Sydney

Hannah Forsyth completed her PhD in history in 2012 and is now a postdoctoral research fellow at the University of Sydney. Her research includes higher education, knowledge, urban history, history teaching and social inclusion. She is currently extending work on the regulation of university knowledge into research on professional Australia.

Professions grew over centuries but have in recent times experienced rapid change. A century ago, very few occupations required formal qualifications. Now, by contrast, credentials are the key way to access professional opportunity in Australia. There is no sign of this trend slowing. It has raised the standing of certain occupations but may have simultaneously erected new barriers to those who, for want of tertiary qualifications, can no longer access their chosen profession. Despite their place in regulating the supply of professionals, universities have not normally controlled the professional standards, grade levels and pay rates that signify the possession of workplace-based knowledge. Partnerships with professional bodies were forged to legitimise tertiary education's place in the labour market. The power and equity implications of a growing formalisation of professional knowledge are not clear. Marxist orthodoxy sees the wresting of 'craft' knowledge away from workers as a key mechanism of capitalist power. Other approaches, however, emphasise the value to both the profession and society of increased attention to education and professional standards and of merit-based selection. This paper draws on a case study of engineering in New South Wales to consider the implications of the control and regulation of workplace-based knowledge. It explores the shift away from the pupillage system, based in workplaces, and the competing authority of educational institutions and the Institute of Engineers. This case study represents an initial foray into a larger project on the history of professions in Australia, exploring the effect of changing conceptions of merit on access to professional standing.

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#### The museum and the academy

Dr Stephen Foster, Adjunct Professor, Humanities Research Centre, Australian National University

Professor, Humanities Research Centre

Among his many contributions to public history, Tom Stannage served on the governing bodies of the National and Western Australian museums. He was one of a significant number of academic historians who have contributed in large and small ways to the museum sector. In this paper I want to explore how such relationships have worked. What have academics - especially historians - brought to the museum sector? How have museums contributed to historical research and writing? And, more specifically, how have courses in museum studies contributed to museums?

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## Rank and Recognition: Official Honours and Fame in Australia

Dr Karen Fox, Acting Deputy General Editor, Australian Dictionary of Biography, The Australian National University

Dr Karen Fox completed her PhD at the ANU in 2009 and is currently acting deputy general editor of the Australian Dictionary of Biography. Her research has appeared in the *Women's History Review* and *Aboriginal History*, and her first monograph was published by ANU E Press in 2011.

Joan Sutherland, Dick Smith, Manning Clark, Dawn Fraser. Four names that bring to mind four very different lives. Yet these four lives have a common theme: fame. All four have been recipients of the Australian of the Year award. All have been appointed to the Order of Australia. And all are instantly recognisable, household names. But official recognition is no sure path to public renown. Far less familiar is the name of Raigh Roe, a national president of the Country Women's Association and joint winner of the Australian of the Year award in 1977. Neither is former Northern Territory Administrator Austin Asche widely known, despite appointment to the highest grade of the Order of Australia in 1994. This paper explores the significance of official honours in creating, and maintaining, fame. It considers a range of distinctions, from the popular Australian of the Year awards to the complicated system of national honours that has developed since the Order of Australia was established in 1975. Through the lens of official honours, it examines the role of state actions in building and shaping famous reputations in twentieth-century Australia. What mechanisms have existed by which the state could anoint someone as worthy of admiration or emulation by the rest of the population? How have those mechanisms developed and been deployed? What do they reveal about the processes by which an individual becomes famous or is remembered? This paper explores these questions through an historical analysis of the operation of official honours in Australia.

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## Traces of Allah in north-east Arnhem Land

Regina Ganter Griffith University

Regina Ganter is a Professor of history at Griffith University specialising on interactions between indigenous, Asian and European peoples in Australia currently undertaking an ARC Future Fellowship on German missionaries in Australia. She has published widely in the field of cross-cultural encounters and contributed to a number of broadcasts, museum exhibitions and curriculum materials on Asian/Aboriginal contacts in north Australian history.

This paper speculates that the prohibition of Macassan trade to north-east Arnhem may have interrupted a gradual syncretic islamisation of Yolngu ontology.

Yolngu people in north-east Arnhem Land have sometimes claimed a very deep rooted relatedness to the Indonesian seafarers they refer to as *Mangathara* (Macassans). Their cultural recollections of this contact are layered with dimensions of meaning that are not necessarily widely shared and are sometimes subject to interdictions. The fragments that are accessible to research and public debate are like shards of history, and some of these bear traces of Islamic practices. Granted that this was a dynamic oral culture, engaging in intelligent adaptations then these indicators suggest a syncretic approach to Muslim influences. The implication is that the prohibition of Macassan trade to north-east Arnhem Land that took effect in 1907 had a more far-reaching impact than the assertion of economic dominance of Anglo-Saxon entrepreneurs, and the arrival of Christian missionaries between 1908 and the 1920s coincided with a cultural disruption that facilitated the reinterpretation of cultural practices.

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## Made in Australia: Chinese Junks and Sampans in Northern Queensland 1880-1910

Dr Stephen Gapps, Curator, Australian National Maritime Museum

Stephen's history of the multicultural community of Fairfield won the NSW Premier's Award for regional and community history in 2011. Stephen is a public historian who has worked extensively in the heritage field and is currently a curator at the Australian National Maritime Museum.

When the Federation of Australia was celebrated across regional Australia in 1901 there were some surprising variations to the standard parades, pageants and civic speeches. None more so than in far northern Queensland, where a fleet of 400 illuminated sampans - a Chinese barge-boat - were the centre-piece of celebrations. The night-time illuminations on the waters of Trinity Bay, Cairns, were an expression of hope from a large north Queensland Chinese community about their position in the formation of the new nation. According to the Cairns Post there were always 10 to 20 junks carrying bananas upon the Barron River between 1880 and 1910. In 1892, a traveller to the area compared the Johnstone River to a scene from Canton. Within a few years of Federation however, the sampans and the fleet of at Chinese junks that plied the Queensland coast (and apparently beyond) - and that had all been made by Chinese shipwrights in Queensland - were no longer a familiar sight on the ocean and waterways of far north Queensland. This paper explores the history of one of the few examples of non-European Australian ship building and watercraft and its exclusion from the national maritime story.

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## Culture, theology and decolonisation in the Pacific

Dr Helen Gardner, Senior Lecturer, Deakin University

Dr Helen Gardner is a senior lecture at Deakin University who has worked on the intersection of Christian mission and anthropology in Oceania. With Christopher Waters she co-edited a special issue on Decolonisation in Melanesia for a forthcoming issue of the Journal of Pacific History.

In the 1960s and 1970s new theologies spread through Pacific theological training colleges which fed into expectations of political independence and hopes for self-determination. These theologies followed the ecumenical movement's efforts to lift the 'coconut curtain' in the Pacific in Samoa in 1961 with the inaugural meeting of the Pacific Conference of Churches. Based in part on the extraordinary archive of BD theses at the Pacific Theological College in Suva, this paper traces the crucial shift from mission to church in the decolonisation of Pacific churches or the handing of power from European missionaries to indigenous church leaders. As the churches gained independence - important precursors to the independence of Pacific nations - there was a simultaneous effort to challenge the hegemony of European theology and spread new Pacific theologies to Pacific congregations: theologies which celebrated and perhaps reified Pacific cultures. This paper examines the nexus of theological and national ideologies in the 1960s and 1970s as clergy and lay people in Pacific Island churches worked to decolonise both church and nation.

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## Battling on: Australia's medical women and The Great War

Ms Lucienne Gerrard, PhD Candidate, University of Newcastle

A former high school teacher and journalist, Lucienne is currently a PhD candidate at the University of Newcastle. Working closely with Associate Professor Victoria Haskins and Dr Lisa Featherstone, Lucienne is researching the impact of two world wars on the careers of Australia's women doctors.

There has been a perception that Australia's women doctors did not participate in World War One. Several did. Contrary to Government policy at the time, a small but undefined number of our women doctors took the initiative to travel to England, Europe and the Middle East to join hospital units that were entirely, or almost entirely, administered and staffed by women predominantly from the United Kingdom. While some worked in recognised hospitals, others performed extraordinary surgical and medical feats in mobile hospital units housed in hastily erected field tents. These doctors frequently encountered hair-raising situations as they operated on the wounded and cared for the sick, at their peril, and under horrific conditions. Several of the hospitals were located just behind the combat lines, in the midst of some of the bloodiest battles of the war. But what impact did their bizarre wartime experiences have on the post war careers of these outstanding civilian medical practitioners? This paper follows the pathways taken by a handful of our women doctors from the time they entered the sphere of World War One to their retirement from medicine. It aims to calculate the impact that the war had on their personal careers and on the careers of Australia's women doctors, in general. This paper also offers additional insight to the mind-sets of the medical profession, military, public service and the Australian community regarding gender in medicine during the inter-war years.

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#### Beyond the Nation: Sarla Sharman's Extraordinary Life

A/Prof Devleena Ghosh, Associate Professor, UTS

Devleena Ghosh coordinates the Indian Ocean South Asia Research Network, UTS, which links researchers across Australia and internationally. She has pioneered Indian Ocean studies in Australia and published widely on political and cultural experiences of South Asians, including Fijians, in Australia and on the circulations of the Indian Ocean.

Sarla Sharma, born in the 1920s was an activist since school. She participated in the Indian independence movement, was a member of the Communist Party of India and a founding member of the National Federation of Indian Women. She spent time in prison for her pro-independence activities and a significant period in the Soviet Union. She belonged to a group of extraordinary women who were truly international in their approach to emancipation, in politics, gender and social issues. Her transnational orientations informed her activism and writing to the current day. In her own words, she always thought 'beyond the nation'. This research has arisen from the Countering the Cold War project which is investigating the transnational connections between women in the Australian and Indian left wing women's movements. As a founding member of the NFIW, Sarla was aware of the international networks of women's movements which interacted through the WIDF. Her strong memories of Australian participation in the WIDF, culminating in the Presidency of Australian Freda Brown, who visited India frequently, allow reflections on the communication which was occurring between women and activists generally in the two countries.

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#### 'Captains of the soul': the mobilisation of Australian Army chaplains for Australia's twentieth century wars

Dr Michael Gladwin, Lecturer in History, Charles Sturt University

Michael Gladwin is Lecturer in History at the School of Theology, Charles Sturt University, Canberra, Australia.

During the First and Second World Wars, the Australian Army Chaplains' Department (later the RAACHD) became one of the largest and busiest ecclesiastical organisations in Australian history. For the Second World War alone it mobilised 754 clergymen of various denominational stripes. Never had so many clergy been mobilised for such diverse and demanding ministries by a single agency. While denominational organisations had sponsored the work of their clergy as missionaries abroad, the wartime Army Chaplains' Department was simultaneously deploying hundreds of clergy to Europe, Africa, the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific. The Department had also sponsored the most ecumenical outreach the nation had



ever seen. While the 1930s were marked by petty sectarian squabbles throughout Australia, the cauldron of war had brought men and padres together in a way, and to a degree, none had previously thought possible. In contrast with a significant body of literature on chaplains of various overseas armies, Australian Army chaplains have received little attention from historians, apart from a handful of studies that have examined chaplains in the First World War. This paper therefore assesses the impact of twentieth-century wartime mobilisations of chaplains on the soldiers with whom they worked, on their churches and on the Australian society to which they returned.

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Sack Vile Kyle: The women-led social movement that failed to launch

Ms Jessamy Gleeson, PhD Candidate, Swinburne University of Technology

Jessamy Gleeson is a PhD candidate at Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne. Her PhD thesis relates to how feminist movements and media policy can challenge and change negative female gender stereotypes in the Australia mass media.

The women-led campaign to remove Kyle Sandilands from the airwaves resulted from his November 2011 outburst at a female News Limited deputy editor. Following his comments that the journalist was 'a piece of shit' and that he 'would hunt her down', a group of Australian women mobilised a campaign to remove Sandilands from the airwaves. The resultant 'Sack Vile Kyle' petition attracted over 35,000 signatures, and triggered a string of major advertisers to abandon the show. However, the campaign ultimately failed to remove Sandilands from his role. The ACMA investigation into Sandilands' on-air comments found the segment to be 'deeply offensive' in nature, and in turn imposed a series of license conditions on Sandilands and Today FM. The original proposed license condition from the ACMA specifically targeted Sandilands, and would have banned him from saying anything that could be perceived as being offensive or demeaning towards women. However, upon appeal this license condition was instead broadened to comprise of Sandilands simply not offending 'accepted standards of decency'. Moreover, the ACMA investigation did not acknowledge the women-led 'Sack Vile Kyle' movement within their investigation, and as a result Sandilands remains on the airwaves - despite him being a repeat offender of the Commercial Radio Australia Codes of Practice and Guidelines. This paper will investigate why the women-led movement was ineffective in removing or restraining Sandilands's on-air role, and how the political and social mobilisation of women from across Australia to fire Sandilands went unacknowledged by his managers, advertisers, and Sandilands himself.

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Lucy Woodcock's transnationalism: connecting feminism, trade unionism, education and the peace movement across borders

Prof Heather Goodall, Professor, UTS

Heather Goodall is a social historian who has published on Australian Indigenous history and environmental history. Her recent work, extending these interests to the Indian Ocean, includes research with Devleena Ghosh into transnational links between postwar Indian and Australian women's movements despite the polarizing effects of the Cold War.

Lucy Woodcock (1889 - 1968) was a key figure in women's organizations and the union movement in Australia, yet she has not been well remembered. This may be because her life does not fit easily into categories of social analysis like class, gender or race. So her transnational travels and her political and physical border-crossing have received little attention. Lucy Woodcock's border-crossing does, however, bring her vividly into our project, Countering the Cold War, which looks at transnational connections between the Indian and Australian women's movements, 1945-1975. She may have visited India as a young woman in the 1920s, but it was Lucy's trip there in 1954 in which she made active links with Indian political organizations: the women's movement, trade unions, the peace movement and educational organizations. Her visit there was no accident: she came because of the long standing interests which had already taken her across cultural boundaries inside Australia

long before she was eventually able to leave the country - against the obstructions of a conservative government - to get to India, Japan and Europe. These visits changed her: she brought back - from India and Japan particularly - new understanding about how education, peace and gender equality might change the future. To each of her cross-cultural interactions, Lucy brought her feminism, her trade unionism and her commitments to working class and to girls' education and to peace. Her work defies simple categorization as 'feminist' or as 'left wing' and instead allows us to investigate a transnational and intersectional activist.

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#### The Anti-Socialist Campaign in the Evolution of Australian Liberalism

Mr Zachary Gorman, Post graduate student, University of Wollongong

Zachary Gorman recently began his PhD candidature at the University of Wollongong where he is studying the legacy of Sir Joseph Carruthers for Australian and New South Wales' Liberalism. Prior to this he completed a Bachelor of Arts with first class Honours at the University of Sydney.

This paper explores the role of George Reid's anti-socialist campaign in developing and propagating a liberal anti-socialist ideology in Australia. It argues that while anti-socialist movements were developing in many parts of Australia both before and after federation, George Reid helped to bring a distinctly liberal interpretation of anti-socialism into federal politics. The liberal anti-socialist ideology that Reid advocated throughout 1905 and 1906 established a loose definition of liberalism that while rejecting the perceived tyranny of a socialist state failed to describe what level of government intervention was appropriate. An anti-socialist ideology and a loose definition of liberalism have been central to non-Labor politics in Australia, hence this paper argues that the origins of the modern Liberal Party lay not in the 1909 fusion but in the anti-socialist campaign that preceded it. The paper will show that the differences of opinion that are common within the modern Liberal Party are not the legacy of the fusion of Deakin's 'liberals' with Reid's 'conservatives', but the product of Reid's loose definition of liberalism that was aimed at uniting 'liberals' on all sides of the political spectrum against the perceived socialist threat. Ultimately the paper will be an exploration Reid's liberal anti-socialist ideology and how this ideology has endured both the Keynesian and neo-liberal eras of the modern Liberal Party.

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#### Crowd-sourcing Credence: Historical Evaluation and Social Computing

Mr James Goulding, PhD Candidate, University of Sydney

James Goulding is currently completing a PhD in History Education at the University of Sydney. His doctoral research involves analysing how individuals evaluate the credibility of historical information in social computing environments.

Historical evaluation and judgment is a complex activity that is deeply rooted in the way we know and understand the past. Existing empirical research into historical understanding draws upon theoretical traditions found predominantly in educational psychology, and indicates that judgment is heavily context dependent, with factors such as concrete learning contexts, communities of practice and cultural tools weighing heavily on notions of what constitutes credible and valid historical information, as well informing the process of historical enquiry. The investigation of how individuals evaluate historical information in digital contexts, and in particular social computing environments, remains largely unexplored, despite having significant implications for the teaching and learning of history in the 21st century. The purpose of this paper is to provide a snapshot of the growing body of empirical research around historical thinking and judgment, as well as engaging in a tentative exploration of the impact of digital media and social computing on the evaluation of historical information from a sociocultural perspective. Literature around historical thinking and the evaluation of web-based information will be considered in relation to the early findings of a study currently underway at the University of Sydney involving undergraduate students and staff. The implications for the teaching and learning of history will be discussed.

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## Hoping beyond Borders: Internationalists' Travels to Australia in the 1950s

Ms Jo Grant, PhD Candidate, Griffith University, School of Humanities

Jo Grant is a PhD Candidate at Griffith University, whose main research interests are interdisciplinary approaches to utopianism, pacifism and war resistance in the twentieth century.

British internationalists Bertrand Russell and Julian Huxley made separate lecture tours of Australia in the early 1950s under the auspices of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, speaking to the public on the folly of nuclear war and the progressive value of scientific knowledge to politics and social organisation. While travelling as left-wing public intellectuals, they also came to the country as British tourists with a strong curiosity about the landscape, wildlife, and Aboriginal and settler population. During the various encounters on their tours, Russell and Huxley both imagined Australia as a utopian space that contained cultural and natural possibilities that were no longer visible in the Old World devastated by two World Wars. Although their various imaginings of Australia as a pastoral or biodiverse utopia continue long traditions of thinking about the antipodes, this paper argues that they are also significant to Russell's and Huxley's visions of an alternative world of global cooperation and harmony. The importance of hoping beyond and across national borders to contemporary internationalist strands of utopianism is revealed in these moments during their mid-century travels to Australia.

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## A responsibility to foster the well being of the natives

Dr Geoff Gray, Senior Research Fellow, AIATSIS

Dr Geoffrey Gray, Senior Research Fellow at AIATSIS, Canberra, Adjunct Professor at the University of Queensland has published extensively on the history of the social sciences in Australia and the South West Pacific. With Doug Munro and Christine, *Scholars at War: Australasian social scientists, 1939-1945* (ANU e-Press, 2012).

This presentation examines Australian intellectuals from the social sciences within this heterogeneous movement, influences on them by the newly formed United Nations, and their underlying sense that Australia had a debt to repay for the sacrifice made by people caught up in a war not of their making. It sets out their proposals for a new order and a new deal for the Pacific, and the decline and erasure of these hopes and plans from Australian post-war policies at the end of the 1940s, and takes up a question posed some years ago by the New Guinean historian August Kituai: did the abandonment of the Ward policy at the end of the 1940s betray the promise made after the war, that things would change for the better and that New Guineans would be able to control their destiny. In Kituai's terms it was a moral failure of the Australian government to implement these promises.

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## The lyrical legacy of the convict Frank the Poet : Sworn Tyrant's Foe

Mr Mark Gregory, Post Grad Student, Wollongong University

Folklorist and historian with special interest in the working songs and poetry of the Australian labour movement. I have pioneered the collection of such material online for close to 20 years and am in the final year of my PhD - *The working Songs and Poems of the Australian Labour Movement*.

Born in Ireland in 1811, Francis MacNamara a coal miner was transported to Sydney aged 21. By the time he died in Mudgee aged 50, he was widely known in the colony as Frank the Poet. His most famous poem is 'A Convict's Tour to Hell', a manuscript copy of which is in the special collections section of the Mitchell Library. The manuscript is a tiny hand stitched

booklet of 16 pages filled with very elegant miniature writing in black ink. The four poems in this manuscript form the best evidence we have that MacNamara was 'Frank the Poet' and that the epic 'Tour' was composed and written in 1839 when MacNamara was working for the Australian Agricultural Company. The paper of the booklet is watermarked 1838 which adds weight to this provenance. The extraordinary thing about MacNamara's lyrical work is that his fame in Australia particularly increases over time. Since most of the lyrical material was collected from MacNamara's fellow prisoners there is unlikely to very be unanimity about which of these pieces are really his work. Nevertheless they do form a remarkable corpus of convict poetry and song. The interest in MacNamara has come from poets, historians and literary scholars as well as folklorists and parallels the growth in interest in labour and oral history and narratives that differ from the official archives. My paper will concentrate on MacNamara's verse as a valuable contemporary and witty opposition to the convict system.

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#### Stannage and social history in Western Australia

Prof Jenny Gregory, Head, School of Humanities, University of Western Australia

Jenny Gregory is Winthrop Professor of History and Head of the School of Humanities at UWA. Largely publishing in the fields of urban history and heritage, recent books also include *Seeking Wisdom: a Centenary History of UWA* (2013), *Historical Encyclopedia of Western Australia* (2009), and *City of Light: a history of Perth since the fifties* (2003).

From his work in local history in the early 1970s, freshly arrived home from Cambridge, to *People of Perth*, commissioned by the City and arguably his major work, to his challenging papers on Poverty in Perth and the Pioneer Myth, Tom Stannage guided the development of social history in Western Australia. He introduced generations of UWA students to social history, some of whom such as myself, went on to postgraduate work. This paper will unpack and analyse the strands of this contribution to reflect on his work more broadly in the context of Western Australian historiography of Western Australia.

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#### The history of Indigenous stolen wages in Victoria

Dr Andrew Gunstone, Senior Lecturer, Monash University

Dr Andrew Gunstone is a Senior Lecturer in Australian Indigenous Studies in the School of Applied Media and Social Sciences at Monash University. His main research interests are in the politics of Australian reconciliation and the contemporary and historical political relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Australia.

During most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Australian governments and their agencies largely controlled the wages, savings and social security benefits of Indigenous people. Many Indigenous people received either no wages or were systemically underpaid for their employment. Any monies that were paid to Indigenous people were often paid into trust accounts that were generally mismanaged, often fraudulently, and were largely inaccessible to Indigenous people. Indigenous people were also largely excluded from accessing social security benefits, such as maternity allowances, child endowments and old-age pensions. These types of practices are referred to today as the 'stolen wages' practices. In this paper, I analyse a number of these stolen wages practices that occurred in Victoria during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as the failure to pay any or adequate wages to Indigenous people, the exclusion of Indigenous people from accessing many social security benefits, the lack of accountability and poor governance in the administration of Indigenous affairs and the enforcement of harsh employment controls on Indigenous people.

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## The (Im)mobilisation of the Cross-Cultural Adoptee

Ms Maria Haenga-Collins, PhD candidate, ANU

Maria Haenga-Collins is a cross-cultural adoptee from New Zealand. She is currently a PhD candidate at the Australian Centre of Indigenous History (ANU), where she is working on the topic of 'closed stranger' adoption and Maori (1955 - 1985).

This paper presents recorded accounts from six Maori adults who were adopted into white families by way of closed stranger adoption. Between 1955 and 1985, approximately forty-five thousand closed stranger adoptions took place in Aotearoa New Zealand, with adoption directly affecting an estimated twenty-five per cent of the total population. A significant proportion of these adoptions involved children who could claim Maori ancestry through at least one of their parents. The majority of these Maori children were placed within white families. The study, using a Maori-centred research approach, found that adoption is not a one off event, but is an on-going life experience. Participants told stories which reflected their (im)mobility between 'belonging' and 'not belonging' within their birth and adoptive families, and within Maori and non-Maori worlds. Specific to Maori in Aotearoa New Zealand is 'belonging' through whakapapa (genealogy). Whakapapa is essential to a Maori identity and to whanau (family) and iwi (tribal) inclusion. This study found that without knowledge of whakapapa, Maori become socially and culturally invisible within contemporary New Zealand society. This opens up wider questions about culture, family and colonialism in a settler-coloniser state.

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## Degrees of savagery in Australian representations of the Pacific Islands

Mr Nicholas Halter, PhD Candidate, ANU

Nicholas Halter is a PhD candidate in the College of Asia and the Pacific at Australian National University. He is in his third year of research on Australian travel writing about the Pacific Islands from c.1880-1941.

