ENTANGLLED HISTORIES
Australian Historical Association’s 36th Annual Conference

ABSTRACTS

3 TO 7 JULY 2017
Australian Historical Association 2017
Abstracts
Keynotes

Colonial Cosmopolitanism: Mobility, Cross-Cultural Networks, and the Struggle for Postcolonial Sovereignty
Dane Kennedy
George Washington University

This paper revisits that moment of possibility when nationalism and the nation-state were not the preordained outcomes of British decolonization, when the colonized elites who led campaigns for self-determination imagined a range of alternatives to colonial rule, including imperial citizenship, pan-ethnic polities, regional federations, and global communism. It connects their political visions to the rapid expansion of trade, transportation, and communication from the late 19th century onward, which increased mobility and opportunities to transcend cultural, political, and geographical boundaries. Colonial subjects who escaped the parochialism of their places of origin and forged bonds with counterparts across the empire acquired a cosmopolitan consciousness that gave rise to strikingly expansive conceptions of sovereignty. Their cosmopolitan projects, though largely unrealized, are worth revisiting both as a reminder of the range of postcolonial alternatives that were once in play and as an inspiration to those of us who oppose the current resurgence of a nativist nationalism.

When the War is Over: Australian Entanglement with Asia.
Christina Twomey
Monash University

Historians have often been cognisant of the relative novelty of large numbers of Australians entering the Asia-Pacific region during the Second World War, and charted response to the once-unfamiliar cultures they encountered, but very few have actually documented instances of ongoing connections between these two groups. A great deal of existing scholarship focuses on the calls of Australian political elites for a new attitude to Asia after 1945 in light of nationalist movements and the potential for communist influence in the region. More recent work has also been concerned to trace the views of military personnel, visitors and travellers and to stress that Australian responses to decolonisation were ad hoc, personality driven and uncertain in the late 1940s. In contrast, this paper examines groups, such as former POWs, who had first-hand experience of Asian countries during the war and were determined to build stronger connections with them. It focuses on the Australia-British Reward Mission in the Asia-Pacific, the case of Johnny Funk (an immigrant to Australia from Borneo) and the establishment of the AIF Malayan Nursing Scholarship. These welfare and reward initiatives in the 1950s and 1960s provide an interesting case study of relationship building at a transitional moment, when post-colonial and independent states began to challenge the assumptions that had governed the interactions between white Australians and their regional neighbours for several generations.
Papers

The Politics of Heroism: VC Winners, Conscription and Recruitment, 1916-1918
Bryce Abraham
PhD candidate, University of Newcastle

The conscription campaigns of 1916 and 1917 polarised Australian society. Much of the political disunity, social rifts, and divisiveness that arose from the conscription debates have been subject to scholarly inquiry. But a century on, there are facets of the campaigns still to be analysed. This paper explores the use of institutionalised ‘war heroes’ - namely Victoria Cross (VC) winners - to contribute to the debates and, later on, to boost recruitment amid the failure of the campaign. With falling enlistment rates and growing war weariness from 1916, Prime Minister Billy Hughes and his Cabinet sought a way to reinspire a sense of loyalty to the war effort and promote recruitment. The social currency attached to men decorated on the frontlines provided one means to do this. VC winners came to be featured prominently in the campaigns and debates around conscription and recruitment: Arthur Blackburn was active in the pro-conscription movement in South Australia from 1917; the State Parliamentary Recruiting Committee of Victoria launched the ‘Sportsmen’s 1000’ recruitment initiative featuring Albert Jacka; and, in 1918, Hughes invited Australia’s VC winners to return home and lead a recruitment drive across the nation. This paper argues that ‘war heroes’ became entangled in the politics of recruitment and propaganda in Australia from 1916 onwards, being used to further a social and political agenda.

‘The Brisbane Water Trials’: brave experiment or imprudent folly?
Laurie Allen
PhD candidate, University of Newcastle

Increasing attention has recently been directed by scholars to the punitive actions ordered by early governors of NSW against Indigenous people, including those in the Hawkesbury-Nepean and Hunter Valleys and at Bathurst. It is tempting to view these actions as leading to a gradual acceptance over time that summary executions and frontier violence were inevitable, as epitomized by the massacres at Waterloo and Myall Creeks in 1838. Such a linear interpretation is disrupted, however, by considering the efforts of Governor Bourke (1831-37), who attempted to suppress Indigenous resistance by the due process of law. In 1834-5 Bourke oversaw the arrest, transportation and trial in Sydney of seventeen men from Brisbane Water (now the NSW Central Coast) on charges such as robbery and rape, and the subsequent incarceration and ‘re-education’ at Goat Island in Sydney Harbour of those convicted. I argue that this unique experiment marked a watershed in the colonial response to Indigenous resistance, separating earlier punitive retribution from later official indifference. Making reference to Bourke’s previous career, his archived notes, as well as to records left by his contemporaries and subordinates, this paper will attempt to place the ‘Brisbane Water trials’ in a wide context, encompassing the humanitarian movement in England, frontier policy in the Cape Colony of South Africa and a short-lived attempt within New South Wales to demonstrate that Indigenous people could be both ‘civilised’ and ‘Christianised’. It will trace the influence of the Brisbane Water trials and their outcome on public opinion and, ultimately, public policy.

The Horrible Entangled History of the Australian Colonial and Federal Trade Mark Registers
Fady Aoun
Sydney Law School (University of Sydney)

Many legal historians have recently turned their attention to charting the development of trade mark law, and in particular, the conceptualisation of trade marks as a species of property. Archival research reproduced in this paper, however, paints a more disturbing picture of the Australian colonial and federal trade mark register’s nascent history, and how it reflected and perpetuated the oppression of marginalised groups. Notwithstanding the prohibition on registering ‘scandalous’ marks, this paper provides example after example of registered marks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries that are deeply stigmatising of certain marginalised groups, especially Indigenous Australians, Blacks and women. These stigmatising trade marks, which circulated widely in the transatlantic and transpacific public sphere, makes plain that the issue was simply not addressed by the Australian Trade Marks Office or the market. What's more, British, American and Australian traders - often operating in interconnected global trading networks - appear to have exploited, for example, the then common idea of supposed Black dirtiness, subservience, and incivility, especially in the promotion of soap and other cleansing products. This paper documents and then problematises the mere existence of these stigmatising marks, if only to interrogate their registration simpliciter, or speculate as to the underlying attitudes giving rise to their registration. In so doing, it focuses on a legal dispute between two colonial traders over their ‘right’ to utilising stigmatising Black imagery for cleaning products.

On Sentimental Blokes, Or White Masculinity's Soft Power
Melissa Bellanta
ACU

In the vast literature on white masculinity in the early 1900s, the quality of hardness predominates. Scholars speak of a 'hardening of racial categories' and the idealisation of hard-bodied white men. Yet focusing on hardness is not enough. We also need to think about how the white man gained his 'soft power'. This paper does this by considering the role of sentiment in depictions of white masculinity in Australia between the early 1900s and 1939. Its key focus is Australian popular culture - particularly affectionate depictions of white 'blokes' in art, literature and film. The narrative known as ‘The Sentimental Bloke’ is a classic example: first published as a book of verse in 1915 before being adapted to film, the musical stage, for concert recitals and recordings on radio in the interwar years.

Benevolent Colonizers: Quakers and the Australian Frontier, 1830 - 60
Eva Bischoff
Trier University

Quakers have often been lauded as the champions of Aboriginal Australians, as paramount examples for those few dissidents who were involved in the 'collaborative struggles' that shaped the first land rights movement. This assessment, as I will demonstrate in my presentation, does not represent the complex and entangled history of Quaker life and activism. As settlers, they contributed to the dispossession and annihilation of Aboriginal Australians. They saw themselves as the heirs of William Penn and his alleged special relationship with Indigenous peoples. Following his example, Quaker activists promoted contractual agreements that would extinguish Aboriginal sovereignty in one last final act of formal recognition, endorsed cultural assimilation, and the removal of Indigenous children from their families. Borrowing from the writings of Albert Memmi, I describe their position as that of the ‘benevolent colonizer’. Confronted with injustice and poverty, Quakers may have wanted to help but were limited by their refusal to abandon white privilege and their inability to grasp the political position of the colonized in terms other than his own. My observations tie in with recent calls for a more differentiated interpretation of both Australian settler colonial history and the history of humanitarianism: Early nineteenth-century Quaker settler perceived colonial expansion and humanitarianism not as two contradictory projects but as two intertwined and complementary endeavours.

Marriage and family life on the Upper Goulburn goldfields, 1870-1880
Louise Blake
PhD candidate, Monash University

Recent goldfield scholarship has shown that drawing on a range of archival records, material culture, and personal correspondence to weave the stories of individuals, families and networks into an analysis of goldfield communities can illuminate broader themes associated with the global phenomenon of the nineteenth century gold rushes. The extent to which we can weave together the intimate connections between individuals and family networks depends upon the richness and availability of our sources. In letters miner Lawrence Chubb wrote to his family in England in the 1860s and 70s, now held by the State Library of Victoria, we have a rare qualitative source on Gaffneys Creek, a remote mining settlement in north-east Victoria. In his letters Chubb details the ordinary intimacies of family life, swaps news and gossip on family, friends and mutual acquaintances, and endeavours to placate his English family's concerns about his employment prospects. Chubb's
wife. Esther is visible in this correspondence, but her experiences and activities are inevitably framed by Chubb's class and gendered expectations of marriage and family life. In this paper I discuss how I'm using these letters to uncover Esther Chubb's activities and kinship networks in Gaffneys Creek and, in doing so, unpick the ideology of separate spheres that some gold rush migrants brought with them to goldfield settlements. Mindful of the difficulties in drawing upon a male voice to interpret women's activities this paper nevertheless adds to recent feminist scholarship that questions the extent to which the separate spheres ideology reflected the varied circumstances of colonial Australian women.

The Transhumanist Century: Man and Machine Converge
Elise Bohan
PhD candidate, Macquarie University

If you wear glasses, have a pacemaker, or use a smartphone, you are already a cyborg. You also live in a world where many of the richest and most influential people and corporations, from Elon Musk and Mark Zuckerberg, to Google and IBM, are throwing billions of dollars at projects designed to alter and enhance human biology and intelligence. Transhumanist ideas and technologies, like artificial intelligence, gene editing, and functional life extension, are now at the forefront of global debates, and are prominent in academic, entrepreneurial, and government agendas. Consequently, transhumanism is becoming one of the most prominent philosophical ideas and social movements of the twenty-first century. Transhumanism refers to the idea that the human condition can, and should be improved by technological augmentation. The modern transhumanist movement, spearheaded by thinkers like Nick Bostrom, promotes this idea, and encourages the use of modern information technologies to facilitate ends like: life extension, intelligence enhancement, and sensory augmentation. We live in a historically novel moment in which man and machine are converging more from one year to the next. This bio-tech entanglement has historical roots that extend across a Darwinian timescale. But the most profound implications are being felt in the immediate present, as bio-tech convergences are forcing humans to question how long our species can remain fully biological. No group of thinkers is pondering humanity's evolutionary future fully than transhumanists, and I will show that we have much to learn by examining the history and evolution of transhumanist ideas and technologies.

Entangled nations: trans-Tasman educational publishing networks and literary narratives
Helen Bones
Western Sydney University

The connection between key local publishers - particularly Angus & Robertson - and the fostering of a sense of national cultural identity is well established. Home-grown educational texts and textbooks were influential in promoting affinities to the imagined nation: for example, the NSW School Magazine series was designed to encourage 'Australian values' and promote an idealistic version of Australian history. For much of the twentieth century Australian publishers operated in an interlinked world which reflected broader transcolonial affinities, in particular across the Tasman to New Zealand. New Zealand publisher Whitcombe & Tombs was an important player in the Australian education sector, and Angus & Robertson had an office in Wellington. Key literary figures, such as A. G. Stephens and Pat Lawlor, had interests on both sides of the Tasman, which likely contributed to an 'Australasian' cultural identity. This clearly would have had an impact on the 'local' content consumed by school children, especially as a significant portion of this content was written by New Zealanders. Yet, little attention has been paid to the circumstances under which these texts promoting national narratives were created, such as by whom they were written, whether authors were commissioned or given a particular brief, or whether the writing was genuinely the natural product of the Australian environment. This paper will describe my approach to these research questions in association with the ARCHievER (Angus & Robertson Collection for Humanities and Education Research) project at Western Sydney University, and argue for its importance for interpreting Australia's entangled history.

The reconstruction of Berlin's city palace: a Hohenzollern restoration?
Andrew Bonnell
University of Queensland

Recent visitors to Berlin will have experienced the extraordinary spectacle of the construction of a fake Schloss in the historic centre of Berlin: more precisely, the construction of a replica of three-quarters of the exterior of the baroque Berlin city palace. The remains of the palace had been
demolished and removed in 1950 by the government of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) following heavy war damage in 1945. The reconstruction project, which followed the demolition and removal of the GDR parliament building on the same site, was controversial and highly expensive for a city that has been chronically cash-strapped since German unification in 1990. Why, then, did a rebuilding project go ahead, several decades after most post-war reconstruction building projects had concluded? This paper will attempt to answer this question, giving consideration to factors such as memorial fatigue in Berlin, the de-legitimation of the built heritage of the GDR, the absence of convincing competitor projects, and the existence of a determined and well-organized lobby group of "friends of the Schloss".

Sounding out the Country: rural identity, radio and the 1930s
Jennifer Bowen
PhD candidate, University of Melbourne

Radio was hailed at its inception as a means of reducing the isolation of the rural population. While it brought concerts, comedy and wrestling commentary to the countryside, it was also used by key interest groups to consolidate a distinct country identity. In the 1930s, the 'Farmer and Settler' newspaper and Rural Bank sponsored a succession of radio programmes on NSW commercial radio stations that contributed to the shaping of the rural population's sense of self in terms of its distinct past, present and future. Radio was used to confirm normative perceptions of race, gender and private ownership in relation to the land; it was also deployed to straddle the tension between traditional and progressive approaches to agricultural practices. Fidelity to the Empire intersected with the influence of American farm broadcasting in a transnational entanglement. This paper examines the many faces of interwar rural radio, as well as its implications for later country broadcasts and the broader urban population.

Cultural Entanglements and Theatrical Entertainment on the Victorian Goldfields 1850s-1890s
Ms Ailsa Brackley du Bois
PhD candidate, Deakin University

Theatrical entertainment on the Victorian Goldfields, from the mid to late 19th Century, involved diverse, multi-ethnic cultural entanglements. Being mobile, diggers, prospectors, traders and entrepreneurs - combined with the roving touring acts, visiting to cater for the human throng - created new connections relevant to popular spectacle. This was affected by the interactions occurring between people from a variety of different backgrounds with wide-ranging tastes, values and expectations, and the subsequent happenings across various public spaces and places. Indeed, the greatest influence on the range of entertainments offered to people on the Australian Goldfields was generally the result of what had already succeeded in larger capital cities. Most importantly, it was a direct consequence of what was happening in London's West End a few years prior, which, in turn, was to some extent a product of what was fashionable in Paris at the time. In addition, entertainers from California were working the Goldfields bringing their own brand and blend of popular entertainment types to the region. The audiences they encountered were often lively and actively engaged with theatrical entertainment. Central questions of this study include: How did this wide range of acts translate for audiences from diverse ethnicities, customs and value systems, surviving and sometimes thriving in the higgledy-piggledy villages and townships across the Goldfields? To what extent was spontaneous adaptation and change required of performers and producers in order to cater for these unique audiences? In short, how were complex cultural entanglements reflected in nuanced theatrical entertainment on the Victorian Goldfields?

Aboriginal Artefacts, Entanglement and the Queensland Museum
Gemmia Burden
PhD candidate, University of Queensland IASH

From its inception in 1862, the Queensland Museum acquired significant amounts of Aboriginal material from across Queensland. Although their focus was on obtaining 'pristine' items that represented a perceived 'authentic' culture, entangled objects - traditional items incorporating European technologies - made their way into the collection. This paper analyses the ways in which Aboriginal people and their culture was presented in the Museum with a specific focus on the interpretation of entangled objects. While these items represent cultural fluidity and adaptation to changing and often severe environments, their historical importance lay in their marginalisation from
Cassandra Byrnes
PhD candidate, University of Queensland

The second-wave feminist movement in Australia of the 1970s and 1980s demanded rights and privileges surrounding reproduction regulation. The right to assert control over one’s own body was seen as fundamental to the core ideology that the movement espoused. The movement of the ‘70s and ‘80s has been retroactively labelled a movement for white, middle-class women and their own aims, and as a result Indigenous and newly migrant women were excluded. Reproduction regulation was one key area of the women’s movement where the objectives of white women were privileged and often particularly distinct to that of Indigenous and migrant women. The women’s movement at this time was primarily concerned with the affordability of and access to contraception, abortion, and sterilisation as per women’s demands. This paper examines the requests for reproduction regulation from second-wave feminists and the unrelevance of many of these demands to some Indigenous and migrant women.

Historiographies of Australian music: Modernist Teleologies and the Nation
Rachel Campbell
University of Sydney

Even within the last decade, writing on Australian classical music continues to be influenced by ideas and texts produced in the 1960s and 1970s (Covell 1967, Murdoch 1972, Callaway and Tunley 1978). Elements of the historiography shaping such texts have been subject to a degree of critical scrutiny and have been productively linked to some of the compositional and institutional agendas of the same period. However, while entanglements and flows shaped by Empire, metropolitan prestige and globalisation form elements in recent Australian musical histories, their importance is usually suppressed in favour of two shaping forces. The first of these is a cultural nationalism celebrating moments in which national distinctiveness is perceived to have been achieved. The second involves modernist narratives of progress that reject music felt to be artistically out of date or problematically derivative, while simultaneously celebrating hints of international modernist styles in Australian music. This paper seeks to contextualise dominant historiographies of classical music in Australia in relation to the broader field of Australian cultural history. The aims of this are firstly, to historicize inherited paradigms and secondly, to ask how the Entanglements approach may be applied to the post-World War Two era of the New Nationalism which so often seems to be using internal and external Others to constitute a hoped-for distinctively Australian ‘modern’ music.

Irish Religion and the Making of the Pacific World
Malcolm Campbell
University of Auckland

This paper investigates the role of religion in drawing together Irish immigrant populations in the nineteenth-century Pacific World and influencing their engagement with their new communities. While the Atlantic context of Irish Catholicism (and anti-Catholicism), and of Protestant organisations such as the Orange Order, has received a great deal of attention from historians, the Pacific environment of Irish religion and religious (Catholic or Protestant), has not been nearly so well scrutinised. Drawing upon evidence from across the Pacific world, I argue that whereas the early part of the nineteenth-century witnessed principally separate developments in different local contexts, over the course of the nineteenth century a firmer sense of connection, uniformity and common purpose emerged that served to connect in multiple ways far-flung Irish immigrant populations from California to Eastern Australia. This sense of cohesion proved important in shaping the lives of immigrants and their
communities and produced conditions that from time to time contrasted sharply with the experience of Irish migrants in other national and international contexts.

The Slaves not The Freemen: The Fedon Rebellion of 1795 Untangled
Kit Candlin
University of Newcastle

In March 1795 a republican inspired rebellion of slaves and francophone free people of colour erupted in the British held Caribbean colony of Grenada. Nominally led by the mixed race planter Julien Fedon, his brothers and a coterie of other ‘lieutenants’, this rebellion against British rule all but destroyed the once thriving colony. When, at great expense, the British finally overcame the insurrection sixteen months later, at least 7,000 slaves lay dead alongside a large number of Europeans and free people of colour. While free coloureds may have instigated the rebellion and been the focus for contemporary scholarship, it is the role of slaves in this war that is the most arresting aspect to this conflict. While a crucial element, the free coloureds have, I argue, obscured the slave participants and their agency has been largely ignored. Despite this omission slaves remain the principle component to what was in reality an enormous servile rebellion against British rule and the slave/planter compact. The liberty espoused by the French revolution had special meaning for slaves. This was not just about being free from slavery but levelling equality as men and women and as citizens. This paper untangles the slaves from the historical narrative and refigures the revolt from their perspective. In so doing their story can tell us much about the contested, complicated Atlantic World at the end of the eighteenth century.

'A constant menace': Queensland’s 'German schools' in World War I
Clarissa Carden
PhD candidate, Griffith University

This paper deals with changing attitudes towards 'German schools' and, by extension, German families and culture in Queensland during the first world war. These attitudes are traced through correspondence between educators and ministers of religion with the Queensland Department of Public Instruction. Prior to 1914, German students were permitted to take time from their attendance at state schools to attend German schools, often run by German ministers of religion, in order to preserve their cultural ties to Lutheran traditions and the German language. This was in line with the general attitude toward Germans, which held that they were ideal citizens: hard working, religious, and respectful. From 1914 however, absences on the basis of attendance at German schools were forbidden. The discursive construction of 'German' had changed. A group that had formerly been seen as a positive influence was now dangerous - the enemy. This paper shines a light on what this meant for Queensland school communities serving a high concentration of families with German heritage.

Housing Affordability in New Zealand: When Dreams Turn to Nightmares
Andrew Cardow
Massey University Auckland

Housing affordability in New Zealand is at crisis point. The most recent Demographer survey identified Auckland as the fourth most unaffordable world city. While it's easy to blame geography, resource constraints and population growth; government is unable to change these factors. This paper shows house price inflation in New Zealand is preordained with New Zealanders expecting to own their own home, a path dependency factor. Contributing to this is government policy over a hundred years which supported and encouraged home ownership. To better understand the impact of government housing policy we examine and it from 1905 to the present day. Six distinct generations are identified; pre WWI, Pre WWII, 1905s resource boom, 1970s Baby Boomers, 1980s financial reforms and the millennials.. All were impacted by government housing policy and had different experiences. The thesis of this paper is the housing crisis today is not simply due to high housing demand (New Zealand's immigration policy) and/or supply constraints (as a result of its unique geography, natural disaster or man-made leaky building disaster). Rather it is also the result of government policy with the situation today driven by economic reforms of the 80s and 90s; notably the corporatisation and privatisation of the governments housing portfolio and mortgage book combined with the deregulation of the banking system. With a predisposition to property ownership and an abundance of ready capital those with houses became property investors, fuelling the NZ property market to where it is today. Unaffordable.
Anthropology, Miscegenation and Indigenous Agency: Te Rangihiroa, Maori Anthropologist
Jane Carey
University of Wollongong

Anthropology, and other racial sciences, are unlikely spaces to seek or find an Indigenous presence. They have (rightly) been viewed as providing the foundations for racial and colonial domination, and certainly not as sites of opportunity or resistance for Indigenous peoples. This paper challenges this division, exploring the unlikely history of Maori participation in the ‘colonial science’ of anthropology. It focusses on the career of Te Rangihiroa, a medical doctor and politician who reinvented himself as an anthropologist and in 1936 became director of the Bishop Museum in Hawaii. Throughout his career, he promoted ‘racial fusion’ as the inevitable, but positive, future for his people, a future he envisaged as a ‘happy blending’. He most certainly did not view this process as any sort of ‘dying out’. Te Rangihiroa’s very presence in anthropology, let alone as the head of a significant American scientific institution, seems extraordinary. But he was part of a significant network of Maori scholars, activists and politicians who viewed anthropology as a resource that could be used to ensure the survival of their people as well as a for political activism. The paper thus explores how anthropology provided an unexpected tool of resistance for some Indigenous peoples. Moreover, these surprising entanglements challenge common assumptions about how colonial knowledge was produced, and the place of Indigenous people in this process.

Off the Record: is Australia's recording industry 'Australian'?
Bill Casey
PhD candidate, University of Queensland

Since the mid 1950s, over 85% of all music bought in Australia has been recorded overseas, by overseas artists. Until the mid 1980s, the Australian record industry by a handful of major international companies such as EMI, BCS, Decca and Deutsche Gramophone. So while the term 'Australian music industry' has wide currency, is it only a term of convenience, or a even a smokescreen to shield the power of off-shore multinationals? Further complicating the issue, Australia's cultural influences have historically been Britain and the USA, with Australian popular culture in particular leaning to the USA. Does this preference indicate Britain's decline as a cultural influence on Australia, and the 'Americanisation' of Australian popular culture? I argue that while the 'Australian music industry' obviously exists, it's best viewed as a franchise brand. Circling the globe, the music industry is evermore interconnected and searching for novelty. Nationality as a product descriptor increasingly means less as an indication of music style or content, and more a marketing ploy to attract local and/or international markets.

Untangling Historical Thinking: An Australian Response
Yeow-Tong Chia
University of Sydney

The notion of historical thinking, developed by history education scholars in the US and Canada, provides a powerful model for explaining historical skills and historical inquiry, and represents an important opportunity for students to be exposed to how historians think and what they do. This paper articulates an Australian response to the six designated historical thinking concepts, which include: Continuity and Change; Primary Source Evidence; Cause and Consequence; Historical Significance; Ethical Dimensions; and Historical Perspectives. This presentation will draw upon an existing project, being undertaken by history educators at the University of Sydney, which examines how student historical thinking can be made visible and further developed using a range of digital tools. A key project aim is to enable pre-service history teachers at the University of Sydney to better adapt their university-level expertise in history to the learning needs of school students. Another important project objective is to contextualise and adapt the historical thinking concepts for Australian educational settings using digital tools. Our ultimate aim is not to make historians out of students, although some might end up as historians, but rather to foster and imbue critical historical literacy, and to contribute to an informed, active and culturally inclusive citizenry.
Re-positioning Indigenous Australians as core 'Aussie Battlers'.
Melanie Clark
PhD candidate, Flinders University

The figure of the 'Aussie Battler' is as nebulous as it is recognisable and admired. At the same time it is exclusionary and steeped in nineteenth and early-twentieth century colonial, racial, social and gendered thinking. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders are rarely included in formulations of the 'imagined (Australian) community' (see Anderson 1983), despite their qualifications for inclusion. The Aussie Bushman, Pastoralist and Digger figures have served to marginalise Indigenous Australians in this regard. The Battler, loosely defined as 'ordinary individuals who persevere through adversity', underpins the aforementioned characters as well as the marginalised experience of Indigenous Australians. Setting out to re-position Indigenous Australians among other bona fide Aussie Battlers, this paper seeks to counter detrimental, exclusionary stereotypes of what constitutes a 'true' battler, by situating Indigenous Australians as social agents whose historical and continuing marginalisation holds central significance in the hegemonic narratives of Australian history. Beginning with an analysis of the language use around the ill-defined usage of the word 'Battler' in this context, this will be followed by a brief historical overview the under-researched Battler figure. This paper will also interrogate and challenge the current narrow and exclusionary strictures of this use of terminology. Reconceptualising the Battler figure to include Indigenous Australians, this paper seeks to contribute to social justice by providing a more balanced view of this important aspect of Australian history.

The sound of 'silence' in Australian history
Anna Clark
University of Technology Sydney

In 1968, the Australian anthropologist, WEH Stanner, famously articulated that the nation's history had been wrecked by a 'great Australian silence' with regard to the recognition of Indigenous experience. Australia's sense of its past, he argued, it's very collective memory, had been built on a state of forgetting. Since Stanner's powerful intervention, and prompted by a series of post-colonial critiques of the history discipline, a number of critical readings have highlighted the power of history to 'white out' Indigenous perspectives in the Australian historical archive - what Chris Healy has called a historical 'silencing', a 'violent task of memory-work'. In response to that silence, scholars have increasingly pondered the need for history to construct disciplinary knowledge outside it its traditional archival domain. If the archives are silent, how can historical knowledge be constructed? The act of 'silencing' pushed Indigenous perspectives between the lines of Australian history-writing until the second half of the twentieth century, but these narratives were kept alive in Indigenous communities through stories (fiction and non-fiction), material culture and oral history. The ethical implications for testing the boundaries of the history discipline by overcoming its omissions are implicit in this paper. This paper draws on a growing body of historiography to consider the idea of silence as a counter narrative to Australia's national memory. It explores how forgotten narratives can powerfully challenge a nation's collective memory, and the discipline of history itself.

Anti-American sentiment in the Victorian newspaper press in the mid-1870s
Jenny Coleman
Massey University

Under invitation from Miss Martha Turner who had recently been elected pastor of the Melbourne Unitarian Church, English-born social activist Mary Ann Colclough travelled to Melbourne in October 1874. Her express purpose was to place before the Melbourne public the necessity for a legal and social reform of the condition of women. Although a resident of New Zealand for the previous seventeen years, various Australian newspapers reported that she had travelled from America via New Zealand and that she had been sent out to the antipodes to indoctrinate Australian women with the ideas of the American Women's Rights School of social reformers. In reality, Mary Ann Colclough was part of an established international network of women's rights advocates, having been appointed to the Vigilance Association for the Defence of Personal Rights in England and also acting as a correspondent and friend of a vigilance association in America. In surveying newspaper coverage of her 15-month visit to Australia, this paper focuses on the anti-American sentiment expressed by newspaper editors to Colclough's views and efforts to establish a Society for Improving the Condition of Women and to provide affordable accommodation for single working women in Melbourne.
A foot in the door?: Conversaziones, women and the public sphere.
Anne Coote
University of New England

Conversaziones - the special club and society meetings at which self-improvement mixed with entertainment and pleasant social interaction - were a popular feature of urban middle class culture in Victorian Britain, and they were embraced with similar enthusiasm by transplanted Britons, especially in the Australasian colonies. In Sydney and the country towns of New South Wales, a variety of voluntary associations, from church groups and lodges to mechanics' institutes and learned societies, included conversaziones in their meeting schedules. Particularly elaborate and prestigious were those conducted during the long nineteenth century by the Royal Society of New South Wales, an elite organisation, focused mainly on science, whose membership was exclusively male. In the light of scholarship which highlights the educational and performative dimensions of conversaziones in metropole and colony, this paper considers the potential benefits of these Royal Society events, especially for the select group of women invited to attend on these special occasions.

The Imperial Bond? - Australia and the Coming Pacific War, 1937-41
Honae Cuffe
PhD candidate, University of Newcastle

Despite Australia's national interests being directly involved in the Pacific War, existing scholarly portrayals range from a nation pitifully underprepared and entirely dependent upon Britain for protection and policy direction, to a "Great Betrayal" of Australia by Britain. This paper will challenge such perceptions, examining Britain's inadequate strategic planning for the Pacific and the manner in which this growing insecurity encouraged Australia to pursue greater assertiveness in policy making. Developments between 1937-41 are examined with a particular reference to the strategic and diplomatic measures adopted by Australia in a bid to better position its interests and prepare for an imminent regional conflict. Namely, these measures were a balancing of rearmament and a conciliatory position towards an increasingly belligerent Japan. This paper speaks to the theme of Entangled Histories through its examination of Australia's position as an Anglocentric nation and member of the British Empire, whose immediate strategic interests lay in the Asia-Pacific region. This paper will consider the challenges implicit in attempts to maintain national interests when these interests exist in two vastly different geopolitical spheres. In this way, this paper contributes to a broader understanding of the factors shaping the practice of Australian foreign policy.

Early Twentieth Century Female Philanthropy and Community Work
Patricia Curthoys
Centre for Applied History, Macquarie University

This paper explores female philanthropy and community work in the early twentieth century in New South Wales through the lives and activities of three women: Mary Fairfax, Eadith Walker and Margaret Windeyer. At first glance they have much in common - they were born within eight years of each other (from the late 1850s to the mid-1860s) into wealthy families. They were all Protestants. None of them married but neither did they, thanks to their families' wealth, have to undertake paid work to support themselves. Instead they each actively engaged in various, sometimes overlapping, philanthropic and community work. Mary Fairfax and Eadith Walker were both active in the Red Cross Society, the Queen's Jubilee Fund and the RSPCA. Mary Fairfax and Margaret Windeyer were active in the Kindergarten Union of NSW as well as the Bush Book Club of NSW. And all three women supported, in various ways, Women's College, at the University of Sydney. This paper, however, also explores the differences in the experiences of that philanthropic and community work for these three women. A closer look at the ways in which these women undertook this work; for example, what roles they occupied within organisations, as well as what else they did during their lives, raises questions about how class operated within this elite stratum of society. It also raises questions about the ways in which their different religious understandings may have inflected their work and the decisions they made.
The interaction between technology and environment in the Australian forest industry
Leith Davis
PhD candidate, Western Sydney University

This paper examines how interactions between technology and the environment shifted across the twentieth century with key technological and environmental changes. The relationship between technology and the forest and its environment shaped the structure and development of the forest industry. Technological change led to far reaching shifts in products, production methods, economies of scale and industry structure, with associated changes in the interaction between the industry and its forest environment. For example, innovations in road transport increased economies of scale, but also increased the environmental impact of harvesting operations on the forest. On the other hand, when concrete railway sleepers replaced hardwood, the effect on the forest environment was beneficial. Whereas existing forest histories in Australia have focused on large-scale trends of technological change in the industry, my paper will offer case studies of technological and environmental change in the forests on the far south coast of New South Wales. Technological changes over the century since the establishment of timber milling in the region has brought about changes in production methods, scale and products, which in their turn shaped the interaction between the industry and its environment. A particular instance is the development of a market for pulp logs. As a consequence, modern harvesting methods include along with selective felling of commercial species, more intensive ‘integrated logging’ to supply pulp. A fine-grained study such as this will offer insights that are needed to historicise and to interpret the contemporary forest environment.

The Making of Environmental Knowledge in Colonial Encounters
Michael Davis
The University of Sydney

In 1849 the British survey ship H.M.S. Rattlesnake travelled northwards through Australia's tropical north-east coasts and islands. In October it made landfall at a place called Evans Bay, at the north-eastern tip of Queensland's Cape York Peninsula, where it remained for several weeks. There was much botanising and other on-shore activity during this time, and the naturalist John MacGillivray and others on the ship recorded details about their encounters with local Aboriginal people. There were instances of close collaboration, cooperation, and perhaps also friendship between individuals from the local Aboriginal people, and several of the Rattlesnake personnel. Aboriginal people accompanied the British on their walks through the countryside, and engaged with them around local environmental knowledge. In this paper I am interested in examining the private reflections of the Rattlesnake voyagers, through a close textual interpretation of their journals, diaries and correspondence. I ask what these texts might indicate about how different knowledges - Aboriginal and British voyager - become entangled in encounters-in-place, and what this implies about the production of complex forms of colonial environmental knowledge. I also inquire into the agency of the Aboriginal people - those who are typically 'hidden from history' - in cross-cultural environmental encounters, and how this agency informs colonial knowledge production.

Manly: whitewashing the specific aboriginal place for a generic space?
Saul Deane
UNSW

This article seeks to reinstate the profound influence of Manly on Aboriginal Australia's first contact with the British first fleet and thus Australian history. Manly was the first point of contact with Aboriginals in Sydney Harbour, the place of the first, second and third kidnapped aboriginal (stolen generation ?) and where the first Governor of New South Wales was speared. Within that context Manly plays a pivotal role as the setting for the interaction between these two peoples. Manly provides refugee and a contained aboriginal delineation within early colonial history, its harbourside coves with their bays and points, aboriginal places of interaction internal and external. Yet the particular spaces and places that these occurred in have become genericized and conflated, the tangibility and immediacy of the specific has become one of ambiguity, stripping "place" of its commemorative and informative power. The specific is quantifiable and visible it has legal and actionable weight. Diluting place, dilutes the Aboriginal history and connection to land within Manly, and fits a narrative of dispossession. The question of why this occurred runs in parallel with the mechanics of how it occurred. In order to answer this question, a larger discussion of the process of place naming aboriginal and colonial needs to be investigated. This is the first part of the article.
second part of the article looks at returning the specificity of the historical event to place. As part of the process to accomplish this, pictorial records are given evidential weight alongside the contemporary written record. From this a correlation between events and place is attempted.

Family Histories of Immigration and Heritage Discourses in Australia
Alexandra Dellios
University of Melbourne

This paper explores the motivations of postwar migrant groups and their descendants to make public their family's emigration and settlement pasts in Australia, specifically through applications to heritage grants or lists. The wider project seeks to understand the making of migrant heritage in Australia. Individuals and grassroots groups have sought to publicly commemorate these pasts in collaboration with heritage bodies and authorised heritage discourses that are imbued with cultural power. Some have been motivated by exclusion and injustice, others buoyed by public acceptance and narratives of pride and inclusiveness. They each have varied orientations to authorised heritage discourses, and varied motivations for engaging with it, which are reflected in the narratives about the past they wish to make public. They have developed methods of working with institutions of cultural power to create and make public their version of heritage - it is this process, and its interaction with deeply intimate family histories, that I wish to unpack. What are these processes, and how do they expand or challenge existing heritage in Australia? What implications do they have for public history practice and the future of migration history in Australia? I will explore the current context of migrant heritage making in Australia, with a focus on the commemorative efforts of those who arrived as refugee children in the post-war era.

A 'trifling punishment': Australian redcoats transported from within
Ms Patricia Downes
PhD candidate, Australian National University

This paper examines the 260 soldiers who were transported while serving in the Australian colonies. From the Marines who arrived with the First Fleet to the soldiers who were embarked from the military prisons in 1870 when the British regiments left Australia, misbehaving troops were an enduring problem. Some 260 soldiers were sentenced to transportation within Australia, for offences ranging from murder to insubordination. Military officers were convinced that the convicts 'contaminated' the soldiers, who deliberately sought transportation because they believed life as a convict was preferable to life in the Army. Others blamed the lack of discipline on neglect by the officers who sought to supplement their military pay by appointment to colonial positions. The famous 'Sudds and Thompson' case in Governor Darling's time was just one of a long line of attempts to deal with the problem by severe punishment, but soldiers reputedly viewed the punishments dealt out by the civil courts as 'trifling' compared to the floggings and imprisonment handed down by the military tribunals. The problem was not helped by the ambiguities in the constantly changing Mutiny Act which used discharge as both a reward and a punishment, and by the authorities in London who were concerned only with costs and refused to consider actions to ameliorate the soldiers' conditions. The paper highlights the entanglement of convict history with military history, and the narrow line that existed between the convicts and their guards in Australian colonial history.

Shamming madness and the separation of powers in a penal colony: New South Wales, 1815-21
James Dunk
University of Sydney

The arrangement of power in penal New South Wales has been approached and debated from multiple angles. This paper revisits the vexed question of the appropriate balance of powers in New South Wales. A strong executive governor was considered necessary for convict discipline and military concerns, but an independent judiciary was taken to be a British birthright. I use the case of a man who was thought to be shamming madness to avoid a sentence of twelve months' solitary confinement on bread and water. The case was reported to London as an instance of gubernatorial abuse, and I map the medical, legal and political contours of the resulting enquiries and justifications. I show that madness, because it was chaotic, and difficult to apprehend, is a useful vehicle for a close study of the arrangement of power and the factors that shaped this - in this instance, interpersonal conflict and the imperial politics of social reform.
Corsets and Convents: Writing a Female Religious Order's History
Robyn Dunlop
Sisters of St Joseph

In New South Wales, the state government funding for denominational schools ceased in 1882. The Catholic Church turned to religious teaching Orders to take over its schools, and the result – 135 years later – has been wildly successful. The contributions and experiences of female Religious teaching Orders in Australia has only been lightly touched upon by Australian historians. In 2015, I was hired by one of these Congregations to write its history. As the work went on I found this project to be poised on a fundamental tension between public and private histories. There was the public history of the Congregation – the branch houses the Sisters opened in New South Wales, the schools they established and ran, their methods of teaching and of training their teachers, the economics involved (how they survived and ran schools with no funding from the state or from the church) – all of this was easy to access and document. But it did not touch upon the intimate, insider history of the Sisters: what it was like to enter as a postulant, to be trained as a novice and to teach as a Sister. What were the power dynamics within the Congregation, and what were the personal dynamics of different leaders? With a full-time teaching load, was there really a focus on the spiritual life? What happened to women who did not fit the mould of the obedient Sister? This type of information often slipped out in memoirs, or was alluded to obliquely. In hindsight, I attempted to smooth over this tension in the commissioned history. However, this tension was very alive in feedback about the book from the Congregation.

Entangled from the Start: Aboriginal Newcastle and the Coal River
Mark Dunn
PHA NSW & ACT

The history of the Newcastle penal station from 1804-1822 is as much a history of the Aboriginal place as it is one of a convict place. Aboriginal people around Newcastle and in the lower Hunter were both impacted by and incorporated into the convict station. Even before the convicts arrived permanently, interactions, connections and cross-cultural transactions between Aboriginal people and Europeans in and around Newcastle were being widely reported. Aboriginal trackers, guides and intermediaries were a vital component to the success of the penal station, while commandants and officers struck up friendships with local men. All the while traditional practices and ceremony were being continued around the district. This was already an entangled community. Aboriginal connections back and forth to Sydney and elsewhere created a broader network of associations and knowledge across both Aboriginal and European communities. With convicted artists like Joseph Lycett, Richard Browne and even the Commandant James Wallis recording the community in paintings, a rich visual resource remains of these early interactions. This paper will explore these first years of cross-cultural interactions in Newcastle and ask what legacy this early entanglement had on its colonial history and through the Hunter Valley more broadly.

Australia, Imperial Defence and the Singapore Naval Strategy 1921 - 1942
Rob Elliott
PhD candidate, University of Newcastle

The Singapore naval strategy was the foundation of Australian and New Zealand defence in the interwar period. Australia's Chief of Naval Staff (CNS) described it as "the crux of British Defence Plans in the Pacific." If the territorial integrity of the Australian continent or the New Zealand Islands was threatened by an aggressor, the British Fleet based in the Mediterranean Sea would sail to Singapore via the Suez Canal. Based in Singapore, the Fleet would then be in a position to defend India, British Far Eastern interests, Australia, and New Zealand. The strategy was subject to a number of contingencies which included the possibility that Britain might be at war in Europe and the Far East simultaneously. Other factors included the length of time the Royal Navy fleet would require before sailing from home waters, and the actual size and composition of the force despatched. Significantly for Australian defence planners and foreign policy advisors, the strategy was an important way in which to project Australian interests and integrate Imperial regional responsibilities. The strategy defined the Australian region in a critical geopolitical sense, combining all the criteria that colonial, Imperial, and Australian political leaders, defence personnel and policy advisors had used since 1788.
Burying the dead, Entertaining the living. The Australian War Graves Detachment, 1919
Romain Fathi
Flinders University / Centre d'Histoire de Sciences Po

This paper explores how entertainment was used as a form of discipline at the Australian War Graves Detachment (AGD) after the First World War. The Detachment was formed in March 1919 and its mission was to exhume and rebury dead soldiers around Villers-Bretonneux in the Somme, in Northern France. Despite the honourable and commemorative dimension of the Detachment's task, the gruesome nature of the work and the absence of combat challenged the army's rigorous discipline. Soldiers of the Detachment engaged in a wide array of behaviours condemned by military codes, which threatened the mission of the AGD. This situation led the commanding officer of the Detachment to develop a wide array of entertaining activities for the troops – explored in this paper – in order to better control the soldiers and their free time.

Painful Intimacies, Patient Care: Australian nurses and HIV/AIDS
Geraldine Fela
PhD candidate, Australian National University

In the 1980s the HIV/AIDS virus was a global epidemic that seemed unstoppable. It revealed the porous nature of national borders as it jumped between bodies to touch virtually every corner of the globe. Significantly, it also challenged how we understand the boundaries of personhood and bodily autonomy. As Leo Bersani pointed out on the question of viral sex 'The barebacking bottom enters into an impersonal intimacy, not only with those who have pumped their semen into his body, but also with all those unknown partners, now dead, with whom he has never had any physical contact'. The HIV virus has the capacity to entwine bodies. This is a very local form of entanglement - where the virus connects the bodily fluids of one subject to other bodies both living and deceased - that is nevertheless intricately connected to the global circulation of the virus; the spread of HIV and the search for a cure enmeshed the fate of people on opposite sides of the world. This paper sits between these two scales of entanglement - the global and the very local. The paper borrows from Bersani by considering HIV/AIDS in terms of connections. However, rather than looking at viral sex as Bersani does, it examines the ways in which responding to the virus breached social boundaries and connected disparate groups of people. In particular, the paper will look at the entanglements that occurred on HIV/AIDS wards between patients and nurses and how the medical and social issues presented by HIV - homophobia, infection, fear - intersected with workplace questions of safety, workload and trauma.