Scholars have written at length on the dominance of the discourse of 'the savage' and the persistence of racial science and evolutionary theory in European accounts of the Pacific Islands since the eighteenth century. The savage Islander has been a recurring theme in accounts of the Pacific Islands, often reduced to a formulaic stereotype typified by cannibalistic practices, bestiality, primordiality and infantilism. Although Australian travellers frequently reaffirmed the stereotypes, an analysis of travel writing from the 1880s to 1941 highlights a more diverse range of perceptions by travellers who adapted, or departed from, the standard picture of savagery. By examining the historical relationship of Australia's engagement with the Pacific Islands, I argue that Australians perceived degrees of savagery within the region. These categories were more specific and localised than the prevailing belief in the Polynesian/Melanesian racial divide. In this paper I will explore the nuanced and diverse Australian perceptions of the savage in the Pacific Islands.

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## The role of museums in remembering the first World War

Dr Guy Hansen, Head Curator, National Museum of Australia

Dr Guy Hansen is the head Curator of the Australian Society and History program at the National Museum of Australia.

How does the general-public develop its understanding of Australia's experience of the first World War? Rather than reading carefully crafted monographs written by professional historians, it is far more likely that Australians will encounter the history of the war through popular media coverage, fictional accounts found in literature and film, listening to family stories and visiting war memorials and museums. As Ashton and Hamilton have

demonstrated in *History at the Crossroads: Australians and the Past*, these are the resources Australians use to construct their sense of the past. In this paper, I will explore the challenges facing historians engaged in presenting the history of the first World War in museums.

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### The Great War, the Anzac Legend and a Japanese Cruiser

Dr Yoko Harada

Yoko is an independent researcher based in Melbourne and Tokyo. Her area of research interest covers Australian history (a history of whaling in particular), politics and culture including Australia's relationship with Japan.

In November 1914, the Japanese battle-cruiser *Ibuki* escorted the first convoy of ANZAC troops from Australia to Egypt across the Indian Ocean. The *Ibuki* was Japan's contribution to Australia as part of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance during the Great War. The battle-cruiser later became a symbol of the close relationship between the two nations. However, in the Second World War, Japan and Australia were enemies. The memory of that war in both nations after the war made it difficult to acknowledge that they fought as allies on the same side in the First World War. In 1957, Australia signed an epoch making trade agreement with Japan marking the start of cordial relations between the two nations. The year is commonly accepted as the starting point when relationship between the two nations took off. The *Ibuki* and Japan's contribution to the Great War has been forgotten in Japan and in Australia. In Australia, as the centenary of the Great War approaches, can and should the story of *Ibuki* be revisited? This paper will explore the role of the *Ibuki* reflecting the relationship between Australia and Japan during the Great War, and its contribution to the ANZAC legend.

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### Childcare and resistance in Indigenous domestic service in Australia and the USA in the early 20th century

A/Prof Victoria Haskins, ARC Future Fellow, History, The University of Newcastle

Victoria Haskins holds an ARC Future Fellowship (2009-2013) to research a history of Indigenous domestic service and government policy in the United States and Australia. She is the author of two books, *One Bright Spot* (Palgrave 2005) and *Matrons and Maids* (University of Arizona Press, 2012).

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, government bodies in Australia and the United States carried out systematic schemes that involved the placement of young Indigenous women in white homes to work as domestic servants. As with other domestic service relationships, it was often asserted that the girls so employed were regarded and treated as part of the family. In the context of state intervention and colonization, however, this claim has a particular significance. The young women typically had been forcibly removed from their own families, and the policies were aimed at effecting the disintegration of Indigenous families and communities. At the same time their removal and placement in white homes was couched as philanthropic protection that offered the love and care of a middle-class white family upbringing. Many - probably the majority - of Indigenous girls placed in service by the state were allotted the work of child care in the homes they were placed, in keeping with this rhetoric. Yet many Indigenous girls and women professed their dislike for such work, and made efforts to resist it. This paper presents the stories of two young Indigenous women, Margaret Tucker and Lillian Chief, for whom childcare became a symbolic site of both oppression and resistance.

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## The Significance of Religion on the Frontier

Dr Robert Hogg, Lecturer, University Queensland

Robert Hogg teaches Australian Studies at the University of Queensland. He is the author of *Men and Manliness on the Frontier: Queensland and British Columbia in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, published by Palgrave MacMillan in 2012.

This paper examines the possibilities for a history of the significance of religion in frontier societies through an examination of two frontiers, Queensland and the Oregon Territory in the mid-nineteenth century. When one considers the historiography of the frontier alongside the historiography of religion in Australia and the United States, one is struck by the lack of any connection or overlap between the two fields. Religion, in its manifold forms, remains largely unexplored by frontier historians, and frontiers, whether the American West or the Australian bush, are unexplored by scholars of religion. Most of the Australian and American historiography of religion is concerned with the formation and development of religious denominations and institutions. This project examines the importance of religion to relationships between people and place, and in the formation of frontier subjectivities and intersubjectivities. I argue that the study of religion and religious beliefs will enrich our understanding of frontier societies, and that a study of frontiers will enlarge the scope of religious scholarship.

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## Colonial Celebrations, Nascent Patriotisms and the End to Convict Transportation

Mr Chris Holdridge, PhD candidate, University of Sydney

Chris Holdridge is a PhD candidate at the University of Sydney researching protest movements lobbying against convict transportation in the Australian colonies and Cape of Good Hope. He has a BA (Hons) and MA by research from the University of Cape Town, South Africa.

Popular movements against convict transportation gave impetus to colonial political feeling. In the mid-nineteenth century, mass meetings and petitions in New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and the Cape of Good Hope had animated colonists to present more forceful demands for settler constitutions. The administrative bugbear of distant decision-making in London was no longer tenable, and Whitehall finally retreated from convict transportation plans to these locales. Ensuing celebrations included the minting of commemorative medals, the renaming of streets, public feasts and fireworks. The celebrations were microcosms of the future aspirations of settler societies, to be self-governing colonial patriots under the British Crown. A national framework has obscured celebrations as the present looking back, rather than the past looking forward. However, festivities were perceived across the ocean divide in Cape Town, Hobart and Sydney as moments of colonial becoming, days to be remembered by future generations. Studies of anti-transportation movements have usually assumed Australian exceptionalism. Examining anti-transportation celebrations in the Australian colonies alongside the Cape of Good Hope, shows how shifting conceptions of race, appropriate labour, and settler governance were shared concerns with differing local politics. With Australian colonial societies founded with convict labour on Aboriginal land, and the Cape conquered from the Dutch and peopled by majority ex-slaves and indigenous Khoi, looking behind the masquerade of colonial freedoms lauded in public celebrations reveals the illiberal face of nascent colonial nationalisms.

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## Generation X-Y: life stories and global change

A/Prof Katie Holmes, A/Prof, La Trobe University

A/Professor Katie Holmes teaches history at La Trobe University and is a CI on the Australian Generations Oral History project. Katie has worked on the ways women make meaning in their lives, through letter and diary writing, and now through the telling of their life stories.

This paper explores the lives of three women born within five years of each other in Melbourne in the 1970s and interviewed for the Australian Generations project. Despite significant differences in their lives, common themes emerge, most particularly in relation of the impact of global change on their lives and the ways they understand their histories. Increased mobility, access to education, technology, music, travel and the terrorist attacks of 9/11 feature prominently in their life narratives. But equally important is the way these women tell their stories within discourses about adoption, sexuality, motherhood, mental illness, and economic recession that reflect transnational understandings and developments around these issues. This paper thus moves between the individual, local and global histories that the lives of these women illuminate, analyzing the relationships between them and utilising the developments within transnational, feminist and oral history to elucidate our understandings of women's lives and memories.

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## Australian Religious Thought

Mr Wayne Hudson, Charles Sturt University

Wayne Hudson is Visiting Professor in the School of Humanities at the University of Tasmania and Adjunct Professor at Charles Sturt University, Canberra. He has written or edited over twenty books.

There is no major study of Australian religious thought and it is often assumed that religious thought in Australia was of no particular significance. The secular bias of much of the older historiography is contested, however, not least in the work of younger historians, and it may well be that the whole issue of the role of religious thought and ideas in Australian history now needs to be reconsidered. In this paper I argue both that there was much more religious thought in Australia than historians have assumed and that much of it is of considerable interest. I further suggest that Australian religious thought may have distinctive features. I also raise the possibility that religious thought played a significant part in shaping the nation's institutions and in promoting social reform. Part one of the paper sets out some general claims and discusses the types of evidence that could support them. Part two of the paper discusses specific examples which support my arguments. The paper is based on a monograph which is now approaching completion. It will be of interest to Australian historians generally, even if they have no interest in or sympathy for religious thought.

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## Australian women and allied troops mobilising across colour lines in WW2

Dr Karen Hughes, Lecturer, Swinburne University

Karen Hughes is a historian of the contact zone with a special interest in gender and settler colonialism. She is a lecturer in Indigenous Studies at Swinburne University of Technology.

Second World War intimate relationships between Australian women and American servicemen have, for the most part, been popularly represented in terms of the overarching 'white' narratives of family in each nation. Yet much recent scholarship across the Pacific and in Europe has drawn attention to the large numbers of mixed race children born of the Pacific war and the Allied occupation. Between 1942 and 1946 there were almost 10,000 segregated African American troops stationed across Australia and a wide array of social relations were formed that flaunted the entrenched racial boundaries established by the White Australia



Policy and the Jim Crow laws of the US south. My paper explores the stories of a number of Australian women, including Aboriginal women, whose marriages and close relationships with American servicemen crossed significant cultural, racial and class assumptions of their times. I consider how these women, through the agency of their mobility and sexual choices were at the forefront of the later sweeping social changes that radically shaped gender, class and race in the second part of the twentieth century.

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#### Reading Lindsay Inglis's war, 1915-19: Modern Australasian Masculinities

Dr Kate Hunter, Senior Lecturer, Victoria University of Wellington

Kate Hunter teaches Australian History at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. Her interests in gender and daily life in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Australia and New Zealand have resulted in a range of publications including several articles about men's worlds as revealed through letters written during the Great War.

Individual men at war knew they were much changed by their experiences. In their letters they balanced remaining constant in their devotion to family and lovers with preparing those whom they loved for the changes they sensed in themselves. This paper concentrates on the letters of a New Zealand soldier, Lindsay Inglis, to his fiancée, May Todd. It explores the way Inglis narrated his various identities: as a loyal servant of the Empire; as a man who had not lost sight of 'what was important'; as well as the ways he crafted himself as May's future husband in a modern marriage. His letters are evidence of the ways in which men who were absent from home for years on end continued to present their masculine selves to their loved ones at home. This paper brings the themes of this panel - the impact of war on societies geographically remote from it, mobility and questions of identity - to bear on the letters of an individual.

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#### Affect and 'Collateral Damage': Revisiting Korean War bombings

Dr Su-kyoung Hwang, Lecturer, University of Sydney

Su-kyoung Hwang is an incoming lecturer at the University of Sydney. She is working on a book project that examines civilian experience of political violence and terror during the Korean Conflict, 1948-1953.

In the height of the Korean War (1950-53), the US Air Force wrought an extraordinary level of destruction throughout Korea. The three-year firebombing resulted in the loss of millions of civilian lives and properties. While the traumatic memory became an enduring source of collective rage in North Korea, in South Korea, its discussion remained a political taboo and relegated to collective silence. It was only in recent years that scholars began to pay a serious attention to this issue. Most research on this subject is still operational studies authored by Air Force historians, who try to assess the effectiveness of the bombings purely as a war strategy. Political scientists, on the other hand, would tend to see the targeting of civilians as a form of 'political coercion'. A minority of critical historians likened the bombings to a holocaust, while others conceptualized the civilian casualties as a 'collateral damage'. This paper disputes the prevailing characterization of the Korean War bombings as 'collateral damage' by examining its 'affective' nature. Contrary to the assumption that aerial bombing is emotionally detached form of warfare, historical records would often show that all parties 'civilians, pilots, and war strategists' involved in aerial destruction were viscerally aware of its terrors. Terror bombings in Korea served as a war strategy that exploited the universal human fear of pain and death. This paper revisits the 'affective' manifestations of aerial destruction presented in various sources, including psychological reports, personal diaries, newspapers, commanders' briefings, and think-tank reports.

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## The Kimberley coastal zone: a deeply historical maritime space

Dr Mary Anne Jebb, Research Associate, Australian National University

Mary Anne Jebb is a Research Associate in History at ANU. Her books, sound productions and exhibitions include *Blood Sweat and Welfare* 2002, *Mowanjum* 2008, *Noongar Voices* 2010 and *Burlganyja Wanggaya* 2012.

This paper seeks to re-imagine Kimberley history as a zone of maritime mobility, transaction and travel. It assembles expressions of maritime culture and history on the west Kimberley coast in a wide range of documents, texts and narrative genres to develop a picture of oceanic stories, oceanic craft, and sea faring people. It suggests interventions by government and missions in the 1930s and 1940s can be seen as sites of contestation over maritime mobility and the transactions and exchanges of the coastal world. It argues that public expressions of Indigenous maritime mobility and oceanic lives have been submerged within historiography and ethnography dominated by what Tom Stannage called the 'pioneer myth' and the power of the pastoral endeavour in the public imaginary that framed Western Australian history writing. It also draws inspiration from Tom Stannage in its presentation and inclusion of song texts to bring vernacular histories into the frame, exploring memories of past experiences and relationships to the coast, islands and seas including those expressed in song and dance performance.

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## Slow Catastrophes: How Did Farmers Survive Drought in Australia?

Dr Rebecca Jones, DECRA Postdoctoral Fellow, ANU

Rebecca Jones is a DECRA Postdoctoral Fellow in the Centre for Environmental History, School of History at the Australian National University. She is undertaking 'Slow Catastrophes: Drought resilience amongst farmers and agricultural communities in Australia, 1880s-2000s'.

Drought is a profound shaper of Australian society. South-eastern Australia is one of the most drought-prone parts of the world, having experienced at ten major droughts in the last one hundred and fifty years. Droughts' regularity and yet unpredictability has caused great economic, emotional and environmental hardship and yet the recurrence of drought in Australia has meant that people have, over time, found ways to respond, adapt and survive. How have they done this? This paper will explore some factors which have enabled farmers and agricultural communities to cope with drought during the 1880s-1945. Farmers and agricultural communities are amongst the people whose wellbeing depends most directly on the biophysical environment. The hardships associated with drought have been well-documented by historians, but less is understood about the way rural communities have survived drought in the past. 'Slow Catastrophes' is an environmental history which also applies sociological, psychological and ecological ideas of resilience in natural disaster to explore the experience of drought in Australian history. The concept of resilience is useful in illuminating factors which have helped farmers continue to farm and which have contributed to the wellbeing of people in periods of adversity and natural disaster. Using farm diaries as a source this paper will explore the way farmers survived, recovered, learned and prepared for drought. Mobilising diaries as a way of understanding the lived experience of drought, can assist us to reimagine the impact of drought on rural Australia in the late nineteenth and twentieth century.

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## Mary Whitehouse, Censorship, and the Australian Christian Right

Dr Timothy Jones, Research Fellow, La Trobe University

Timothy Jones is ARC DECRA research fellow at La Trobe University and lecturer in History and co-director of the Centre for Gender Studies in Wales at the University of Glamorgan. He is the author of *Sexual Politics in the Church of England, 1857-1957* (Oxford, 2013).

In 1978, conservative Christian lobby group, the Festival of Light, invited British morals campaigner Mary Whitehouse to tour Australia as part of their campaign against child pornography. Whitehouse had recently come to international prominence on the back of her successful private prosecution of *Gay News* for blasphemy. Dubbed 'the caped crusader' in the press after the light-coloured cape she wore at many meetings, Whitehouse generated considerable press interest in Australia. Her rallies and meetings attracted large numbers - both of supporters and protestors. Rev. Fred Nile, who toured with Whitehouse, claimed that the tour led to the passage of legislation in all States and territories prohibiting child pornography, and contributed to the entrance of the New Christian Right (NCR) into Australian parliamentary politics. The Mary Whitehouse tour provides a useful prism through which to review understandings of the Christian Right in Australian history. It highlights the transnational nature of NCR politics, and unsettles notions of the Australian NCR as a franchise of the NCR in the USA. Its contiguity with early twentieth century public morals campaigning also calls into question what is 'new' about the NCR.

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## Contested movements: Charles Abraham and Fr Jean Gourbeillon, colonial sculptors

Mrs Judith Jonker, PhD candidate, University of Western Sydney

Judith is a PhD candidate at the University of Western Sydney, School of Humanities and Communication Arts. Her research is Australian colonial history, the mid 19th century with a focus on Sydney's 1854 'Paris Exhibition', but her interest extends to the colony's participation in international exhibitions from 1851 onwards.

Charles Abraham, sculptor, arrived in Sydney c1843, from New Zealand, originally from London. That year he sculpted 'Heads of the Apostles and Saints', for the Roman Catholic chapel built on Church Hill. In 1844 his statue of Robert Hancock, publican, from local marble, received favourable notice in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. The next year he showed his work publically at exhibitions of Australian sculpture at Sydney's Royal Hotel. In 1847 he began exhibiting casts of distinguished colonists, three of which, the Colonial Secretary, Leichhardt and the late Governor Gipps were later exhibited at the 1854 'Exhibition of the Natural and Industrial Products of New South Wales'. Father Jean Gourbeillon, Benedictine monk and sculptor, arrived in the colony 1848. He sculpted four statues for St Benedict's Catholic Church Broadway, St Benedict, St Patrick, St Scholastica, and Dr Polding holding a replica of the church. His wax statuette, 'Angel holding a Crown of Thorns', was exhibited at the same Sydney 1854 exhibition as Abraham's work. Gourbeillon sculpted statues for the original organ of St Mary's Cathedral most of which was destroyed by fire in 1865, however a statue of Mary survived and was returned to the Cathedral in recent years. Gourbeillon left Australia in 1859 after a scandal involving a sexual relationship with Mary Scott was reported in the local press. Highly conflicting details exist of Charles Abraham's identity and movements, while reports of Gourbeillon's activities in the colony appear biased and possibly censored.

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## Historical mobility in mid-20th century Australian food debates

Mr Andrew Junor, PhD candidate, Monash University

Andrew Junor is a PhD candidate in History at Monash University. His doctoral thesis examines mid-twentieth century Australian food culture.

The sense of moving through history was essential to culinary reform discourse in mid-twentieth century Australia. 1930s print media commentators implored readers to move Australian tastes from a backward past to a coming sophisticated future. Many writers measured Australian eating habits against an evolutionary ladder of global cultural development. A plate of plain meat with over-boiled vegetables was criticised not only for its intrinsic qualities, but as a sign that Australians were atavistic eaters who refused to 'move with the times' and mature as a nation. Although the postwar decades are commonly cited as the origin Australia's culinary renaissance, this paper contends that the guiding ideas of gastro-historical consciousness were cultivated and promoted in the interwar period. This discourse of historical mobility laid the foundations for postwar gastronomic development. The paper finally offers brief reflections upon two forms of mobility that have enabled research on this topic. Firstly, many critics of interwar food culture were among a prosperous minority of Australians able to travel overseas. Their capacity to compare Australian cultural development against the nations of Europe and Asia thus stemmed from a privileged position as mobile observers. Cheaper travel after the Second World War democratised this discourse of international culinary comparison. Secondly, this paper relies upon an extensive survey of archival newspaper and magazine sources digitised for the National Library of Australia's Trove portal. Trove enables a profound and unprecedented mobility through primary source material, but carries the risk of lost context.

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#### Remembering the 'Forgotten War:' The Battle Over WWII Monuments on the Aleutian Islands

Ms Helen Kaibara, Doctoral Student, MSU

Helen Kaibara is a History Ph.D. student at Michigan State University focusing on Japanese history with a special interest on collective memory and civil action in the creation of state-sponsored war memorials.

The American soldiers on the Alaskan front of WWII endeavored in one of Earth's harshest climates to dislodge Japanese forces that had held the islands of Attu, Dutch Harbor and Kiska for eleven months. After several months the operation was successful and the only American territory taken in the war was liberated. Despite the significance of this campaign, the fighting on the Aleutian Islands never entered American Pacific War narratives. In 1987, Japan built a war memorial at the site of the heaviest fighting to honor both American and Japanese casualties of the battles on the Aleutian Islands. The Aleutian Islands were only designated a war memorial (as significant as Pearl Harbor and Tule Lake) by the American government over twenty years after the invading Japanese had recognized them as such. This paper will engage intersections of collective memory and civil action in the creation of state-sponsored war memorials and facilitate discourse on the ephemeral nature of political capital. The paper will illustrate recent political advocacy for war monuments and evaluates the authenticity of publicly accepted war narratives through an examination of the WWII Valor in the Pacific National Monument.

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#### Race and Ethnicity in Sex Crimes Trials in 1950s Australia

Dr Amanda Kaladelfos, Research Fellow, Griffith University

Dr. Amanda Kaladelfos holds the Arts, Education and Law Postdoctoral Research Fellowship at the ARC Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security, Griffith University. Amanda is working on two projects: the history of homicide in twentieth century Australia and a joint project with Lisa Featherstone on the treatment of sex crime in the 1950s.

Popularly, we think of the 1950s as a golden decade, a more innocent time, when children were safe, sex crimes rare, and social conformity at a premium. But many of those living through the 1950s would have had a hard time reconciling our rose-coloured view with their own experiences. Although social mores proscribed that sex should be marital, heterosexual, procreative, and monogamous, many families and communities had experiences that undermined these ideals. This paper analyses the experiences of a particular social

group of displaced persons and non-English speaking migrants in Australian trials for sexual crimes. During the 1950s, prosecutions for sexual offences soared, with criminal charges that ranged from homosexuality and indecent exposure, to sexual violence and crimes against children. Using court transcripts drawn from a study of five hundred trials for sexual offences, this paper considers the unique challenges that displaced persons and non-English speaking migrants presented to the monocultural systems of law and society operating in Australia at the time. First, the paper compares prosecution and sentencing decisions in trials involving migrants to other cases, highlighting the way that lawyers, judges, and juries judged sex crimes differently depending upon the cultural background of the victim or offender. Second, it examines the problematic use of interpreters in these cases and the effects on trial outcomes. And, finally, it analyses how migrants' cultural backgrounds came to infuse legal and social understandings of their gender, sexuality, and experiences of violence.

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The Stateless Embassy - The Croatian 'Embassy' in Canberra 1977-79.

Ms Kristina Kalfic, PhD Candidate, University of Wollongong

Kristina Kalfic is a PhD Candidate at the University of Wollongong. Her research centres on the political activism of the Croatian community in Australia from 1945-1995.

On 29 November 1977 the official opening of the Croatian Embassy was held. The leaders of the community praised this momentous occasion, the appointed ambassador addressed the crowd, and the doors were thrown open to the Croatian people. This humble ceremony, however, proved to become an international embarrassment and diplomatic nightmare for the Australian Government. This was an Embassy without a state - the people and territory of Croatia then considered to be Yugoslavia - and the Australian government was powerless to close it. This paper will examine the establishment of the 'embassy' as a deliberate act by the Croatian Community exploiting the political and symbolic status of an embassy. It will argue that the community was well aware of its 'othering' by the Australian public sphere, thus providing an interesting case study in the mobilisation of a community to combat its 'otherness'. Finally, it will contextualise this case study within a broader narrative regarding the activism of the Croatian community and its advocacy for an independent Croatian state and identity separate from that of Yugoslavia.

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People and country in early colonial Castlereagh

A/Prof Grace Karskens, Associate Professor, UNSW

Grace Karskens teaches Australian history at the University of New South Wales. Her research interests include early colonial history, urban history and environmental history.

Castlereagh on the banks of the Nepean River in Western Sydney is lost in two senses - it is lost because the land and community are literally gone as a result of open-cut gravel mining; but also in the sense that it represents the lost and largely forgotten world of pre-modern rural Australia. This paper explores three environmental aspects of the early colonial farming community of Castlereagh: soils, floods and forests. By integrating ecological, soil and hydrological science with social and cultural history, I will tell new stories about people and country in this place.

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Perpetual Motion? - Mobility in a frontier railway town: Nyngan, 1881-1891

Dr Terry Kass, Historian & heritage consultant, Independent scholar

Dr Terry Kass is a consulting historian specialising in heritage work and commissioned histories. His publications include Parramatta: A Past Revealed; Grafton - Jacaranda City on the Clarence; Sails to Satellites: The Surveyors-General of NSW, and Jewels in the Crown: A History of the Bridge Street Plan Room and Crown Plans.