Remembering Long Tan through the decades
Rebecca Filling
PhD candidate, Deakin University

The 1966 Battle of Long Tan is the most well-known battle involving Australians in the Vietnam War. In many ways this battle has been used to memorialise and remember the Australia's Vietnam War experience as a whole. This paper traces the changing narratives of the Battle of Long Tan, and seeks to understand how these narratives have been produced and changed over time. Through a study of key anniversaries it charts the development of those narratives, and their representation in memorialisation, memoirs and accounts of the battle, as well as commemorative services on both Anzac Day and Vietnam Veterans' Day. The paper investigates tensions between veterans developing a commemorative framework around the war, as it explores the ways in which the Australian Government has increasingly lent its support to the remembrance of the battle, through both significant funding boosts to the veterans' affairs budget and increasing praise and support for Vietnam veterans, including bravery awards. Additionally, the cancellation of the Long Tan ceremony in 2016 highlights an ongoing tension between Australian and Vietnamese sensibilities at the site of the battle itself.
Framing the innocent: celebration and anxiety in convict silent cinema
James Findlay
PhD candidate, The University of Sydney

At the close of the silent era moviegoers flocked to the longest running most expensive film ever produced in Australia, American director Norman Dawn's convict epic For the Term of His Natural Life (1927). Through the film's rare fortune of surviving almost in its entirety, and the subsequent academic focus on it, Term has masked a significant body of cinema representing the convict experience that appeared before. This paper sets out to reconstruct these lost films and in the process reveals more than just cinema history. Most significantly it argues that convict cinema was influential in directing mythologies away from a focus on the innocence of individuals towards the convict class as a collective. This idea had important implications for how Australian's understood convicts as national symbols, and is something that has been solely attributed to later literature and academic thought. Through an exploration of the public anxieties and celebrations that surfaced as a result of convict cinema, this paper also argues for a more nuanced approach to claims made regarding the pervasive nature of the social phenomenon termed 'the convict stain'. As will be demonstrated, the popularity of these films pushed back against the widespread censorship of convict histories at both an official and personal level during the opening decades of the twentieth century. Ultimately this exploration of lost cinema yields new ways of thinking about the development and entrenchment of popular mythologies concerning Australia's colonisation, many of which still resonate today.

Transformations: Harriet and Helena Scott on Ash Island, 1846-1866
Vanessa Finney
PhD candidate, Australian Museum

In 1846, sisters Harriet and Helena Scott moved with their family to Ash Island in the Hunter River near Newcastle. For the next 20 years they worked to describe and illustrate all known Australian butterflies and moths, transforming nature into scientific notation and natural history art. The project's notebooks, manuscripts, drawings and a stunning collection of 100 butterfly and moth paintings are now held at the Australian Museum in Sydney. My paper will tell this very Newcastle story and then consider the Australian Museum's Scott collection in its cultural heritage context, offering a new perspective on the sisters' work and their place within Sydney's emerging imperial scientific institutions. I will look at the collection as the Scotts created, curated and transformed it - its content, forms and exclusions, as well as its passage to preservation in the Museum. When they sold their family collection in 1885, the Scotts were actively using the framework of colonial public history and natural science to style and represent themselves (and to make some much-needed money). Seen this way the archive moves not just between art and science and from family archive to museum collection but across other boundaries - private lives and public institutions; natural history and science; altruism and economy; and the place of women in colonial science. What can the Scotts' active role as archivists and curators tell us about their entangled identities as early colonial scientists and as two of Australia's first professional female artists?

Loveday Internment Camps: Borders, Partitions, Mobilities and Identities
Georgina Fitzpatrick
SHAPS, University of Melbourne

The traditional understanding of internment in wartime is that it is a device resorted to by governments in wartime in order to prevent potential Fifth Columnists from sabotaging the war effort. In the context of the Second World War in Australia, the story of enemy aliens and their Australian-born children interned, particularly in the crisis year of 1942, has become familiar through published studies of the past 20 years. Less known, however, is the internment of political and social dissidents of Anglo-Celtic ethnicity whose experiences in the same camps as the enemy aliens and their lives after release was explored in my doctoral thesis, Britishers Behind Barbed Wire (ANU, 2009). In this paper, I focus on 18 of the 'Britishers' who spent all or part of their internment in Loveday, South Australia, incarcerated with a mélange of nationalities, particularly in Loveday 14. Questions of identity, of crossing borders, of cultural transgressions, emerged from my study. Ironically, these men of the majority ethnicity in wartime Australia became the minority within the ethnic minorities detained in the Italian and German compounds - a situation which rattled their understandings of their Britishness and 'British justice'. Suffering a double isolation, some of these men broached partitions; others built them higher. In a place intended to immobilise, Loveday offered mobilities to the discerning internee.
Trans-Imperial Entanglements: Indigenous Australians and German Anthropology
Matthew Fitzpatrick
Flinders University

Prior to taking up his chair at the University of Breslau, Hermann Klaatsch came to Australia to undertake research and to collect artefacts, including Indigenous human remains. While here, he became embroiled in the local debate centred around Walter Roth's Royal Commission into the treatment of Aboriginal Australians in Western Australia. Klaatsch also began his long working relation with Herbert Basedow, who would briefly become Chief Protector and Chief Medical Examiner of Aborigines in Darwin. Through the lens of recent debates regarding the nature of German anthropology, this paper explores how trans-imperial connections and rivalries impacted upon contemporaneous social debates regarding Indigenous affairs. It also seeks to integrate early twentieth century Australian debates regarding Indigenous affairs into the broader, transnational discussion of the position of Indigenous peoples in sites of colonisation.

Friends or Foes? Chinese-European Entanglements in the Northern Territory, 1880-1920
Natalie Fong
PhD candidate, Griffith University

Historians are increasingly scrutinising Chinese-European interactions in the late nineteenth-early twentieth centuries (for example, Loy-Wilson's Australians in Shanghai (2017)). Such investigations uncover relationships more complex than simply white discrimination against Chinese – entangled histories with business dealings a common thread and source of conflict. This was true of the Northern Territory where, by the late 1800s, the Chinese had become numerically and economically dominant, thanks to the organisation of key merchants. The question of who was for or against the Chinese in the Territory during the critical period 1880 to 1920 (the establishment of Australian nationhood and discriminatory policies) is not easy to discern. The Chinese experienced acceptance and discrimination at different times from different people, but also from the same people. ‘Friends’ and ‘foes’ were often those whose business interests were tied to their own and vice versa. This was an apt reflection of the attitude of the Australian Government (and previous colonial governments) towards the Chinese. These hypocrisies deserve further attention in Australian racial discourse, to overcome simplistic dichotomies

Professionals and class consciousness in the history of Australian capitalism
Hannah Forsyth
Australian Catholic University

The 'moral middle class' were not just superior and patronising as a result of their religious persuasion; for many, it was literally their job. This paper will describe the emergence and institutionalisation of professions in late 19th and early 20th Century Australia as a part of the history of capitalism, in order to explore the underlying entanglements that hold this diverse and highly stratified group of people together as a ‘class’. Through the lens of some key professions in Broken Hill c.1883-1910 (accounting, journalism, nursing, teaching, mining engineering and, more briefly, medicine and law), I will argue that firstly, the professions institutionalised in response to changing economic conditions, especially the growth of share trading; secondly, the merit-based hierarchical structure of the professions inculcated the belief that class status was earned; thirdly, the attributes that these occupations formalised as professional 'skill' and character were derived from older, British and often-Evangelical middle-class values; and finally, that these were structured to moderate some of the worst effects of capitalism, even as they were increasingly necessary to its success. I will suggest that by pairing the moral and the economic, the professionals were central to the 'progress' and 'civilisation' that were key justifications for the entire settler colonial project in Australia.

Taking a Longer View: History, Politics and Trans-Tasman Migration
Lyndon Fraser
University of Canterbury/Canterbury Museum

In The Age of Migration, Stephen Castles and Mark Miller describe international mobility as a 'transnational revolution' that is reshaping societies around the world. Their work also provides a better understanding of regional migration systems like the trans-Tasman highway by placing developments in a wider context and drawing attention to patterns of continuity and change. There
are certainly opportunities here for collaborative public histories that highlight personal stories, emphasise the experiences of transnational Australasian families and raise tough questions about equity and injustice. How should the state respond to inter-generational mobility over which it has limited control in ways that guarantee fairness to both sides? What obligations are owed to an indigenous people on the move when Australia has been so deeply implicated in their colonial dispossession? One of the key challenges in making the Tasman Sea a central focus for migration history is the fact that the nation remains powerfully entrenched as a way of representing, framing and understanding the social world. This 'methodological nationalism' obscures important aspects of the past. As Peter Hempenstall has astutely noted, 'writers on both sides of the Tasman have produced national histories that talk past one another, ignore shared pasts and neglect historical parallels'. To understand the experiences of contemporary trans-Tasman migrants, however, we need transnational histories that promote deeper understandings of regional mobility, encourage more nuanced debate, and contribute to greater compassion in immigration policy.

Charles Symmons: Protector of Settlers
Samuel Furphy
Australian National University

Charles Symmons, Protectors of Aborigines in Perth, Western Australia (1839-55), is the most biographically elusive of the many Protectors of Aborigines appointed in the Australian colonies in the late 1830s. Compared to protectors appointed elsewhere in Australia, who feature in biographical dictionaries and in the broader scholarship on race relations, Symmons is less well known and often overlooked. And yet his relative obscurity belies the important influence of his distinctive conception of humanitarian governance. Encouraged by Governor John Hutt, Symmons was assiduous in pursuing a policy that focussed on the punishment of Aboriginal people, as a means of bringing them within the reach of British Law. Three years after his arrival in Perth from London, he described himself as 'no visionary - no dreamer of native perfectibility' and proclaimed that 'a halo of protection now encircles the life of the white man.' In 1849 he was retitled Guardian of Aborigines and Protector of Settlers. Symmons career is important because he embodied a shift in thinking away from contemporary philanthropic models, which prioritised the protection of Aboriginal people from settler violence. By identifying himself primarily with settler interests, and justifying this within an apparently humanitarian rhetoric (however shallow), Symmons pioneered a new approach to Aboriginal 'protection' that was to have a long career in the Australian colonies.

Leonora Gmeiner and the First Girls' School in Delhi
Devleena Ghosh
University of Technology Sydney

The interwar period (1917-39) has been called the 'internationalist moment', when attempts were made to create platforms, movements and political networks that transcended state and national boundaries. These alliances and networks, however, had a long history. The people to people connections between Australia and India just before and after the Second World War were particularly complex and subtle. The White Australia policy, India's independence movement and Cold War politics meant that many of these connections happened under the radar of official governmental policies. In this presentation, I narrate one such story of Indians and Australians that begins with a girls' school in Delhi and ends in Dandenong Hills and which demonstrates the richness of such untold micro-histories. It investigates the circulation of new ideas of internationalism and female education in the first half of the twentieth century through an analysis of the career of Leonora Gmeiner, an Australian Theosophist, and the first principal of the first girls' school in Delhi. Gmeiner spent nearly thirty years in India and was involved in anti-colonial politics as well as in implementing innovative education for women at her Central Delhi School. Her extraordinary life demonstrates the ways in ongoing and enduring relationships created by the multi-faceted connections of social activists influenced various educational and anti-colonial movements.

National Socialism and Religious Opposition in British Wartime Propaganda
Kirk Graham
PhD candidate, University of Queensland

During the Second World War British propagandists used every means at their disposal to subvert the morale of German servicemen and workers, and promote resistance against the Third Reich. This
ABSTRACTS – AHA 2017

paper will examine British propagandists’ perception of the German mentality as it related to religion, and how this understanding changed over the course of the war. Religious groups, and Catholics in particular, were understood to be natural enemies of the Nazi regime. Nevertheless, British propagandists initially considered religion too problematic for propaganda treatment, fearing that by calling on religious sentiments or moral convictions they would expose Britain to the charge of hypocrisy. Contemporary prejudices held against Germans, Catholics, and the working class only stymied the development of such propaganda. By war's end, however, religious opposition to National Socialist hegemony was enthusiastically exploited and even used to promote separatism in traditionally Catholic areas such as Bavaria. This change in attitude was incremental, owing as much to outside pressure from Church representatives and religious experts as it did to developments within the propaganda organisations themselves. This paper will pay particular attention to the influence of contemporary discourses on these changing perspectives, such as the widespread fear of Bolshevism, the persistent belief that Germans were inherently belligerent, and the idea that National Socialism was itself a Political Religion.

'Beyond beaches, barbeques and marsupials': Selling the multicultural nation, 1980s-2000s
Justine Greenwood
University of Sydney

Tourism and immigration have been entangled in Australia since the post-WWII period. One reason for this is because immigration and tourism both raise the question of how to entice the outsider to become part of the nation, even if only temporarily. As a consequence, both are in the business of presenting representations of the nation and the character of its people. The aim of this paper is to trace how migrants became part of an image of Australia presented to domestic and international audiences from the 1980s onward. It focuses on what Wenche Ommundsen has referred to as the 'secondary tourism industry', which included international events, such as world expos, Olympic Games and diplomatic events. Here governments increasingly sought to present an image of Australia that rested on multiculturalism and migrants; one that appeared sophisticated, cosmopolitan and diverse. Such events were perceived as vital in reshaping Australia's relationship with Asia after the final dismantling of the White Australia Policy. This paper argues that tracing the development of this type of tourism promotion provides a way to understand some of the key changes that occurred to multiculturalism in this period and its contested place in twentieth century Australia. It demonstrates that what started as a means by which to represent Australia's progress towards a more sophisticated, cosmopolitan society, and move away from a 'White Australian' past, gradually became enmeshed with the concept of 'productive diversity'.

Inside, Out: Community Conflict in Subiaco During the Great War
Claire Greer
PhD candidate, University of Western Australia

The Landscape of Loss study examines the ways in which the Great War hit home in the Perth suburb of Subiaco, mapping out networks of neighbourhood connection to explore the impact of loss and injury across local households. While much of the community drew together in a time of conflict, the same closeness also enabled the exclusion or persecution of individuals who did not fit in with majority views or identities. As the war continued and the overseas toll grew, so too did tensions within the community. Neighbours came under surveillance as suspected enemy aliens, and arrests were made of those overheard making anti-war comments. Numerous local families caved to pressure and changed their surnames, while others were pressed to quit the public service due to their German heritage. Distinctly unfit men attempted to enlist despite their health conditions to avoid community scorn, and anti-conscription advocates expressed the fears that accompanied voting 'no' in a strongly pro-conscription area. This paper will draw together case studies of those affected by these community tensions, and will demonstrate how local connections helped to facilitate the pushing of dissenting individuals or different identities to the outside.

Second Wave feminism in Turkey: A replica or not?
Demet Gulcicek
PhD candidate, University of Warwick

The second wave feminism in Turkey is mostly referred as an extension of the feminisms in the Western Europe. It is important to see the link between the second wave in Turkey and Western
Europe. Most of the pioneer feminist women in Turkey were in relation with European feminist movements due to their academic or cultural engagements. Moreover, certain feminist practices were similar: the usage of the slogan 'personal is political', consciousness-raising groups, translations of Simone de Beauvoir, emphasis on the violence against women and sexual harassment. However, I will also claim that the second wave feminist movement which started during 1980s was not simply a 'replica' of their Western sisters' movement. The military coup in the September 1980 in Turkey led to the closure of many political organizations and trade unions, and as a result, socialist movement were seriously damaged. However, somewhat ironically, the second wave of the feminist movement started to emerge in this atmosphere. A serious number of feminists of 1980s were engaged with the socialist movement before the coup. Based on my 19 interviews with both the radical and socialist feminist women of 1980s, I can say that the feminist politics were always debated in relation to their prior engagement with the leftist movement. Thus, I will claim, the category of women was subversively resignified in relation to Western feminist movements but in its specify - not as a 'replica'. During the presentation, I plan to point to commonalities and specificities of the second wave in Turkey.

Australian tourists fraternising in Fiji in the 1930s
Nicholas Halter
University of the South Pacific

A series of government correspondences in 1936 and 1937 reveal officials in Fiji were responding to concerns that Australian tourists were "fraternising unduly with the natives". This paper explores this particular incident in the broader context of burgeoning Australian tourism in Fiji, drawing on records in the National Archives of Fiji, the Pacific Islands Monthly, and tourist publications by the Fiji Visitors Bureau. The travel accounts written by Australians may only offer momentary glimpses of Fijian society, but they also reveal much about Australian sensibilities and prejudices in the interwar period.

All Trussed Up? Australian Cowboys and Genre Entanglements
Emma Hamilton
University of Newcastle, Australia

Media histories increasingly use the concept of 'entanglements' to examine the ways in which media transcends national contexts; rather 'entangled' histories focus on the transnational, intertextual, interdisciplinary and, ultimately, interconnected nature of media. This paper will present an entangled media history of the Western film genre 'Down Under'. Once seen as solely an exploration of American social values and ideology, scholarship of the Western now focuses on its transnational capacity to mediate understandings of, particularly, frontier relations (and all that term encapsulates) within colonised landscapes outside of the US. In this way the Western genre becomes a meta-language through which to explore concepts of violence, identity, land and belonging within 'Othered' spaces, regardless of whether they are situated within or outside of the US. Rather than undercutting the possibility of telling authentic Australian stories, a recognition of the entangled nature of the Australian Western allows for a critical examination of the ways in which Australian histories are interconnected with the global histories of empire, colonisation and displacement, and the ways in which, despite their transnational applicability these tropes are interpreted distinctly for particular national contexts. An entangled history also provides insight into the ways in which Australian cinema and genre interpretations occur in dialogue with developments in the American genre and its cultural 'soft power'. Ultimately, then, examining Australian Westerns in this light acts to demonstrate their place as a unique voice in the broader narrative of colonial-settler societies internationally.

The rise and fall of Australian heritage
Bronwyn Hanna

Australia was a leading contributor to the development of international best practice in heritage management during the 1980s with the growing influence of Australia ICOMOS’s Burra Charter and James Semple Kerr’s The Conservation Plan. Prodded by Whitlam and Uren’s visionary Australian Heritage Commission, Australian governments across the board passed heritage legislation designed to protect Aboriginal, European and natural heritage places. In the 21st century the development of heritage conservation management has slowed and arguably begun to reverse as hard-won achievements are dismantled and governments show themselves increasingly hostile towards heritage regulation in favour of free-market solutions. Drawing on my oral history project with 23 antipodean heritage pioneers for the National Library of Australia, this paper outlines a history of
Australian heritage management in a pendulum metaphor, first developed in an internationally innovative manner but more recently being undermined in a complexity of ways—conceptual, bureaucratic and political.

Death or Liberty! Understanding the Battle for Vinegar Hill sketch
Guy Hansen
National Library of Australia

On 5 March 1804 Major George Johnson led a contingent of infantry from the NSW Corps in a short skirmish with over 200 rebel convicts near present day Rouse Hill. Fifteen convicts were killed and their leaders hanged. Sometimes known as the battle for Vinegar Hill, or the Castle Hill rebellion, this event is a landmark in the early history of the colony of New South Wales. The only contemporaneous image of this battle is a watercolour sketch or cartoon held by the National Library of Australia. Drawn by an unknown artist, this sketch is often used to illustrate historical accounts of this battle. Little, however, is known about this drawing and what its significance is. In this paper I attempt to explain why an image like this was produced and how it may have been understood at the time. I argue that this cartoon can tell us much more than simply provide an illustration of this event.

Controversy, scandal & the entangled lives of girls at the Newcastle Industrial School (1867-1871)
Ann Hardy
University of Newcastle

In August 1867 the Industrial School for Girls opened in central Newcastle and was the colony’s first government industrial girls’ school. The institution was hastily set up in the vacated military buildings at the Newcastle Domain under the Industrial Schools Act and the Reformatory Act (1866). The institution was there for 4 short years and was the most controversial of all the uses at the Newcastle Domain. The rationale behind developing the industrial girls’ school in Newcastle was to address the long standing problem of child neglect and poverty in Sydney and other regional areas. Charitable and philanthropic organisations offered the majority of the support prior to the establishment of the Newcastle institution. In Britain there was a focus of reforming delinquent children, whereas this focus was not as strong in Australia, instead the care of destitute and neglected children was identified as needing to be addressed. What remained in NSW was a dominant culture associated with colonisation and convict management and the acts (1866) gave magistrates specific powers to enforce girls into care. This school provided a permanent home for girls who were actively engaged in education, training and work. Engagement with the broader community was far less successful. This paper discusses the entangled lives of these girl in a setting that had been predominantly a male environment. ‘Care’ of the girls was enmeshed in controversy and scandal, ultimately sent to Cockatoo Island (Biloela) in 1871 and Parramatta in 1887- today histories live on through the ‘Parragirls’.

Bon Appetit: the take-up of French cuisine in Australia
Melissa Harper
University of Queensland

In the postwar years an increasing number of Australians took an interest in French cuisine. The 1952 cookbook, Oh for a French Wife, written by Deke Coleman and Ted Moloney, was a bestseller and remained in print into the 1970s. French cooking classes were popular among Australian housewives. And in the restaurant boom experienced in Australian cities from the 1960s French restaurants proliferated. This interest in French food was a development that emerged without any significant number of French people in Australia. This paper explores this growing enthusiasm for French cuisine in postwar Australia and the ways in which it played a seminal role in the development of a gourmet food culture. In particular, it teases out the various ways this enthusiasm was transmitted, circulated, and taken up in both public and private spaces identifying key personnel, publications and processes. And it asks how was French cuisine redefined in the Australian context?
Nationality Lost - German and Italian Women in South Australia, 1939-1945
Rachel Harris
PhD candidate, University of Adelaide

As at 30 September 1945 there were 627 females registered as aliens in South Australia, of which 48 were German and 246 were Italian. While much literature exists on the experiences of male aliens and their internment in Australia between 1939 and 1945, there is very little on the experiences of the mothers, wives and daughters they left behind. By using this group of South Australian women as a case study, this paper will explore how women classed as enemy aliens or non-British subjects, either by birth or by marriage, negotiated everyday life on the home front in Australia during World War II. Often forced to report their daily movements at the local police station, the restrictions placed on these women severely interfered with their ability to gain employment, keep house and care for their children. In some cases, the strain was such that they appealed to the Australian Government to be interned with their husbands - a request that seems to have been very often granted. By primarily drawing on archival material, much of which was penned by the women themselves, I will argue that while the discrimination and isolation these women faced was primarily a result of race, the inequalities they encountered were just as much shaped by issues of gender.