Little research appears to have been undertaken on social mobility on the 'frontier' in Australia. Although this paper does not analyse a true 'frontier' or mining town, it investigates a new town created by the extension of railways across NSW. The first decade of the history of Nyngan provides a rare opportunity to chart social mobility mirrored through the acquisition of town property as a new town evolved from a railway construction camp. A number of questions arise. How many railway construction workers settled in Nyngan rather than moving on with the railway works? Did petty traders who set up shop in the railway camp successfully make the transition to formal store ownership in the town? Who rose socially from landless wanderer to established property owner by exchanging temporary occupation of plots in the railway camp for formal ownership of property in the new town? Identification of the earliest occupiers of Nyngan was based on official reports and correspondence about trespassers on Crown Reserves within the town site. Data about purchasers of allotments was obtained from Lands Department Auction Registers and Certificates of Title. Campaigns for a school and post office provided additional data about residents. The census collector's schedules of householders in the town for the census of 5 April 1891 provided the most complete listing of householders in the town at the end of its first decade of development.

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#### Activism, Advocacy and Prison Reform: the Major and the Houdini

Ms Megg Kelham, PhD Candidate, University of Western Sydney

Megg Kelham, is a long term resident of Alice Springs, a member of the Professional Historians Association of the Northern Territory (PHANT) and a doctoral candidate at the University of Western Sydney. Her topic is the history of incarceration in Central Australia

At their simplest, prisons attempt to control human behaviour by restricting the mobility of incarcerated individuals in a semi-military setting and hoping that the threat of a perceived loss of social mobility for the incarcerated - the stigma of conviction - will deter anti-social behaviour. But what happens when these fundamentals are challenged? And what does this tell us about the dynamics of change in general & penal reform in particular? This paper explores this question using as a case study events which followed the imprisonment of an army Major and a Filipino escapologist in Her Majesty's Gaol & Labour Prison, Alice Springs, during World War 11. Unlike most of the gaol's prisoners, the Major was middle not working class; an 'urbane' sophisticate not a poorly educated/illiterate bushman; habituated to the formal structures of the army rather than the less militaristic culture of a civilian prison; used to giving rather than receiving orders. Unlike most prison escapees, 'Hank-the-half-caste-Houdini' - as the media named the man inmates called 'Tiny' - escaped from inside the prison walls not outside on work release; broke back into gaol and used his freedom, Robin Hood style, to benefit other prisoners. Hank's escapades mocked authorities' policies of racial and gender segregation, even as the Major's outrage at his criminal conviction tilted at the foundations of the Northern Territory's criminal justice system. Though neither man avoided conviction, their activities sparked the Territory's first penal reforms and, through interstate prisoner transfer, may also have influenced penal reform in South Australia.

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#### Mobilising an Academic Discipline: The emergence of Industrial Relations

A/Prof Di Kelly, University of Wollongong

Di Kelly has researched and taught academic industrial relations for thirty years. As it is now disappearing from teaching programmes, she is in the hunt for a new discipline.

It is not easy to see the birth of an academic discipline, but in the case of academic industrial relations, the first intimations, the early forays and full fledged arrival at University Sydney were all recorded by the industrial relations 'midwife', Dr Kingsley Laffer, who pulled academic industrial relations from the ever protective care of the economists. This paper draws on Laffer's own papers to trace the path of academic industrial relations at Sydney University from 1953 until there was a full undergraduate major in the mid-1970s. The

emergence of academic industrial relations reflects not only changes in university curricula and student demographics, but also broader social, political and economic changes in postwar Australia.

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### Freedom on the Wallaby? Imagining 'the Road' in Australia

Dr Rosemary Kerr, Historian, Freelance consultant

Rosemary Kerr gained her PhD in History from the University of Sydney in 2012. Her thesis, 'On the Road: A Cultural History' explores the way in which 'the road' has been imagined, experienced and represented in Australia. She currently works as a professional freelance historian in Sydney.

Mobility and movement are central concepts in Australian history and culture. From Aboriginal Dreaming tracks, to swagmen on the wallaby, to backpackers and grey nomads encircling the continent on Highway One, 'the road' has occupied a prominent, yet largely unexplored place in the Australian imagination. This paper examines travel narratives, literary fiction and feature films to explore the concept of 'freedom' in cultural representations of the road and road travel in Australia from the late nineteenth century. The road as a symbol of freedom and escape is a powerful cultural metaphor that is predominantly defined by American literature and film - Walt Whitman's *Song of the Open Road*, Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* and Dennis Hopper's *Easy Rider*, for example. I argue that the tropes of freedom and escape, which were so central to the American road genre, take on different meanings within the Australian context. Cultural representations reveal tensions and ambiguities between freedom, opportunity and escape versus constraint, aimlessness and lack of belonging. The emerging field of settler colonial studies provides a useful framework for understanding and explaining some of these ambiguities. The imperative for constant movement, the quest for freedom and escape on the road figures in several works as a metaphor for Australia's collective desire to escape the memory of its colonial past. As an immigrant society, with doubts over the legitimacy of the colonial enterprise, the concept of 'home' is elusive and perhaps illusory. Is the Australian road really a 'road to nowhere'?

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### Placing Indian Ocean travellers: Aboriginal language stories about Muslim mobility

Dr Samia Khatun, Recent Graduate, University of Sydney

Samia Khatun is a historian, writer and film maker. Having completed films on Australian race relations and a PhD at the University of Sydney, Samia is currently completing a monograph on Australian history in Indian Ocean context due for publication in early 2014.

Late on a Tuesday afternoon in c.1895, two young Aboriginal women were waiting at Alberrie Creek, a lonely railway siding deep in the South Australian desert. The train was due at 5.46pm and the shadows cast by sparse clumps of grass were growing darker and longer when two Muslim men on camels rode past on their way to the nearby dam. The camels were in need of water before a long nights' trek and the dipping sun signaled to the British Indian cameleers that it was nearly time for their own ablutions before maghrib prayers. Upon sighting the women by the railway siding however, they brought their beasts to a sudden halt. To the dismay of the waiting sisters, 'the train was running late.' The story of what happened that evening at Alberrie Creek railway siding remains in the oral records of Arabunna people today and is a tale of two intersecting geographies rarely examined together: An Indian Ocean world peopled by itinerant peddlers and princes and arid Australian deserts criss-crossed by paths of Aboriginal mobility. With close attention to this Arabunna language tale of sexualised encounter between distinct subject peoples of the British Empire, I examine the space/place politics that belie Arabunna memories of Indian Ocean travellers in Australian deserts.

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## Australia and Japan's admission into the Colombo Plan

Dr Ai Kobayashi, ARC Early Career Research Fellow, University of Melbourne

Ai Kobayashi is a Research Fellow in the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies at the University of Melbourne, supported by an ARC Discovery Early Career Researcher Award. She is currently working on the history of Australia-Japan relations after World War II to the late 1950s.

In October 1954, at the sixth Consultative Committee meeting of the Colombo Plan held in Ottawa, Japan was admitted into the Colombo Plan as a donor country with Australia's strong support. One year earlier, when the Japanese government applied to attend the fifth Consultative Committee meeting in New Delhi as an observer, its hopes were dashed by Australia's strong opposition since other member countries were not prepared to take the initiative in sponsoring Japan's admission. The dramatic shift in Australia's position on Japan's involvement in the Colombo Plan was recognised by the Japanese government as the first positive step that Australia took to improve bilateral relations since the resumption of diplomatic relations in April 1952. What brought about this change in Australian attitude at this time? How did the Japanese government view Australia's changing positions? This paper will examine the records of the Australian and Japanese governments and seek answers to these questions.

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## Guided through the Empire: Indigenous Intermediaries in Southern Africa and Australia

Dr Shino Konishi, Fellow, Australian National University

Shino Konishi is a fellow at the Australian Centre for Indigenous History, at the Australian National University. Her research explores western representations of Aboriginal people and culture, and her most recent publication is *The Aboriginal Male in the Enlightenment World* (Pickering and Chatto, 2012).

James Holman, also known as the 'blind traveller', undertook an arduous journey around the world from 1827 to 1832. He often acknowledged that his remarkable travels were made possible through the hospitality and generosity of his various contacts in the British world - former naval colleagues, merchants, admirers of his travel accounts, and isolated settlers who welcomed visitors from the metropole - who provided his passage and lodgings. He was less gracious towards the numerous Indigenous intermediaries he depended on to guide his travel through new and unfamiliar territories, translate his conversations with locals, assist him with menial tasks, and act as his 'eyes'. Usually dismissive, and at times contemptuous, about their labours, the Indigenous intermediaries represent a 'hidden history' in Holman's narrative of his remarkable journey. This paper will explore Holman's relationships with the Indigenous guides he employed during his travels in Australia and Southern Africa. It will examine his portrayal of the guides and his increasingly uneasy interactions with them in order to highlight not only the guides' agency, which Holman appeared to be oblivious to, but also the role the guides played in influencing his views of the different British colonies and territories he visited, as well as the treatment of Indigenous peoples in the Empire.

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## Unlocking Australia's Chinese community archives of the inter-war period

Dr Mei-fen Kuo, ARC Postdoctoral Fellow, La Trobe University

Dr Mei-fen Kuo is an ARC Postdoctoral Fellow with La Trobe University. Her ARC-funded project focuses on the newly discovered archives of the first Chinese Consulate in Australia together with the archives of the Sydney and Melbourne branches of the Chinese Nationalist Party of Australasia (KMT).



In this paper I will discuss my research on Chinese community politics and Australia's early 20th-century immigration restriction policy. First, I will introduce my project which uses the newly discovered archives of the first Chinese Consulate in Australia and the archives of the Sydney and Melbourne branches of the Chinese Nationalist Party of Australasia (KMT). These archives add community perspectives and enhance our understanding of Chinese Australian history. Second, I will discuss how community archives portray Chinese Australian transnational networks under White Australia. The travels of Chinese merchants, journalists and students in the Pacific were not only connected to commercial interests but also to educational and publishing interests. The connections of Chinese intellectuals between Sydney, Shanghai, Tokyo, Hawaii, San Francisco and Vancouver were also reflected in Chinese Australian newspapers, national archives and community archives. Third, I will use the archives to discuss how Australia's Chinese immigration restriction influenced community politics. After 1912, five classes of Chinese were allowed to apply to enter Australia. A first wave of Chinese students arrived during the 1910s and 1920s, encouraged by a new immigration regulation. The new administration also empowered the Chinese Consulate to issue and identify the applications of Chinese applying to come to Australia. It thus restructured the community leadership. The transnational mobility of Chinese Australians after the 1920s was sustained with documentation of migration related to social networks, their relationship with Chinese consuls and financial sponsorship of local Chinese merchants.

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## Memories of the Fall of Singapore

Dr Jung Yun Kwok, Independent scholar

John is an independent historian based Singapore. His area of research is war and society, languages of commemoration and war memorial.

The Fall of Singapore is a significant event in Australia and Singapore when it happened in 1942. The Australian 8th Division was marched into captivity. Many of the men would die as prisoners-of-war as a result of Japanese brutality. The loss of an entire division was unprecedented in Australian military history. After the Fall of Singapore, the people of Singapore endured a military occupation characterised by brutality in the form of massacres, and poverty as the Japanese mismanaged the local economy. Unlike most Allied defeats in the Second World War the memory of the Fall of Singapore has endured. Veterans and surviving descendants commemorate the anniversary of the Fall of Singapore in Sydney and in Singapore. The commemorative services in both countries are not connected with each other. This paper will examine the meaning of a single event observed in Australia and Singapore, the way it is commemorated, the meanings that have been attached to it and its place in the broader forms national commemorations in both countries.

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## R. F. X. Connor as Minister for Minerals and Energy

Dr David Lee, Director, Historical Publications, Dept Foreign Affairs and Trade

David Lee is Director of the Historical Publications and Information Section, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. His most recent publications are a biography of Stanley Melbourne Bruce and a co-edited history of Australia and the United Nations.

Reginald Francis Xavier Connor served Wollongong as a Labor MP in the State Parliament from 1950 to 1963. He won the federal seat of Cunningham in 1963 and served Opposition Leader E.G. Whitlam loyally as shadow minister for energy, resources and secondary industry between 1967 and 1969. When the Australian Labor Power came to power in December 1972 Whitlam appointed Connor to the new portfolio of minerals and energy. Connor's pugnacious style and interventionist policies earned him the detestation of the Australian mining industry. His role in the Whitlam government's attempt to solicit a loan of \$US4 billion (reduced in January 1975 to \$US2 billion), an attempt which played a part in the premature fall of the government, tarnished his reputation. This paper offers a critical examination of Connor's policies towards minerals and resources in the period from 1973 to

1975. It argues that the controversy over his role in the loans affairs has overshadowed some of the successes in his policies, notably his efforts to persuade mining companies to negotiate collectively with foreign cartels and his bringing to public prominence the issue of the equitable taxation of the mining industry.

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#### "Red Gums and Scarred Lungs": Melbourne's Forests and Tuberculosis Sanatoria

Ms Rebecca LeGet, PhD Student, La Trobe University

Rebecca is a PhD student, investigating how land use history has changed influences the remnant forests of Melbourne, including their mushrooms and fungi.

The social aspects of tuberculosis and the stresses placed on tubercular patients is well understood, as is their mobilisation from homes to the private chalets and public and military tuberculosis sanatoria of the 20th century. But, less attention has been paid to the environmental history and impact, particularly of these large hospitals, and the way that patients and staff utilised the land around them. Focusing on the remnant River Red Gum forests in northern Melbourne, which once surrounded the Greenvale, Gresswell, and Macleod Repatriation Sanatoria, parallels and differences regarding the reasons for site selection, including the desire for healthful, bucolic surrounds, perceived health benefits of eucalypts, the need barriers to isolate patients, the development of land for rehabilitation, recreation and agriculture, as well as the physical site itself, shall be explored. The ways that these bushland sites were utilised, by and for the nearby sanatorium, in turn impacts upon the biodiversity and intact-ness of these forest stands seen today. This research will then be used as a part of ecological surveys of these remnants, to see if their site histories correlate with expected changes in the biological diversity seen today.

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#### Jungle Boys: Male Servants and British Colonials

Dr Cecilia Leong-Salobir, University of Wollongong

Cecilia Leong-Salobir is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow with the Institute for Social Transformation Research (ISTR), UOW. I graduated from UWA as a food historian, focusing on the colonial cuisine of the British in Asia from 1858 to 1963. My current research examines the social history of foodways in Australia and Singapore between 1900 and 1965. The comparison between Australia and Singapore will shed light on how cross-cultural links between Australia and Asia have been inextricably forged through food practices. My PhD thesis was published by Routledge in 2011 under the title, *Food Culture in Colonial Asia: A taste of empire*.

This paper examines the role of a cohort of male servants, known as 'jungle boys' in British Borneo who served colonizers on their travels to the hinterland from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. They were the crucial staff to the colonial explorer, administrator and missionary. The jungle boys' food preparation skills, local knowledge on food sources and of the hinterland helped sustain the welfare of the British when they travelled on colonial business. In the early years, jungle reconnaissance was an important activity for mapping out fertile lands for agriculture or for building infrastructure in British North Borneo and Sarawak. However, while jungle boys were seen as capable cooks in the jungle environment their role reverted to being another category of 'boys' back in the colonial household in the urban setting. Their culinary skills were seen as less sophisticated than those of the Chinese cooks. Using cookbooks, household guides and colonial memoirs, the paper looks at the relationship between the colonial and the jungle boys in British Borneo and how through food production a unique relationship developed between the colonizer and the colonized.

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'F. E. M' - Anglican priest and social activist.

Dr Doris LeRoy, independent scholar

Doris LeRoy gained her PhD 'Anglicanism, Anti-communism and Cold War Australia' from Victoria University, Footscray in 2010. She has a continuing interest in the nexus of Religion with politics.

Anglicanism was brought to Australia with the First Fleet. Over the subsequent years priests reflected the gamut of worship styles in the church, and great store was set by guidance from English church sources. The allegiance of the Australian church was to the Church of England and to the spiritual head of the Anglican Communion, the Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as to the temporal head, the British monarch. Some priests returned to England after ministering in Australia, only to return again. Others remained in Australia and were highly influential in forming religious and social attitudes. These priests, and other Australian priests who also travelled, were involved in continual contact not only with England but with other countries that informed their religious stance, and for some their political affiliations. These constant migrations and returns affected the Church of England in Australia. One such priest was Farnham Edward Maynard. For Maynard, these overseas influences saw him become a mentor to those within and outside of the church who sought to create a more just society. As well Maynard was a leader in the Anglo-Catholic style of worship in Australia. He also lectured extensively and wrote influential books and many pamphlets exploring, among other topics, how Christianity could change to accommodate socialist views and how Communism could be Christianised. These aims brought him into conflict both with the Anglican church and the Federal government.

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Gender and Nationalism in Portuguese Timor, 1974-5

Ms Hannah Loney, Student, University of Melbourne

Hannah Loney is a PhD candidate in the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies at the University of Melbourne. Her research looks at women's experiences of the Indonesian occupation of Timor-Leste (1975-99).

The 1974 overthrow of the authoritarian Salazar regime in Portugal and the subsequent decolonisation process brought significant changes to the social and political landscape of Portuguese Timor. Much attention has been drawn to the development of a widespread nationalist movement and to the role of male leaders during this period. In this paper, I use gender as an analytic lens to re-evaluate the evolution of political consciousness and nationalist thinking in Portuguese Timor. I examine the ways in which transnational ideas about national liberation and women's emancipation impacted upon domestic political mobilisation at the time, and led to the politicisation of many women's lives. I explore the often overlooked presence of women within the nationalist movement and the gendered manifestations of early Timorese nationalism. Portuguese Timor was comparatively cut off from global feminist movements occurring at the time; however, drawing on a range of rare archival resources, collections of oral testimony, as well as my own interviews with Timorese women, I highlight ideological connections between the women's movement in Portuguese Timor and across the colonial world, as seen through the lens of nationalist discourses. As such, this paper seeks to break away from a national framework, to explore the transnational dissemination, interpretation and adaptation of revolutionary ideas within the early stages of the Timorese independence movement.

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## Reading empire - Australian girls' experiences of WW1 and WW2

Ms Bronwyn Lowe, PhD candidate, University of Melbourne

Bronwyn Lowe is a PhD candidate at the University of Melbourne. Her thesis explores the reading practices of Australian girls 1910 - 1955. Her research interests include histories of girlhood and histories of the book. She has recently had an article published in *Papers: Explorations into Children's Literature*.

This paper explores Australian girls' reading experiences during the First and Second World Wars, investigating how ideas of patriotism, nationalism and especially empire changed from the First to the Second World War. The wartime novels of famed Australian children's author Mary Grant Bruce (*Jim and Wally*, 1915 and *Karalta*, 1941) will be used as a case study to explore these themes. Mary Grant Bruce was extremely active in both war efforts, and both *Jim and Wally* and *Karalta* showcase her wartime experiences in different ways. While Australian and British popular culture remained central to girls' reading and leisure experiences, the increasing Americanisation of popular culture in Australia also saw readers start to look towards America for inspiration and advice rather than to Britain or Australia. Mary Grant Bruce, however, remained staunchly British in outlook, and this shines through even her Second World War novels. Bruce's books can be read as part of a wider social impulse to recruit young citizens to the war effort- this was pushed in the school curriculum and in various extra-curricular activities. This paper will show the ways that Bruce sought to encourage girls to contribute to the war effort through newspaper articles, Red Cross work and radio broadcasts. While Bruce's First World War novels have received scholarly attention, *Karalta* has remained relatively unexamined. This paper offers a new look at Bruce's work, and a fresh take on the history of Australian girlhood during wartime through girls' readings of nationalism, patriotism and empire.

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## Chinese 'Houseboys' in Hong Kong and Singapore

Dr Claire Lowrie, Lecturer, University of Sydney

Dr Claire Lowrie is a lecturer in Australian history at the University of Sydney. She specialises in the history of colonialism and domestic service in northern Australian and Southeast Asia. She is currently working on a history of 'houseboys' in the Asia-Pacific, with Julia Martinez, Victoria Haskins and Frances Steel.

For the British in Hong Kong and Singapore, as with Europeans throughout colonial Asia and northern Australia, mastery over 'colored' servants was a symbol and an expression of their colonial power. The idealized image of unquestioned mastery and devoted servitude did not, however, reflect the reality of the master-servant relationship. Reports of Chinese male servants stealing from, poisoning and murdering their employers were common in Hong Kong and Singapore from the early days of the colonies. In the 1910s and 1920s, the resistance of Chinese 'houseboys' in both sites came to have an overtly political character, strongly influenced by the downfall of the Qing dynasty and the emergence of a Chinese Republic. Chinese male servants joined unions and political parties, lobbying for higher wages and more equitable working conditions. Many chose to leave domestic service altogether while others undertook strike action. British employers regarded the actions of their domestic servants as a direct challenge not only to their authority in the home but to colonial rule more broadly. Indeed, the political movements in which Chinese servants became involved espoused anti-British and anti-Imperial principles. This paper plots a history of servant resistance beginning with informal rebellions inside the home and culminating in organized political activism. An exploration of this issue in two connected sites, allows for a reflection on how traditions of servant activism were transmitted across colonies and the implications of such activism for British colonial rule in Asia.

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## The print culture of Chinese Shopkeepers and Shopworkers in Australia

Dr Sophie Loy-Wilson, Lecturer, Deakin University

Dr Sophie Loy-Wilson is a Lecturer in Australian Studies at Deakin University. She has published in *History Australia*, *Media History International* and *History Workshop Journal*. Sophie teaches in twentieth century Australian social and cultural history, Australia-Asia relations and Chinese history from the Republican Era through to the present.

Urban modernity in Australia has been largely associated with white Australians and with British and American cultural influences. This paper shifts the ground by turning to the archives left by Chinese shopkeepers and shop workers. It argues that the capitalist processes, which generated commercial development in Australia's cities, were interwoven with Chinese retail empires. Examining Australian history through the eyes of shop workers brings this community of Chinese traders, shopkeepers and shop workers into view. By the 1930s, many had built retail empires and opened department stores in Asian port cities such as Hong Kong, Shanghai and Singapore. These buildings became important symbols held up by such nationalists as Sun Yat Sen as proof of China's advancement relative to the West. After 1949 Chinese communist propaganda represented these same department stores as emblematic of a corrupt and decadent European colonialism. Networks formed by Chinese retail empires, therefore, allow us to view economic and cultural reverberations between China and Australia in the early twentieth century. These reverberations had real effects on the articulation of nationalism, colonialism and anti-colonialism in these two countries.

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## Picturing Macassan-Australian histories: Odoardo Beccari's 1873 photographs of the 'Orang-Mereghi'

A/Prof Jane Lydon, Future Fellow, University of Western Australia

Jane Lydon's books include *Eye Contact: Photographing Indigenous Australians* (Duke, 2005), *Fantastic Dreaming: The archaeology of an Aboriginal mission*, winner Australian Archaeological Association's John Mulvaney Book Award, 2010, and *The Flash of Recognition: Photography and the emergence of Indigenous rights* (New South, 2012).

In this paper I take as a starting-point a remarkable series of photographs of coastal people of Arnhem Land produced at Makassar (Sulawesi) in 1873, tracing the experience of Aboriginal travelers in south-east Asia. The centuries-old exchange between Macassan fishermen from South Sulawesi in Indonesia, and the indigenous inhabitants of Australia's northern coast challenges long-held assumptions that indigenous communities are always bounded and local. The stories of Indigenous Australians who travelled to Indonesia and beyond reveal the cosmopolitan networks characterizing this region from the eighteenth century, and undermine the narrative of fatal British impact, beginning in 1788, upon a pure, primordial Indigenous race. In the context of the nineteenth century impulse to define difference and isolate 'pure' racial types, and a developing apparatus of racial taxonomies centred upon visual appearance, the Makassar photos were circulated as evidence for the survival of ancient, original human species. Yet for 150 years Sulawesi and its region has been a scientific hot spot, a key site of observation and debate that has challenged evolutionist theories of human origins and transformation. By contrast, today its story of hybridity and cosmopolitan exchange is embraced with enthusiasm as we celebrate new narratives of reciprocity and kinship with our northern Asian neighbours. The Aboriginal portraits are now testament to histories that displace British foundation myths and their disregard for Indigenous experience, challenging oppressive conceptions of Indigenous people as authentic, pure and fixed.

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## Colonial Victoria's Indian Ocean trade

Mr Paul Macgregor, Convenor, Melbourne Chinese Studies Group

Paul Macgregor, an historian, was the curator of Melbourne's Museum of Chinese Australian History from 1990 to 2005, and has published widely on the Chinese diaspora in Australia. He is currently researching the co-evolution of Chinese & European societies in Australasia & Asia, in the 19th & 20th centuries.

Goldrush-era Victoria was closely linked to the Indian Ocean by a network of trade and communication based on overlapping spheres of British, European, Chinese and south Asian commercial interests. In 1859, 14 percent of Victoria's imports were from the Asia/Indian Ocean region, almost as large as its trade with the other Australasian colonies. Sugar, tea and rice predominate. Mauritius supplied the great majority of sugar, with the rest from India, the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies. Virtually all tea was from China; the rice mostly from India. In return, large shipments of Victorian gold were also sent to Indian Ocean ports. Murray River redgums provided sleepers for Indian railways, and Victorian horses were mounts for the Indian Army. This paper explores the world of traders, bankers, shippers, investors, producers and news publishers that facilitated this trade. Melbourne-based, Penang-born, Mauritius-trained Chinese merchant Lowe Kong Meng and Bombay-based Parsi merchant Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy were both involved in inter-country trade using the British trading system. The Victorian Sugar Company imported sugar from Mauritius, Java and the Philippines. British banks, such as the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, and the Oriental Banking Corporation, had branches in Australia and around the Indian Ocean. Australia's National Bank opened had a branch in Mauritius by 1859. Newspapers from across the Indian Ocean exchanged articles, shipping information and commercial intelligence. Colonial Victoria, it would seem, saw itself as part of the Indian Ocean world, yet this self-perception is only starting to be recovered by contemporary historiography.

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'By persons unknown': silence, murmuring and class conflict in Antarctic exploration

Dr Ben Maddison, Lecturer, UoW

Senior Lecturer, and completing book *Class and Colonialism in Antarctic Exploration, 1750-1920*

This paper uses the idea of exploration as a process of production to examine the little acknowledged tensions between masters and men that were an integral part of the production process of Antarctic exploration in the period. Sailor's autobiographies, augmented by 'against the grain' reading of official accounts, shows that Antarctic exploration was marked by a continual process of negotiation, conflict and struggle between officers and men. Officers used the coercive apparatus of maritime and class discipline, as well as manipulation of food, water, alcohol and many other necessities for daily living, in an attempt to extract labour from sailors. The sailors, on their part, attempted to control and mitigate the impact of Antarctic exploration on their lives. For them, by and large, this was wage work, not 'adventure'. In the regime of state terror and personal violence that characterised Antarctic maritime exploration, sailors waged their struggle through diverse means - 'lowering silences', intimations of mutiny delivered through the tactic of 'murmuring'; resistance to orders; desertion; and various evanescent forms of collective subversion undertaken 'by persons unknown', as one of Cook's officers put it in 1774. In doing so, they time and time again shaped the course of Antarctic voyages, and the extent of the discoveries made on them.

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## Knitted Together: Experienced and Imagined Communities in the Dominions, 1914-1918

Mr Steve Marti, Doctoral candidate, Western University, Canada

Steve Marti is a doctoral candidate at Western University, Canada. His dissertation examines the relationship between patriotic work and identity in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand during the First World War.

The First World War is an ideal historical context to study the expression of identity in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. For historians of the British World who grapple with the duality of national and imperial identities, wartime patriotic work can be used as a lens to examine how identity was manifested through popular support for the war. In the absence of a strong centralized state or military-industrial complex, the governments of these young dominions relied on decentralized voluntary patriotic work to mobilize their war effort. Local communities were thus able to determine the scope of their wartime volunteerism and articulated motives that reveal the terms in which they defined their identity. This paper will examine the records of Anglophone organizations in Canada and Australia, such as the Red Cross and the St John Ambulance, to understand how individual chapters expressed their identity through voluntary wartime contributions. International voluntary societies transcended concentric imagined communities, with local chapters supervised by regional, national, and even international offices. Hierarchies were by no means rigid in voluntary societies, and examining how individual chapters chose to respond to regional, national, and international appeals can reveal how the membership of a local chapters adapted their institutional mandates to suit local conditions. This paper explores how voluntary organizations negotiated between the concentric identities of their local, experience community and their larger, imagined communities when mobilizing for the national or imperial war effort.

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Malay women in north Australia.

A/Prof Julia Martínez, ARC Future Fellow, University of Wollongong

Associate Professor Julia Martínez is an ARC Future Fellow at the University of Wollongong's Institute for Social Transformation Research (ISTR). Her research includes an ARC-funded study of transcolonial culture of domestic service in the Asia-Pacific (with Victoria Haskins, Claire Lowrie and Frances Steel). She has published on Chinese servants with Claire Lowrie in *Pacific Historical Review*. Her forthcoming book *The Pearl Frontier* (with Adrian Vickers) on the pearling industry explores Indonesian migration to Australia. Her Future Fellowship project, *Networks and Narratives: traffic in women and girls in the Asia Pacific region, 1865-1940*, continues her research on labour and migration.

The coastal frontier of north Australia has often been imagined as a world of men, as a place where women are rare and remarkable. In recent years new histories of Indigenous, Asian and European women have gradually added to our knowledge of women in the north. Of Malay women, however, we know very little. This paper considers the scant traces of Malay women in north Australia and explores the reasons why there was a dearth of Malay female immigration to Australia. It also considers the historical record on women who were Malay by descent, being the daughters of Malay immigrants to north Australia.

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## Remembering a Forgotten Empire: Portuguese Indian memories in multicultural Australia

Dr Robert Mason, Lecturer (History), University of Southern Queensland

Robert Mason is a Lecturer (History) at the University of Southern Queensland. His research focuses on Australian migration and multiculturalism. He is particularly interested in historical legacy and memory in contemporary communities, as well as the legacy of the Spanish and Portuguese empires in Asia and the Pacific.

The territory of Goa had been administered by Portugal for four centuries when it was forcibly incorporated into India in 1961. Long-standing Goan emigration accelerated following India's annexation of the territory, as perceptions increased of falling living standards and Indian interference in local issues. Several million Goan emigrants live in territories throughout Lusophone, Anglophone and Arabic countries, and a substantial community of Goans now resides in Australia. This paper is based on a year-long survey of Goan community organisations in Queensland, amplified by printed material such as community newsletters and commemorative publications. Historical data, in the form of memoirs, photographs and objects, were also provided by participants. The paper draws especially on extended interviews with three Goan men, which were conducted in their homes over several meetings. This paper investigates the men's memories of the incorporation of Goa into India in 1961. It explores the lack of established narratives regarding the event, and the men's conflicted reactions to colonialism and racial prejudice. The paper argues that their memories, and sense of loss, have had a profound impact on their sense of self and well-being in multicultural Australia. Remembering Goa allows the migrants to challenge their position in the racial and gendered hierarchies of multicultural Australia, and to position themselves as white, European and Christian.

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#### Charon Rides Again! Early Australian Colonial Cremation Legalisation Debates: 1886-1891

Mr Josip Matesic, PhD Student, University of Wollongong

Josip Matesic is a PhD student in history at the University of Wollongong. His thesis examines the changes in Australian religious attitudes in the twentieth century in the public sphere. One case study examines changes in approaches to death and burial.

The nineteenth century saw great reforms in the disposal of the dead in the Western world. By the 1870s there were discussions in England in the House of Commons for the legalisation of cremation to overcome the sanitary and public health problems then associated with sprawling and poorly kept public and open cemeteries. Such utilitarian concerns were countered by Christian arguments about the necessity for earthen burial to ensure a future bodily resurrection. Echoes of these concerns were mobilised in colonial Australia. Dr John M. Creed was the first parliamentarian to raise the issue in the New South Wales colony in 1886, however he was unsuccessful. The South Australian colony was the first Australian colony to legalise cremation in 1891, with little parliamentary discussion let alone religious or theological inquiry. Dr Creed in the New South Wales colonial parliament mobilised the same utilitarian arguments to support his case as those that were used later in South Australia, however cremation would not be legalised in New South Wales until 1925. This paper outlines the arguments mobilised both for and against the legalisation of cremation in the two Australian colonies and it suggests reasons for the failure to legalise cremation in New South Wales until the twentieth century, and why cremation was legalised in South Australia with such ease.

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#### I'll Keep it with Mine: Draft Resistance Tactics and Strategy

Mr Michael Matteson, MA candidate, University of Wollongong

Michael Matteson is an MA candidate at UOW. A participant in the Sydney movement, several of his interviews with Melbourne draft resistance activists were used by Peter Edwards in his *A Nation at War*.

By the end of 1971 there was a clear difference between the strategies of the Melbourne and Sydney Draft Resistance Movements (DRM). The DRM was a movement whose strategy was developed from what were, from a movement perspective, tactical actions: complete individual refusal to serve. An early overall strategy was that as people refused to register or serve, the number in prison would grow till it became unacceptable to the community, including sections of Government supporters. In Sydney this was argued from examples of



Ghandi and the IWW's Free Speech fights. In Melbourne a different position developed through a critique of repressive tolerance. As years passed, and it became clear that the government would avoid jailing draft resisters in significant numbers, the idea developed that going underground was more effective as resistance. Some argued that going to prison validated the state rather than invalidated conscription. The extent of the split in strategy only became obvious after the 1971 police raid on the "Melbourne University Resistance Commune". After several days of occupation Commonwealth police unsuccessfully stormed a barricaded building to arrest four underground draft resisters, and close down a draft resistance pirate radio. Drawing on this tactical success, Melbourne DRM emphasized the inability of the police to catch draft resisters, and pushed the idea that "you could live in the underground". For Sydney the purpose of tactical actions by underground draft resisters was to force mass jailings. While the tactics used by both groups were identical, the strategies advanced were antithetical.

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Once upon a time there was a wonderful country': Exploring Representations of History in Rwanda

Dr Deborah Mayersen, Vice-Chancellor's Postdoctoral Research Fellow, University of Wollongong

Dr Deborah Mayersen is a Vice-Chancellor's Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Institute for Social Transformation Research, University of Wollongong. Deborah is an historian, and her research interests are in comparative genocide studies.

In April 1994, genocide erupted in Rwanda with an unprecedented ferocity. Over the course of 100 days, more than 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu were killed. A major contributor to the violence was an intense propaganda campaign that dehumanised and demonised the Tutsi minority prior to and during the genocide. This propaganda presented the Tutsi as foreign and feudal oppressors, who would again oppress the Hutu majority as they had in the past if they were not targeted for extermination. Such dubious representations of history have deep roots in Rwanda, which can be traced to the early colonial period. This paper will explore three examples of the way in which history has been represented and misrepresented in Rwanda, spanning from colonial to contemporary periods. It will consider how key stakeholders have sometimes portrayed Rwanda's history in skewed and inaccurate ways, and the profound impact this has had on ethnic divisions within the country. Moreover, it will examine how misrepresentations of Rwanda's history are continuing in the post-genocide period. It is only through interrogating (mis)representations of Rwanda's history that the political agendas that have and continue to shape them can be exposed and challenged.

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Inclusive history: problems for an elite profession

A/Prof Michael McDonnell, Associate Professor in History, University of Sydney

Michael McDonnell is Associate Professor in history at the University of Sydney where, in addition to his research on early and Native America he coordinates the department's social inclusion program.

History 'from below' made its mark in the mid-twentieth century so that the discipline now readily encompasses groups it previously marginalised. And yet, while history can appear inclusive in this sense, historians themselves tend to be relatively culturally homogenous. This paper draws on research that explores engagement with history in diverse settings (high schools in regions from multi-cultural south-west Sydney to Aboriginal remote Wilcannia) to consider how the practice of history itself - what makes a good historian, or the construction of historical merit - might include or exclude some members of society. The question, we know, is important, for identification with a historical past is key to citizenship and social inclusion. Is history - even history from below - still written by society's 'winners'? While this paper links to previous studies in history education and raises some questions about pedagogy and curricula, we aim in addition to explore the question of what an inclusive

history might look like in all the ways history is presented and practiced. In this, we seek to look beyond traditions of social and oral history, which, our research suggests, continues to exclude some members of society.

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#### The Women's International Democratic Federation and Women from Asia and Africa

Dr Katharine McGregor, Senior Lecturer, University of Melbourne

Dr Katharine McGregor is a Senior Lecturer in Southeast Asian History at the University of Melbourne. She is currently working on a larger project on Indonesian political activism during the Cold War with Dr Vannessa Hearman.

Despite the fact that the Women's International Democratic Federation was the largest post war international women's organisation Francisca de Haan notes the 'overwhelming silence about the Federation in most English-language scholarship about inter- and transnational women's movements' (de Haan 2010: 548). To date most scholarship on transnational political activism in the Cold War has emphasised American- and European-driven activism. Yet the WIDF included large "Third World" affiliates from the countries of Asia and Africa. Building on my research on Indonesian women and the WIDF (McGregor 2012 and 2013) which has overturned the assumption that the WIDF was an "Eastern European" organization, this paper seeks to probe how and why the WIDF magazine, *Women of the Whole World*, frequently profiled the political mobilization and status of the women of Asia and Africa. Although the WIDF professed ideals of racial equality and incorporated persons from former empires and former colonies such as the Netherlands, Indonesia, France, Algeria, it is necessary to interrogate hierarchies within these organisations that may mirror those of the metropole and colony. At the same time we need to ascribe agency to the women of Africa and Asia and consider what the WIDF offered them.

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#### Trans-imperial mobilities between Madeira and Australia

Dr Julie McIntyre, Lecturer, University of Newcastle

I have researched elite colonial wine consumption and the desire to create an Australian wine industry within studies of Aboriginal-settler relations, social reform policy, cluster networking, quotidian pleasure, and Mediterranean farming in Australia. My publications include *First Vintage: Wine in Colonial NSW* (UNSW Press, 2012).

The Portuguese colony of Madeira, a cosmopolitan port of call on the voyage between Britain and colonial Australia, featured prominently in early European trade, and in travel narratives. Due to the value of Madeira wine prior to its decline in the nineteenth century, the Portuguese Atlantic colony has a significant role in Australian wine studies. Madeira served as a source of vine stock for colonial wine growers. In the 1820s, a prominent emancipist not only collected grape vines at Madeira but also hired vineyard workers to return with him to Sydney. Madeira's location made it a point of intersection in imperial shipping. It harboured a wide range of exotic plants in addition to wine grapes which were earlier transplanted to its semi-tropical environment during Atlantic World transfers. These were included with species from Britain and elsewhere in the botanical invasion of Australia. Yet Madeira's role in Europeanising Australia is little known. This paper considers the influence of Madeira in the migration and return travels of early Australian colonists, as well as traces on the Australian landscape.

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## First the Sex, then the Kiss: A brief history of sex and the screen gay male

Dr Scott McKinnon, Research Officer, Macquarie University

Scott McKinnon is a recent PhD graduate at the University of Technology, Sydney. His PhD research examines the role of cinema in the emergence of gay male community, culture and identity in Sydney from 1950-2010.

This paper explores the history of gay sex on Australian cinema screens, arguing that unlike their heterosexual counterparts, gay men have never experienced a cinematic adolescence. If we trace the history of straight on-screen sex it is possible to see a gradual progression. While Production Code era Hollywood loaded the kiss with adolescent meaning, the kiss would eventually lead to more until, in recent decades, unsimulated sex has found its mainstream on-screen moment. In terms of cinematic representations of desire between men, however, the sex and the kiss arrived at the same time. The paper argues that this difference has had specific and ongoing impacts, particularly in terms of the sexualised understanding of a kiss between men.

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## The Larrikin Pastor: Presbyterian Minister Hector Harrison

A/Prof Margaret McLeod, Associate Head of School Nursing, Midwifery and In, Charles Sturt University

A/Professor Marg McLeod has eclectic interests, she has worked in a number of rural healthcare environments and executive positions in the national nursing not-for-profit sector. Doctoral studies provided the opportunity for her to explore historical research interests, currently she is researching the life of The Very Rev Hector Harrison.

Hector Harrison was born in Western Australia. His parents were dedicated Salvation Army members, encouraging their children to join them in God's work. At the age of twelve years Hector joined the Army band, later taking on the role of secretary. During the First World War Hector became a military bandsman in Perth. When war ended Hector returned to work in his father's store. He also travelled with the Salvation Army band and during one of these trips Hector disclosed to a colleague that he planned to become an Officer for God. Given Hector's larrikin ways, his friends were sceptical, regarding him as totally unsuitable for the role. Undeterred, the larrikin travelled to Melbourne to begin his religious training. A few years on Hector determined that he could not remain a Salvationist, as the sacraments of Communion and Baptism were not upheld. Hector was saddened to leave the Army, but he was committed to becoming a Presbyterian Minister. It was a long educational journey, but he achieved his goal with scholastic success. An extraordinary ministry unfolded, with Hector working in parishes in Victoria, Tasmania, Western Australia and the Australian Capital Territory. His intelligence and energy were evident, leading to esteemed positions, first as NSW Moderator, later Moderator-General of the Presbyterian Church of Australia, followed by international representation. Nevertheless, Hector Harrison, OBE, MA, BA, BD, remained a larrikin throughout the course of his lifetime. Those who knew him concede that his sense of fun and laughter were trademarks of his ministry.

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## Citizen Mothers at War: the Australian homefront during World War I

Ms Fiona McLeod

Fiona McLeod recently graduated MPhil from the University of Queensland, completing her thesis on patriotic women and citizenship in Australia during World War I. Her historical interests include citizenship and Empire in early twentieth century Australia, especially in the context of war and of the development of progressive thought.

While the Australian citizen soldier was at war on Gallipoli, in the trenches in France or the deserts of Palestine, the patriotic women citizens of Australia were looking for ways that they could serve their country during World War I. Factory girls in Melbourne, society matrons in Sydney and mothers with small children in tow in towns and on farms across Australia knitted, sewed, baked and organised to support their menfolk. Amongst the first fully enfranchised women in the world, these women - these citizen mothers - used the pre-war idea of the 'mother of the race' to mobilise women in support of the war. Wartime exigencies gave added power to the 'social purity' agenda of the first-wave feminists and patriotic women reconfigured temperance and self-control as patriotic virtues. This paper examines how private morality and public good were merged in the cause of the Empire. It highlights how the belief in women's role as 'the guardians and leaders of noble impulses' that drove early feminists to demand the vote became part of the wartime rhetoric of patriotic women. It proposes that what had previously had little or nothing to do with citizenship became much more closely connected when patriotic women mobilised for war.

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### The Paradox of Australian Liberalism

A/Prof Greg Melleuish, Associate professor, University of Wollongong

Greg Melleuish teaches history and political theory at the University of Wollongong. He has written widely on Australian political thought with a particular focus on liberalism and conservatism and his *Two Traditions of Democracy in Australia* is due for release by Australian Scholarly Publishing this year.

Unlike Canada and the United Kingdom, Australia does not possess a conservative party. Moreover, many in the Liberal Party do not wish to be described as conservative. To explain this situation it is necessary to consider the role that liberalism has played in Australian political history. Liberalism, or what was locally understood to be liberalism, was ubiquitous in colonial Australia as colonial conservatism collapsed after the introduction of responsible government. The subsequent development of liberalism in Australia owed more to contingent historical factors than to the working out of a set of specifically liberal principles. Such factors included the emergence of Deakinite liberalism, the development of the Labor Party, the need to accommodate leaders such as Hughes and Lyons and the development of the Australian state. The consequence has been a distinctive Australian variety of liberalism which incorporates classical liberalism, social liberalism and conservatism, a mix which appears to be paradoxical in terms of political theory but which makes sense once it is placed in historical context.

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### Parallel Conflicts: First World War and Melbourne's Conscription Crisis

Dr Christine Mercer, Student, University of Melbourne

I undertook interdisciplinary research on the life and work of Melbourne-born polymath Henry Tate (1873-1926) for my doctoral thesis at the University of Melbourne. Presently I am researching Melbourne's cultural, political and religious radicalism in the years 1895-1926.

Due to the scope of this topic, I have restricted this paper to an outline of Melbourne's political, religious and community crises resulting from the First World War, conscription plebiscites and their issues, which virtually caused a parallel war on the home front. When Britannia called, loyalty to the 'Mother Country' encouraged young men to join up. During 1916 and 1917, debates regarding the inadequate number of volunteers and talk of conscription, due to the horrendous casualties at Gallipoli and on the Western Front, led to political and community anguish which, also affected the diggers in the trenches. For pacifists and conscientious objectors, war created political, spiritual and emotional turmoil and the 'Call to Arms' accentuated inner conflicts, which were exacerbated with the conscription plebiscites. In addition, the daily press was filled with war and conscription propaganda, while songwriters and artists used themes, which either glorified the conflicts both overseas and at home or criticised the wars and their horrors. This paper will show how the parallel conflicts

divided church, the government and community, and includes the aftermath of the war for surviving diggers.

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'She-Devil' in the House: Millicent Preston Stanley's Political Mobilisation, 1924-26.

Dr Wendy Michaels, Conjoint Research Fellow, University of Newcastle

Dr Wendy Michaels is a Conjoint Research Fellow at the University of Newcastle and Chair of the NSW Chapter of the Association of Independent Scholars of Australia. Her current research is into the political career of Millicent Preston Stanley, the first woman elected to the NSW parliament.

In 1924 Millicent Preston Stanley mobilised support from 20,000 women across the State for a campaign to amend the Infants' Custody and Settlement Act, 1899; in 1925 she co-opted similar support from women and men for endorsement as a Nationalist Party candidate for the Eastern Suburbs electorate. Elected in May 1925, the first woman in the NSW parliament, this lone woman 'movement-entrepreneur' experienced insurmountable impediments to her attempts to amend existing infant custody legislation. Her Private Members Bill was obstructed for twelve months before leave was granted; her First Reading Speech on 2 November 1926 attracted derogatory interjections from both sides of the Chamber; and the price demanded for her Bill proceeding to the Second Reading stage was crossing the floor to vote with the Government on Supply Bills. Without the co-optable support in the Parliament she had garnered outside it, she rejected this 'bribe' as compromising her 'personal honour'; her Bill was shelved; and in 1927 Preston Stanley was not re-elected. This paper examines Preston Stanley's political mobilisation for infant custody legislation reform, the tactics employed to thwart it in the parliament and her responses to the blockading strategies.

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What's happening to the weather? Perceptions of Australian climate

Dr Julia Miller, Lecturer, CAPA International Education

Dr Julia Miller teaches Australian history at CAPA International Education Sydney and lectures in the Macquarie OUA program. Her area of research is environmental history.

Extreme weather events in the 2012/13 summer focused the attention of many Australians on the problems associated with the prospect of permanent anthropogenic climate change. But skeptics still argue that climate is cyclical and that recent floods and drought are part of the usual weather pattern. Utilising late nineteenth century notions of climate change in Australia and those in key periods in the twentieth century, this paper places attitudes to weather and climate in its historical context. Further it demonstrates how natural cycles can colour official and public notions of what is happening to the weather. It argues that the denial of anthropogenic climate change is linked to misunderstandings of, and misinterpretations about, the key climate drivers in Australia, the cycles of El Niño Southern Oscillation and the longer cycles of the Inter-decadal Pacific Oscillation.

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The New International Version: Pentecostal Churches in Australia and Beyond.

Ms Elizabeth Miller, PhD Candidate, University of Sydney

Elizabeth Miller is in the third year of her history PhD at the University of Sydney. Her work considers the growth of Pentecostal and Charismatic churches in Australia during the latter half of the twentieth century.

Two of the biggest Pentecostal churches in Australia Hillsong and C3, were independently started in Sydney by migrants from New Zealand. As Pentecostal churches, they have a distinctly American heritage, but though Pentecostalism itself was born in Los Angeles, it was largely based on ideas developed in the United Kingdom during the nineteenth century.

Hillsong and C3 are both now international franchises that have been successful in planting their own churches both inside and outside Australia. Hillsong has churches in eleven countries, and C3 has churches or plants in twenty-nine countries. You can attend one of their services Sydney, Wollongong or in the Adelaide Hills, in London, in North Hollywood, or as far afield as Uganda, Brazil, Sri Lanka, Russia or Sweden. This paper will look at the development of the extraordinary mobility that characterises Pentecostal and Charismatic churches in Australia and around the world. It will consider the different ways these churches have grown in Australia, based on ideas that have been developed in and then transmitted through various localities over the last two hundred years, before examining how these churches have in turn disseminated their own ideas throughout the world. By looking beyond current incarnations of these churches in Australia to their own history and that of their worldwide counterparts, I will argue that the international fluidity of these churches has been key in their success.

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The destroying hand of the subdivider': Suburbia as a catalyst for environmentalism in 1970s Victoria.

Dr Sarah Mirams, consultant, past and future perspectives

Sarah is a historian specialising in environmental history. She has worked as a teacher, curriculum consultant, textbook author and independent historian. Sarah's Ph.D. explored the life of writer E. J. Brady and his relationship with the remote community of old Mallacoota in far East Gippsland.