The 'Hopeless Mirage': Social status and Western Victoria’s shepherds
Lisa Hay
Central Queensland University

The curious story of Thomas Brookhouse, a shepherd who was murdered by the shores of Lake Corangamite in 1854, is more than a colonial mystery noted for the fifteen-year delay between crime and punishment. It is both significant for the detail it sheds upon the lives of working class people and for demonstrating the ways in which different social classes were entangled. Set against a backdrop of the squattocracy of Victoria's Western District, a close reading of the stories of Brookhouse and the man convicted and executed for his murder act as an interesting case study of social divisions of the time. Was Margaret Kiddle’s depiction the shepherds being lost in a 'hopeless mirage' in her Men of Yesterday: a social history of the Western District of Victoria 1834-1890, an accurate one?

Negotiating housing and assimilation policy through mobility at Framlingham, 1946-1956
Sianan Healy
La Trobe University

Drawing from a larger project on state-supplied Aboriginal housing and settler colonialism, this paper pays attention to state efforts to assimilate Indigenous peoples through the spatial politics of housing design and regulating access to and use of houses, streets and towns. Inspired by recent scholarship on imperial networks and Indigenous mobilities, it will explore Aboriginal people's negotiation of those efforts through practices of both moving and staying put. Looking at Framlingham Aboriginal Reserve, I suggest that many of the residents not only disregarded bureaucratic instructions on how to use these state-supplied houses, but also moved regularly within and across state and regional borders, onto and off stations and reserves, in defiance of efforts to control their movement and intrude into their daily lives. When the state government's Board for the Protection of Aborigines sought to close Framlingham following the Second World War, attempting to break up the community by selling their houses in order to achieve their assimilation, many individuals challenged efforts to move them off the reserve which was their home. Their determination to stay put was deeply unsettling of European perceptions of these supposedly settler-colonised spaces and places.

Australians interpret the fin de siècle, 1890-1914
Mark Hearn
Macquarie University

Reflections on the end of the century in Australia found focus in the deployment of a term originally French but afterwards cosmopolitan', as the Sydney Morning Herald noted in 1899. From the early 1890s application of the term fin de siècle evolved from observing modernizing French influence in fashion, the arts and ideas into a heterogeneous, and at times contradictory metaphor, that could symbolize the hope invested in progress and technological innovation, or a fear of national decline. Its extensive deployment in the public sphere spread as its meaning was embraced and contested, and faded in the early twentieth century as its usefulness in making sense of a transition to the challenges
and opportunities of a new century seemed spent. Anxieties over degeneration saw the term invoked as a gendered discourse to enforce the domestic subjection of women. The Evening News warned in 1895: 'As she is now, under the names of 'fin de siècle' and new woman, she is all wrong from start to finish, and a national disaster rather than a domestic blessing and a social ornament.' Fin de siècle discourse in Australia was neither contained within a narrow literary-cultural domain, nor tight 1890s time frame. As a device for repudiating outmoded or illegitimate values and forms of behaviour, its deployment cleared a path for approved forms of progress. As metaphor of modernity, fin de siècle discourse helped Australians break with the past in order to compose the future.

Phoebe Heathcote
PhD candidate, University of Queensland

Jamu is a herbal medical tradition practiced throughout Indonesia. Prior to the 1980s it was practiced primarily by itinerant women traders (mbok jamu) and was the predominate form of medical care throughout the archipelago. It focused on women's and familial health, creating a specialized space of gendered-health knowledge and tradition. Under the economic liberalisation policies of President Suharto, from the 1970s the jamu industry boomed into a multi-million-dollar capitalised export industry. This paper examines the economics of the traditional mbok jamu trade and its commodification into the large jamu industry. It elucidates how mbok jamu negotiated their roles as traders and New Order Indonesian wives and mothers. By the 1980s, the jamu tradition, its form and focus, had been transformed. The male led jamu industry built upon deeply embedded Javanese and Islamic cultural norms, buttressed by the New Order bapak/ibuism ideology, and globalised standards of Western beauty. They were, therefore, able to establish a profitable market through problematizing, medicalising, and monetizing women's bodies and their culturally ascribed duties. The jamu discourse highlights the market's effectiveness in indoctrinating society to perpetuate cultural norms which have been ascribed a monetary value. The traditional female traders of jamu sat at a nexus of health, gender, development, and modernization discourses. The entanglement of these discourses illuminates the complex negotiations of competing processes which shape peoples lived realities.

Entangled advertising history: using digitised and diverse resources for an exhibition
Susannah Helman
National Library of Australia

This paper explores an entangled approach to studying Australian advertising history. It focuses on how that approach was put into practice in developing an exhibition. First, it looks at how digital resources, particularly digitised newspapers, can intersect with traditional hard copy resources in the development of an exhibition and secondly, how diverse collections of original material can come together in an exhibition to illumine one topic, sometimes with surprising results. The National Library of Australia has large collections of Australian advertising: playbills, programs, broadsides, posters, ephemera, pamphlets, packaging, magazines and books, which inspired the recent Library exhibition 'The Sell: Australian Advertising, 1790s to 1990s' (23 November 2016 to 25 April 2017). Using traditional archival research methods, dating and even determining what advertisements are can be difficult, slow and feel fruitless. In the case of the exhibition, digital resources enabled a targeted understanding of the origins, context and complexity of messages emerging through advertising, the campaigns, as well as how diverse these messages were over time. As advertising archives are sparsely preserved, the exhibition focussed on the context in which advertisements were released and how the messages of information and or persuasion were conveyed. Digitised Australian newspapers and magazines provided an invaluable way of contextualising objects on display. Furthermore, through extensive collection scoping, complementarities between diverse collection material at the Library enriched and informed the exhibition's curatorial rationale.

Messy Entanglements: Derek Freeman and the Hoaxing of Margaret Mead
Peter Hempenstall
University of Newcastle

This paper examines the war of words surrounding the attacks that the antipodean anthropologist Derek Freeman mounted against the early work of 'the mother of the world' Margaret Mead. It focuses on his two Mead books, but especially the second, which argues she was tricked by two Samoan girls
into believing the ideas that became so influential in western social science during the 20th century. The paper describes the circumstances surrounding the writing of the books and the reactions to Freeman's criticisms by American anthropologists. Freeman exposed the series of messy entanglements that resulted in Mead's findings about Samoan adolescence but was himself party to a series of equally messy encounters in which language and context are crucial in understanding what he was trying to do and the extent to which he was (mis)understood. There are lessons for historians about disciplinary practices and the entangled histories between disciplines.

Migrants as patients: navigating healthcare in post-war Australia
Eureka Henrich
University of Leicester

Health shapes every stage of migration. But while immigration processes such as medical screening and quarantine leave a bureaucratic cache in the archives, encounters between migrants and the medical system in primary care settings are recorded in only scattered and diffuse ways. Likewise, personal or familial efforts to maintain health and wellbeing whilst establishing working lives in a new country leave little documentary evidence. Yet health continues to be important beyond national borders, both in the early years of settlement and throughout the life course of individuals, families and communities. To better understand the role that health plays throughout the migration experience, this paper presents emergent findings from a study of oral histories, life writing and material culture yielded by people who journeyed to Australia during the peak years of the post-war immigration programme. These personal accounts are contextualised by the contemporaneous writings of medical professionals and grey literature from government departments and social scientists concerning ‘migrant problems’. The study enhances a growing literature on the gaps between immigration and settlement policies, government rhetoric and the lived experience of migrants in the period. I argue that a focus on health can provide a unique insight into the ways migrants navigated mid-twentieth century Australian society, attitudes, institutions and cultures. Such an approach can shed new light on structures of power which shaped the ways migrant patients were perceived by medical professionals and ultimately limited their access to mainstream healthcare.

Violence against Country: Environmental destruction as settler colonial erasure.
Jessica Hodgens
PhD candidate, Monash University

Settler colonists first began arriving in Dja Dja Wurrung Country, in central Victoria, from the 1830s. Their arrival ushered in an era of mass violence, death and dislocation not only for Dja Dja Wurrung people but for Dja Dja Wurrung Country as well. Drawing upon an understanding of Dja Dja Wurrung ways of being, this paper conceptualises Country as an ‘entanglement’ of human and non-human beings, each with their own will towards and right to life. In light of this conceptualisation, the paper argues that the environmental destruction that accompanied settler colonisation constitutes a form of violence against non-human others. What is more, a Dja Dja Wurrung epistemology that emphasizes the inextricable relationship between people and Country reveals that violent action against one necessarily impacts in violent ways upon the other. This argument will be explicated by tracing the history of ecological destruction wrought against Dja Dja Wurrung Country over the past one hundred and eighty years: the box ironbark forests of the south were subjected to gold mining and forestry; the plains grasslands of the north to pastoralism and agriculture. These practices profoundly undermined the life of Country: ecosystems were almost totally destroyed; entire plant and animal species were rendered extinct. An attentiveness to Dja Dja Wurrung voices reveals that this ecological destruction was not secondary to or separate from the violence perpetrated against Dja Dja Wurrung people. Rather, it was inextricably bound up in the dual process of erasure and replacement that Patrick Wolfe (2006) argued was characteristic of the settler colonial project.

Civic Identity and Attachment within the Australian Federation: A Cultural History of Federalism
Carolyn Holbrook
Deakin University

Around the western world, the technological, economic and social changes of the post-industrial era are straining systems of democratic government that were designed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While Australia is not immune from disillusion and populism, social fragmentation is not as
acute as in comparable nations. To what extent does our federal system of government, through its creation of multiple identities, enable Australia to accommodate diversity and maintain social cohesion more effectively than other countries? As a first step in answering this question, I am embarking on an historical study of popular attachments within the federation. How have Australians imagined their civic identities - state, national and imperial - since 1901? How have these attachments conflicted with and complemented each other? And how have they changed over time? In this paper, I will outline the methodology by which I will investigate attachment within the federation. My first method is an examination of the commemoration of significant state, national and imperial anniversaries. The second is an investigation of separatist sentiment in Western Australia.

The Sexual Abuse of Jewish Women During the Holocaust: Gender, Ethnicity and Hegemonic Masculinity
Margot Holt
The University of Melbourne

The sexual victimisation of Jewish women during the Holocaust demonstrates how gender and ethnicity operated as structural sources of inequality, within the context of war and genocide, rendering certain women more vulnerable to abuses of their sexuality. Despite the proliferation of Holocaust scholarship, this area of research remains conservative in size. In this paper I aim to make a contribution to furthering this area of research by emancipating individual voices through an examination of the University of Southern California Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive. This examination draws upon three significant fields of existing research; gender and sexual violence during conflict, women in the Holocaust and sexual violence against Jewish women during the Holocaust. I utilise the theoretical frameworks developed by Miranda Alison, as well as theories from Ruth Seifert and Rhonda Copelon who argued that when social forms of inequality such as gender and ethnicity intersect, certain women experience greater vulnerability to sexual victimisation, especially during periods of conflict, when hegemonic forms of masculinity are more prevalent. The findings of my analysis shed light on the different dynamics of the causes, outcomes and variations that occur in sexual violence. As such, my paper proposes a revised conceptual framework that captures those differences.

Kelso Field Rising: African Americans in North Queensland 1942-1945
Ray Holyoak
PhD candidate, James Cook University

During the Pacific War a land battle occurred on the Australian continent. This was not between two armies with opposing ideologies but between two races of the same democratic republic on a field at Kelso. The power of wartime censorship and fear of punishment for those involved suppressed any published account of the event until well after the war. The incident should have come as no surprise to US authorities who had experienced over a hundred years of poor relations with Black Americans in the South of the United States. Such incidents were not uncommon in US military training camps and there were previous Risings involving African Americans during the First World War on the Western Front. At the commencement of the Pacific War in December 1941, African Americans did not want a rerun of the segregated bias and missed opportunities for advancement that had occurred during WW1 and the inter-war period which prevented advancement. What made Black advancement in the US military possible during the Second World War was a stronger Black media presence in supportive newspapers, the successful double ‘V’ campaign of ‘victory against the Axis - victory at home’ civil rights movement plus a threatened ten thousand strong march of African Americans on Washington during April 1942. Nazi racial ideology would inadvertently assist in eroding and discrediting racism and segregation. What makes the 'Kelso Rising' unique was that this was the first African-American rising of the Pacific War and the first which involved troops of an Allied army in Australia. That future President Lyndon Johnson would investigate the 'Rising' on behalf of President Roosevelt only adds to this international incident.

Navigating Treacherous Waters: Sailors in the Atlantic Wilderness, 1812-1815
Peter Hooker
PhD candidate, University of Newcastle

In accordance with the theme 'Entangled Histories', this paper explores the life of a common sailor in the early nineteenth century. Sailors are often characterised as either romantic or oppressed figures.
However, by drawing on the written account of Samuel Leech, this paper uncovers the complex environment in which sailors lived, worked and interacted. It also considers how shipboard life brought unique challenges and opportunities. Throughout his naval career Leech was entangled not only in a brutal war between Britain and America, but with a diverse range of peoples. He began his service in the Royal Navy at the age of twelve aboard HMS Macedonia. His life took a dramatic turn, however, when after a lengthy battle Macedonia surrounded to the USS United States. Leech's vivid and introspective retelling of the battle is the focus of this paper. It offers a rare first-hand glimpse into life aboard a warship including the multi-national crew and the harsh conditions within which sailors worked each day. It also highlights how, in spite of the restrictions imposed on sailors, they often contested state authority and took advantage of their circumstances, as Leech did when he went from being a British subject serving in the Royal Navy to an American citizen serving in the United States Navy. By utilising a non-state source and focusing on the maritime environment this paper reveals that, far from being a mere transitory space between land, the oceanic wilderness was a determining factor in the experience of the Atlantic World.

World Citizens: Australian Women's Radio Speech and Internationalism, 1930-1939
Catherine Horne Fisher
PhD candidate, Australian National University

This paper examines Australian women's broadcasts on international political and social issues in the 1930s, and the importance of their contributions as a means by which female audiences could connect with cross-cultural experiences and internationalist politics. During a decade when the Great Depression limited the ability of many to travel, and the increasing calamity of the rise of fascism and the descent into World War II brought foreign affairs to the forefront of public debate, discussion of foreign topics on the air provided both a form of escapism and an important means by which women stayed abreast of international developments. By giving talks about their experiences abroad, their knowledge of various foreign countries, and about international feminism and pacifism, a number of women were active agents in international relations. International history's focus on diplomacy and state-to-state relations has obscured the ways in which these women contributed to international relations and foreign policy. An examination of broadcasting reveals a number of women who used the medium to claim their role as experts on foreign affairs, advocates for internationalism, and worldly travellers. The entanglement of radio, speech and citizenship was therefore crucial to Australian women's ability to be active world citizens in this era, as broadcasting enabled them to contribute to the public debates on foreign affairs and to educate their female listeners about the world beyond Australia's shores.

A Ballarat Chinese Family History- The Tong Ways
Yvonne Horsfield
Federation University

My present research investigates how families of Chinese descent coped and adjusted to the negative stereotypes which singled them out as the other from one generation to the next. This case study of the Tong Way family examines the different ways in which they strove to gain acceptance and establish a true sense of cultural 'belonging'. My ancestor, Chou Hock Liu typified a Chinese immigrant sojourner. Arriving on the Haddon goldfield in 1862, he successfully worked a claim and returned to his village of Wang Tung two years later. His experience will be contrasted with the permanent settlement of his son, John Tong Wai and successive generations of his Australian-born descendants. They strived to assimilate against a background of migrant adjustment and ethnic discrimination. These factors presented a dual challenge for all Chinese who sought for different reasons, to settle in Australia from the gold rush era onwards. Unlike Caucasian immigrants who were able to assimilate whilst still retaining certain important features of their ethnic identification, the Chinese were culturally alienated and often excluded. They represented a demographically significant, culturally 'alien' ethnic minority who were easily singled out by their difference in appearance and cultural orientation. Thus, an analysis of the family's experiences and coping behaviours as an historical case study embodies a particular survival aspect of adaptation; necessitated by Chinese individual aspirations for acceptance, respectability and 'success', with the overall desire of cultural belonging.
Social and legal factors giving child migration decisions credence.
Ann Howard
AHA from March 1st 2017

As part of a forthcoming book, The Kindness of Strangers © on the phenomenon of child migration, a research of legal measures and social attitudes will be examined, and the credence they lent to child migration. The migrant focus will be on boys up to the age of 14 from the UK who eventually arrived in Australia. Child migration can result as a legally sanctioned domestic measure, or in answer to a need for labour through coercing, colluding, tricking or kidnapping, or as a willing expedient action by an individual seeking a better world. Historical and recent accounts will illustrate each of these possibilities. The accounts will be set in historical social and legal attitudes in both Australia and the UK. Legal measures were sometimes prescriptive and sometimes followed child migration. According to the demand for child labour or the perceived need for expediency, laws were ratified or not or enforced or not. Legal sanction of child migration dates from 1606 in the UK, when 'idle vagrants' were sent to Virginia, mostly young boys, for tobacco leaf picking. The historically pejorative words used to describe children who were without sustenance will be examined as part of accompanying social attitudes, which led to children as young as four years old being shipped out of their country. Using oral and historical migrant accounts of experiences set in a framework of legal measures and social attitudes, it is hoped a pattern will emerge of how credence was given to child migration movements.

Ebony Hutchin
PhD candidate, University of Newcastle

The flood of displacement precipitated by the Second World War resulted in an unprecedented resettlement of Displaced Persons (DPs) across non-European nations. In Australia, DPs were often characterised, in part by government efforts to ensure the success of their assimilation policy, as passive victims of war and communism who peacefully became 'New Australians'. This identity was also self-styled in many instances, particularly in the case of ethnic Russian DPs, whose anti-communist stance was particularly marked. Some Soviet-origin DPs certainly did become 'invisible'. However, the popularity of two opposing Russian Clubs on either side of George Street, Sydney (the anti-Soviet Russian House and the pro-Soviet Russian Social Club) shows that many of these DPs were far from invisible, involving themselves on both sides of Cold War politics. This research project examines the formation of a diasporic community of Russian DPs in Sydney through the activities and political mobilisation of these two clubs. The voice of the anti-communist community is remarkably dominant in the source material, particularly in community-written histories, often appearing representative of the entire Russian community. To locate the illusive voices of the pro-Soviet Russians, the release of previously classified intelligence records regarding the Russian Social Club have been secured. The competing visions of Russian diasporic identity which existed on George Street emerge distinctly from these files, and further, the impact of conducting surveillance of potentially radical migrant populations on their integration into an Australian host society.

Socially mobile: multigenerational geographic mobility and occupational inheritance in Australia
Heidi Ing
PhD candidate, Flinders University

Three generational studies explore the impact of the 'grandparent effect', in this case on social mobility. Using occupation as an indicator of class, this presentation follows the children and grandchildren of European immigrants who arrived in South Australia in 1836. These immigrants were initially categorised as either 'colonists' or 'labourers', with colonists being the land purchasers, and labourers those whose passage was funded by this purchase. By tracing the occupations of these people, their children and their grandchildren, from place of origin to location and occupation at time of death, this presentation uncovers both the intragenerational and intergenerational occupational and geographic mobility of these European immigrants and their descendants. Although they disembarked in South Australia in 1836, these immigrants frequently continued on to other colonies of Australia and New Zealand or returned to Europe before the end of their lifetime. In the second and third generation, descendants can be found scattered across the globe. Their occupations will be coded according to the historical international classification of occupations (HISCO) and the social class scheme HISCLASS to support international comparison. In this way, this research intends to compare
the occupational inheritance experience by those who journeyed to South Australia in 1836 with that experienced elsewhere, and to answer the question; 'Did the opportunities for social mobility promised by promoters of systematic colonisation come to fruition for early South Australian immigrants?'

Melbourne's Mass Irish-Australian Wartime Meetings: A Threat to British-Australia?
Stephanie James
PhD candidate, Flinders University

This paper will focus on 2 of Melbourne’s 6 wartime Irish-Australian meetings. The 1916 meeting was held only weeks before the first conscription plebiscite, and the larger 1917 event at the peak of pressure to hold another vote. Melbourne was the seat of Federal Government, and with Hughes as PM facing the growing impact of Mannix as Archbishop from May 1917, the large Irish-Catholic population showed extreme volatility about Irish issues. Using newspaper and archival material, the paper highlights the ways these meetings were interpreted as disloyal, endangering Australia's wartime participation and the British way of life.

The language of space and ownership in Colonial New South Wales - 2. Squatters
Paula Jane Byrne
UNE

In exploring the language used to describe living spaces in early Sydney I found a very transient, cash obsessed and inward looking population. This paper extends that methodology to self described squatters in Bigambul, Githabul and Ngarkwal country from the 1840s to the 1870s. The paper discusses self and space in that chain migration of brothers and friends from the Hunter north into Queensland. It explores sexuality, violence, the romantic imagination and Indigenous and Squatter polities.

Reparation: Biloela 1871-1887
Kathryn Jeanes
PhD candidate, University of Newcastle

Historically islands have been used as prisons, penal colonies and as isolation for those displaced from society. Today, islands also provide a safe haven for the vulnerable, victims of change in circumstance, children, and those less resilient to cope with life. Cockatoo Island, the largest island in Sydney Harbour, was such an establishment. From 1871-1887 the convict precinct and former goal on Cockatoo Island had a name change and became Biloela, a Reformatory School for Females and a Public Industrial School for Girls. This paper researches the history of Cockatoo Island and the girls incarcerated at Biloela. I will establish the reasons why this eclectic group of girls, and in some instances very young boys, came to be sentenced to Biloela. The first intake of girls in 1871 were transported by steamer from Newcastle to Cockatoo Island when a similar Military Barrack facility closed in Watt St, Newcastle. The girls were convicted of crimes as well as young orphaned, destitute and neglected children and to date, no visual records of the girls are apparent. No photographs are archived from this period as witness to their lives and events. By researching the site and associated archives I aim to present an equitable and realistic representation of the girls and the challenges they faced. The inclusion of this history will allow the girl's lives to be viewed as an integral part of the Cockatoo Island history, and not to be simply portrayed in sex-stereotypical roles.