Environmental historian Christopher G. Sellers argues that the popular environmentalism of the post war world grew out of the American suburban experience. Suburbanites became increasingly concerned with both preserving natural landscapes and the impact of contamination and pollution on their local environments. This paper explores to what extent this experience was mirrored in Victoria. I compare two grassroots Victorian environmental groups in this article. The Save the Dandenongs League which was established to monitor suburban development in the Dandenong Ranges, a popular tourist destination and former forestry and farming area forty kilometers east of Melbourne, and the Rockbeare Park Conservation Group, based in the suburb of Ivanhoe, this group lobbied to restore a neglected parkland, riparian and polluted creek.

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Forced mobilities: deportations and counterinsurgency in Malaya, Algeria and Romania

Mr Andrei Miroiu, Graduate student, University of New South Wales

I am a PhD Student at UNSW working on comparative counterinsurgencies in Malaya, Algeria and Romania. My work was published in the Journal of Slavic Military Studies and Cambridge Review of International Affairs. My work experience includes a stint as an analyst in the Romanian Ministry of Defence.

This paper considers in a comparative historical and strategic perspective the large-scale deportations of restive populations during the Malayan Emergency, the Algerian War and the Romanian anti-communist rebellions. The failed American campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan witnessed a rebirth of military and academic interest in post-war counterinsurgencies (COIN), with an entire COIN school being put in charge of the two wars from 2006 to 2011. This particular school elevated the experiences of late colonial warfare, notably the French experience in Algeria and the British campaign in Malaya to the status of policy guides for the early 21st century world. However, one crucial aspect of these was not considered, both theoretically and militarily, for obvious political reasons. Both these conflicts witnessed large scale deportations, amounting to between a fifth and a third of the population of these colonies. The democratic government in London and Paris, signatories of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, dislocated millions of their subjects, destroyed their property and forced them to live in poverty and food deprivation in guarded settlements and concentration camps, undergoing interrogations, torture and systematic brainwashing. In

Eastern Europe, following the Soviet example but with striking similarities with democratic countries, the government of Romania launched a similar program to defeat rebellions. This paper considers the role of this 'enforced' mobility in shaping military victory in the three cases and argues that just by itself this aspect invalidates the strategic and political relevance of them for shaping COINs waged by democratic governments.

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#### Captain Swing Convicts under the Wollongong Police Bench

Ms Anne Mobbs, Doctoral Student, History Program, University of Wollongong

Between 1826 and 1865, Sydney assigned more than 4000 convicts to the Illawarra. These convicts came from many social and economic backgrounds and their crimes covered a broad spectrum from petty theft to murder. Some, however, were in effect political prisoners. The Captain Swing convicts, part of a widespread reaction to mechanization of agricultural process in rural England in the 1830s, have attracted little if any attention in the Illawarra. This paper has three parts. The first looks briefly at the context of Swing rioters in England. The second part attempts to identify the rioters assigned to the Illawarra. The third and final part attempts to explain the motives of the colonial administrators in assigning these convicts to the Illawarra.

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#### Fringe to Famous: Australian Bohemia and Mobility Across Cultural Fields

Dr Tony Moore, Director and Senior Lecturer, National Centre for Australian Studies, Monash University

Dr Tony Moore is Director and Senior Lecturer with the National Centre for Australian Studies, Monash University. Tony's research focus is Australian cultural and media history, and his most recent book is *Dancing with Empty Pockets: Australia's Bohemians since 1860* (2012).

This paper engages Pierre Bourdieu's work on the cultural field to ask how the bohemian identity helped an aspiring artist make sense of the opportunities and problems encountered in the Australian cultural market, and how competition between established and new cultural players over several generations constituted a bohemian tradition in denial. Bourdieu's concept of 'the economy turned upside down' does not merely critique the romantic claims of autonomy from the market explicit in the bohemian identity, but reveals how the performance of autonomy through transgression made cultural producers as diverse as Tom Roberts, Henry Lawson, the Angry Penguins modernists or the Oz satirists attractive to the bourgeois consumer. Yet in Australia bohemians have played an important role in criss-crossing the boundaries between the popular and the avant-garde fields, in a way not considered by Bourdieu in his examination of French and Western European cultural production and consumption. This mobility from fringe to famous is apparent in the creative practice of the first bohemian proselytiser Marcus Clarke and characterises the work of cultural producers as diverse as Norman Lindsay, Kenneth Slessor, Barry Humphries, Germaine Greer, Richard Neville, David Williamson and Nick Cave. Aesthetic innovation honed in the bohemian space of independent publications, artists communities, inner urban precincts, film collectives, experimental theatre and the inner urban music scene was smuggled into commercial popular culture, and indeed politics. These artists invigorated commercial cultural industries and also appealed to mass and niche audiences enthusiastic to consume the 'authenticity' these artists signified.

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#### Death, Bereavement, and the RAAF Casualty Section, WW2

Dr John Moremon, Lecturer, Massey University

John Moremon lectures in war and society and military history in the Centre for Defence and Security Studies, Massey University, New Zealand.

In the course of the Second World War, thousands of people received news of the death, injury, illness, or disappearance of an airman. Approximately one-third of the Australians who lost their lives in this war were members of the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) which recorded 7082 deaths in air operations, 4496 in air accidents, 266 in ground battles, 352 from illness, and 1568 from other causes. Notifying families, friends and associates of those lost in the air war could be especially problematical. Many aircraft disappeared during aerial battles, at night, in bad weather, inside enemy territory, over the sea, or above inhospitable ground (such as desert or mountains). Therefore, many of those lost could be categorised only as 'missing'. In recent years, historians have advanced our understanding of bereavement in relation to the air war, with emphasis on loved ones' receipt of the news of a disappearance or death and the bereavement process; one impression has been that official communications were both irregular and unsatisfactory. Drawing on the example of a bomber crew lost in New Guinea (forming part of a larger study), this paper explores the role of the RAAF Casualty Section in the coordination of information-gathering and advising of the next-of-kin. The paper argues that the scope and quality of official information provided to the next-of-kin and therefore its influence on the process of bereavement appear to have been misjudged.

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#### Battling the Elements: Australians, Hydroresilience and the Drought of 1914

Dr Ruth Morgan, Lecturer, Monash University

Ruth Morgan is a Lecturer in Australian History at Monash University. She completed her PhD at The University of Western Australia in 2012, which focussed on the environmental history of water and drought in southwest Australia since colonisation. Ruth is currently working on her book manuscript for publication in 2014 with UWA Publishing.

Just over a decade after the devastating Federation Drought (1895-1903), dry conditions again visited the young nation of Australia. By late 1914, drought had stalked through the agricultural areas of the southern half of the continent where it would last long into the following year. Across the country, the coincidence of the drought with the commencement of World War One saw many young rural men enter the armed services in order to escape economic hardship. In Western Australia, these conditions caused the state's wheat yield to plummet by eighty per cent in a single year, while some farmers compared the drought's toll in the Victorian Mallee to the battlefields of Flanders. Parishioners in New South Wales prayed for rains and in South Australia, irrigationists lamented the dwindling supplies of the River Murray. The extent and severity of these conditions challenged the aspirations of Australians and their governments for the nation's population, progress and prosperity. Using oral histories, diaries and newspaper reports, this paper explores how the 1914 drought affected Australians, their understandings of the continent's climate variability, and their preparedness for periods of water scarcity. I argue that this drought exposed the extent to which many rural Australians lacked 'hydroresilience' to dry times as their agrarian endeavours spread into areas about which settler Australians knew little, to which their farming methods were poorly suited, and to where their water supplies were inadequate.

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#### Volunteers for Vietnam?

Mr Ben Morris, Research student, University of Wollongong

Ben Morris is a post graduate student at the University of Wollongong. He has collected a number of oral histories of Vietnam Veterans which forms the basis of his study.

In early November 1964 the Cabinet of the Coalition Government endorsed a bill conscripting young men into the Army. This legislation became necessary because the Australian Army had failed to enlist sufficient recruits to meet its national defence requirements. Since the First World War, conscription proposals had become subject of political discussion and the cause of division within the community. The 1964 legislation was an important change of government policy regarding conscription. Previous statutes had no overseas obligation. In



October 1964, the Army and the Department of Labour and National Service detailed their difficulties with a joint submission to Cabinet on conscription. In November 1964 the Cabinet approved a conscription bill incorporating the Army request for a compulsory overseas service requirement. When the Battalions of the Royal Australian Regiment deployed to Vietnam, they had a large number of national servicemen. In my research, a number of these conscripted men claimed that they were volunteers for Vietnam. This volunteer myth seems to have had widespread acceptance and is mentioned as fact in a number of military histories. For most of the war the Government denied that soldiers had a choice of location of service. However in September 1971, the Minister for the Army stated that although national servicemen would continue to be sent to Vietnam, they would no longer be compelled to go. My paper will examine why some Vietnam War Veterans have embraced the claim that the force deployed overseas was all volunteer.

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## Dress Stories: Fashioning Women's History through Women's Heritage

Ms Petra Mosmann, Phd Candidate, Flinders University

Petra Mosmann is a PhD candidate in History and Women's Studies at Flinders University. She examines the construction of colonial women's history in post-colonial settler states, with a particular focus on the relationships between writing women's history and the collection of women's material culture.

Nineteenth century fashionable dresses are usually interpreted by historians as ephemeral objects key to maintaining the wearer's status. However, the survival of historic examples in museum collections questions the perceived temporality of fashion in the colonial period. Material evidence suggests that many dresses in colonial Australia were renovated and repaired, and collection records demonstrate that dresses were often passed to the next generation of the family. Fashionable dresses in museum collection no longer necessarily tell fashion stories, instead, they often constitute familial heritage, memorialising a particular female forbear or representing an otherwise undocumented 'feminine' past. This paper explores the interpretation of nineteenth century women's fashion, using one item, a gold and cream striped cotton day dress from Narryna Heritage Museum's textile collection, as a case study. According to the museum's records, the dress was worn by free settler Sarah Butler (1787-1870) when she landed in Hobart with her husband in 1824. This particular dress survived long enough to be physically repaired and altered, and was worn by at least three different women until it was finally donated to the museum in 1988; it survived long enough to be narrated and re-narrated, demonstrating that the meaning of women's heritage is in constant motion in relation to those who come into contact with it.

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## Industrial mobilisation for war: local and community stories

Dr Lisa Murray, City Historian, City of Sydney Council

Dr Lisa Murray is the City Historian, City of Sydney Council, and Chair of the Dictionary of Sydney Trust. She is a committed public historian and is a regular contributor to media coverage and debates around history, including at TEDxSydney 2013.

The southern industrial suburbs of Alexandria, Waterloo and Redfern were the economic and industrial powerhouse of Sydney. Home to heavy engineering, noxious trades, chemical, electrical and paper industries, many of the employees were local residents. How did wartime mobilisation in the 1940s impact on the community as industry shifted from building a nation to defending a nation? Wartime restrictions led to rationing of petrol and food, while civil defences including air raid trenches saw parks dug up. These measures impacted upon the whole community. Manufactories were put on a wartime footing, with many declared essential industries. The output of most factories was consumed directly or indirectly for Defence purposes. Factories, such as Wunderlich in Redfern, shifted from manufacturing pressed metal ceilings to military aircraft, while Dunkerley Hat Mills supplied Akubras for military slouch hats. Military contracts boosted the economic viability of many businesses. Many of

the factory workers were also integral to wartime fundraising efforts. This paper aims to present the local experience of World War Two and is part of a larger work in progress on the history of the district. It will document the industrial, economic and social impacts of war on a local working class community, thereby shining a light on national events in a local context and personalising the homefront experience.

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#### A Bed and Breakfast Mystery: the Appeal of Australian B&Bs

Ms Zoe Murray, Research assistant, University of Sydney

Zoe completed history honours at Sydney University in 2012, receiving the University Medal. She is currently writing a history of Lord Howe Island.

Until the late 1980s, B&Bs were relatively unknown in Australia. As one B&B How-to guide reported, even in 1990, 'many people would write [to] B&B operators and the first question they asked was, 'Exactly what is a B&B?' This paper will explore the emergence and rapid growth of the Australian B&B sector in the late 1980s and early 1990s - a topic so far neglected by both scholarly and industry studies. Particular attention will be paid to how B&Bs became, and were constructed as, an appealing accommodation experience for contemporary Australians. Many B&Bs were established in pre-existing 'heritage' buildings and advertised the property's history and atmosphere to attract customers. Even newly built B&Bs, which did not obviously demonstrate 'the grace and charm of a past era', could trade on 'old-fashioned hospitality'. The concept of nostalgia, therefore, is crucial to understanding the growth of the B&B sector. Not only did Australian tourists seek out atmospheric B&Bs an alternative to the modern tourist accommodation but B&B owners often entered the industry in search of a lifestyle change as an older, simpler existence as good as a holiday.

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#### Bureauxrats, Bungling and the British

Mr Rod Nettle, PhD (History) candidate, University of Ballarat

Rod Nettle is a PhD (History) candidate at the University of Ballarat. His thesis is the Transnational Life of Percy Nettle.

Percy Nettle was an Australian 'old China hand' by the time he was recruited by the British Army in 1917. Percy was one of the few 'British' in China who could speak Chinese and because of this, and his engineering background, Percy became one of newly created Chinese Labour Corps 'officers'. He was charged with moving 6,600 of the eventual 140,000 indentured Chinese labourers from Weihaiwei in North East China to the battlefields of France. Percy tells the story of the assembly and transportation of his troops from China to their eventual arrival at Boulogne in 1917 in his own words in the form of an 'oral history'. A journey made all the more difficult by the bureaucracy of the British Admiralty and Canadian Pacific Railways (CPR). But he got them there all the same, and then was left by the Admiralty to deal with the CPR suing the British Government for holding up trains in Canada. Percy tells the story of an often hilarious, always frustrating and sometimes poignant logistical challenge of moving Chinese labourers to France. The Chinese labour force rates only a mention in the British war records of the time yet it was a critical component in the ultimate victory over Germany and Percy's story adds to the small but growing number of stories of a very under studied corner of the military history of the First World War.

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#### Dugong oil: An Indigenous remedy in Australian settler medicine.

Miss Veronika Neuzilova, PhD student, Griffith University

Veronika is a PhD candidate at the Griffith University. Her research focuses on the transfer of knowledge and on the movement of people in the Moreton Bay dugong industry and in the transnational implications of dugong oil as medicine.

From the mid-19th century, Moreton Bay was the location of the dugong industry, which manufactured oil for Brisbane and Sydney, with ambitions to go world-wide. At this time, Australia was following Britain in the move to professionalise medicine. In order to be identified as professionals and distance themselves from quacks, Australian medical practitioners were increasingly registering their names with the New South Wales Medical Board, established in 1838, to mirror British medical trends. At the same time, however, some were 'discovering' new medicinal remedies learned from the Indigenous inhabitants of Australia. In this paper I will explore the connections between Indigenous knowledge and Australian settler perceptions of medicinal practice through the manufacturing and use of dugong oil. I will consider the early exchanges between Indigenous and settler knowledge and skills relating to the dugong industry in Moreton Bay in the mid-19th century, before examining the way in which dugong oil made its way through hands of medical practitioners, newspaper advertisements and exhibitions from Australia to Europe. I will pay particular attention to Dr William Hobbs, a crucial figure in the industry and primary promoter of dugong oil. A health officer in Brisbane and member of the Brisbane Medical Board, Dr Hobbs was an entrepreneur and medical practitioner, who allows us to trace the relatively short-lived but intriguing journey of dugong oil into western medical history.

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#### Big, Fast, Mobile: Australian Professional Athletes in England, 1900-1960

Dr Erik Nielsen, Associate Lecturer, University of New South Wales

Erik Nielsen is an associate lecturer at the University of New South Wales, where he has taught sports history, Australian colonial history, Asian history and military history. His research interests include Australian sport, sport and imperialism and the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning.

It would be a mistake to think that the trend for Australian professional athletes to seek their fortunes overseas is exclusively recent. Since the introduction of rugby league into Australia in 1907, Australian footballers have been 'poached' by British clubs and made their futures in Lancashire and Yorkshire. They have been joined in the north of England by cricketers (including several test players) 'seduced' by lucrative contracts in competitions outside of the official first-class competitions such as the Lancashire League. While this decision improved the financial position of these players, they have consequently been largely forgotten in wider commemorations of 'great Australian sportspeople'. After a brief chronological discussion of the development of the market for Australian athletes abroad, this paper (a work in progress) will examine these athletes in cultural terms, but also as part of wider transnational labour migration trends in the twentieth century. A host of popular expressions that chart the experiences of these athlete/migrants exists in addition to the usual archival record that not only cast light on the experiences of these athletes, but also on the way that their presence was received by the communities. I will argue that the unique status of athletes as prominent figures in the local community offers unparalleled opportunities for scholars to place a 'human face' to the labour migration experience, even if legitimate questions about representativeness can be raised.

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#### Robert Menzies in Clubland

Dr Sybil Nolan, Lecturer in Publishing and Communications, University of Melbourne

Sybil Nolan wrote her PhD thesis on 'The Age and the young Menzies: a chapter in Victorian liberalism'. She teaches publishing at the University of Melbourne.

From the Victorian heyday of the Carlton and Reform Clubs in London, the men's club was associated with politics, partisanship and political organisation. Yet because the unwritten rules of clubland meant that members were expected not to discuss with outsiders most of what was said or done within that domain, the club also offered prominent public men a private space and zone of free speech which many of them found personally invaluable, as

British historian Amy Milne-Smith has observed. At dinner, over the billiards table, or in the smoking lounge, a politician might articulate things he would or could not say in the course of his everyday political role, and associate with people with whom he would not normally mix. Furthermore, as multiple club memberships were common, each distinct club setting allowed an individual to mobilise a somewhat different version of himself for a somewhat different set of company. These overlapping club memberships created an extended network that offered opportunities for political and personal connection between men who would not normally meet each other on neutral turf in public life. This paper explores the complex role that clubs played in the world of the Australian politician Robert Menzies (1894-1978), both as a contested political space and as a cherished source of relaxation with men he trusted. It also looks at the Melbourne political context in the interwar period, and how Victoria's protean liberalism was allowed full play in its capital's complex club scene.

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#### Why History? Stories of transition in the study of history

Dr Adele Nye, Lecturer, University of New England

Adele is a lecturer in Contextual Studies in Education at the University of New England. Her research has primarily examined the intersections of historical thinking, practice and education and also included questions of gender and material culture. Her most recent work has focused on the teaching of history in higher education.

As the contemporary disciplinary landscape is in a state of change and renewal, it is pertinent to take a longitudinal look at why we come to history as students and why we stay. Drawing from textual analysis of disciplinary statements, undergraduate student questionnaires and interviews with history academics, this paper will shed light on the way different stakeholders think about the study of history and identify markers of change and transformation. Historical thinking and practice is, for many, an embedded lifelong lens for seeing and being in the world. This is evident across many sectors of society. In higher education the discipline continues to attract students in consistent numbers and an invigorated community of practice has produced national teaching and learning standards. In schools the new curriculum is unfolding across the nation. In the community, heritage and conservation remains a source of passion, diligence and cultural immersion. This study will look to expressions of intent and desire to undertake historical study from a range of sources, including questionnaires, interviews, and marketed invitations to attract students to institutions. Students, academics and organizations all tell different stories and this paper will seek out the transformative moments of our learning and subsequent legacies that we take into our lives, homes, workplaces and communities.

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#### Experiments, environments, networks in rice cultivation on the Murrumbidgee River

Dr Emily O'Gorman, Lecturer, Macquarie University

Emily O'Gorman is an environmental historian at Macquarie University. She is the author of *Flood Country: An Environmental History of the Murray-Darling Basin*.

Between 1900 and 1960 commercial, irrigated rice growing in the Murrumbidgee River region, New South Wales, was established and rapidly expanded. This paper examines the intersections between agricultural experiments, local environments, and international networks that were integral to this process. The paper particularly traces networks through a state government Experiment Farm, as well as through other institutions and personal connections. Individuals and government institutions fostered international networks, in many cases attempting to reconcile markets and varieties with local environments. The connections of those that promoted commercial rice cultivation revolved around exchanges of varieties and knowledge, including with Japan, India, and California, and later also food aid and then trade, for example to the Philippines. Californian varieties and environmental comparisons became particularly important, as large parts of both the Murrumbidgee and California were thought to share 'Mediterranean' climates. By tracing the international connections of rice

growing and cultures of experimentation in agriculture, this paper ultimately examines the ways in which the Murrumbidgee and other rivers were remade through these processes. Perhaps most importantly, the Australian state and federal governments built large dams and irrigation networks on the Murrumbidgee and other rivers in the Murray and Darling river systems to support food production, drastically altering the rivers' flows. In addition, since rice was first grown in the area it has sometimes diverted water from wetlands, with a range of mixed outcomes.

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## People and Place in Wollongong - A Social Environmental History

Ms Marilyn Omerovic, PhD candidate, University of Wollongong

Marilyn Omerovic-Legg is a PhD candidate at Wollongong University whose project 'Environmental Histories of the Illawarra' is a history of land use in the region since European settlement. It aims to give expression to the Illawarra's interwoven stories of Indigenous, early settler and more recent migrant histories.

This paper explores possibilities for local, place focussed environmental history to transform ecological discourse. Interwoven histories and competing narratives from Wollongong, NSW will be used to assert the importance of the relationships all community members have to places they reside in, while deconstructing the political and economic connotations that have become attached to the ideals of environmentalism. Dominant objectifications of space in the Illawarra unwittingly continue to deny the knowledge, contributions and current needs of its Indigenous and more recent migrant communities, thereby continuing the colonial settler imperative of asserting nationalistic constructions of feeling at 'home' in a nature that is 'unspoilt' by others. Drawing on Martin Thomas' definition of a landscape as an 'historical space that is imbued with the narrative of human events' this paper will explore ways to decolonise environmental discourse through explicitly seeking out the stories and relationships of those backgrounded by current environmental ideology. Wollongong's unique physical environment, dynamic Aboriginal cultures, migrant communities and infamous industrial heritage all intertwine to create a unique opportunity to reflect upon and assess our complex interactions with the environment while exploring how communities might negotiate a future that allows them to celebrate, value and protect it.

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## Cultural internationalism and 'The Pacific Technique' in the interwar years

A/Prof Fiona Paisley, Deputy Head of School, Griffith University

Fiona Paisley is a cultural historian at Griffith University, Brisbane, who has published widely on liberal networks and settler colonialism, protest and humanitarianism, in the first half of the twentieth century. Her most recent book is *The Lone Protestor: AM Fernando in Australia and Europe* (Aboriginal Studies Press, 2012).

Interwar cultural internationalists aimed to enact new kinds of interpersonal exchange and collective debate appropriate to what they saw as the potential of the Pan-Pacific region. Imagining a new Pacific and their role within it was hoped to bring about the renewal of world civilization. To this end, they emphasised the role of informal roundtables and inter-personal dialogue at conference to promote inter-cultural cooperation and racial equality at the global level. Drawing from the latest in anthropology, sociology, and contemporary ideas about how to facilitate exchange between individuals and groups, these internationalists saw themselves as adopting 'traditional' forms of cultural exchange in the Pacific to modern needs. Thus the Pan-Pacific Women's Association deployed models of inter-cultural exchange inherited from the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Pan-Pacific Union, to promote cooperation with Pacific Island women in the name of world civilization. According to anthropologist, Marie Keesing, by following cultural internationalist practices white delegates might learn to decolonise their minds, and thus take crucial steps towards achieving world peace, while Pacific Island women might find their place on the world stage. Given some Pacific Island women did become supporters of the interwar cultural internationalist project, is there an echo

of 'The Pacific Technique' in the post-war emergence of 'The Pacific Way' as symbolic of the era of decolonisation?

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### The Geography of a Life: Pathways to historical understanding in Central Australia

Ms Shannyn Palmer, PhD Candidate, ANU

Shannyn Palmer is a PhD Candidate in the School of History at the ANU. Her research has taken her to Central Australia where she is working with Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara speaking people, recording their histories of the Angas Downs cattle station and the larger landscape within which it sits.

The stories that make Central Australia are narratives marked by travel and journeys made. Traditional cultural, economic and spiritual journeys, explorer paths, camel pads, stock and rations routes and tourist travels have all shaped the history of this place. In this paper I will explore the tracks, pathways and roads that have been traced over this landscape and demonstrate that the lens of mobility and movement is a useful approach to explore not just traditional Anangu social, cultural and economic life, but also the encounters and exchanges, change and disruption, that came to this part of Central Australia with European colonialism. It is well documented that prior to the European arrival traditional pathways and tracks were regularly used by Aboriginal people for ceremony, travel, hunting and trade. How and why Anangu travelled over country began to change significantly with the arrival of Europeans and as a result of encounters with settler food, technology, policy and enterprise. This paper will explore the pathways that link people and place by engaging with the life stories of Anangu who lived on or near the Angas Downs cattle station in Central Australia and also the historical events that shaped the cultural and physical landscapes of the country in which it sits. Focusing upon the spatial dimensions of Anangu life story narratives reveals not only the shared histories of settlement in Central Australia, but also the rich complexities of Anangu connections and agency that are obscured by the dominant historical narratives of exploration and settlement.

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### Picturing Bonegilla: History at a heritage place

A/Prof Bruce Pennay, Adjunct, Charles Sturt University

Bruce Pennay is an adjunct at Charles Sturt University with interests in local history and post-war immigration. His books include *Albury-Wodonga's Bonegilla* (2001); *Making a City in the Country: the Albury-Wodonga Growth Centre Project* (2005); *Sharing Bonegilla Stories* (2012).

As both the champions and the critics of place-based heritage might expect, the former Bonegilla Migrant Reception Centre is: (i) present-minded - the questions it raises about the reception of immigrants morph into similar modern day questions; (ii) oriented towards helping people explore their national, group, neighbourhood and/or personal identities; (iii) visitor-centred - that is, a place which is best understood in terms of what is expected, sought and ultimately experienced by the visitor. I suggest, as well, that it excites the pursuit of past-mindedness. To that end I pose three key questions - (i) what time is this place? (ii) what were they thinking? and (iii) what did it mean for him, her, them? I advance the proposition that Bonegilla was central to the post-war rhetoric of assimilation. Bonegilla showed how Australia began its business of absorbing large numbers of people from diverse cultural backgrounds. It helped aliens acquire Australianess. I draw on photographic evidence from three large archives - official, media and the Bonegilla Collection of private photographs at Albury LibraryMuseum to explain how real and virtual visitors might be encouraged to ponder meanings of the heritage place. I see this paper fitting the theme of 'Picturing This', which the History Council of New South Wales has adopted in 2013, to encourage consideration of the potential and limitations of visual materials as an historical source. Keywords: Heritage; Post-war immigration; Photographs; Assimilation

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## Aboriginal self-determination in Redfern in the 1970s

Ms Johanna Perheentupa, postgraduate student, UNSW

Johanna Perheentupa is in the final stages of writing her thesis on Aboriginal self-determination in Redfern in the 1970s at the School of Humanities, University of New South Wales. She has previously studied cultural history at the University of Turku, Finland.

Redfern Aboriginal organisations, such as the Aboriginal Legal and Medical Services, were established as a response to a desperate need for culturally appropriate services among the rapidly growing Aboriginal population in inner Sydney in the early 1970s. However, the organisations did not limit their activities to service delivery only. They also served a wider political purpose - the struggle for Aboriginal self-determination. The organisations assumed a central role in strengthening urban Aboriginal identity and building an Aboriginal community, as they challenged the notion of urban space as void of Aboriginality and claimed Indigenous ownership of social and geographic spaces in the city. In their daily practises, they strived for Aboriginal control and for their definition of Aboriginal self-determination by full-filling some, though not all, roles of the state. Aboriginal organisations in Redfern were among the first to experience self-determination as a Commonwealth Government policy, which accordingly supported Aboriginal-run welfare services. In order to receive funding, they were expected to negotiate the limits of their operations with the representatives of the newly established Department of Aboriginal Affairs. The Aboriginal organisations argued for full Aboriginal control and even treated Government funding as Aboriginal money. The officials, on the other hand, resisted funding what they perceived to be outside the scope of any particular service or as political activism. Furthermore, the government had an underlining tendency to treat Aboriginal services as short term solutions, while the Indigenous people envisioned them as a permanent part of their community governance.

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## Barangaroo, not to be confused with kangaroo: mobilising Indigenous history in contemporary Sydney

Dr Sarah Pinto, Lecturer, UQ

Sarah Pinto is a lecturer in Australian history at the University of Queensland.

All around Australia, roads, towns, houses, rivers, mountains, parks, parishes and suburbs have names that originated in the languages of Indigenous Australia, although many of these names bear little relationship to the features or places they describe. In Australia, as elsewhere, this use of Indigenous terms in projects of mapping and naming has been understood as central to the possessive and dispossessive imperatives of the colonial project; the history of Indigenous naming is a history of settler attempts at legitimacy and possession. And yet, the turn of the twenty-first century has witnessed the development of new programmes of Indigenous naming across Australia. In a variety of ways, these namings have sought to mobilise Indigenous history for commemorative purposes in public space. The Indigenous names of significant geographic features have been restored, names offensive to Indigenous peoples have been removed, and the use of dual naming has become more common. Newly-built urban spaces have also been given Indigenous names, ostensibly in a drive to more formally recognise Indigenous peoples and their histories within official commemorative practices. Taking the naming of Barangaroo as its focus, this paper will consider the kind of commemorative urban landscapes produced by these programmes of Indigenous naming.

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Woman's 'special enemy': Female enmity within criminal discourses across transnational contexts

Ms Alana Piper, PhD candidate, University of Queensland

Alana Piper is a PhD candidate at the University of Queensland, where she is researching the relationships between women within late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century criminal subcultures. She has published articles in *History Australia*, *Queensland Review* and the *Journal of Australian Studies*.

The belief that women secretly hate other women - evident in contemporary popular culture's obsession with 'mean girls' - is one with a long history. This paper highlights the role that belief played in the myriad of literature produced on female criminals from the early Victorian period through to the end of the First World War. Many of these texts by popular writers, religious and charitable workers and political, social and scientific theorists emanated overseas, but their ideologies were received and reproduced in Australia. Local commentators constructed narratives to fit imported structures, and, along with visitors who included accounts of 'slum tours' of antipodean cities as part of their travelogues, contributed colonial variations and examples. Throughout this proliferation of writings and shifting explanations of crime, however, the message about women's relationships with each other remained unchanged. Nineteenth and early-twentieth-century commentators portrayed criminality as a moral contagion communicated by women - often deliberately and maliciously - to each other. The crimes most often associated with females were depicted as being based upon the exploitation of women by other women. Descriptions of the female criminal persona emphasised their incapacity for friendship or suggested they were capable only of perverted interactions that tended towards mutual destruction. Moving across time and transnational contexts, criminal discourses thus promoted an image in the Victorian popular imagination of female relationships as sites of danger and latent animosity, and moreover suggested that this reflected an underlying dynamic among women in general.

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Greek Australia meets White Australia: Vagrant 'Gypsies' and Respectable Greeks

Mr Andonis Piperoglou, PhD Candidate, La Trobe University

Andonis is a PhD candidate at La Trobe University. His thesis focus on Greek Australians' strategy of becoming British subjects/Anglophiles as a way of dealing with the constitutive effects of White Australia in the early 20th century. His research interests include migration, race and ethnicity, transnationalism, and intercultural relations.

Well known in Australian history are the arrivals of Greeks. Less acknowledged, however, are the attempts of Greeks to define themselves within the contours of the Australian nation and the implications of such endeavors. In 1898, a group of 'Greek Gypsies' disembarked in South Australia. Coincidentally their arrival coincided with the establishment of the Greek community of Melbourne and politics of Australian nation-building. Through an analysis of newspaper reports, archival sources and parliamentary debates this paper traces the movement and controversy created by these so called 'Greek Gypsies'. As a group of semi-nomadic, questionably 'Greek' yet European migrants they were paradoxically treated. They received charitable assistance from some settlers while others - predominantly immigration restrictionists and the Melbournian Greeks - regarded them as a burden to colonial progress. How and why the Greek community chose to discredit these people was linked to the ideal of modern respectability, which fostered the social traits of independence and permanent settlement. Positioning themselves within the attainable and agreeable confines of colonial respectability consolidated and vindicated Greek people's status as valued settlers. This would prove to be useful when Greeks came to be questioned in relation to the racial and class-based boundaries that shaped the political discourse of Australian nation-building.

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## Seeking the Acknowledgement and Reform of Adoption Policy and Practice

Ms Amy Pollard, PhD student, Monash University

Amy is currently completing her PhD in the School of Philosophical, Historical and International Studies at Monash University as part of the ARC-funded 'History of Adoption' project.

Recent government and institutional inquiries and public apologies have served - as an auxiliary function - to bring past adoption policies and practices to the attention of the wider community, and to emphasise their ongoing impact on the individuals involved. Many of these inquiries and apologies were the result of long-term petitioning by those personally affected by adoption in Australia; particularly women who were forced to relinquish their children during the peak of the adoption 'industry' in the mid-twentieth century. This is not, however, the first time that those who have experienced adoption have sought to have their experiences and concerns addressed; variously seeking individual or mass acknowledgement, restitution, or even broader political and organisational changes. Testimony from these institutional and governmental inquiries and apologies - coupled with the increasing presence of personal adoption narratives in the media, in literature and online - have continued to publicly reveal that past adoption policies and practices, particularly those occurring from the mid-1940s to the 1970s, have in many cases had a lifelong impact on those who experienced them directly. However, the decades following this have been characterised as the period of greatest change in Australia's adoption history, in terms of both policy and practice. From the mid-1980s onwards, a significant legislative overhaul took place around Australia, completely changing the way adoptions were understood, approached and facilitated. Not just a simple change in political attitude, this came about as a result of over a decade of individual and organisational activism, networking and collaboration.

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## Frank Wright and the Brass Bands of Australia

Mrs Sandra Pope, PhD Student, University of Ballarat

Sandra Pope is a PhD candidate at the University of Ballarat, where she is researching the role of brass bands in the rural community of Daylesford.

Frank Wright is arguably one of Australia's most successful brass band exports. When he travelled to Britain in 1933 to take up a position as conductor of St Hilda's Band, Britain's only professional brass band, he carried with him a vast knowledge of the Australian band scene. Deciding to stay permanently in Britain he became one of the brass band movements most respected conductors, adjudicators and arrangers. Whilst the influence of British bands upon the brass bands of Australia is well known, the possibility that aspects of Australia's band movement may have had some impact on the well established British scene is an intriguing one. Using a series of articles written by Wright upon his arrival in Britain, this paper will explore his unique view of Australian banding and the ways in which it had developed independently of its British counterpart. These articles represent part of the Frank Wright Collection which is housed at the University of Ballarat and provide a fascinating view of the state of brass bands in Australia in the 1930s by one of its most respected exponents.

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## Mothering for schooling in 1950s Australia

Dr Helen Proctor, Senior Lecturer, University of Sydney

Dr Helen Proctor is a Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Education and Social Work at the University of Sydney and a researcher in the history and sociology of Australian schooling with a particular interest in the relationship between family and school.

The huge expansion of schooling in Australia from the late nineteenth to the middle twentieth centuries altered family life. The increasing confinement of children and adolescents in schools during working hours created new kinds of duties for parents and required new sets of competencies and dispositions. Children were increasingly alienated from paid or productive employment and family habits of punctuality, cleanliness and speech came under increasing public scrutiny. A transformation in the daily lives of children necessarily transformed the home and family labour of their mothers, especially. Further, from about the 1920s, in addition to sending their children to school clean and on time, mothers were increasingly advised to care for their children's intellectual and psychological development. This work-in-progress paper examines the relationship between mothering and schooling in 1950s Australia. It argues that the school, especially the primary school, was an important site for the making of an ideal post-war mother who would take the business of their children's education very seriously indeed, creatively supplementing their instruction at home and tactfully intervening in the affairs of the classroom if needed. In particular it looks at the framing of the home-school relationship in mid century parenting advice. The paper draws on advice and information aimed at mothers such the work of the popular child psychologist Zoe Benjamin.

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#### Parallels on the periphery: Aboriginal history and local history

Ms Louise Prowse, Doctoral candidate, The University of Sydney

Louise Prowse is a doctoral candidate in her final year at the Department of History at The University of Sydney and her thesis explores how country towns have engaged with the pasts during twentieth century. Her research interests include public history, local and community history and heritage.

Aboriginal history and local history have both sat on the periphery of academic scholarship for the greater part of the twentieth century. During the 1960s, local historical societies were forming across Australia and they were opening museums to exhibit their regional pasts. When many of these museums first opened, Aboriginal artefacts formed a significant part of museum collections. Local historical societies were also planning conferences, seminars, visiting historical sites in the district and seeking assistance from state bodies and universities concerning local Aboriginal history. This paper considers how historical societies engaged with the local Aboriginal past during the establishment period of historical societies in the 1960s and 1970s. Although not always conveyed sensitively or without paternalistic tones in historical writing, the early activities of these societies suggest that some local historical societies had genuine interest in the local Aboriginal past. This paper also suggests that although Aboriginal history and local history were often not in dialogue with each other, there are parallels that exist between Aboriginal and local history. In particular, the early ease with and use of oral history by local historical societies often anticipated academic use of oral history sources. Furthermore, this use of oral history often preserved accounts of frontier violence and marginalisation. Operating on the periphery during the twentieth century, a comparison of Aboriginal history and local history reveals parallels which came to light during the 1960s when local history boomed and intersected with academic history.

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#### Migration and Musical Mobility: Italian Street Musicians in Australia, 1860-1930

Mrs Alison Rabinovici, PhD candidate, University of Melbourne

Alison Rabinovici is a PhD candidate (musicology) at the University of Melbourne. She has published in the Galpin Society Journal and Melbourne University's Collections Journal. Her co-authored chapter, 'Bellowphones and Blowed Strings in Material Culture and Electronic Sound' (Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press) was published in 2013.

Itinerant street musicians from the mountainous province of Potenza, southern Italy, constituted a small, but disproportionately significant cohort among pre-First World War Italian immigrants to Australia. While street music was a familiar part of the nineteenth-century urban

soundscape, the presence of Italian street musicians and their significance to musical life in Australia has as largely slipped beneath the radar of musicologists and historians. In this paper, I argue that street performance at the turn of the century offered at the possibility of occupational and social mobility. Occupying a liminal position both socially and musically, street musicians transferred their skills from the street to silent cinema theatre orchestras, and in the guise of fashionable 'Italian String Bands', came to dominate the business of music for leisure and pleasure. Italian street musicians brought with them specific musical and entrepreneurial skills, which in combination with fierce kinship loyalties and strong community ties, made them uniquely prepared for this process of transformation. The transition from street to stage; from 'musicante' to 'musiciste' was a highly fluid two-way process. This paper takes the kerbstone as a point of departure, and looks beyond the formal organizational and architectural structures of orchestra and concert hall. A closer examination of street music performance and the working lives of street musicians contributes not only to pre-war Italian migration history, but also contributes much to our understanding of the early development of the economy of orchestral performance and music for leisure the in turn-of-the-century Australia.

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In Defence of 'White Australia': Discouraging 'Asian Marriages' in Malaya

Mr Mathew Radcliffe, PhD candidate, University of New South Wales

On 27 March 1952, under increasing pressure from disgruntled servicemen and a public increasingly sympathetic to their plight, the Australian Minister for Immigration, Harold E. Holt, granted formal permission for Japanese women who were either married or engaged to Australian soldiers to enter Australia. In response to this removal of legal barriers preventing Australian servicemen from returning from overseas service with 'Asian Brides', in the mid-1950s, the Department of Defence developed a series of policy initiatives designed to counteract these changes made by the Department of Immigration. In effect, the Australian Department of Defence took it upon themselves to actively participate in the preservation of 'White Australia' by instigating an official Service policy which sought to dissuade Australian servicemen from marrying Asian women. An opportunity to enforce this policy of dissuasion occurred soon after Australian Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies announced, on 1 April 1955, that a large Australian force would permanently deploy to Malaya and Singapore as part of the Commonwealth Strategic Reserve. Through a series of administrative procedures involving compulsory interviews, medical assessments and security checks, Australian military commanders employed a combination of pressure, intimidation and misinformation in their efforts to convince Australian servicemen to abandon their plans to marry a local Asian woman. In circumstances where Australian military officials even suspected the possibility of a potential 'Asian marriages', the serviceman in question was promptly posted back to Australia. The official Defence policy aimed at preventing 'Asian marriages' continued to be enforced well into the 1970s.

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Only cuppa tea Christians: Aboriginal authenticity, conversion and language, 1943-1973.

Ms Laura Rademaker, PhD Candidate, ANU

Laura Rademaker is a PhD Candidate with the Australian Centre for indigenous history at ANU. She is researching CMS missions in North Australia in the twentieth century and negotiations around the use of languages. She is interested in Australian nationhood, assimilation, gender, aboriginality and colonisation.

Christian missionaries in the mid-twentieth century went to North Australia with the hope of converting Aboriginal souls. At the Church Missionary Society (CMS) mission at Angurugu, it appears that missionaries had some success: by 1970, 70% of the adult Anindilyakwa population were baptised as Christians. Despite this, missionaries suspected converts were 'only cuppa tea Christians' and that most merely adopted Christian practices to please missionaries and gain material rewards like tea and sugar. This paper examines discourses of Aboriginal authenticity in the mid-twentieth century at the CMS missions. In contrast to the

Protestant value of sincerity and white Australia's respect for 'honest men', Aboriginal people were portrayed as obsequious, secretive and even deceptive. Missionaries' suspicion of Aboriginal people reflects deep insecurities regarding their civilising and christianising agenda but also a conflicting refusal to accept Aboriginal converts as fully Christian, legitimising the mission's continued existence. Missionaries increasingly turned to linguistics to 'penetrate' the elusive Aboriginal hearts and overcome their doubts, expecting that knowledge of Aboriginal languages would allow them to know the Aboriginal mind, to communicate their religion and to know if conversions were genuine. I shed light discourses of aboriginality, showing how English speakers have found 'authentic' aboriginality in Aboriginal languages. The desire for total knowledge of Aboriginal people through language suggests that linguistics has been a tool of colonisation in Australia. Yet I find Anindilyakwa people managed the missionary enterprise and found their own uses for missionary linguistics.

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They'll come after you

Prof Peter Read, APF, History, University of Sydney

My country's heart is ash in the market place

After Tom Stannage published 'The People of Perth' in 1979, Manning Clark warned him, 'They're going to come after you'. They came after him too, and the hostile pressure continued on him to explain his historical thinking until well into the 1980s. Using a recording of Tom Stannage reflecting upon this period, we propose a wider discussion of the experience of being under intense and critical public scrutiny of our historical works. Other panellists will be Lyndall Ryan, commenting on the long delayed attack upon her work on Indigenous Tasmanian history, and Peter Read, discussing his experience of attacks, also long delayed, of his work on the Stolen Generations.

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Good Britons Abroad: Britishness and Australian Women in America, 1920s-50s

Ms Anne Rees, PhD Candidate, Australian National University

Anne Rees is a PhD candidate at the ANU, and her research examines the experiences of Australian women in America between 1910 and 1960. She is the recipient of a 2013 Endeavour Research Fellowship to conduct research in the United States, and was awarded the 2012 Ken Inglis Prize.

When Alexandra Hasluck recalled her life in 1940s New York, she noted that 'it took coming to America to make me feel British.' Although she had 'felt very Australian' on visits to England, when surrounded by Americans she 'felt the bond with Britain.' Hasluck was far from alone in expressing these sentiments. While the pilgrimage to London could make antipodeans more conscious of their Australianness, when these same travellers crossed the Pacific their bond with the Mother Country often came to the fore. The travel diaries, letters and memoirs of Australian women who ventured to mid-century America indicate that they were often mistaken for natives of England, and were also eager to describe themselves as Britons. This outpouring of British race patriotism lends support to the growing consensus that imperial sentiment endured into the 1950s, and also suggests that circumstances encountered in the United States could make identification with the metropole particularly acute. For some visitors, asserting a British identity was perhaps an attempt to cloak themselves with the cultural authority of England, and thus enhance their prestige in the eyes of locals. Yet, this heightened sense of Britishness also seems to stem from the unfamiliar cosmopolitanism of America. When visitors encountered a nation where all spoke English but few called England home, their own Britishness became the feature which set them apart. While British identity could at times be taken for granted in white Australia, in America it assumed a strangeness which thrust it into the spotlight.

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## Flowers, Fun and Games: Evolution of the Australian Public Park 1770-1870

Mrs Susan Reidy, PhD student, University of Melbourne

Susan Reidy is an urban historian. She is researching and writing a national social history of Australian public parks and gardens for a PhD at the University of Melbourne.

This paper takes a new approach in considering the history of Australia's public parks, botanical gardens and sports reserves. When garden and landscape historians examine parks and gardens, they discuss style and types of flora. Sports historians are more interested in who played the game than why there are so many local cricket ovals. Urban historians and geographers rarely consider parks when interrogating meanings of the modern city. None of these approaches to urban historical discourse is surprising: green parks and pretty public gardens are valued locales of aesthetics, sport is an icon of western culture, and cities are hotbeds of human relationships, customs and rituals. But a lot more goes on in Australian parks than tree appreciation and kicking the footy. It is time to consider the Australian urban public park within a broader framework, as a powerful motif and signifier of modernity and historical change, and as a place of social ambiguity. The history of Australia's public parks intersects with botany and ecology, pleasure and civility, colonies and empires, space and urban forms, aesthetics and sport, and the emergence of new professions and new enthusiasms. This paper explores Australia's approach to land reservation for public recreation, the role of Australian botanical gardens in colonial exchange, and the ways in which Australian society adapted European trends in science, leisure, horticulture and urbanity and made them its own.

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## Historical Empathy' or 'Empathy in History'? Conceptual Considerations

Mr Tyson Retz, PhD Candidate (probationary), University of Melbourne

I have worked as a secondary teacher of French and History and as a parliamentary researcher. I am currently pursuing a PhD on the nature and purpose of empathy in history education inside the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies, University of Melbourne.

Few would deny empathy the role it plays in everyday human relationships. It may play, as Freud suggested, the largest part in our understanding of what is inherently foreign to us in other people. In the absence of a universal human subject, the ability or propensity to place oneself in the position of others, to appreciate where they are 'coming from', seems crucial. Yet when used in association with the study of history, the word empathy can arouse suspicion in even the most socially attuned historians and educators. They question whether a concept so softly clad has a rightful place amongst the austere mental furniture of the historical inquirer. While empiricists have queried its rigour and postmodernists its epistemology, empathy's defenders have sought to carve out a place for it in school history by isolating and categorising its components as particularly cognitive in nature. Reductionist in character, such efforts to distinguish historical empathy from affective engagement with past agents have narrowed the opportunity for a fuller historical experience in history classrooms. Any improvement to this situation will require the release of historical empathy from the bonds of its own semantics. As an initial step, history educationalists may need to drop 'historical empathy', a restrictive term, in favour of adopting a more fecund 'empathy in history' conceptualisation open to contribution from fields of the human sciences likewise concerned with 'understanding the other'. One such field, hermeneutics, appears especially fit for this task.

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## Activism and Interstitial Linguistic Space in late colonial Victoria

Ms Nadia Rhook, PhD student, La Trobe University

Nadia Rhook is a PhD candidate at La Trobe University, currently writing a thesis: 'Language and Racialisation in late Colonial Victoria: Speech, Law and Space'. She has an interest in the embodied use of languages in socio-legal contexts, and in nineteenth-century Chinese and South Asian migration.

Historians commonly cite the importance of interpreters to the Chinese protectorate of 1850s Victoria. Yet histories of late colonial Victoria have tended to elide the linguistic dynamics of Chinese-European governmental and legal communications, even though language barriers significantly shaped the government's ability to govern and administer law to the Chinese population. 'The middle ground', so Richard White has explored in eighteenth-century North American contexts, was 'the place in between, in between cultures, peoples, and in between empires'. There were few colonial actors who negotiated the 'middle ground' so frequently as court interpreters. From the 1870s the government employed Charles Powell Hodges as the 'Chief Chinese Interpreter' to bridge the linguistic gap between the language of the state and those of the (linguistically diverse) Chinese population. Hodges worked in the middle ground on numerous levels, not least in translating between Chinese and English in the courts. In examining Hodge's career- as an interpreter, an activist for the interests of the Chinese in Victoria, and a man respected in two Empires - this paper should illustrate the potential power of acting in interstitial linguistic space, and at the same time, bring into focus the agency of Chinese in colonial governance.

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## The 'Wind of Change' in Papua and New Guinea

Dr Jonathan Ritchie, Senior Research Fellow, Deakin University

Dr Jonathan Ritchie is a Senior Research Fellow with the Alfred Deakin Research Institute, Deakin University. He is most interested in the decolonization process in Papua New Guinea, and how this influenced, and was influenced by, Papua New Guineans who experienced this momentous time.