Collecting Histories: the entanglement of museum documentation and material culture
Mike Jones
PhD candidate, The University of Melbourne

The development of museum documentation since the introduction of computers is an entangled history of cross-disciplinary collaboration and international knowledge exchange which shaped, and was shaped by, technology. From early experiments with 'museum informatics' to retrieve information on archaeological artefacts in 1955, to the development of automated catalogues in the mid-1960s and the rise of desktop computing in the early 1980s, the quantity and complexity of databases increased. By 1993, as the first sets of collection data appeared on the web, there was the promise of unprecedented access to a wealth of internal museum data. However, much of the information contained in these systems remains focused on individual objects with few explicit links between
items, or to archives, images and contextual information. This despite the fact that, concurrent with the development of the web, people working with material culture were themselves exploring notions of entanglement. From James Clifford complicating unitary ideas about ethnographic encounters (1990) and Nicholas Thomas on exchange and material culture in the pacific (1991), to archaeologist Ian Hodder's 2012 work Entangled, we see a growing recognition of the ways in which meaning emerges through complex networks of interdependent entities, events and ideas. This paper explores the connection between these histories using Museums Victoria as a primary example, arguing that, rather than perpetuating the legacies of past data structures, historians working with material culture should strive to ensure that collection documentation (not just our narratives and systems) better represents the interconnected complexity of an entangled world.

When Did Australia Discover Its Australianness?
Benjamin Jones
Australian National University

Australian nationalism has traditionally been an entangled history morphing Australianness and Britishness into a single framework of national identity. As Keith Hancock famously phrased it, nationalism is usually a jealous mistress but it was not impossible to be ‘in love with two soils’. Without a nation-founding war, declaration of independence, or successful republican referendum, there is no clear place that can be identified as the birth of Australian nationalism. Neville Meaney warns against a teleological reading of Australian nationalism that leads to the great Australian moment. This approach, at best, only reveals a ‘thwarted nationalism’. Noel MacLauchlan also suggests Australian nationalism is forever 'waiting for the revolution'. If Australia does not have a clearly identifiable Australian moment, then when and how did it discover its Australianness? Was it something that was willingly and joyfully discovered or reluctantly constructed only after Britishness became unsuitable as the foundation of a national identity? From the Eureka Stockade to the landing at Gallipoli, from the Australia Acts to the 2000 Olympics, Australia has had nationalist swellings without a nationalist moment. It is presumed today that Australianness is normative and has functionally replaced Britishness but can this gradual phenomenon of national construction be academically charted? Meaney would warn against using convenient but false markers such as Federation to create an artificial Australian moment. This paper explores the disentanglement of dual patriotism and maps Australia's journey towards Australianness.

Windows on Drapchi Prison: What oral history offers
Angie Kahler
UNE

By 1995, there were hundreds of political detainees and prisoners throughout China's ethnically Tibetan areas due to conditions of protest and restriction that followed unrest in Lhasa in 1987. However, these political prisoners are often invisible in significant historical accounts of twentieth-century Tibet. Instead, accounts of prisoner experiences may be included in the reports of human rights organisations and in memoirs or collaborative autobiographies. Taking the position that acknowledging the existence and experiences of political prisoners should inform any understanding of recent Tibetan history, this paper highlights the capacities of oral history research to gain unique insights into the experiences of political prisoners. Oral history interviews with former political prisoners offer evidence not available in other sources, such as prisoners' motivation, their sense of pride for having taken action, and their experiences of solidarity and even hope in prison.

The Australian 9th and American 'Amphibs' in 1943
Liam Kane
PhD candidate, The University of New South Wales

The early successes of Imperial Japan in the so-called 'Pacific War' (1941-1945) pushed Australia and the United States (US) into an unprecedented military alliance. The military and diplomatic aspects of this alliance has received much interest; as has the social impact of the large numbers of Americans stationed in Australia during the war. Yet, how Australian and American military personnel interacted with one another on social and interpersonal levels during military operations remains obscure. This paper works towards remedying this issue for the first time. It looks closely at the Australian Imperial Forces 9th Division's relationship with two American amphibious formations (the Army's 2nd Engineer Boat and Shore Regiment and Navy's 7th Amphibious Force) in 1943. This is a
particularly useful case-study because many of these Americans trained the 9th Division in amphibious warfare at Cairns, Queensland, and Milne Bay, Papua, between June and August, before landing them in two amphibious operations in New Guinea during September that same year. Using the personal testimonies of the 'rank-and-file', as well as military reports, this paper argues that seeing the range of US amphibious craft in action provided these Australians with a small window into the growing American military power during the war. Training, and socialization outside training, also allowed many Australians to form bonds of friendship with these Americans, which carried over into the combat areas. Ultimately, the experience of training and fighting with the American 'amphibs' was a positive and profoundly transnational wartime experience for many 9th Division troops.

'Men-poodles', class and manners in 1860s Melbourne
Kim Kemmis
PhD candidate, University of Sydney

In March 1865 the behaviour of some spectators in the dress circle at a performance at Melbourne's Theatre Royal disturbed the audience and elicited negative comment from the press. A pseudonymous article printed in the Leader described and passed judgement on the behaviour: some men were paying court to women who 'giggled and flirted, and threw themselves into attitudes not quite decent'. At any time this would be bad behaviour for the dress circle. But these women were married, and the men paying court to them were not their husbands. It was the latter who attracted the writer's ire, and he penned an attack on these individuals he called 'men-poodles'. An examination of this article uncovers the concepts of decorum, gender expectations and class at work in this incident, and perhaps offers a glimpse of a homosexual subculture in colonial Melbourne.

Teaching colonial entanglements: Indigenous art as a decolonising strategy?
Catherine Kevin
Flinders University

Higher education faces ongoing challenges in bringing Indigenous perspectives to teaching and learning. In Australia this is evident in calls for students to better understand contemporary issues confronting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, and for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges, experiences and understandings to be valued in academic teaching. A recent Flinders University study brought Aboriginal art from the University's Art Museum to the centre of pedagogical practice in the History topic Maps and Dreams: Indigenous-settler relations in Australian history, with the aim of explicitly addressing these concerns. Across the range of assessment tasks in which students engaged with the artworks, they honed their observation, teamwork and communication skills while developing literacy in Indigenous cultures, reading Indigenous representations of the past and building narratives that explored relationships between the past and the present. Non-Indigenous students overwhelmingly reported that this strategy increased their engagement with Indigenous themes in history and fostered nuanced understandings of Indigenous experiences in contemporary Australia. Drawing on these findings, this paper explores the value of Indigenous art as a pedagogical tool in the teaching of Australian history and the possibilities it offers non-Indigenous academic teachers for preparing students to engage with Indigenous issues that remain unresolved in settler-colonial contexts.

Fatally Entangled: Talat Pasha and Germany (1913-1921)
Hans-Lukas Kieser
University of Newcastle

Europe’s descent into the seminal catastrophe of WWI went hand in hand with dynamics resulting from the Balkan wars that made the Ottoman Empire a vengeful loser and determined its cataclysmic course in its last decade. This matrix radicalized the Young Turks of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), the main protagonists of the 1908 ‘Ottoman spring’ (Young Turk Revolution), who established from 1913 a proto-fascist dictatorship in the capital Istanbul. CUP leader Talat emerged as the foremost politician in the Middle East until 1918, and a founding father of modern Turkey before Atatürk. Together with Enver Pasha, but politically superior, this audacious gambler defied British diplomacy in 1913, thus fascinating many Germans. Talat and Enver won over Berlin in July 1914 for a war alliance. Both hoped on a long-term friendship with Germany and on correlated Turkish-German dominance in Europe, the Levant and the Caucasus. Germany gave in when they asked ‘permission’ for the removal of Armenians in spring 1915. It had lost its moral compass and the
capability of action when Talat's policy of extermination became evident. German media and politicians praised Talat as an energetic, successful and respectable statesman. In 1917, he acceded to the post of a grand-vizier and was several times received in Berlin. Talat continued to impact still after war defeat during his German exile where he stood in close contact with Russian Bolsheviks, German right-wing leaders and an 'anti-imperialist' Islamist international organized by former CUP leaders. Before being killed by an Armenian revenger, Talat built up the European agency of Mustafa Kemal’s Ankara counter-government whose militant revisionism most Germans admired.

**Imperial interest in stark relief: The Australian Eastern Mission 1934**

*Michael Kilmister*

PhD candidate, University of Newcastle

Historians rank the Australian Eastern Mission (AEM) as a defining moment in the development of Australia's independent foreign relations, but its origins are misunderstood. Led by conservative Minister for External Affairs Sir John Latham, the 1934 mission visited Japan, China and other nations in East and South-East Asia. Conventionally framed in the context of invasion fears, the decline of the British Empire, and allowances won by the Dominions at Imperial Conferences. The later appeasement initiatives of the non-Labor Lyons Government also cast a long shadow. Overlooked are the Mission's imperial background and Latham's ideological agenda. The AEM occurred at a time of seeming renewal for British imperialism. The 1932 Ottawa Conference and the failure of the 1933 World Economic Conference confirmed to the British Empire's true believers that imperial mechanisms of economic control were the answers to the Great Depression. Drawing on new imperial histories and gentlemanly capitalism theory, this paper argues the Australian Eastern Mission was entangled in efforts to grow the imperial economy. The findings contribute to scholarship challenging the hegemonic 'progress' narrative of Australia's foreign relations past.

**Debating the British Whites League in 1930s Hong Kong**

*Vivian Kong*

PhD candidate, University of Bristol

In 1933, an organization called 'The League of British Whites' was formed in Hong Kong. Aiming to make Hong Kong an autonomous colony for the 'protection and advancement of the British whites', the League urged the enactment of laws that compel businesses to employ 'British whites', 'do away' with unemployed Britons, and even abolish Chinese Justices of Peace. It prompted a heated debate amongst the British community there. Some condemned the League for being fascist. Others wanted Hong Kong to become more British, while worrying that it would create racial tension and a class of poor whites. Examining the debate, this paper aims to understand overseas Britons' notion of Britishness and their responses towards global crises in the interwar years. The desire to compel the employment of Britons was itself a conscious act to guard British superiority during Great Depression. The formation of the League reflects how extreme nationalism affected how these Britons regarded the role they should play in the empire; that it achieved nothing however suggests how such views interplayed with liberalism in the colonial periphery. The discussion also reflected how their interaction with other communities stretched the meaning of Britishness as not only a racial but national identity.

**Saint-Simon and Political Unification in Early-Nineteenth-Century Europe**

*Thomas Lalevée*

PhD candidate, Australian National University

Henri Saint-Simon (1760-1825) was an important figure in post-revolutionary France who wrestled with the legacy of eighteenth-century ideas in politics, science and philosophy. Along with a number of other projects, he promoted the idea of political unification in Europe through the unification of scientific principles and institutions. This view extended earlier conceptions of progress, but Saint-Simon also sought to reconcile rational advancement with the lessons of the French Revolution and its aftermath. In doing so, he chartered a new approach to political theory in which peace and stability were to be the product of the proper alignment of social and economic forces, rather than the effect of legal and constitutional mechanisms. Developing what one scholar has described as a "philosophy of networks" (Pierre Musso), Saint-Simon suggested a way of thinking about society's entanglements that went beyond national boundaries. In this paper, I will retrace Saint-Simon's thinking on political unification and compare his ideas to other, contemporary visions of politics, with specific reference to the philosophies of the liberal thinkers Germaine de Staël and Benjamin Constant, the imperialist
project supported by Napoléon Bonaparte and the theologico-political settlement promoted by the Holy Alliance Treaty of 1815. In this way I hope to illuminate a strand of internationalist thinking that lay at the origins of what would later be called 'socialism.'

Families and their comfort zones
Wendy Lawton
HDR candidate, Griffith University

Tracing back through my family's history, where they lived and worked, shopped and went to school, shows me we were never an adventurous family. Most of us remained within the south-western suburbs of Brisbane. My research consists of interviewing three different generations, defined by the kinship concept, whereby one generation is made up of one person's children and their siblings. The analysis of these semi-structured and unstructured interviews will speak to the way memories of place influence habits and family traditions. Central to my research is the suburb of Inala. Since its inception, Inala has been the subject of bad press. Predominately a housing commission area, it grew quickly, offering an opportunity for lower cost housing for families, many of those being migrants. Although many well-known figures grew up in Inala, such as Queensland Premier Annastacia Palaszczuk it continues to be stigmatised. Recently, Inala became the subject of the SBS program "Struggle Street" a controversial show interviewing people in low socio-economic areas and editing it to sensationalise the problems. This presentation will focus on how the family histories of those who settled and remained in the area, many from different cultures, will inform the framework of my research. The locality chosen is linked to my own biography, thus providing insider knowledge to shape and direct this qualitative research through autoethnography.

Facing Two Fronts: Indigenous service, discrimination and activism
Amy Lay
National Archives of Australia

In this paper, I will reflect on the challenges of developing the exhibition Facing Two Fronts: the fight for respect, the National Archives' first fully digital exhibition. The exhibition investigates the relationship between military service and the fight for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander social equality throughout the 20th century through personal accounts, family memories, and archival records. Public interest in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander military service has increased in recent years. Over 1000 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have been identified as having enlisted in World War I, and over 3000 in World War II. Many others served in unenlisted roles, some with little to no payment. Facing Two Fronts considers the social impact of this service, in particular the effect it had on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander activism, advocacy and recognition. This presentation considers how the digital medium shaped Facing Two Fronts, and how the platform provided both opportunities and drawbacks as a way of presenting the nuanced history of service, activism and discrimination. I will also reflect on striking a balance between the personal and the archival; allowing personal testimonies and memories to enhance archival records; and how a digital exhibition can provide greater understanding and access to entangled histories.

Australia's Diplomatic Relations with China (1921-1941)
Tiger Zhifu Li
PhD candidate, University of Sydney

"Little has been said in this introductory chapter regarding Australia's relations with China between 1894 and 1931, because there is little to say."

The above is what Jack Shepherd wrote in 1939. However, my thesis is challenging his position which may be carried by many Australians, by offering a more complete and complicated picture of the Sino-Australian relations, between 1901 and 1949. Further, this paper aims to enhance our understanding of Australia's historical connections with China. Similar to the previous two decades, the White Australia policy and trade were still the dominant themes between 1921 and 1941, but the expansion of Japan in the Pacific became an increasingly factor shaped the Sino-Australian relations. The international situation eventually led China and Australia to exchange official diplomatic representatives in 1941. While Chinese diplomats tended to argue that China and Australia should cooperate economically and militarily against Japan, Australian politicians were often hesitated to do so. This is because Australia needed to trade with both China and Japan, especially during and after the Great Depression (1929-1939).
Unknown Anzacs: re-territorialising the nation and the politics of bodily repatriation
Rowan Light
PhD candidate, University of Auckland

In 1993, the remains of an unknown Australian soldier killed during the Great War were exhumed from a French cemetery and interred in the Hall of Memory at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra. More than ten years later, in 2004, the New Zealand government undertook a similar campaign to repatriate an anonymous New Zealander who had died during the same war. Although separated by a decade, both installations contained a constitutive tension. Here was an imperial institution - the traditional cult of the fallen - intended to bodily represent the postcolonial nation, conveyed in the language of healing collective cultural trauma. What was a heavily-orchestrated, peculiar state invention, framed by the institutional presence of the Australian War Memorial and the office of the Prime Minister, was constructed as something natural, organic, and existential - the return of 'The Unknown' as a cathartic act, healing the wounds of the nation. The Unknowns in this way bookended a vital period of commemorative practice, as Anzac remembrance became more fully oriented towards the state and reformulated as the key definitional frame of citizenship and historical consciousness at the turn of the century. This paper explores the complex politics of legitimacy and authority derived from the act of transporting and interring bodies, through a comparison of the Australian and New Zealand repatriation ceremonies, with reference to the global context of Indigenous repatriation programmes seeking the return of ancestral remains from imperial institutions. In matching the politics of reconciliation with the politics of repatriation, the 'Unknown Anzacs' constituted a re-territorialisation of the nation.

O Bella libertà: “Born for the Future, to the future lost!”
Kiera Lindsey
University of South Australia

Sometime in 1854 Sydney’s beloved ‘boy orator’, Daniel Deniehy loaned aspiring colonial artist Adelaide Ironside his copy of Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s Casa Guidi Windows. Published in 1851, this poem was to make the Brownings the darlings of Italy and give passionate voice to those enflamed with the promise of republicanism. And yet the poem, written in two parts, traces the promise then later betrayal of that uprising, mourning the failure of the Springtime of the People in 1848. For Adelaide, a native-born twenty-four year old woman who had been taught to paint, first from her grandmother a convict forger, and then the respected artist Conrad Martens, this poem was transformative. Suddenly the poems she regularly published in The People’s Advocate were infused with republican yearnings and within a year, she had left for Rome intent upon learning how to paint fresco so she could return to Sydney and adorn the town’s public institutions with republican art. This paper explores the influence of European ideas upon the small group of romantic radicals living in Sydney in the 1850s and then traces Adelaide Ironside’s quest for ‘truth and beauty’.

Lessons in History: Teaching Intimacy and Empire
Emily Manktelow
University of Kent

In January 2017 I launched a new post-graduate level course - ‘An Intimate History of the British Empire’. As the course now draws to its close, I find myself reflecting on what we (as students) and I (as teacher and researcher) have gained from thinking with intimacy in colonial contexts. Teaching and learning on this course has been an exercise in entanglements. Not only is the history of intimacy a history of connections, disconnections and networks, but we too as students of colonial intimacy have become entangled in the histories we have been exploring, the sources we have been using and the methodologies we have been testing through the lens of this emergent field. What do we gain as historians from teaching intimate histories of empire? This paper will be a tentative reflection on that question. It will introduce some of the students’ own responses, but will also seek to analyse the process of teaching the topic more widely, and what it has revealed - or has the potential to reveal - about intimacy and empire as a theme for historical analysis. The classes we teach and the lessons we learn are all part of the history we create. Understanding our own entanglements and subjectivities help us to teach, learn and write on histories of intimacy with suitable humility, and this paper will offer one experience of teaching intimacy and empire in the modern context.
Entanglement: Violence, Emancipation and the 1917 Russian Revolutions.
Roger Markwick
University of Newcastle

The 1917 Russian revolutions, culminating in the October Revolution, have been synonymous with violence: Bolshevik violence especially. But the violent reputations of the revolutions have overshadowed their emancipatory thrust.

The Literary Inheritance of American Civil Rights in Contemporary Australia
Imogen Mathew
PhD candidate, Australian National University

The American Civil Rights movement, especially the figure of James Baldwin, has reasserted itself in recent years as a grammar of transnational protest through the autobiographical writing of Stan Grant in Australia and Ta-Nehisi Coates in the United States of America. Baldwin (The Fire Next Time, 1963), Coates (Between the World and Me, 2015) and Grant (Talking to My Country, 2016) all highlight the black male body as a site of vulnerability - and resistance - to state control. In each text, the author addresses himself to multiple interlocutors: a younger male relative growing into the world, the reader and a broken nation-state. These works share more than thematic and structural similarity: Coates, and Grant writing after him, position themselves as Baldwin's ideological and literary heirs. In this paper, I argue that Grant seeks to re-inject political energy from the Civil Rights movement into the contemporary Australian social sphere through the genre of life-writing. More broadly, this paper extends the influence of the American Civil Rights movement on Aboriginal activism along disciplinary and temporal lines: from the historical into the literary and from the 1960s to the present day.

Secrets to successfully publishing as an HDR student
Daniel May
PhD candidate, Australian Historical Association

This panel discussion for PhD candidates, students and those who have recently completed their PhDs focusses on writing material outside your thesis such as journal articles, book chapters, and media pieces. The marathon that is the PhD may discourage students from exploring additional opportunities, but the benefits of writing other pieces can be huge. Learn from journal editors, early career researchers and experienced academics as they first describe their experiences during a guided discussion, then answer your questions during an extended Q & A session.

Love and the Mother/Land: Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century Australian Novels
Jodi McAlister
University of Tasmania

As scholars such as Hsu-Ming Teo, Ken Gelder and Rachael Weaver have noted, Australian romantic novels of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century include an emphasis on the inability of romantic love to survive on the Australian landscape alongside more "standard" romance narratives (Teo 2014; Gelder and Weaver 2010). This paper, which is a report on initial findings from research undertaken for an Associate Investigator fellowship through the Australian Research Council Centre for Excellence in the Study of the History of Emotions, will build on the work of these scholars to further consider the history of romantic love in Australia as arising from and independent to but also inextricably entangled with the British tradition. This entanglement can be seen in Australian romantic novels of the long nineteenth century, where romantic love is regularly positioned as a hallmark of British "civilisation". While Australian characters are able to participate in romantic love - and, indeed, often infuse new energy into the British family unit - it is rare that novels of this period portrayed two Australian characters falling in love on the Australian landscape without at least some tie back to Britain. This paper will seek to unpick and unpack some of these entangled romantic traditions, drawing on novelists such as Anna Maria Bunn, Louise Mack, Jessie Couvreur, and Harriet Miller Davidson, in order to better understand the development of emotional culture in Australia in the long nineteenth century.
"Their names will never be forgotten": history and memory in Papua New Guinea
Alexandra McCosker
PhD candidate, Monash University

In the years following the Second World War, Papua and New Guinea had a significant Australian presence with the administration of both the territories falling to Australia. It is not surprising that during the post-war years, war memorials sprung up over "the territory". Several active branches of the RSL in Papua and New Guinea ensured that the Australian contribution to the war in the region would "never be forgotten". This paper will examine how the Second World War was remembered and memorialised in Papua New Guinea.

Entangled and Disentangled: Archaeology and the Disciplines of Human History
Ann McGrath
Australian National University

Although the disciplines of history and archaeology are equally concerned with human history, over recent decades, these once-entangled disciplines have become increasingly disentangled. At a time when historians are calling for more expansive geographic and temporal scales for history (Guldi and Armitage 2014; Aslanian et al 2013; Christian 2004), it is worth revisiting the work of some twentieth century archaeologists who narrated grand global human pasts. On the wall of his office, archaeologist Grahame Clark, who held the prestigious Disney Chair of Cambridge's Peterhouse College, displayed a world map on which he indicated all the places to which he had sent his former students. The image of a senior academic in the British imperial metropole enacting a plan to send out young men to the peripheries of Empire anticipates a new era of grand discovery. The disproportionate role of Cambridge archaeological training on the development of the discipline in Australia - dubbed 'Cambridge and the Bush' - has received considerable attention, but not from historians. Although the vantage point of early prehistoric archaeology was distinctively European, despite its ill-fitting template, the southern hemisphere could not be overlooked. Archaeology and history succeeded in not only 'colouring in' the wider imperial world, but in creating disciplinary ruptures that in turn led to problematic periodizations for history's beginnings and endings.