In 1960, Harold Macmillan famously observed the 'wind of change blowing through the African continent'. That year, the Wind blew seventeen new nations into existence, the most since the wave of decolonization began the previous decade. Did the Wind blow as far as the Pacific Islands? In one sense - Western Samoa - it clearly did; and it made itself felt in Papua and New Guinea as well, albeit fitfully and with variable direction and force. My paper will attempt to identify how the Wind made its presence felt in the highlands, islands, and towns of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, during the 1960s. At times the gentlest of zephyrs, once or twice the Wind achieved gale force, as for example in the aftermath of the 1964 Public Service Pay decision. Where did the Wind blow from? Africa? The United Nations? Or, as some feared, the Soviet Union? Or was it, like PNG's constitution, an autochthonous phenomenon, grown from the Papua New Guinean ground itself?

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## The Careering Judge: Taking British Law to the Colonies

Ms Janine Rizzetti, Postgraduate student, La Trobe University

Janine Rizzetti is a Postgraduate student at La Trobe University. Her thesis is titled "Follies and Consequent Disasters: The Unsuccessful Colonial Career of Justice John Walpole Willis"

The term 'imperial careering', coined by David Lambert and Alan Lester in 2006, is examined in this paper through the example of the relatively short and troubled judicial career of colonial judge, Mr Justice John Walpole Willis, who presided over superior courts in Upper Canada, British Guiana and New South Wales between 1827 and 1843. During the last decades of the

18th century and first half of the 19th century the Colonial Office pursued a policy of appointing legally-trained judges across the empire as a means of embedding British Justice within the various settler, slave and commercial colonies under British control. While locally-based, legally-trained judges emerged from within the elites of some colonies, in other cases judges were appointed directly from England or from some other British colony. An empire-wide judicial career structure was created that presumed mobility from one posting to another, complete with the minutiae of appointment instruments, salary negotiations, allowances, pensions and disciplinary structures. With two separate dismissals and the return to England between each posting, Willis' career was a highly mobile one, traversing 40,000 nautical miles in seventeen years, stretching the administrative arrangements of appointment and removal to the full. His peripatetic career reveals the tension between integration and separateness implicit in the role of judge, the question of metropolitan versus local control, and the recourse to mobility as an administrative strategy to mitigate such issues.

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Catholic women religious and Hansen's Disease care in twentieth-century Australia.

Dr Charmaine Robson

Charmaine Robson has recently been awarded a PhD at the University of New South Wales on Catholic women religious and their management of Indigenous Hansen's Disease patients. She has taught history to undergraduate university students.

During the interwar period, Australian health authorities identified Hansen's disease (leprosy) in the Indigenous people of northern Australia as a serious problem. They responded by establishing leprosaria in north-west Western Australia, northern Queensland and the Northern Territory, where those found suffering from the disease were compulsorily detained. Another component of this policy was the staffing of the three institutions with Catholic religious nursing Sisters. This practice contrasted with arrangements most European sufferers who were also subjected to compulsory detention but whose carers were lay nurses. This paper demonstrates that the mobilisation of women religious in Australia by the Catholic Church, intent on a more effective presence in the Indigenous missions, was indispensable in bringing about this policy. It argues that self-mobilisation occurred among the women themselves, who, aspiring to a vocation beyond the confines of the school or convent walls, developed the requisite skills and fortitude for remote area nursing. They thus became an ideal and unique workforce for the leprosaria when the demand arose. Using their professional nursing skills and objectives of holistic care, Catholic Sisters found a fulfilling and personally meaningful way to extend their apostolate to Indigenous people. But, far from limiting their role to the custodial, the Sisters set out to bring what they saw as the bounties of Christian civilisation to the patients, including Western education, music and Catholicism. If these people had been deemed unfit for greater society, in the leprosarium they would be shaped into model citizens.

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The Search for Gellibrand and Hesse

Mr Thomas Rogers, PhD Candidate, University of Melbourne

Thomas Rogers is a PhD candidate at the University of Melbourne studying colonial Australian history. His thesis examines the underlying ideologies and mythologies of free settlers in the Port Phillip District (now Victoria) from 1835 to 1850, and the relationship between physical and rhetorical dispossession in that District.

Joseph Gellibrand and George Hesse were two noted Hobart lawyers, and prospective settlers of the Port Phillip District, who went missing in the bush somewhere west of Melbourne in March 1837. This paper will trace the actions of one of the many search parties that set out to find the two well-known gentlemen. An examination of this search party reveals much about what early respectable settlers in Port Phillip thought about the Sydney-based government, gentlemen settlers from Van Diemen's Land, and the Aboriginal peoples of the

Port Phillip District. This paper will attempt to uncover archetypes of these different peoples, to which the property-owning free settlers subscribed.

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#### Imagined Mobilisations to Terra Australis - A 16th Century Spanish Vision

Mr George Roure, PhD Candidate, UTS

I am a PhD candidate at UTS. My supervisor is Katrina Schlunke. My PhD research is focusing on the role played by the Spanish Monarchy in the Quiros expedition to found a utopian society. I am a fluent speaker of Spanish and Catalan. I have been married for 24 years and we have a 16yr old daughter.

The main reasons that have generally mobilised people to come to Australia have been the prospect of economic prosperity and to escape countries with political instability. In the early modern period, another reason for people moving in significant numbers was the belief and hope that they could travel to new worlds and find utopias along the lines of the 'Garden of Eden.' The Spanish exploration of the Americas in the 16th century and the Puritan expeditions to North America in the 17th century are examples of mobilisations underpinned by utopian dreams and expectations. This paper will focus on new insights into a utopian and eschatological vision that drove 16th century Spanish explorers to want to find Terra Australis Incognita and initiate the mobilisation of people who would oversee the founding of an idyllic society. A close evaluation of the Memoriales or petitions of Pedro Fernandez de QuirÃ3s (1565-1614) to Phillip III of Spain outlines a dazzling vision of the role the great southern land would play in God's plan. He elaborated on a blue print of how the idyllic society would function and how natives and Europeans would co-exist in spiritual brotherhood. He further described how the most sacred city in Christian theology, the New Jerusalem would be constructed in Paradise, how its inhabitants would build ships and sail to rescue Spain and the Catholic Church from Protestantism and Islam and how from Terra Australis Incognita humanity would enter a new Golden Age.

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#### The Evolving Conceptualisation of the 'Australian Defence Force Family'

Mr Kel Ryan, Post Grad Student, James Cook University

Kel Ryan, a retired Lieutenant Colonel whose Masters research looked at the reasons for the increased number of ex-service organisations in Australia. His PhD research follows on from this and looks at the changing options for advocacy for the Australian Defence Force Family.

The concept 'the Australian Defence Force Family' (ADFF) is often used in advocacy of the issues confronting the veteran and ex-service community. It is however an ambiguous and ill-defined concept. Many organisations and interest groups represent this 'family'. Their memberships are changing as are the issues they advocate. As the number of veterans of major wars decline and new conflicts raise issues for veterans the environment for advocacy is also changing. There is a need for greater understanding of how this concept has evolved to inform ongoing advocacy efforts. The paper reports on document research on conceptualizations as represented in the magazine of the Defence Force Welfare Association (DFWA). The magazine, Camaraderie, has been published in various forms throughout the 54 year history of the DFWA. All but seven copies were located for this research. Sampling for definitions and usage of the concept and related terms proceeded through three stages. Initially the magazine article headings were scanned to gain some familiarity with the material. Then a sample of articles was selected from each main time period. These time periods were established in relation to major wars or actions. Finally selected articles were read and relevant data extracted. The analysis involved developing a chronology and thematic analysis. The findings illustrate a shift towards greater inclusion within the ADFF, complex family dynamics, and multiple and diffuse meanings. A schema is offered as a way to increase understanding of what has and does comprise this unique constituency within the Australian community.

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Baptism of fire? The Aboriginal History Wars ten years on

Prof Lyndall Ryan, University of Newcastle

Lyndall Ryan is Research Professor in the Centre for the History of Violence at the University of Newcastle. Well known for her research on the Australian frontier wars, her most recent publications include *Tasmanian Aborigines a history since 1803* (2012) and *Theatres of Violence: Massacre, Mass Killing and Atrocity throughout History* (2012), co-edited with Philip G. Dwyer and a special issue of the *Journal of Genocide Research* (2013) on colonisations and massacre 1780-1820, also co-edited with Philip G. Dwyer.

Ten years ago the AHA regional conference at Mildura, Victoria, held a session on the Aboriginal history wars which were then in full battle mode. Some of the papers from that session, including my own, were published in the first issue of the Association's new journal, *History Australia*. Reading the papers today, they reveal a remarkable naivete about how the media constructs so-called debates about the past. This paper reviews some of the key issues that ignited the Aboriginal history wars in 2000, how they were constructed by the media and how historians responded. For many of them, including me, it was a baptism of fire. What is the situation today? How should historians respond to media attacks on their professional integrity? The paper concludes with some strategies for historians to engage in history wars in the future.

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The Rise and Rise of Alternative History in Russia

Dr Konstantin Sheiko, Tutor, University of Wollongong

Dr. Konstantin Sheiko is a tutor and lecturer at the University of Wollongong. He has taught European and world history at UOW for ten years. His focus of research is the rise of contemporary Russian nationalism in post-Soviet Academia.

Russia is at war with itself over its past. History has become a battleground and is being used as both polemic and therapy. A phenomenon of the 1990s was the emergence of so-called Alternative History, especially the New Chronology movement. This paper will explore how this previously niche and much-criticised version of history has become 'mainstream' inside Russia in the last five years. The growth of contemporary nationalism in post-Soviet Russia has created a new brand of amateur and professional historians that oppose conventional accounts of world history in general and Russian history in particular. Alternative History writers contend that the history of Russia has been truncated and misrepresented by successive generations of conventional historians. In reality, proponents of Alternative History argue, the history of world civilization is the history of Russia. They argue, too, that the quantity of Alternative History publications has now turned into quality. This paper examines that claim and accounts for the success of Alternative History.

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Colonial Archives and Indigenous Knowledge

Dr Tiffany Shellam, Lecturer, Deakin University

Tiffany Shellam lectures in History at Deakin University. Her book *Shaking Hands on the Fringe* was published by UWA Publishing in 2009. She is currently writing a book on Aboriginal mobility during Phillip Parker King's 1818 expedition and *The Oxford History of Indigenous Australia*, vol.1: 1750-1911.

Colonial archives are no longer understood as neutral sites where facts are stored, but as sites of knowledge construction and production about colonised people. The significance that settlers, explorers, colonial and imperial authorities placed on written knowledge and documents has been well narrated by historians, but Indigenous people's responses to and engagements with written documents in the colonial era still needs to be explored. This paper

honours Tom Stannage's work on the construction of knowledge in archival production, referencing his work on the Handbook for Aboriginal and Islander History (1979) within a larger conversation about current discourses on the politics of colonial archives and Indigenous knowledge and the changing nature of the discipline of Aboriginal history.

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#### Fluidity of settlement, Victorian Jews and the English speaking diaspora

Ms Sue Silberberg, PHD Candidate, University of Melbourne

Sue Silberberg is a PHD student at the University of Melbourne. She has a special interest in urbanisation and the built environment, and her current research focuses on how a particular community's identity and values can be perceived within the development of a city.

Through prosopographical research, a new picture has emerged of nineteenth-century Victoria, its settlement and its place in the English-speaking world. Victoria experienced rapid migration following the discovery of gold in the 1850s. Many English and colonial Jews (both free and emancipist, Ashkenazi and Sephardi) settled in the colonies, responding to the economic opportunities offered by the gold rush. English speaking Jewish settlers came primarily from London, but also disproportionately from provincial port cities of England, as well as the Sephardi Ports and settlements of Jamaica and Gibraltar. Added to this, a number of settlers were born in central Europe, but many had been educated or resided in Britain for some time prior to settlement in Australia. The final emancipation of English Jewry occurred concurrently with the settlement of Victoria and these colonists' attitudes and experiences are a direct reflection of the self-confidence that emancipation and the English experience produced. Their worldview was also aligned intellectually and physically to the wider English-speaking Jewish diaspora and to Europe through advances in transportation and communications. This paper considers if an English speaking diaspora provide an opportunity for these settlers to create a new urban society, reflective of their values and sense of place? This will be explored through case studies of Jewish settlement to Melbourne in the mid nineteenth century.

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#### I feel a great inconvenience when various Tribes meet': Kulin Mobilisation in 1844

Dr Ben Silverstein, Lecturer, La Trobe University

Ben Silverstein is a lecturer in History at La Trobe University in Melbourne. He recently completed his PhD thesis on the influence of indirect rule on Australia's government of indigenous peoples in the interwar period. He has published articles on native title and sovereignty, settler colonialism, decolonisation and colonial subjectivities.

In February 1844, over 600 Victorian Kooris gathered for a major meeting of the Kulin nations. The meeting had been prompted by the need to conduct legal proceedings against Poleorong, a Boonwurrung leader accused of murder. This meeting has been described in detail in the settler archive largely due to the decision to hold the meeting at the protectorate station at Merri Creek, then just outside the burgeoning township of Melbourne. This choice of location provoked consternation among settlers: the responsible Assistant Protector was despatched to prevent a 'riot', arbitrarily arresting Poleorong in order to delay, though not prevent, the proceedings. Meeting near Melbourne included the town in a Kulin geography; it implicitly contested the spread of exclusive settler possession by re-asserting a largely autonomous though overlapping practice of politics and of laws. This episode gives us an insight into the challenge of determining which laws could prevail with respect to people in an interstitial space. Through accounts of the proceedings we can glimpse a Koori community's practice of diplomacy and law in a space that was partly of their own creation, but partly also that of the incipient settler state. In this paper, I explore the contestation that attended this effort to practice Indigenous sovereignty and jurisdiction by moving and gathering at Merri Creek.

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## 'Eleanor Everywhere': The First Lady in the South Pacific, 1943

Dr Zora Simic, Lecturer, University of New South Wales

Dr. Zora Simic is a Lecturer in History and Women's and Gender Studies in the School of Humanities at the University of New South Wales. Her paper forms part of a larger research project on Eleanor Roosevelt in the Antipodes.

In early September 1943, Eleanor Roosevelt was flown into Australia on a four-engine military plane, the Liberator, which over the course of a five-week tour would take her on a 25,000 mile trip from San Francisco to Hawaii onto the Pacific Islands, New Zealand and Australia and back again. Travelling light, she saw an estimated 400,000 servicemen and women in military camps, hospitals and Red Cross clubs. On the eve of her impending travels, the First Lady had privately lamented that a tour of American bases and allied countries in the Pacific would surely not be as 'interesting as China or Russia'. Later she would describe the trip as transformative: 'The Pacific Tour left a mark from which I shall never be free'. This paper examines Eleanor Roosevelt's South Pacific trip through the lens of public responses to her presence. She was variously represented as a new kind of First Lady; a political force in her own right; a mother of soldiers; a friend of minorities; an unpretentious American; and as akin to but quite distinct from a British monarch. The trip also amplified her somewhat mixed reputation as an enthusiastic traveller in an era where women were making their mark both politically and in the skies (Eleanor had been a friend and admirer of the disappeared pioneering aviator Amelia Earheart). For every admiring portrait of an intrepid First Lady at ease with air travel was a disapproving one, gestured to in her widely reported nickname 'Eleanor Everywhere'.

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## Selling the modern kitchen

Mr Blake Singley, Postgraduate student, Australian National University

Blake Singley is a doctoral candidate at the Australian National University.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw the appearance of a range of new technologies in the domestic sphere in Australia. The manufacturers of these new technologies found the need to actively advertise their products in an increasingly competitive market. Cookbooks became an ideal medium through which to promote these technologies directly to consumers. This paper examines the role played by cookbooks and their authors in the marketing these new domestic technologies. It will particularly focus on the promotion of the most essential appliance in the kitchen: the stove. From the first moment an Australian cookbook appeared on the market in 1864 advertisement for kitchen stoves became a regular feature in the pages of cookbooks. Stove manufacturers, however, were selling more than an appliance to cook on they were also selling the ideas of modernity and status. Cookbooks and their authors became part of a concerted marketing strategy to sell the modern kitchen in Australia.

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## Mobilising NSW for civil defence, 1935-1942

Jenny Sloggett, MA (UoN), is a PhD student at the University of Newcastle and an archivist with State Records NSW.

The debate about Japanese intentions to invade Australia during World War II calls into question the usefulness of the civil defence preparations made in south-east Australia, as well as the motives of the planners. This paper will examine the civil defence preparations in New South Wales to see if the timetable and type of preparations clarifies these motives. The sources used will be the records left by the NSW State Government who were the body responsible under the constitution for civil defence, rather than the Federal Government. If the Japanese had no intention to invade Australia, why was civil defence needed and was it a knee jerk reaction to fear and panic?

## Evil and Blasphemous: The Victorian Scientology Ban of 1965

Mr Shane Smits, PhD Student, University of Melbourne

Shane Smits is a current PhD student in History at the University of Melbourne. His thesis is titled *Imagined Saviors: Childrearing and Mental Health in early Postwar America*. His primary interest is in postwar American discourse on social progress and gender.

In 1965 Victoria became the first place in the world to ban Scientology. Highly influenced by psychoanalysis, Scientology, through its practice of 'auditing', was seen as a potential menace that preyed upon the mentally-ill and emotionally-vulnerable in society. After one of the longest inquiries in the state's history the Psychological Practices Act was passed into law with the express purpose of suppressing the Scientology movement. Similar bans soon followed in Western and South Australia. In response, the Church of Scientology unleashed a dramatic and successful campaign for religious recognition in Australia. The case of Scientology challenged the limits of religious tolerance in Australia and set a new Federal standard for what constitutes a recognised religion. The Church of Scientology, founded in 1953, is a unique institution that emerged from the early Cold War culture of the United States. Its core beliefs and its success can only be understood through the lens of postwar dissatisfaction with mainstream religion and society. This paper explores the early history of Scientology, its presence in Australia, and the factors that led to the hostile response of Victoria's government towards it. It will argue that Scientology has been unduly neglected in historical discourse on both American Cold War culture and Australian religion and that the two have to be understood together in order to define the significance of the Victorian Scientology ban.

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## Expressing Concern: Development discourses in Australian perceptions of Asia

Dr Agnieszka Sobocinska, Lecturer, Monash University

Agnieszka Sobocinska is Deputy Director and Lecturer at the National Centre for Australian Studies at Monash University. Her research interests lie in the intersection of popular opinion and foreign affairs, especially in Australian-Asian contexts. With David Walker, she is co-editor of *Australia's Asia: from Yellow Peril to Asian Century* (2012).

The notion that Australia is a 'developed' nation in an 'underdeveloped' or 'backward' region has underpinned a good deal of government, academic and popular discourse over the past seventy years. This paper will examine the ways in which vernacular Australian perceptions of Asia came to be coloured with the politics and lexicon of international development and foreign aid in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. It will examine key sites in the development of what I will call 'popular developmentalism' in Australia, including the inauguration of the Volunteer Graduate Scheme to Indonesia, the characterisation of the Chinese communist revolution as a vast program of 'development', and the humanitarian aid programs of the Vietnam War era. It will situate these movements within the broader context of international development politics, as spearheaded by the UN and the US. It will trace the political genealogies of these movements, arguing that part of the reason why development discourses became so influential in Australia lay in their mobilisation by both the Left and the Right in the context of the Cold War. It will also begin to probe at the political effects of these discourses, exploring the discursive leakage between concern and condescension to examine continuities between the distinctly modern vocabulary of foreign aid and established patterns of racial and political chauvinism.

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## Dress Reform and Political Mobilisation in Nineteenth-Century America

Miss Ana Stevenson, PhD Candidate, University of Queensland

Ana Stevenson is a research higher degree student at the University of Queensland, undertaking her PhD with the School of History, Philosophy, Religion and Classics. Her

doctoral thesis, 'The Woman-Slave Analogy: Rhetorical Foundations in American Culture, 1830-1900', examines the rhetoric of nineteenth-century social reform movements.

During the nineteenth century, increasing dissatisfaction with the restricting nature of women's fashions increased. Identifying fashion as the visible outcome of the inequalities faced by women, American social reformers developed a critical discourse of 'fashion slavery' - a variation of the woman-slave analogy that envisaged the demands of fashion as more detrimental than the realities of slavery. In spite of the exploitative nature of this analogy, it became an important rhetorical device within the politics of the dress reform movement. Dress reformers, who argued that women's dress was the basis of their oppression and marginalised attempts for women's suffrage, disagreed with the women's rights interpretation that restrictive fashions were a consequence of women's oppression. Therefore, to reform women's fashions, dress reformers initiated an everyday, embodied political mobilisation of women. In a culture that openly ridiculed women who wore anything but fashionable dress, the reform periodical *The Sibyl* created a supportive community of women dress reformers. These women, who envisaged themselves as 'slaves to fashion', believed they could only 'emancipate' themselves through dress reform. Moreover, in their appropriation of the language of antislavery and women's rights, the rhetoric of the National Dress Reform Association became increasingly imbued with analogies of slavery as the Civil War approached. The politicised views of dress reformers provide insight into how the rhetoric of the woman-slave analogy influenced the struggles for equality that took place beyond the mainstream women's rights movement.

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#### The Birth Pangs of the Clinic in New York, 1916-1933

Dr Carolyn Strange, Graduate Director and Senior Fellow, Australian National University

Carolyn Strange has published extensively on criminal justice and gender history in Canadian, Australian and U.S. history. This presentation explores an element of her larger project on the history of discretionary justice in New York State, from the Revolution to the Depression.

New York led the world in introducing psychiatric classification in its state prison system. Wardens' and chaplains' concerns about intemperance and penitence were replaced by psychological and psychiatric diagnoses of psychopathologies and personality disorders. Sex offenders comprised a minority of prisoners but the sexual histories and practices of all prisoners were scrutinised by experts from the 1910s. Viewed from the perspective of medical history, the Progressive Era saw the rise of the 'psy' professions and the birth of the clinic. Analysed in light of the history of discretionary justice, however, psychiatric authority's struggles become evident. 'Psychopathic personality' labels brought fearful consequences for some, but most sex offenders were released through established means, on conventional terms of fitness. Drawing on a variety of sources (inmate case files, parole files, executive clemency correspondence and Governor's Papers) this paper analyses the disposition of sex offenders' release, and in some instances, their medico-penal re-assignment. It situates their case management in the context of the broader administration of post-conviction justice. Although the sexualisation of fitness-for-release standards did emerge over the 1910s and '20s, as defined through psychiatric expertise, the experts themselves contended with the authority (and frequent malfeasance) of wardens, the presence or absence of prisoner advocates (familial, secular and faith-based), and the employability of inmates - a factor that fluctuated in an unstable labour market. Thus, the first twenty years of psychiatric involvement in discretionary justice constituted the birth pangs of the clinic, not its delivery.

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#### Celebrating Kate: The criminal-celebrity of Sydney underworld figure, Kate Leigh

Dr Leigh Straw, Lecturer, Edith Cowan University

Dr Leigh Straw is Lecturer in History at Edith Cowan University. Leigh teaches across a variety of Australian and European history units. She established Crime History at ECU and is

the author of *Drunks, Pests and Harlots: Criminal Women in Perth and Fremantle, 1900-1939* (Kennedy & Boyd, 2013).

With the success of Channel Nine's *Underbelly: Razor*, Sydney underworld figure, Kate Leigh, is again popular in Australian crime history. Combining historical study with cultural criminology, this paper analyses the criminal-celebrity of Kate Leigh. It seeks to demonstrate how the three main factors of resonance - crime type, context, and image – created the celebrated criminality of Leigh. Without resonance, Leigh would have remained another illegal individual within society. Criminality becomes celebrated when the crime type is acceptable and of interest and the context, time and image of the criminal resonates with the public. An important element of Leigh's celebrated criminality was her ability to manage a public image that resonated within the impoverished, working-class communities of eastern Sydney. Leigh perpetuated an image of herself as charitable local hero fighting an oppressive regime that was limiting the community's demand for prostitution, drinking and gambling. Leigh became a criminal icon through an entrepreneurial style based on the anti-authoritarian and egalitarian values of working-class life in Surry Hills. Leigh's criminal-celebrity resonated with the public through her own careful manipulation of a public image accepted in the working-class communities of eastern Sydney, something criminals continue to seek in legitimising community identities. The exceptional nature of Kate Leigh's criminal career as a female underworld leader, rivalled only by Tilly Devine at the time, also influences her celebrated criminality. This uniqueness adds to interest in Leigh as an Australian criminal identity.

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#### Portable Ideals: The Domestic Material Culture of Victoria's Gold Rush Emigrants

Ms Michele Summerton, PhD Student, Deakin University

Michele Summerton is a PhD candidate at Deakin University. Her research investigates the domestic material culture of Victoria's gold rush emigrants of the 1850s and 1860s and middle-class notions of home.