Entangled in an international crisis: Bubonic Plague in Fremantle, 1900
Michelle McKeough
PhD candidate, Murdoch University

At the turn of last century, an international pandemic of Bubonic Plague was rapidly transported by shipping throughout the trading world, taking only a few years to reach every continent. In April 1900, this plague reached Fremantle, at a time when the harbour town's reputation for poor sanitation was equalled only by its reputation for delinquency. As the entry port for Western Australia, the outbreak of bubonic plague revealed the weaknesses inherent in a port-town whose tenements and back-alleys provided the perfect environment for the spread of a plague bacillus. Studies on the international pandemic in the final years of the nineteenth century, show that, across all continents, overcrowded tenements and inadequate sanitation linked the port-towns struck by bubonic plague. Fremantle was no exception to this rule. Its tenements ranged in condition from poor to derelict; bath water and other 'slops' were discarded into backyards and alleyways making them fetid more often than they were not; drainage was woeful; drinking water prone to contamination. Worst, the most insanitary part of Fremantle was the area surrounding the harbour, which was additionally crippled by the port's complex and self-contradictory administrative system. This chaos of authority underpinned any response to outbreaks of disease brought in from shipping. This paper will examine the link between sanitation and the plague in Fremantle during a time of steamships and international trade, whilst keeping in mind how the complex and detrimental composition of administrative authority on the waterfront added to the plague's impact on the port town.

No Fish, No House, No Melons: Situating Aboriginal Guides in Early Colonial New South Wales
Annemarie McLaren
PhD candidate, Australian National University

The first time Aboriginal men accompanied the colonists on their travels, they had no idea what exploration as an activity meant or what it meant to guide, and though they longed to return to Rose Hill, they did not know the way. In this paper I sketch out the beginnings of a schema that considers
the rise of various Aboriginal 'guides' in early colonial New South Wales and what the internal dynamics of the early expeditionary units suggest about the developing social fabric around Sydney Cove and its hinterland. I argue that the phenomenon of Aboriginal men acting as guides and intermediaries - a phenomenon that intensified and developed over the course of the nineteenth century - was not a foregone conclusion, but one that developed concurrently with the colonists' presence and changing needs, and that in turn, the colonists became entangled in a web of political interests that were frequently hidden from view. By considering some of the earliest accounts of landed exploration and contextualising them more fully, a more intricate image emerges of the processes that shaped the phenomenon of Aboriginal guides, an image that suggests that the presence of guides on expeditions was often the result of already formed relationships and networks, that expeditions themselves were sites of intercultural negotiation, and that the practice of Aboriginal people joining expeditionary parties was not one instigated by the colonists, but by Aboriginal people themselves.

"Bill buries most of our dead": Soputa 27 November 1942
Jan McLeod
PhD candidate, University of Newcastle

In 1950, Australian playwright Russell J. Oakes wrote "Judgment: Drama of the War in Papua,1942" as part of a series aimed at "widening the choice of suitable One Act Plays for school production and study in secondary schools". Set in the Main Dressing Station (MDS) at Soputa, the play features six characters: five Australian soldiers and one Japanese prisoner of war. Themes include death, grief, retribution, religion, judgement and the rules of war. In 1943 Sir William Webb was appointed Commissioner under National Security (Inquiries) Regulations to investigate and report "any atrocities or breaches of the rules of warfare by the Japanese armed forces in or in the neighbourhood of the Territories of Papua or New Guinea." Webb investigated the Soputa Bombing of 27 November 1942 where Japanese planes attacked the Australian MDS, 7th Division AIF headquarters and US 126 Combat Clearing Station. At least forty Australians, Americans and Papuans were killed and many more were wounded. Despite the protection afforded medical facilities under the Geneva Convention, Webb's judgement saw the case withheld from the United Nations War Crimes Commission. Seventy-five years on, this presentation re-examines the Soputa bombing and considers how it has been represented, or misrepresented. The discussion draws on a range of sources including Oakes' play, evidence presented at the Webb inquiries, army records, official war histories, diary writings of medical personnel who survived the attack, and heartfelt tributes to those killed - including local soldiers, to illustrate how researching entangled historical frameworks uncovers new perspectives.

Understanding this Region: Student Views from Tasmania
Philippa Mein Smith
University of Tasmania

Over the past three years I have designed and taught an introductory, History-focused, interdisciplinary unit titled 'Understanding this Region' to a group of students who are often ill-prepared for tertiary study. This unit aims to broaden the students' world view, beginning with Tasmania's position in the world, given that some understand 'region' to mean part of Tasmania rather than looking outwards to bigger spaces, such as Australia's region and wider oceanic neighbourhood. As part of the unit assessment I set a simple task: to ask students what is their understanding of this region. This task entails finding a map that matches students' understanding of Australia's and Tasmania's region. They are asked to outline their estimation, and to give this region a name, if it has one. Students must justify their choice of map and name for the region. In doing so, they are asked to refer to two or more of the following terms for the region: Asia-Pacific; Asia; Australasia; Oceania; and Indo-Pacific. This paper analyses students' understandings of 'the region' for the three years 2015 to 2017, revealed by this task of finding a map. The paper considers student views; how far students identify and relate to the Pacific Ocean and associated connections, and how far to Asia; and the reasons they give for their choices. It addresses the significance of their outlook, and whether these findings would be replicated across Australia.
Classical Entanglements: Australian War Commemoration and its Ancient Greek Precedents
Sarah Midford
La Trobe University

The proximity of Gallipoli to the plains where the Trojan War was notionally fought inspired those writing about the campaign to look to the Iliad and other familiar stories from this region to tell the tale of the modern conflict. When the Anzacs landed in Turkey, they did not just enter the Great War, they also entered a physical landscape about which countless stories have been told, and through which countless heroes have passed over centuries. Ancient Greek culture and religion is built into the foundations of the Australian Anzac narrative and this serves to connect Australia to Europe through a longer story of war, humanity and society, despite enormous geographical separation. This paper contends that the Anzac narrative's congruence with ancient, deeply entrenched historical and mythical European narratives, particularly the Trojan War narrative and the historical representation of fifth-century BCE democratic and Periklean Athens, has contributed to its longevity and its prominent place within Australian cultural memory. The paper identifies historical and mythological narrative strands that have been threaded and tangled throughout Anzac stories told over a century, and identifies the patterns of their entanglement, the reasons for their inclusion, and their influence on the evolution of the Anzac narrative. Disentangling the strands of very old and robust mythical and historical narratives will reveal that the Anzac narrative draws on the classical tradition to build a distinctive Australian cultural identity on European foundations.

Almost Remembered
Elizabeth Miller
PhD candidate, Monash University

On February 22, 1913 President William Howard Taft and thirty-two Chiefs from North American tribes gathered at Fort Wadsworth on Staten Island to break ground on a 165 foot monument dedicated to the memory of the "vanishing Indian". This was the idea of fabric merchant and amateur ethnographer, Rodman Wanamaker, who, observing the decline of America's first inhabitants decided to preserve their memory in the most visible way he thought possible. To conjure the image of the New York Harbour as it stands today with a statue of a Native American that towers over Lady Liberty is jarring. Why, in 193, were the plans not followed through to fruition? In January 2017, I met Margie and Robert Boldeagle, a Native American couple living on Staten Island. They want the statue built. And fast. My paper investigates Native American representation in monuments that depict America's storied past. Investigating the Boldeagle's efforts to revive Wanamaker's proposal alongside that of the Northwestern Shoshone in Preston, Idaho and the work of the late Kiowa photographer Horace Poolaw, my paper examines the plight of Native Americans' efforts represent themselves in America History.

Down a Mine, With Feeling: Underground Radical Theatre Entanglements
Lisa Milner
Southern Cross University

Australia's New Theatre and the American New Theatre League were established within a network of international communism in the early twentieth century. Like other workers' theatre groups, these two movements developed from the dual impulses of providing a theatre for a working-class audience, and of presenting progressive, radical ideas to that audience. They took influence from the Russian and German avant-garde and agitprop theatre, and their practices were often experimental and politically transgressive. And for both groups, local inspiration, political protest or other local circumstances were woven through the common and underlying global concerns of radical theatre practice and communist politics. Through this global network, the mobility of ideas, genres, dramatic texts, and people made for different outcomes in Anglophone left-wing theatres. This paper considers connections within international left cultural activity by focusing on a unique case study. Drawing from primary research and oral history interviews, the paper highlights radical theatre's struggle for industrial justice in a successful entanglement of cultural production and union activism. To illustrate this intersection, a 1952 New Theatre performance of an American left-wing play is discussed. What makes the performance of this play notable is the location and audience: 1500 feet down a mineshaft to miners staging a stay-in strike.
Australia, Canada and Zambia's mixed-descent children's "entangled histories", 1900 -1960s
Juliette Milner-Thornton
Griffith University

This paper transcends Australia, Canada and Zambia's national histories to explore these nations "entangled histories" of benevolent policies and practices that specifically targeted children of mixed Indigenous and European descent in the 20th century. It explores the underlying advancements of benevolent policies and practices that supposedly were "for the good" and "uplifting" of mixed descent children, but essentially the main objective in these three nations was to culturally and biologically eliminate those targeted. Certainly, the histories and legacies of benevolent policies and practices are specific to different locations in Australia, Canada and Zambia. Nonetheless, mixed descent Australian, Canadian and Zambian children shared comparable historical experiences of removal from their Indigenous families and institutionalization in government funded dormitories and Christian missionary boarding schools. Likewise, they also shared similar experiences of colonial instructions of racism, poor diet and homesickness, all of which have caused transgenerational trauma. Also of interest, are the global entanglements and interconnections of Christian missionary societies and the products of the wide-range of heavy-handed legal restrictions imposed by various government agencies in Australia, Canada and Zambia. Government agencies in these colonial spaces imposed numerous restrictions to control mixed descent people's bodies, children, citizenship, education, employment, mobility, sexuality, racial and socio-economic status. Arguably, mixed descent people in present-day Australia, Canada and Zambia continue to experience socio-economic disadvantages because of historical benevolent practices.

Disabled British Ex-servicemen, Family Breakdown, and the State After WW1
Alexia Moncrieff
University of Leeds

The Ministry of Pensions files at the UK National Archives provide evidence of the messiness of private life in and after the First World War. The bureaucratic processes of applying for, assessing, and granting pensions - with the accompanying forms, correspondence and attempts to quantify the extent and effect of disability - reveal the intensely personal experiences of veterans and their families. The dependence of families on financial support from the Ministry of Pensions brought the state into the home and the Ministry demonstrated that it was willing to both investigate and intervene in the private lives of its citizens to support those it deemed worthy. Previous histories have demonstrated that the Ministry sought to limit Britain's financial responsibilities. This was achieved, in part, by the monitoring of war widows' behaviour to ensure they honoured their late husbands' sacrifice, ending financial provision for those it deemed unworthy. This paper argues that demonstrated medical need was not sufficient for men to receive financial assistance and that they were also subject to scrutiny. It suggests that the state was willing to intervene to fulfil a man's responsibility to his family, despite added cost, when he was unable or unwilling to do so himself.

Charity at work: Country town benevolent societies in Victoria, 1851-1901.
Helen Monro
PhD candidate, University of New England

Settlers in early country towns in Victoria adapted the familiar British organisational form of the voluntary association as a vehicle for social activities, entertainment, health insurance, charity, education and moral improvement in their new communities. In towns with few facilities, and negligible government support, the individual initiative and mutual support exercised through associations gave citizens a say in the way their towns developed. The most common voluntary associations - temperance, friendly and benevolent societies, as well as mechanics' institutes - fulfilled their stated objectives to varying degrees, but their activities also brought unexpected impacts. Based on evidence from archival sources and contemporary local newspapers, this paper will examine the influence of ladies' benevolent societies in country towns at a time when Victoria's politicians and public regarded charity as a private responsibility. Hardworking committee members acted as the social conscience of their towns, ensuring the relief of the deserving poor which was seen as the duty of every civilised community. In providing relief, they reinforced shared values, built civic pride, both connected and differentiated people within the town and offered the ladies on their committees opportunities for personal development, as well as public engagement and influence. The societies' work led not only to public acceptance of the community's obligation to provide a decent standard of living for all, but also to acceptance of state funding for charity and government
responsibility for social welfare policy in the interests of the colony as a whole.

Military Historians and (Jungle) Green History: Kokoda, 1942
John Moremon
Massey University

Military historians and environmental historians study the landscapes and seascapes for obviously different reasons. For military historians, terrain and weather shape the planning and conduct of battles and can dominate the combat experience. Dudley McCarthy, Australia's official historian of the Kokoda battle, conveyed this by describing warfare in New Guinea as a "story of small groups of men, infinitesimally small against the mountains in which they fought". For environmental historians, study of war is important for the fact it is a significant force in environmental change. However, with focus on the consequences, they do not necessarily comprehend armed forces' motivations and methods of "attack" on the environment. Edmund Russell and Richard P. Tucker have argued there is a requirement for intellectual merging of the prime fields - at the very least, greater willingness to collaborate - to advance understanding of the interaction between military forces and the environment. Despite 'new military history' having emerged a half-century ago, military historians generally persist to neglect study of the environment. Charles E. Closmann suggests that terrain and weather are seen as worthy of study "only insofar as these elements constitute obstacles or advantages on the battlefield." Kokoda is a case in point. While this battle is one of the two most studied in Australian military history, its environmental impact has scarcely been considered (except in relation to 'war tourism'). This paper offers a military historian's perspective as to why this is the case; and discusses what military records can tell us about the interaction between forces and the environment in 1942.

The End of a Sixty-four Year Australian Tradition
Ernest Morris
University of Wollongong

In early November 1964, the coalition government introduced into federal parliament, a bill conscripting young men into the Army. One of Army's objection to national service was addressed by the newly inserted section 50C of the Defence Act 1965. This legislative change not only affected national servicemen but also permanent army members enlisted into the Regular Army and part time members of the Army Reserve. These changes required all Defence Force members to serve outside Australia if it was operationally necessary. There was no option to decline overseas service. In previous conflicts, the Australian Imperial Force had been a volunteer force and under the Defence Act, Permanent Military Force members had to individually agree to serve abroad. One of the myths believed by many Vietnam veterans, and vouchsafed by some military historians, was that all soldiers deployed to Vietnam were volunteers. This myth was promulgated by many senior officers who claimed that all men deploying to Vietnam - even National servicemen - signed a declaration during corps training volunteering for overseas service. However, a comprehensive search of veterans' records has failed to trace any such documentation. In this myth of Vietnam volunteers, senior soldiers, historians and veterans appeared to be constructing a gateway for the Vietnam deployment to be included in the ANZAC tradition. Later, after the war, it appears historians took this myth for fact, and a fiction entered history. The volunteer citizen soldier who had been germane to the national legend had been legislatively erased, but such is the force of the legend that they have been reinstated by turning to a myth.

'The Sydney Ducks are Cackling in Pond': Colonial Australia and the Making of Californian History
Benjamin Mountford
La Trobe University

Over the last few decades, the transnational turn in Australian history has fostered a wealth of new research into the notion of a 'White Pacific' - and the emergence of Australia and the United States as 'White Men's Countries' during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Building on this rich and illuminating body of scholarship, this paper sets out to explore one of the most historically significant, and yet largely neglected, connections between the Australian colonies and United States in the nineteenth century. By 1851 the Sydney Ducks (as ex-convicts from Australia were styled) had developed into California's most feared and loathed immigrant group. At San Francisco, Sydney Town
on the slopes of Telegraph Hill, was the city's most dangerous neighbourhood. Implicated in many of the great tragedies that beset gold rush California, Australians were everywhere regarded with suspicion and hostility. According to one American author, by 1851 'The Sydney Ducks are cackling in the pond', had become a common saying whenever an appalling offence was committed. The cackling of the Ducks and their subsequent treatment at the hands of the famed San Francisco Committees of Vigilance, was to have a profound effect on American perceptions of Australia and, in turn, on British and colonial perceptions of Americans. This paper sets out to shed fresh light on the history of the Sydney Ducks and the significance of colonial Australia to the making of Californian history.

Performing the Archive: 19th century letters of complaint
Lisa Murray
City of Sydney Council

In 1867 Mr Carruthers wrote to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Sydney to complain about his "very dirty and disagreeable next door neighbour". It seems Mr Mullins allowed his cesspit to overflow into Mr Carruthers' garden, despite being ordered by the Inspector of Nuisances to abate the issue and build a drain. It was a neighbourly dispute that was not easily resolved, and nearly ended up in court. This is just one example of over 57,600 letters received by the city council between 1843 and 1899 and which are held in the City Archives. The archivists have catalogued and digitised all of its 19th century incoming correspondence, making it available to everyone online. Yet this rich archive remains largely unrecognised by the general public and is an under-utilised resource. So in 2016, in response to the History Week theme of Neighbours, we experimented with the archive. What would happen if we collaborated with some comedic writers to perform the archive? The result was Letters of Complaint, a late-night performance in Customs House. City Historian Dr Lisa Murray will present the methodology, approach and outcomes of this public history project. Letters utilised in the performance can be found at http://trove.nla.gov.au/list?id=94000

Making Marriage National: An Australian Story
Deborah Nance
PhD candidate, Australian National University

The passage of the Marriage Act in 1961 marked the culmination of a slow and hesitant process by which Australia's federal government assumed control over marriage law. Why did the federal government take over marriage law in 1961, rather than earlier, and what were the forces that drove this change? What was the nature of the regulation that was enacted? The Marriage Act represented a major legislative incursion by the federal government into intimate family matters - a field it had refrained from entering, except in a piecemeal way, for the previous sixty years despite clear constitutional authority for doing so. How and why did this change happen? My paper, which is part of a larger project concerning the federal take-over of the regulations that govern getting married in Australia, will present my current research findings relating to developments during the 1950s. It will highlight the importance of two key factors that led to the enactment of a federal uniform marriage law: the importance of the drive for national uniform matrimonial causes (divorce) legislation, and the role of key lawyers, in the parliament and cabinet, in achieving the outcome.

The Murdering Gully Massacre
Alycia Nevalainen
PhD candidate, Australian National University

In late 1839, Assistant Protector of Aborigines Charles Sievwright received word that a massacre had occurred west of Lake Corangamite. Eyewitness accounts told of squatters and their employees having opened fire into a group of approximately fifty sleeping men, women and children. Thirty-five were killed, their bodies carelessly dumped into nearby water which ran red with their blood. Not sated by the first massacre, perpetrators pursued the survivors twenty kilometres to Lake Bullen-Merri. Here another incident ensued, with victims driven into the murky depths of the lake. Only a handful escaped, including only one woman and child, the latter having desperately clung to her mother during the four-kilometre swim to safety. Despite survivors identifying the perpetrators, and their involvement openly discussed throughout the region, all evaded punishment for their grizzly deeds. Massacres of Aboriginal peoples has remained a constant theme in Australian history since W.E.H. Stanner's call to arms. Yet to truly understand our past, we must first learn how to strip
Australian history of the colonial armour which has for too long protected perpetrators. Wanting to prioritise the voice of the victims silenced by the enduring legacies of colonialism, I developed a methodological framework from which to research a massacre of Aboriginal peoples. Using Murdering Gully as a case study, I will explore how this methodological framework enabled the true narrative of the massacre to finally take their place in Australian history.

The Long Shadows of Captain Cook: Remembering British Empire and Fighting Indigenous Resistance in the twentieth century Pacific
Patricia O'Brien
Australian National University

This paper explores the 150-year-commemorations of Cook's discovery of the Hawai'iian Islands. The paper explores the intent and form these commemorations took and the leading role of an Australian politician in instigating the commemorations and seeing them through to fruition in 1928. The paper juxtaposes this indulgent memorialising of the founder of British Empire in the Pacific with the fraught realities of indigenous resistance at this time particularly as it related to the Mandated Territory of Western Samoa, governed by New Zealand for Britain. There are curious connections between the Samoan resistance movement, known as the Mau, and the Cook commemorations; connections all the more intriguing given Samoa was an island group 'un-Cooked', that is it was one of the few Pacific polities the great British navigator did not encounter.

"Those other Exiles': A Soldier's Life on the Penal Frontier of New South Wales 1804-1842'.
Tamsin O'Connor
PhD candidate, University of Sydney

The well-documented convict cargo was accompanied by a far more elusive group of involuntary arrivals - the soldiers. We know much about the various regiments that served in New South Wales, but far less about the enlisted men who gave them form and force. This paper seeks to meet the challenge Peter Stanley set so long ago and 'define how the garrison lived within colonial Society, with its own sections cliques and subcultures'. It will attempt to find out 'whose daughters the good [and bad] soldiers courted' and 'what happened in the rough pubs in George Street' - at least in spirit. For the focus of this study is not Sydney Town, but the frontier penal stations of Newcastle, Port Macquarie and Moreton Bay, where the soldiers felt themselves to be as trapped and tormented as the convicts they guarded. Yet there was rum and there were women and the soldiers competed for both with each other and with the male convicts. The 'entangled' relationships between convicts and soldiers were characterised by a tension between conflict and cooperation, between class commonality and regimental discipline and between the complex loyalties of religion and ethnicity. There was of course a crucial third group to confound and confuse allegiances - the Aborigines, who formed pragmatic and ultimately unstable alliances with both the soldiers and the convicts. This paper, while seeking to negotiate these micro-geographies of class, race, gender and power on the penal frontier, also aims to reveal that the transient soldiers were less tangential to the construction of convict society (as opposed to the destruction of Aboriginal society) than the monolithic archive of the Colonial Office would have us suppose.

De-colonising Ecological Restoration: Restoring with not to the past
Lilian Pearce
Australian National University

Ecological restoration has traditionally employed history as a template for an idealised 'pre-disturbance' state. Both recognition of Indigenous peoples' land practices and accelerated ecological change have forced a rethinking of the role history in ecological restoration, with some arguing that it should now serve as a guide rather than as a template. In this paper I consider the ways in which environmental sciences, and practices such as ecological restoration, employ history as a force that can legitimise ongoing colonisation. Bound up in settler-colonial and Western-science framing, such static versions of the past dismiss local peoples, practices and knowledges and can re-enforce the imaginaries that caused the damage in the first place. I draw on case-study material to demonstrate how local environmental and cultural histories can provide a critical view - one that understands ecological change as entangled within the full inheritance of a place - and one that facilitates a broader practice of healing.
Colonial Australians in French vineyards: imperial ambition and transimperial friendships
Mikael Pierre
PhD candidate, University of Newcastle

Grape wine is a product of global economic and cultural significance. While France is the most powerful country among modern Europe's traditional wine producers, Australia has in contemporary history become a major global player. Colonial Australian winegrowers participated in the first wave of wine globalisation in the late nineteenth century after many decades of halting experimentation to achieve export quality wine. Although wine can be made with diverse styles and tastes, many colonial winegrowers preferred to emulate French techniques and use French wine varieties. Although very few French migrants arrived in colonial Australia, aspiring British Australian colonists not only looked to France but visited and lingered to gather knowledge and skills. This led to new interpersonal entanglements, which I will explore in this paper through wine tours of colonial Australians in French vineyards. The contacts with French winegrowers constituted peer-to-peer exchanges occurring beneath overarching political rivalries between France and Great Britain. Although British pleasure tourism occurred in France - and the British had historically spied on and studied French agriculture - Australian colonists performed new imperial border crossings by initiating the circulation of skills and technologies in search for a model of economic and cultural development. These contacts also revealed either indifference or curiosity from French vignerons about this potential colonial competitor in the international wine market. In tracing unexpected friendships my paper develops a neglected aspect of the historiography of early French-Australian relations and nineteenth century transimperialisms.

Entanglements of Migrancy: Acts of Migration between Greece and Australia
Andonis Piperoglou
La Trobe University

Reading against the grain of hegemonic narratives of cultural and migration histories, this paper will focus on particular manifestations of Greek-Australian subjectivity in order to reveal how migrancy produced distinctive forms of sociality during the first decades of the twentieth century. Through an exploration of racialized articulations made by an early Greek settler leadership, I will argue that the non-Anglo migrant, as a recognizable subject in White Australia, was related to distinct forms of settler colonial cultural production. For Greek settlers these distinct forms of settler colonial cultural production took place within physical and symbolic spaces created by European philhellenism, British imperialism in the Mediterranean, and localised manifestations of settler colonial masculinity. More broadly, the settlement of Greeks, I will suggest, constituted a formative moment in settler colonial conceptualisations of subjectivity, culture, and human mobility. An exploration of these conceptualizations will reveal the historical emergence of the migrant-cum-settler. This emergence marked the arrival of a hegemonic positional discourse which defined Greek diasporic culture and influenced Greek-Australian narratives of self. Such an exploration into the settler colonial history of Greek-Australian migrancy offers a way to unpack the persistence of hegemonic definitions of culture in Australian History, and Migration History more generally.

Uses of colonial marriage and divorce c. 1900'.
Marian Quarty
Monash School of Philosophical, Historical, and International Studies

In 1900 and 1901 two of my children's great great grandmothers, Caroline Andrews and Eliza Morris, took legal action to separate themselves from their husbands. Caroline Andrews achieved a judicial separation from her husband in Albany, Western Australia, in 1900. Eliza Morris was granted a divorce in Sydney in 1901. The circumstances and family backgrounds of these women were different, and their legal situations varied with the colonies in which they lived, but there were striking similarities in their domestic situations. I am interested here in investigating the uses of divorce for both of these women, and the uses of marriage for them and for their husbands. More broadly, I will use these case histories to look again at the judgements that historians have made about the history of the Australian family.
Going Native: Catholicism and Tiwi spirits
Laura Rademaker
Australian Catholic University

Historians and anthropologists have increasingly found that Indigenous peoples’ conversion to Christianity occurred as they creatively wove the new faith into their own traditions. This interpretation of Indigenous Christianities is becoming so prominent as to be a new orthodoxy. Yet it risks overshadowing how Indigenous peoples themselves have understood the history of Christianity in their society. This paper turns to accounts given by the Tiwi of North Australia. Their story of the ‘conversion’ of a Catholic priest and encounter with Tiwi spirits inverts missionary and scholarly assumptions about inculturation and conversion by insisting they did not accommodate a new faith but the Catholic Church converted as it learned to embrace them. Their history offers fresh insights to scholars seeking to understand religious conversion, suggesting that conversion occurs as spiritual communities change in the act of incorporating new peoples.

Selling Sounds in a New Land: The Phonograph in Australia
Henry Reese
PhD candidate, University of Melbourne

Histories of sound concur that the ability to record and mechanically reproduce sound coincided with an age of ‘modern’ listening. Sound became an object of knowledge in its own right. But how did Australians interact with this novel technology on an everyday basis, and what cultural role did recorded sound play at the dawn of the twentieth century?

Extant histories of sound recording tend to focus on the growth of a global industry based around the commercialisation of music. Yet many Australians’ first interaction with this new way of dealing with sound occurred on a more intimate level, through the technology’s appearance in the retail landscape. I explore the trials and tribulations of Peter Bohanna, Australasian agent for the British Gramophone Company, as he attempted to establish a market for the ‘talking machine’ in urban Australia from 1900. Bohanna’s brief and tumultuous career is illustrative of the haphazard yet meaningful ways in which this technology entered Australian life. To borrow Jill Julius Matthews' phrase, I conceive of the constellation of Australian business representatives and music retailers to which Bohanna belonged as ‘mediators of modernity’ for Australian listeners. Bohanna’s letters ‘home’ reveal more than sales data. We gain a tantalising glimpse of the struggles of a young man, filled with the promise of modern technology, in a challenging new environment. This paper aims to enrich both business and sensory history alike by mapping changing cultures of listening onto the growth of a modern sound recording ‘industry’ in Australia.

Entangled art histories: women at the cross-cultural threshold
Una Rey
University of Newcastle

Across remote Indigenous Australia, art production is synonymous with the bold inheritance of the Western Desert Painting Movement, a narrative renewed by figures such as Loongkoonan, the 105 year old West Australian artist recently celebrated in the 2016 Adelaide Biennial. While women painters have eclipsed their male peers in community art centres from the 1990s, less visible are the creative interdisciplinary, cross-cultural practices of non-Indigenous women working alongside these artists as art coordinators - a role that includes but is not limited to mediator, mentor, curator, studio assistant, critic, agent, administrator, artist, cultural interlocutor and archivist. This paper examines the creative practices of black and white women working in these dynamic cross-cultural studios sharing subtle generative and collaborative art practices. These ‘entangled art histories’ have been described by journalist and critic of Indigenous art, Nicolas Rothwell, as a form of two-way influence and intimate exchange ‘so profound… that it is almost a perversion of the record to underplay this hybrid aspect of the tradition.’

When Australia lost its nuclear power future.
Wayne Reynolds
University of Newcastle

United States Administrations from Eisenhower to Reagan promoted the peaceful use of nuclear
power but opposed the “diversion” of nuclear fuel for the production of nuclear explosives. Australia signed the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty in 1970 on just this basis, albeit with the qualification that it would preserve the option to develop nuclear weapons in the event of a future crisis. When the Whitlam Government ratified the NPT it envisaged a major role for Australian uranium to be processed into reactor fuel - Connor wanted a loan for that purpose. International events from 1972 to 1985, however, underscored the problems in such an advanced role for Australian nuclear technology. A major problem was that the United States backed away from Article IV of the NPT - the "inalienable right" of signatories to use nuclear power and to the "fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy". Major European powers, which had joined the NPT with Article IV clearly in mind, resisted the American position. Whitlam - and certainly Connor - also resisted the American position. Fraser demurred and thought that private capital might be mobilised to deliver a major role in supply of nuclear fuel and its reprocessing. Hawke, notwithstanding the Ranger Enquiry, delivered a low-tech role for Australian uranium in the American nuclear order. In so doing he abolished the Australian Atomic Energy Commission and embarked on the dangerous Collins submarine gamble with diesel and battery power.

Hunting Gays and Lesbians in the Australian Defence Force, 1970s-92
Noah Riseman
Australian Catholic University

The Australian military had longstanding bans on gay and lesbian service from the Boer War until November 1992. Even so, policies and practices towards suspected and confirmed gay and lesbian service personnel changed over time. From 1974, regulations and public statements regularly said that suspected gays and lesbians should be "treated sympathetically and with discretion." Yet, testimonies of dismissed gay and lesbian Defence members from the 1970s and 1980s suggest that military police rarely acted in such a manner. Instead, military police services engaged in so-called witch hunts and practices of surveillance, intimidation, interrogations and even spying on members or particular establishments. Using oral history testimonies and leaked documents, this paper will analyse the disconnects between policy, rhetoric, practices and public awareness about witch hunts and the persecution of Australian gay and lesbian service personnel from the 1970s until the 1992 repeal of the ban.

Merewether: The suburb and the man
Brian Roach
PhD candidate, University of Newcastle

Edward Christopher Merewether is one of Ann Atkinson's "footnote people" - their names are found in newspapers, reports and the indexes of books but never on the cover. His legacy on the development of Newcastle gleaned from his letters and newspapers in business activity, coal-mining agriculture, education, religion and sport left him with a reputation now forgotten. He became President of the first Newcastle Club, the forerunner of the present entity. He paid personally for the first steam railway engine built by a local firm, saw the development of railways from coal mines to the wharves and advised on the wharf extensions and wharf extensions. His sale of land from the east end of the Company's grant began the formation of the "East End". With Samuel Craik, Stock Manager on Warrah Station on the Liverpool Plains he improved agriculture and stock breeding and made major profits for London. A cricket tragic, he fostered the game and made available land for playing fields and the present racecourse. He also became Commodore of the Newcastle Sailing Club. "The Ridge", his home later became the Hillcrest Maternity Hospital and later still the Salvation Army's Home for Unmarried Mothers. Merewether is known as a prestigious suburb of Newcastle. This paper discusses the man behind the name and explore his significant yet now forgotten role in the economic and cultural development of Newcastle.

Sharing place, history and art
Carol Roberts
Advancing History

This presentation is based on my work with Hawkesbury-based artist Greg Hansell and an exhibition held last year on the Parramatta Campus of Western Sydney University titled A Sense of Place: the artist Greg Hansell's record of history now. The exhibition, which was curated by Monica McMahon
and opened by myself, outlined three phases of the artist's work incorporating works from his past, works from the present and works in the artist's private collection that have inspired him. The artist's country upbringing in rural NSW and his move to the Hawkesbury area have influenced his sense of place attachment and understanding of the environment surrounding place, so much so that his methods of recording history reflect the intangible alongside tangible heritage. Using information from open-ended oral histories and conversations with the artist, my presentation explores the three factors of place, history and art and how paintings can provide an entry point both for an understanding of significance of place in relation to people who live in or near historic towns, as well as how the artist's exhibitions and our associated guided tours around the Hawkesbury area provide opportunities to link art and history so that people are encouraged to look for new perspectives and ways of interpreting place.

The Captive Mind: Camps and Captivity in Wartime and Post-war Psychiatry
Elizabeth Roberts-Pedersen
University of Newcastle

Drawing on the psychiatric literature of World War II and recent developments in the historiography of trauma, this paper argues that notions of cruel, unjust and interminable incarceration underpin key concepts in the psychiatry of wartime and the post-war period. Consequently it is World War II (rather than World War I or the Vietnam War) that is most significant in turning the attention of psychiatry and related disciplines to the implications of mass violence.

Pastoralists as protectors? Some nineteenth century debates
Tim Rowse
Western Sydney University

In their occupation of Australia, pastoralists publicly debated their tactics of intimidation and conciliation of Aboriginal people. This paper will focus on a series of episodes and texts, 1830s to 1860s, in which pastoralists developed a plausible alternative to extermination. That is, they debated whether and when to let Aboriginal people coexist with settlers on their 'runs'. The paper will begin by reviewing recent scholarship on the difficulty of practising the legal doctrine that the Aboriginal person was a subject of the Crown. The weakness and ambivalence of the state created latitude for non-state colonial authorities. At the same time, the 'pastoral lease' imposed obligations on the lessee to coexist, and Aboriginal labour proved useful. While many pastoralists' sense of insecurity persisted, expressed in their support for the Native Mounted Police, other pastoralists experimented with 'letting them in' and reported the success of this strategy. I will argue that this debate gave rise to pastoralists' norms of coexistence, with the result that pastoralists functioned, in significant respects, as 'protectors' of Aboriginal people. The primary sources for this paper are the writings and public testimonies of pastoralists who established colonial authority in the mid-nineteenth century.

Entangled legal histories: Spanish-American legal transfers and Philippine labour law
Jonathan Sale
University of Newcastle

Labour laws have nuanced, "entangled histories". Kohler (1998, pp. 1318-1319, 1324) sets apart "state-help" and "self-help" aspects. "State-help" conditions pertain to individual labour laws (affecting individual workers) while "self-help" terms refer to collective labour laws (involving organised workers) (ibid.). Across the common law-civil law continuum of labour law systems, he distinguishes between the American common law-labour law model that has strong "self-help" features and the German civil law-labour law type with its robust "state-help" characteristics (ibid.). Within common law-labour law systems, Whelan (1982, pp. 285, 298-300) differentiates the United Kingdom's quite thorough regulations concerning individual labour law and essentially laissez-faire, voluntarist approach to collective labour law from the American style that is somewhat sparse in terms of federal individual labour laws but fairly detailed as to auxiliary rules in collective labour law. These nuances seem extant in Philippine labour law - there are relatively extensive "state-help" and "self-help" provisions and rather itemised regulations in individual and collective labour laws. The Philippines' colonisation by Spain lasted over 300 years, until its cession to America via the 1898 Treaty of Paris. American influence is discernible in Philippine labour law. But Spanish institutions linger such as in jurisprudence about managerial prerogatives. Whilst these might suggest "entangled legal histories" - "complex intertwined networks, with no beginning and no end, and a difficulty to fix their own point of
departure" (Duve 2014, pp. 6, 8) - there might be legal endemism too in the shape of labour rules of endogenous origins.

The 1947 referendum on hotel trading hours in New South Wales
Lauren Samuelsson
PhD candidate, University of Wollongong

Six o'clock closing of licensed premises was first introduced to New South Wales in 1916, supported by a population gripped with patriotic fervour and heavily influenced by the temperance movement. Thus began a period of profound change to drinking culture in the state. On Saturday 15 February 1947, the people of New South Wales headed to the polls to vote in a controversial referendum: they were asked to decide whether hotel trading hours should be extended. At the close of the polls, over 62 percent of voters supported the continuation of six o'clock closing, despite the multitude of 'evils' perceived to be associated with it. The introduction of six o'clock closing in 1916 and the influence of the temperance movement on that decision has been scrutinised by many historians. Far less attention has been paid to the 1947 liquor referendum and the lingering influence of temperance organisations in post-war Australia. This paper addresses that gap by drawing on newspaper reports, letters to the editor, government documents, and a range of temperance literature to illustrate the multi-faceted social issues that impacted the outcome of the referendum. It argues that temperance ideas, public resentment towards the liquor trade, and specific economic and political factors led to the decision of the people of New South Wales to retain six o'clock closing. By exploring the public debate that surrounded the 1947 referendum this paper highlights the cultural complexities of the history of drinking in Australia.

A German Orient? The Russian Revolution and the German-Ottoman Alliance
Thomas Schmutz
PhD candidate, University of Newcastle

The paper shows the visions and possibilities of a German Orient and a Pan-Turanian Empire in the Middle East and Central Asia after the Russian Revolutions. The unprecedented window of opportunity brought new expansion, violence and frictions for the German-Ottoman alliance. The focus on the entanglement of European and Asian actors during the First World War brings a new perspective which counters the mostly European perception of the global war. While the Young Turk leaders and the German diplomats were pursuing considerably different objectives at the beginning of the war, they needed each other to fulfil their claims for regional and global power. Germany did not intervene when the persecution of Ottoman Christians turned into annihilation. Ottoman leaders had been aiming at creating a homogenized Turkish homeland in Anatolia since the Balkan Wars. As to the Ottoman Jews and Palestine, German and Ottoman leaders elaborated the possibility of a post-war Jewish homeland. However, the British victories in Palestine rendered these visions unrealistic. The Balfour Declaration in 1917 showed a continuation of the Sykes-Picot planning as well as British post-war concepts for the Middle East. For London and Paris, the scramble of the Ottoman Empire was only a matter of time. The seminal change came in 1917, when revolutions in Russia enabled war minister Enver Pasha to attempt a second advance on Central Asia and to dream of a pan-Turkish empire. The year 1917 was decisive for the German-Ottoman conduct of war and the last visions of empire and post-war order.

Restoring Conjugal Rights: Gender and Collusion in NSW Divorce Law
Claire Sellwood
PhD candidate, University of Sydney

In 1892, New South Wales introduced amended divorce legislation, which particularly extended the provisions available for women seeking separation. The number of divorce suits increased and women began to overtake men as petitioners. The 'restitution of conjugal rights' subsection of the Matrimonial Causes Act can be viewed as an inbuilt countermeasure, allowing individuals to sue for the resumption of cohabitation. Drawing on case law, and Divorce Court records and transcripts, this paper compares the way women and men used the law either to sue for the return of their spouse or attempt to fight restitution claims. It also addresses judicial fears that this subsection could be used as a 'short-cut' to divorce. Under the 1892 Act, non-compliance with a court order for restitution was deemed equivalent to desertion. However, unlike the desertion provision, which required proof of separation for three years, the restitution subsection allowed a petitioner to secure a divorce decree
after only three months. I consider the complex gendered workings of this section of the law - the ambiguities inherent in defining 'conjugal rights' and cohabitation, the fraught process of judging sincerity, the various motivations behind restoration suits, and the ability for spouses to collude to secure separation. In doing so, I both reaffirm and challenge aspects of feminist historical critiques of conjugal rights. Restitution was undoubtedly a product of patriarchal power within marriage, yet it also afforded women opportunities to secure a fast-tracked divorce through the manipulation of a legal loophole.

History, Public Memory, and Curriculum: Students' perspectives of Anzac Commemorations.
Heather Sharp
University of Newcastle

Australia's involvement in World War I and specifically Gallipoli, currently in its centenary years of commemoration, continues to capture the public's imagination in a way that arguably surpasses all other historical events in Australia's history in terms of: popular culture representations such as advertising, film, and television; children's literature; popular and academic history publications; and educational resources at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. So pervasive is the public's awareness of Gallipoli, that by the time high school students in year 9 study the unit on Australia's involvement in WWI, they are already familiar with the common tropes of narratives surrounding this event, however inaccurate they may be. This paper reports on research conducted in three NSW high schools that provided students with a collection of five sources and a series of questions to answer about Gallipoli as an historical and commemorative event. The research is interested in understanding how the Gallipoli campaign is perceived at the time of its 100 year anniversary and to see whether or how students engage with collective memory and official history in their own narratives of the nation. Australia has experienced two decades of public struggle over the national narrative (Macintyre & Clark, 2003); concerns over whose history is being taught in schools (Donnelly, 1997); on-going attempts at political interference in History education (Crowe, 2014; Taylor, 2009); and anxieties over what the public knows about the nation's past (Ashton & Hamilton, 2007), making this a topical area for research and debate.

Exploring the early constructions of space on Milingimbi Mission.
Bronwyn Shepherd
PhD candidate, Deakin University

In much of historical and anthropological scholarship the role of 'missions' in Australian Aboriginal history remains under researched. In many ways, mission spaces have been delineated as an archetypal evil of the colonising agenda. Missions, however were complex spaces of belonging, where sustained and intimate cross-cultural contact provided valuable material for intercultural analysis, especially gender-inflected. I therefore contend the dynamics and practices of the actors involved with missions during the early 20th century need further attention. This research presents an historical anthropological analysis, with a particular focus on the interactions that occurred on the Milingimbi Methodist Mission in Northeast Arnhem Land during the interwar years. It draws across the breadth of archival material that was produced from these spaces. This includes material recorded by missionaries, anthropologists, and memoirs of descendants. Close attention across such records I argue will provide access into nuances relating to temporality and inter-subjectivities, discursive processes and material practices. The aim of such analysis is to draw attention to other histories not overtly heard within the archives. In doing so will also extend the existing literature outlining the complexity of Australia's settler-colonial past.

Amanda Vanstone, Child Refugees, and histories of governing emotion
Jordy Silverstein
University of Melbourne

From October 2003 to January 2007, Liberal Party Senator Amanda Vanstone held the role of Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, the only woman to have been Immigration Minister in Australia. In her time in this role, Vanstone would regularly speak about Australia having a "big heart" when it came to dealings with refugees. When asked about the government's policy of mandatory detention for asylum seekers who arrived by boat on Australian territory, and particularly about the detention of children, Vanstone commented that "no-one would like to see children in detention. But if you let the children out, you can't do that without letting the parents out." She went on to suggest that
"you don't want children in detention, but you've got to find a way to stop this [movement of people seeking to come to Australia] and so you choose, if you like, the... the most palatable of two unpalatable choices." During Vanstone's tenure as Immigration Minister she regularly used both emotional and bureaucratic language to describe the ways in which she would govern the lives of refugee and asylum seeker children. In this paper I'll explore the ways that Vanstone constructed policy around child refugees such that there was an intertwining of ideas of Australia, borders, refugeeeness, and compassion. This intertwining - which produced a symbiotic discursive relationship between emotions and the figures of child refugees - served as a means for Vanstone to express her governmental desires.

'A Scandal to all English lands'? Cultural narratives of wife beating in 19th century Australia
Zora Simic
UNSW

This paper takes as its starting point the question of how 'entangled' the Australian colonies were with Britain when it came to responding to and representing 'wife beating' across the nineteenth century. Firstly, this involves tracing the shifting legislative contexts, which as other historians have pointed out became more distinct as colonial law makers grappled with the issue of how to make divorce laws, for example, more responsive to local conditions, including high rates of wife desertion. In this respect, the Australian colonies arguably became more advanced than Britain in terms of legislative responses to violence against women, or at least in theory. The main focus of the paper however is not the legal but rather the cultural history of domestic violence in nineteenth century Australia. In making sense of wife beating, contemporary commentators sometimes made recourse to one of two narratives, each of which asserted cultural difference from Britain, for better or worse. In the first, the Australian colonies - particularly those with a convict stain - were peculiarly and excessively violent. In the second - more common later in the century - the Australian colonies were optimistically positioned as more progressive than Britain, including in the response to wife beating. Through close attention to local media coverage of wife beating scandals in England in the second half of the nineteenth century, I note the co-existence of both narratives as evidence of deeply entangled colonial frameworks for comprehending wife beating as, to quote one 1870 editorial, 'a scandal to all English lands'.