The discoveries of gold in the new Colony of Victoria in the last few months of 1851 caused a frenzy of excitement that resounded not only through Britain, but around the globe. The promise of wealth and opportunity stimulated an unprecedented movement of people that in just a decade raised Victoria's population from 77,345 to 540,322. The majority were young people from the middle and upper working classes who had paid their own fare, and although many had little intention of staying, most did, setting a new standard for business, culture and domestic life in the colony. This was certainly a society driven by aspirations for prosperity and middle-class gentility. Wealth was a reward for competitive endeavour, and possessions emblems of respectability and visible proof of success. Keen to indulge in conspicuous consumption, the colony's middle class newcomers established a solid, lucrative market for fashionable, mass manufactured goods, which flooded into the colony from Britain, America and other parts of the globe. This paper investigates how gold rush emigrants transplanted familiar ideological practices associated with the British middle-class home. It does this by focusing on the material expressions of homeliness and 'portable domesticity' [Janet Myers, 2009], which were evident in transitory material necessities such as tents, portable-scale houses and easily transportable furnishings, and which resounded through comforting, homemaking wallpapers as well as other staple, more enduring everyday possessions.

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#### Russophobia and Western Accounts of 1941.

Mr David Sutton, Ph.D candidate, University of Wollongong

David Sutton is a Ph.D candidate at the University of Wollongong. David is currently researching competing Western and Russian accounts of the Battle of Moscow in the post-Soviet era.

One of the enduring features of Western perceptions of Russia is an underlying negativity, which plays upon the seemingly irreconcilable political and cultural differences between East

and West. This phenomenon is not a recent product of the Cold War, but stretches back into European history. This paper investigates whether the opening of the Soviet archives has led to more balanced and stereotype-free reporting of Russia's strengths and weaknesses, using the specific example of the Red Army's battle with the German invaders in 1941. This paper will trace the development of Western negative understandings of Russia from the sixteenth century to the present, and demonstrate how the negative Western stereotype of Russia and the Russians has been influential in shaping the standard histories. These stereotypes are especially unhelpful in terms of understanding the outcome of the Battle of Moscow.

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#### Romancing the Holocaust? Love stories and the persecution of Jews

Dr Hsu-Ming Teo, Senior Lecturer, Macquarie University

Hsu-Ming Teo is a novelist and cultural historian based at Macquarie University. Her academic publications include *Desert Passions: Orientalism and Romance Novels* (2012), *Cultural History in Australia* (2003), and range of articles and book chapters on the history of Orientalism, travel, British imperialism, fiction, and popular culture.

Representations of the Holocaust have been problematic ever since Theodor Adorno argued that 'to write a poem after Auschwitz is barbaric'. Yet artists continue to represent the Holocaust in fiction and film while critics persist in questioning these representations or even challenging the right of artists to portray the unspeakable. This paper explores four love stories which use romantic relationships to portray the Nazi persecution of Jews in the 1930s and 1940s: Eva Ibbotson's romance novel *The Morning Gift* (1993), Edith H. Beer's memoir *The Nazi Officer's Wife: How One Jewish Woman Survived the Holocaust* (1999), the critically acclaimed Dutch film *The Black Book* (2006), and Pam Jenoff's highly problematic romance novel *The Kommandant's Girl* (2007). All four stories focus on Jewish women protagonists who flee their homes and who use their romantic relationships with men (Nazi officers in three cases) to survive or to mount resistance against Nazi rule. These love stories raise the following questions about how the Holocaust can and should be represented: Can the Shoah be romantic? Is it ever appropriate to use the Holocaust as a backdrop to a romantic love story? And if so, who is an appropriate romantic hero or heroine? This paper explores the ethics of Holocaust romance and considers the kinds of history which are produced in these works.

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#### Reframing 'Inky' Stephensen's Place in Australian Cultural History

Mr Dan Tout, PhD Candidate, Swinburne Institute for Social Research

Dan Tout is a PhD candidate at the Swinburne Institute for Social Research. He is exploring the relationship between settler colonialism and Australian nationalism in the interwar period. He is also managing editor of *Arena Journal*.

This paper presents a historiographical overview of the existing literature surrounding Percy Reginald 'Inky' Stephensen (1901-1965), a complex and often contradictory figure of significant influence upon the Australian literary, cultural and political landscape of the 1930s and early 1940s. The Queensland Rhodes Scholar of 1924, with personal and professional ties to an array of influential Australian and international literary figures, was also a passionate political polemicist whose sympathies shifted dramatically from the far left to the far right in the late 1930s, a shift that resulted in his internment from January 1942 until the end of the Second World War. Yet despite his significance in Australian cultural history, as his biographer Craig Munro concludes, 'Stephensen has continued to puzzle historians, and to exasperate and intrigue those who knew him. While previous attempts to explicate this enigmatic figure have tended to present a picture of Stephensen as inherently inconsistent and contradictory, this paper posits these adjectives as more readily applicable to existing accounts themselves than to their subject. Instead, ambiguity and ambivalence are advanced as more appropriate adjectives to describe the man of letters Manning Clark pronounced a 'bundle of contradictions'. The paper concludes by proposing a settler colonial studies

interpretive perspective as a potential means of bringing the admittedly ambiguous and ambivalent aspects of Stephensen within the same analytical frame.

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## History and Museums

Dr Mathew Trinca, Assistant Director, National Museum of Australia

Assistant Director, National Museum of Australia

The practice of history in Australian museums has a relatively short genealogy. In the decades following the first appointments of history curators in the early 1970s, the development of museum history was informed by academic interest in social history, and looked to reveal aspects of the national past in respect of Indigenous Australians, women and sexuality, and labour and environmental histories. In the 1990s, however, museum curators reconsidered this accent on historical narrative and looked to new modes of representing the past in exhibitions and collections. An interest in the performative possibilities of museum exhibitions opened up opportunities for more participatory visitor experiences in museums, but also provoked criticism of the kind which surrounded the National Museum of Australia after it opened in 2001. This paper will consider the practice of history in museums since the 1970s and discuss its future in these institutions, and the prospect of engaging new communities of interest in reconsidering our pasts.

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## Knowing the Enemies Wins the War: Victoria's Education Department, 1914-18

Dr Rosalie Triolo, Lecturer: History/Humanities Education, Faculty of Education, Monash University

Rosalie Triolo is a History Method lecturer at Monash University and President of the History Teachers' Association of Victoria. Her doctorate, "'Our Schools and the War': Victoria's Education Department and the Great War" was awarded a Monash University Mollie Holman Medal; the book was 'Commended' in the 2012 Victorian History Publication Awards.

During the Great War, Victoria's Government school teachers and their pupils learned from official Education Department publications, such as the Education Gazette and School Paper, that Germans and Turks were enemies of Australia and the British Empire. However, the representations of these enemies were less hostile and less numerous over the period than may be expected, were almost entirely directed at military men overseas, and varied in nature and extent at different stages of the war. Rather than being mobilised to hate any enemy, school communities were urged to more fully demonstrate love of Australia and Empire. Moreover, Victoria's Education Department believed there were arguably greater enemies on the home-front than Germans or Turks. This paper investigates and explains the Department's overt, subtle and, at times, ambivalent representations of diverse enemies during the years 1914-18.

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## War, the Military and British National Identity

Mr Kyle van Beurden, MPhil Candidate, University of Queensland

Kyle van Beurden is currently an MPhil candidate in the School of History, Philosophy, Religion and Classics at the University of Queensland.

Linda Colley in her work 'Britons' suggested that a proud military history and culture were focal points of British national identity. This military history centred on the wars with France that occurred during the 'long eighteenth century', culminating in final victory over Napoleon in 1815. However early nineteenth-century Britons were not imbued with fervent nationalism; rather the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars were patriotic conflicts that even, as they took place, 'reinforced the conservative social structure'. Ultimately though, this 'reinforced



conservatism' proved deceptive and temporary. The staggering demands of mobilisation required the British government to exploit the patriotic hatred of France, to avoid resorting to nationalist reforms which it feared could lead to a French-style Revolution. While the disenfranchised majority were prepared to support the needs of the war effort to defeat France, ultimate victory removed the mobilising factor of the hostile 'other'. As a result, political change was increasingly demanded and instituted. In essence, the patriotic sentiment developed during the war, stimulated British nationalism in the post-war period. Naturally a beneficiary of this popular sentiment was the British military. Colley has pointed to the improvement in its status in British culture in the wake of the wars against France. In the positive depictions of British soldiers in post-Napoleonic literature, there was a concomitant tendency to denigrate the performance of allied foreign soldiers, with or without foundation. This paper will examine this phenomenon with particular reference to nineteenth-century British accounts of the Waterloo campaign.

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#### Australia's 'Settler Revolution'

A/Prof Lorenzo Veracini, Associate Professor, Swinburne Institute for Social Research

Lorenzo Veracini is Associate Professor and Queen Elizabeth II Fellow at the Swinburne Institute. His research focuses on the comparative history of colonial systems. He has authored *Israel and Settler Society* (2006), *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (2010), and is managing editor of settler colonial studies.

This article hypothesises Australia's 'settler revolution' and focuses on specifically Australian traditions of settler colonial rhetoric and imaginings. It outlines the nineteenth century shift from colonial traditions - espousing a system where British rulers would paternally and benevolently, even if not equally, manage a colonial environment and all its populations and/or interests (squatters, free settlers, convicts, emancipated colonists, indigenous peoples) - to settler colonial ones, advocating the establishment of a regime focusing on agricultural 'free' settlers and constituting a political experiment in political regeneration.

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#### Live Animal Exports: Mobilising the Animal Movement in the 1980s

Mr Gonzalo Villanueva, PhD, University of Melbourne

Phd student from the University of Melbourne researching on the history of the modern animal rights movement in Australia

It is commonly asked whether a social movement has been successful or not in achieving its goals? But rather than conceiving of a movement as a success or a failure, it is worth thinking about the movement as a set of outcomes. This paper focuses on the case study of live sheep exports, to demonstrate the outcomes of animal rights mobilisation and campaigning on policy formation. In the 1970s, live sheep exports was beset with industrial disputes from meat workers. The arrival of the modern animal rights movement added further criticisms of the trade. In just over ten years, a combination of incidents, social movement activities, and political opportunities, affected political discussions, shifting the debate from economic considerations to animal welfare concerns.

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#### Illness narratives: HIV-positive homosexual men in New Zealand (1983-1997)

Miss Cheryl Ware, PhD student, Macquarie University

Cheryl Ware is a PhD student in the Modern History Department at Macquarie University.

New Zealand had its first case of the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) in 1983, two years after the disease was identified in America. The HIV and AIDS epidemic devastated a society that was unprepared for the social

and medical implications of a deadly disease, and many New Zealanders were thrust into a state of moral panic. This presentation examines the previously untold individual experiences of homosexual men with HIV as discussed in their life narrative interviews. It engages with the intimate narratives of men directly affected by the disease, and uncovers their experiences as patients in New Zealand society from their own perspectives. It explores the ways their individual experiences divert from, and challenge common assumptions about gay men with HIV in New Zealand. It specifically focuses on the men's representations of their HIV-positive statuses, life living with the virus, and their diverse understandings of death and mortality. While these men's experiences are individually subjective, dominant thematic threads emerge across the narratives which indicate patterns in gay men's experiences with HIV and AIDS in New Zealand. Key themes that emerged in their narratives include discussions about brotherhood and social hostility within the New Zealand gay community, sex culture and gay men's naïveté about HIV and AIDS, seeing AIDS in public, and the physical and social implications of living with HIV.

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#### Panel One Decolonising the Pacific? International networks and anti-colonialism

A/Prof Christopher Waters, Assoc Prof, Deakin University

Christopher Waters is an Associate Professor in History at Deakin University in Melbourne. His most recent book was *Australian Appeasement: Imperial Foreign Policy and the Origins of the World War II* (I.B. Tauris, 2012).

In the late 1950s the Menzies government came under considerable external and internal pressure to expand its colonial responsibilities beyond Papua New Guinea and Nauru to include the British Solomon Islands Protectorate and the New Hebrides. The pressure on the Menzies government came from external sources such as the World Council of Churches and Burns Philp Pty Ltd. The internal sources in support of this proposal included Paul Hasluck, the Minister for External Territories and his officials in the Department of Territories. Despite a strong campaign by the forces in favour of colonial expansion the Menzies government eventually decided against taking on new colonies in the South Pacific. This paper examines the arguments for and against expanding Australia's colonial responsibilities. In doing so it will shed light on how the course of decolonisation in the South Pacific could have taken a very different path and the thinking of the Menzies government on the future of West New Guinea.

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#### Australia to San Francisco Migration during the Californian Gold Rush, 1849-1851

Dr Cameron White, Independent scholar

Cameron White currently teaches in the Communications degree at UTS.

Australians who travelled to San Francisco during the early years of the Californian Gold Rush (1849-1851) were widely blamed for a series of burglaries and robberies. Amidst widespread condemnation, the merchants of San Francisco formed a Committee of Vigilance that was responsible for the extra-legal execution of four men between February and August 1851. Since that time an assumption of criminality has shaped the way historians have understood both the actions of the Committee of Vigilance and the Australian contribution to the Gold Rush. This article situates the response to Australian migration in terms of earlier debates about convict transportation as well as more contemporary debates about the merits of a society based on individualism, enterprise and social mobility - rather than forced labour - that were connected with the nascent status of California as a free state. Situating the response to Australian migration in the context of this broader political history does two things. Firstly, it highlights the need for a more careful consideration of the culture of the Vigilante movement in early gold Rush era San Francisco. Secondly, it requires a more careful consideration of the Australian experience of and contribution to the Californian Gold Rush.

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An autobiographical moment in Mary Gutteridge's transnational life: Siberia, 1929

Prof Kay Whitehead, Deputy Dean, Flinders University

Kay Whitehead is Deputy Dean and a historian in the School of Education. Her current interests are the transnational lives and work of women educators.

Dr Mary V. Gutteridge has had virtually world-wide experience of the movement in early childhood education. Born in Tasmania of a family in which cosmopolitanism and service in the professions were a way of life, she began early to carry on the family tradition. In this paper I will briefly summarise Mary Gutteridge's transnational education and early professional life in the field of early childhood education in Australia, England, France and the United States between 1887 and 1929. Then I will focus on an autobiographical moment, namely a letter written as she travelled on the Trans-Siberian railway from Moscow to Vladivostok in December 1929. In this letter to an American, Edna Noble White, Gutteridge records her journey through Russia, reflects on her recent educational experiences in Great Britain and Europe, and anticipates her forthcoming work in Melbourne, Australia. Her cosmopolitanism is evident in each section of the letter, but she is also viewing her world through Australian eyes. In the final section of the paper, I will discuss Gutteridge's use of these experiences in the years following her Siberian 'adventure'.

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The Ugliness of Anzac

Dr Damien Williams, Research Fellow, Monash University

Damien Williams is an historian in the National Centre for Australian Studies at Monash University and is the coordinator of the ARC-funded centenary history of Anzac Day.

In July 2010 the National Commission on the Commemoration of the Anzac Centenary began advertising for public submissions, asking people to suggest how Australia should mark the hundredth anniversary of the landing at Gallipoli. Over the following six months, it received over 600 submissions from individuals and groups (including the AHA). Suggestions included programs for repairing monuments, ocean yacht races, tree-planting ceremonies and medals for soldiers' next-of-kin. Among submissions that focused on re-enactments of battles and the building of new memorials, there are two discernible themes: an idea that war strengthens a nation and that to forget one aspect of the Anzac legend is to forget the whole. In this paper I will focus on the uglier proposals: those that set their sights firmly on 'the media, academics and left wing comedians'; that call on the governor-general to deliver a speech that will 'soften up the sinews and summon up the blood'. I will draw on these sources to offer some conclusions on the role of testimony, re-enactment and the fear of forgetting in a settler society.

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What's in a name? An identity crisis on Sydney's fringe.

Mr Ian Willis, Honorary Research Fellow, University of Wollongong

Dr Ian Willis is an honorary fellow at the University of Wollongong and a member of the Professional Historians Association (NSW). He has an ongoing interest in local studies in relation to identity and place.

What's in a name? Quite a lot if you live in the fringe urban communities of Campbelltown, Camden or Picton. These communities are variously included as part of Sydney's Western Suburbs, South-Western Suburbs, Sydney's Rural-Urban Fringe, the Macarthur Region or just the Campbelltown Region. In the past these communities have been fiercely parochial country towns with clearly identifiable differences based on history, community festivals, demographics, local government and a host of other factors. With the encroachment of Sydney's urban growth they have been soaked up by the metropolitan tentacles of urban sprawl. Will the community identity and sense of place of these communities on Sydney's

urban frontier survive? Will they retain their sense of place? Or will the juggernaut of Sydney's urban growth run them over?

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#### Moving towards Stability: Ellen of Myalla

Dr Susan-Mary Withycombe, Alumna, Australian National University

Susan Mary Withycombe is a teacher, lecturer and writer, especially interested in social and women's history. She has written books and articles about Canberra's district and people, about social communities in Sydney, and a successful PhD thesis on, "Building Communities: Women in the Making of Canberra, 1911-1958".

Ellen Amey Pratt was born five years after her father purchased the lease of Myalla Station. Apart from two visits to England, including four years at school, she lived at Myalla all her life - daughter, wife, mother, grandmother. To her new daughter-in-law, transplanted from city and university to an isolated sheep station just as war was breaking out, the mistress of Myalla epitomized continuity and stability. But a closer examination of Ellen's early life reveals that the stability she embodied in her sixties had only been attained after a childhood and teenage years of excessive mobility. In reality almost everything on Myalla was the product of continuous, sometimes dramatic change over scarcely a century of white settlement - and further change was inevitable. In this paper I shall try to explore how typical was Ellen Pratt's life - both mobile and stable - as the daughter, wife and mother of graziers in country NSW from 1877-1960. Was there, indeed, any such creature on the Monaro as the typical grazier's wife?

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#### Challenges of Canberra's rapid population influx in 1960s

Dr Robert Withycombe, Research Fellow, Charles Sturt University

Dr Robert Withycombe writes books and articles on, and teaches religious history for Charles Sturt University through its St Mark's National Theological Centre campus in Canberra.

The population influx triggered by national government decisions in the late 1950s to relocate all federal public servants in Canberra created significant adaptation problems for the ACT churches' leadership as well as for town planners. Tensions were fed by the differing abilities of clergy and laity to adapt, by parsimony or poverty in church funding to meet this rapid onset of an immigrant population, and by deeper issues (of class, conservatism, ecumenism, e.g) that arose in establishing life in new communities

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#### Buckminster Fuller's Geodesic Public Sphere: Futurist Alternatives to Mass Media and Mass Society

Mr Keir Wotherspoon, PhD graduate student, University of Melbourne

I am currently writing a PhD investigating the ways in which American social movements interacted with and understood mainstream media and developed their movement media over the 1960s and 1970s. I have been a tutor at the University of Melbourne since 2008 and am currently employed as a research assistant at La Trobe University.

From the late 1950s, American social scientists tried to systematically predict and diagnose the problems of future societies and to develop ways and means to navigate a path towards a utopian future. This paper explores the ways in which these visions intersected with the political social movements of the 1960s specifically examining the ways in which communications technologies promised to create communities that were not grounded by geography. Looking into the professional journal of cable television activists, it argues that liberal futurists such as Norbert Wiener, Buckminster Fuller, Robert Theobald and other thinkers from private research institutions and universities formed connections with

countercultural activists and tried to envisage new ways of effecting social change through the use of new communications tools. This paper explores how they conceived of the public sphere and examines their rejection of mass mobilisation through mass media. It asks: how did midcentury Americans understand the future of mobilisation for social change and how were their ideas of community altered by the promise of access to new participatory media, and just as importantly, how have these ideas shaped our understandings of social change in age of the Internet?

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### The Significance of The Frontier in Transnational History

Mr Alexander Young, PhD Candidate, University of Southern California

Alex Young is a PhD candidate in English at the University of Southern California. His publications include articles on the HBO series *Deadwood* in *Settler Colonial Studies*, and the settler colonial imaginary in the work of Deleuze and Guattari in *Western American Literature*.

In her 1987 monograph *The Legacy of Conquest*, U.S. historian Patricia Nelson Limerick declared the frontier 'an unsuitable concept in a subtle world'. Her words boldly stated what by then was a widespread trend within U.S. historiography: as Western American historians began to move away from the ethnocentric and nationalist foci of Turnerian frontier historiography, they largely rejected the concept of the frontier itself as inextricable from Turner's politics. During the same period that 'New Western History' emerged in the U.S., Australian historiography has undergone its own turn against ethnocentric nationalism, but both Australian historians like Henry Reynolds and theorists of transnational settler colonialism like Patrick Wolfe have retained the concept of the frontier imagined as a structuring binary of settler society. This paper is inspired by a symposium of the same name that I hosted with Erik Altenbernd (University of California, Irvine, history) at the Huntington Library (San Marino, California), at which we brought together settler colonial studies and Western studies scholars to consider how transnational settler colonial studies could be enriched through further conversation with 'the New Western Historians' and other critics of frontier historiography within the United States, and visa versa. In this paper, I will build off our experience at the symposium in order to argue that many thinkers in contemporary settler colonial studies are working with analytic paradigms that originally emerged in Turner's work, and that thinking through critiques of Turner can help us nuance the often Manichean analyses produced by settler colonial theory.

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### Subversive jewellery: challenges to conservative power from the Victorian goldfields

Dr Linda Young, Senior Lecturer, Deakin University

Linda Young is a historian of 19thC personal and domestic material culture. She teaches aspects of cultural heritage and museum studies at Deakin University in Melbourne.

This paper analyses a small group of gold jewellery to explore the digger challenge to the colonial culture of conservative deference in 1850s gold rush Victoria. In spending on lavish gold ornaments, lucky diggers asserted the value of their hard, manual labour to subvert the hegemonic respectability of the colonial elite. The study contributes a perspective grounded in the evidence of material culture to arguments about the values that informed the digger population in its mobile trajectory from optimistic transnational transients into settlers who originated the modern form of the Australian middle class.

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Irony of discrimination: official archives, community memory, and living histories

Prof Henry Yu, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of British Columbia

Henry Yu received his BA from UBC and PhD from Princeton. After teaching at UCLA, he returned to UBC in 2003 to help build programs focused on 'Pacific Canada', exploring the history of Canada as an engagement between trans-Pacific migrants, trans-Atlantic migrants, and First Nations and aboriginal peoples.

For over a century, from the late nineteenth through the late twentieth century, Chinese migrants to North America were the targets of racial discrimination and immigration exclusion and control. As targets of government surveillance, Chinese migrants were given identification papers and tracked in government data sets long before other migrants came under the same regime of documentation. It is a great irony of the history of migration to North America that Chinese migrants those who were most unwelcome have given historians more detailed government data than the more readily welcomed trans-Atlantic migrants from Europe. But in order for this irony to have a happy consequence rather than just a perverse twist of history, the statistical data and other forms of surveillance information contained in official archives needs to be rounded out with community-based histories, whether from oral histories or other methods. The 'Chinese Canadian Stories' project, a \$1.17 million public history project between 2010 and 2012, involved collaborations between digital librarians and archivists, university researchers and students, and community members from 29 local organizations across Canada. Funded by the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, with in-kind funding from UBC and SFU, the goal of the project was to create a range of web-accessible resources that exemplified the most current historical scholarship, as well as extensive reciprocal partnerships between community organizations and universities. The project used the government records of anti-Chinese discrimination, providing a redemptive use in the present by creating a living public history that engaged with community memories.

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Women, waiting, and the Great War in Australia

Dr Bart Ziino, Lecturer, Deakin University

Bart Ziino is a lecturer at Deakin University, Australia. He has published several studies of Australian remembering of the Great War, both by those who experienced it and by their descendants. He is currently researching a history of private sentiment and experience in Australia during the Great War.

This paper examines Australian women's experiences of waiting for loved ones who were serving at the battlefronts of the Great War. Where previous efforts have looked to women's patriotic labour and political activism to reject the assumption that women were passive in experiencing the war, this paper argues that experiences of 'waiting' are also active and constituted by a deep engagement with the war as it was fought abroad and at home. Utilising the correspondence of three women with husbands, sons and friends at the front, we see that waiting was an experience defined by anxiety, but also one that necessitated significant reorganisation of domestic resources and responsibilities, a struggle to find emotional succour, and a consequent reshaping of identities and social relations that in themselves contributed to a powerful sense of ownership of the war, and to the bitterness of social conflict.