Unity and Division: The 1980 United States National Conventions
Chris Simmonds
PhD candidate, La Trobe University

The 1980 United States presidential election has been described as a key turning point in not only United States political history, but crucial to the development of ruling structures within most Western democracies. The most obvious manifestation of the 'Reagan Revolution' in our own time is the beginning of a neoliberal form of economic organisation, which was ushered in soon after Ronald Regan defeated Jimmy Carter. However, the 1980 election was also the first real appearance of the 'New Right' political movement, which is now very much at the forefront of modern American political discourse. This 'New Right' is described as a loose coalition of foreign affair hawks, economic libertarians, and fundamentalist religious groups. The paper I will present will focus upon both the Democratic and Republican National Conventions of 1980 through the use of extensive archival research and theoretical analysis, in order to provide a detailed description of a marquee event during an election that has major significance in our own time. The significance in covering the national conventions lies in analysing the ability of the nominated candidates to negotiate with competing factions of their respective political party. The paper will demonstrate that it was Reagan's ability to negotiate with differing ideological viewpoints within the Republican Party, and Carter's lack of interest in legitimate grievances within his own voting base during the conventions, that set the scene for an eventual Reagan landslide victory in November.

Anthropological intersections: Critiquing government policy towards Aboriginal people in NSW
Rachael Simons
University of Sydney

Focusing on the 1937-1938 Select Committee on the Administration of the Aborigines Protection Board, this paper explores the global circulation of anthropological thought in the early twentieth century in shaping critiques of Aboriginal protection policy in 1930s NSW. The Select Committee was
appointed at a critical moment in the administration of Aboriginal people in NSW, as the state
government moved away from protection and toward a policy of assimilation. In this parliamentary
inquiry, anthropologist Caroline Kelly was enlisted as a cross-examiner. Viewed from a global
perspective, Kelly’s contribution to the Select Committee sheds light on the intersection of
international anthropological - and feminist - concerns and domestic Indigenous issues within
Australia. Kelly’s interest in Aboriginal education, which she raised throughout her cross-
examinations, evoked the wider international concern over the education of children generally, and
Indigenous children specifically, prominent during the 1930s. A second influence on Kelly’s concern
was the transnational circulation of Franz Boas’ early twentieth-century theory of cultural relativism,
to which she adhered to a distinctly feminist conception of the theory. Kelly’s participation also evoked a
strong connection to the influential writings of her friend, and American anthropologist, Margaret
Mead. Feminist American anthropology of the first half of the twentieth century represents a well-
written field of scholarship. In contrast, the value of these two connected fields of history remain
under-researched in the Australian context. Kelly’s participation in the Select Committee offers a
compelling contribution to these histories.

The other Asian refugees in the 1970s
Rachel Stevens
University of Melbourne

Research on refugees in Australia in the 1970s focuses on the resettlement of Indo-Chinese and, to a
lesser extent, Lebanese and Chilean migrants. To date, scholars have overlooked the significant
efforts of Australians to provide aid to East Pakistani (Bangladeshi) refugees during their war of
independence from West Pakistan in 1971. This war lasted nine months but triggered the emigration
of ten million East Pakistani refugees who settled in India. Complicating matters, the vast refugee
camps in India were also plagued by cholera. Debate continues over the number of civilian fatalities
but impartial figures estimate between one and three million people died. The enormity of the
humanitarian task did not deter international aid agencies, the United Nations and some European
governments from offering assistance. The Australian government, however, was slow to respond
and offered limited assistance, even after sustained lobbying from the Australian aid sector. Despite
government inertia, Australians from a range of backgrounds proactively raised awareness,
f fundraised and organised humanitarian activities for East Pakistani refugees. This paper is based on
archival research of Australian aid agencies and is supplemented with a close reading of student,
church, political and mainstream newspapers. At a time when the Australian government was focused
on the war in Indo-China and the Cold War, I consider why the Australian public so eagerly offered aid
to Asian, Muslim refugees, some of whom held Maoist views. This paper also reflects on the schism
between government refugee policy and community attitudes, an issue that still resonates today.

The cosmopolitan world of Australia’s suburban self-taught masseurs
Shirley Strachan
Federation University

This paper will focus on a group of Australian male masseurs at work in the first half of the twentieth
century. They were individually selected by the Australian International Olympics Federation and
other Games' committees to provide their services to the Australian teams at Olympiads and the
British Empire and Commonwealth Games. Back home and long before universities were producing
academically qualified therapists they were busy looking after Australian league football teams and
national sporting heroes alongside prominent visiting international athletes arriving to compete in
swimming, cricket, cycling and other sporting events. Many of these early self taught masseurs were
from working class backgrounds and they shared a reputation gained from natural talent and ability.
Exposure to international events and high profile clients allowed access to cosmopolitan knowledge,
trends and networks. They played a role in raising awareness of issues in the press and shared new
ideas with fellow masseurs and trainers back home. Ignoring club loyalties in the interests of best
practice they were focused on restoring players and elite athletes to action. As such they offer a
unique glimpse of mobilities and transnational connections viewed from the important but yet to be
fully appreciated role of the masseur in human performance. They contributed to a largely informal
knowledge and skills network that held sway before the academic professionalization of manual
therapy within Australia. Leading athletes such as Don Bradman and others gave them credit for
getting them back in the game and their winning performances.
ABSTRACTS – AHA 2017

Chifley and Nehru: Fellow Internationalists
Julie Suares
Deakin University

A great admirer of India’s prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, J. B. Chifley was one of the few prominent Australian politicians to endorse an Asian leader’s worldview. Chifley regarded Nehru as ‘the most powerful figure in Asian politics, and, indeed, in the Asian world’, and quoted him extensively in his speeches in parliament. India was seen as vital to the economic and political-strategic security of the region. The Australian prime minister believed that the future of post-war Asia depended to a great extent on what happened in India. The Chifley government backed independence for India in 1947 and Chifley played a significant role in enabling the Commonwealth to accommodate a republican India at the 1949 Prime Ministers Conference. Chifley looked forward to India remaining a member of the Commonwealth, an institution whose foreign policy was based on ‘enthusiastic and sustained support of the United Nations’. Both Chifley and Nehru were staunch supporters of the new global organisation that they believed would deliver international peace and security. In addition, Nehru and Chifley were in remarkable agreement on the best ways to counter the spread of communism in Asia, agreeing that political reform and improved living standards, rather than a military response was required. Both leaders sought to escape the constraints of a Cold War rapidly becoming a global contest between two superpowers and their allies. Chifley appreciated India’s non-aligned position in its approach to international relations; a policy that later Australian leaders were either unable or refused to comprehend.

The Wedge Collection: encounter and exchange in early colonial south-east Australia
Rebe Taylor
State Library of NSW/University of Melbourne

The Saffron Walden Museum in North Essex houses one of most significant collections of south-eastern Aboriginal wooden artefacts dating from Australia’s early colonial period. Surveyor John Helder Wedge collected the artefacts at the close of the Tasmanian Black War and in the first year of Victorian settlement in 1835. The artefacts provide a tangible entrance to a wide and complex history. More than anthropological artefacts, they are historical ‘witnesses’ to moments of encounter and cultural exchange; they instigate journeys into Wedge’s writing and life-story and into the interconnected histories of Tasmanian and Victorian settlement. Housed in one of England’s oldest museums, the Wedge Collection is framed by the wider and intersecting histories of colonial expansion and early anthropology. Further, this paper contemplates the question how many of the artefacts in the Wedge Collection appear to be New South Wales Indigenous designs. Were they possibly made by the so-called ‘Sydney Natives’, the men employed by Wedge’s friend and neighbour, John Batman from 1829 to assist in capturing Tasmanian Aborigines? Some of these men also helped negotiate the supposed ‘treaty’ between the Port Phillip Association and the Kulin people. Might the Wedge Collection instigate the first exploration of these men’s little-known life stories? This is a work-in-progress paper, as part of my Coral Thomas Fellowship at the SLNSW.

'Daggers in Her Bonnet': Australian Perspectives on the Global Hatpin Terror, 1905-1914
Anna Temby
PhD candidate, University of Queensland

In the early twentieth-century hatpins replaced the corset as the most ‘dangerous’ item of women’s fashion. They were known to cause inadvertent injuries to both the wearers and passers-by, but several reports also suggest that women were ‘weaponising’ their hatpins, either in self-defence or with the outright intention to cause harm. Commencing in Chicago around 1910, several municipalities world-wide began enacting by-laws limiting the length and materials of ladies’ hatpins or simply banning the wearing of them in public spaces. Many of these bylaws were modelled on those enacted elsewhere, despite the bylaws having disparate applications in different places. While in the United States much of the discussion surrounding the laws revolved around their use for self-protection, in Australia and the United Kingdom broader discussions of public safety from accidental injury were far more common. Universally though both lawmakers and reporters would use examples of incidents from other cities, nationally and internationally, in arguing for the necessity of the bylaws. This paper examines the role of this transnational and trans-municipal reportage in the introduction of hatpin bylaws in Australian cities.
Building a dating nation: Class and gender in 1950s advice literature.
Laura Ticehurst
PhD candidate, University of Newcastle

Beneath the veneer of 1950s conservatism, historians have uncovered a complex mix of anxieties relating to sexuality, gender, class and politics. John Murphy has examined the place of the family in the political world of 1950s Australia, noting that ideology built around the middle-class family allowed domesticity to be a form of civic virtue. In Menzies’ ‘class-less’ Australia, images of middle-class social life were used to shape an ideal Australian citizen, one that was part of a productive nuclear family. This technique for rebuilding after the war was also utilised when establishing acceptable conventions for teenage dating and relationships. World War Two was seen to have left sexual mores in disarray, and moral authorities worked to quickly establish new set of ‘dating’ guidelines that would contain teen sexuality. Working class teenagers and families were presented with an aspirational image, where adopting the values of the middle-class would allow them to enjoy the associated privileges. This paper will analyse the wealth of advice literature targeted at young Australians of all backgrounds, including newspaper and magazine articles, advice columns, letter pages, and sex education manuals, to better understand the intersections of class and gender in this construction of the ideal Australian citizen.

Children virtually under siege in Sarajevo: history and gaming
Mary Tomsic
The University of Melbourne

This paper focuses on the survival computer game This War of Mine, which was released in 2014. The game is set in Sarajevo when the city was under siege (between 1992 and 1996). It differs to most computer war games, where the focus is on direct combat, as players take on the roles of civilian characters who need to survive the siege. Recently the game was expanded so that people can play as a child character. One of the creators of This War of Mine has described the intention of the game to capture universal experiences of civilians during conflicts through an 'empathy game'. I want to use this example to think about the place of history within gaming broadly. What types of historical analysis are possible within this cultural form? How do computer games differ from other forms of popular engagement with the past such as historical enactments and film? I also want to specifically consider how the war in the former Yugoslavia is presented within This War of Mine as well as by the creators and some people who play it. I will also consider how children’s experiences of war are depicted and understood. This War of Mine is part of an expanding virtual landscape which reanimates the past in the present in everyday spaces.

Compounded Liberation: the interconnected trajectories of the Sydney and North American Women’s Liberation Movements.
Johanna Trainor
PhD candidate, University of Newcastle

By the late 60s analytical writings from North American New Left Feminists had begun filtering through to Australia and were having a major influence on the direction and theoretical framework of the emerging Australian women’s liberation movement. North American ideas/theories/approaches had a particular resonance with women activists participating in the campaigns for civil rights, participatory democracy and the Anti-Vietnam War movement in Australia. Similar to their American counterparts, they were experiencing a disparity between the idealistic philosophy espoused by these radical groups and their lived reality. Increasingly convinced that their liberation could only be achieved by removing themselves from masculine interference and influence, large numbers of women on both sides of the Pacific, broke away from these radical liberation movements to establish women-only collectives. Drawing on research being conducted for a doctoral thesis on squatting in Sydney’s Glebe Estate in the 1970s, this paper will trace the intersection of the U.S feminist movement with the early evolution of the Sydney Women's Liberation Movement. In particular, it argues that their U.S. counterparts directly influenced the model of services offered, the organizational structure and the liberation philosophy of the women-only collectives, such as Elsie Women's Refuge, the Sydney Rape Crisis Centre and the Leichhardt Women's Health Centre, established in 1970s Sydney.
Mobilities Mapped: War and ‘Geography Lessons’ in Australian Schools, 1914-18
Rosalie Triolo
Monash University

In the years immediately before the Great War, school magazines for Australian teachers and their pupils, as well as policy, syllabus and other advisory materials for teachers alone, often contained simple political maps. These were mostly of the Empire and very occasionally of individual members, with their internal territories and perhaps the agricultural or industrial products and regions for which they were economically most valuable and best known. The Great War and new printing technologies enabled education authorities to introduce maps of different kinds to Australian schools swiftly and in numbers and types as never before. Indeed, in Victoria, only 16 days after the war's declaration and clearly in haste for a map to be recommended in the August 1914 edition of the Education Gazette and Teacher's Aid, the Education Department recommended the ‘Imperial War Map’ on the basis of the publishers’ ‘special attention - to the topography of the borders that are the scenes of the conflict’. ‘Lessons in political and physical geography’ were ‘more important than ever’ and took the forms of map-interpretation along with reading comprehension, map-marking with pins and flags on notice-boards, and essay competitions and debates necessitating the inclusion or analysis of maps. This paper traces the development and uses of maps in Australian classrooms before and during the Great War, from simple 'black-line political maps to more colourful and sophisticated physical maps. It further includes very rare and spectacular examples from the period of students’ exquisitely hand-drawn and coloured maps.

Breach of promise of marriage in 1950s Australia.
Vicki Tsanaktsidis
Currently unaffiliated

The 1950s in Australia has been studied extensively. Proceeding the Second World War, it was an era of huge change that heralded mass immigration and contradictory and complex social attitudes pertaining to conservatism and modernity. Much has been written about all of that. Despite this, there is nothing written about the breach of promise of marriage legal framework or the notion of honour in Anglo-Australian culture during this era. Breach of promise was a legal framework that allowed a person to sue another for failing to marry them if they promised to do so. It was a fixture of colonial Australia that was on a trajectory of rapid decline into redundancy. In this paper I examine how the notion of honour functioned alongside breach of promise in the early 1950s, examining what they meant to people. I do so by utilising newspaper coverage of breach of promise cases to investigate what these colliding spaces can tell us about attitudes towards marriage in the early 1950s. I argue that the decline of breach of promise was indicative of a changing - not disappearing - conception of honour, and that the participation of non-Anglo immigrants in the framework further complicated the meanings of both honour and breach of promise within Anglo-Australian society. In conclusion, breach of promise is an underexplored fixture of Australian history that yields unique insights into marriage and courtship, but also more broadly into the social fabric of Australia in the 1950s.

River that Died of Shame? Cook’s River in Comparative Perspective.
Ian Tyrrell
UNSW

Deals with Cook’s River in Sydney, a river subject to considerable landscape changes and pollution from the 1830s. Arguably the most polluted and altered urban river in Australia, its history encompasses also recent attempts at restoration or rectification of river scapes. Looks at transnational ideas of place and space that have been routinely imported to change the river, and compares the outcomes to similar histories, notably of the Los Angeles River, California. Treats the separate but complementary character of transnational history and comparative history. Shows importance of intense place-making in the successive alterations of the river.

Kabell Mockbell and his coffee Empire 1894 – 1936
Alison Vincent
PhD candidate, Central Queensland University

Kabell Mockbell began his coffee business in 1894, and by 1930 there were eight cafes in Sydney bearing the Mockbell name. Now long forgotten Mockbell’s cafes were popular meeting places for
artists and writers as well as providing cheap lunches for businessmen. The success of Mockbell’s demonstrates that a local coffee culture was well established in Sydney in the 1920s. A colourful entrepreneur, over his fifty years in Australia Mockbell was variously chef, coffee importer, café proprietor, cigarette manufacturer and restaurateur. A Muslim and proud of his Turkish heritage, he successfully negotiated the challenge to his status and allegiances posed by the First World War and became a well known figure in Sydney society. Whilst all the details of his story are by no means clear, Mockbell’s history provides an interesting example of the movement of people and goods over the boundaries of empires, and provides a glimpse of cosmopolitan Sydney at the close of the nineteenth century.

The Worrorra and JRB Love: a creative, unfolding conversation.

Andrew Watts
University of Newcastle

Australian historiography of the colonial encounter has moved away from the hegemonic clashes found in the attempts towards a single national narrative. Rather, we now write about more complicated and particular contexts and encounters. However, is it any less dominated by a universalised western academic framework of history than when Minoru Hokari asked this question of us in his thesis in 2001? Hokari highlighted the gap between Gurindji and western ways of doing history but challenged us to find ways to communicate across that gap, to cross-culturalise history itself. This paper is an experiment in Hokari’s project. It examines an incident by a waterhole in Worrorra country (far north-west Kimberley), in 1914, involving Wondunmoi and Indamoi (two Worrorra men), and JRB Love (a Presbyterian missionary). Worrorra perspectives (through oral histories), Love’s perspective (through written and oral accounts) and the role of the land, or place, itself are included in response to the invitation by Deborah Bird Rose and Minoru Hokari to write place oriented histories. The others that guide this paper are Inga Clendinnen, Jean and John Comaroff via Greg Dening, and Tyson Yunkaporta. Power dynamics usually have a role in an examination of a colonial encounter. The focus here is not on who has power, and who does not, but rather on the choices made by individuals of how to use their power or strength in that place. Those choices set the stage for their future relationships and the establishment of the Kunmunya mission.

Between Discovery and Deep Time: Cultural Representations of Mungo Man

Amy Way
PhD candidate, Macquarie University

After decades of sub-disciplines that have moved away from grand narratives and long-term trends, some of Australia’s leading historians are now embracing frameworks that look beyond traditional history in big ways: through the geological concept of ‘deep time,’ historians can place narratives within deeper histories of the human species, the earth, and even the universe. This interest in deep history has not been limited to academia, with a similar explosion in public interest around Australia’s deep human past and its potential to re-shape national narratives. At the heart of deep time in Australia is Mungo Man: the 50,000-year-old Pleistocene skeleton found in 1974. Yet despite his prominent role in both academic history and public discussion, there has been no examination of Mungo Man’s image and narrative function. This study unpacks the representations of Mungo Man in history and public discourse. How is Mungo Man represented by academics and the general public? How have these representations varied since his discovery in 1974? And why is it only now that he has begun to be integrated into historical research and public discussion? This study provides essential context on the recent surge of interest in Mungo Man, deep time, and the powerful resonance they lend Australian history today and in the future.

Tangled threads: Examining creative acts of Anzac commemoration

Emma Wensing
PhD candidate, Australian National University

The 2015 Anzac Centenary was positioned as a focal point with unifying national significance however, the social narratives around the commemoration tended to be institutionally controlled and homogeneous, over-looking the great variety of ways that individuals personally responded to the Centenary. This paper examines the heritage discourses evident in the objects and narratives of Australian creative artists who made works specifically commemorating the Centenary that were displayed at rural agricultural shows and community-based art exhibits. Interviews with textile artists,
quilters, embroiderers and cake decorators were undertaken to explore how Anzac narratives were interpreted and integrated into contemporary understandings of national heritage and collective remembering. Analysis reveals some of the unseen purposes, meanings and assumptions embedded within creative responses to the Anzac Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) and that are linked to ideas of nationalism, rurality, gender and citizenship. I highlight the creative agency in the ways in which people are actively responding to the authorized heritage discourse of Anzac, and argue that artists not only engage with the past, but also become part of a future historical narrative around Anzac commemoration.

‘Embraced by the destructive element’: Incendiarism in San Francisco, 1849-1851
Cameron White
Currently unaffiliated

Over eighteen months, between December 1849 and June 1851, six great fires repeatedly engulfed the emergent city of San Francisco and destroyed over $20,000,000 of property and imported goods. The cause of these fires was widely defined in terms of immigration from Sydney. In other words, ex-convict incendiaries were blamed for starting these fires in order to create opportunities for plunder. The discourse of incendiarism built on anti-transportation prejudice and fears of moral contagion. It reinforced the immorality of the Sydney migrants, of the society of NSW and of the British colonial project more generally. This rhetoric culminated with the lynching of four Sydney migrants by the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance in June-August 1851. The narrative of anti-migration and anti-convict sentiments, up to and including the lynchings, helps to understand the impact and significance of San Francisco’s fires in the broader context of British-American commercial and imperial contestation in the Pacific.

The Husband-Seeking Domestic’s Paradise: British Migrant Servants in Interwar Australia
Elmari Whyte
PhD candidate, University of Queensland

The loss of male lives in World War I left Britain with a perceived surplus of single women, while its dominions experienced a shortage of suitable (i.e. white and British) prospective wives for their white men. To address both situations simultaneously, governments and private organisations collaborated to fund, promote and facilitate the migration of single white British women to Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa, under the auspices of the Empire Settlement Act of 1922. Between 1922 and 1931, 11,336 British women migrated to Australia as assisted domestic servant migrants - the only avenue whereby single women could receive government assistance for migration. Of those, 564 were trained in domestic service specifically for Australia at the Market Harborough Domestic Training Centre in Leicestershire. Maggie Pearson was one such young woman, arriving in Brisbane on the SS Otranto in 1929. From her arrival until 1935, after she had married and borne one child, she regularly exchanged letters with the Secretary of the Queensland New Settlers’ League’s Women’s Branch. That exchange allows a rare and meaningful glimpse into the experience of the young British women who migrated to the outskirts of the Empire between the world wars, showing the challenges of isolation, culture shock, and physical labour in an unfamiliar climate, but also the opportunities for camaraderie, resilience, and romance.

Silent Anzacs, Red Cross convalescent homes in NSW, 1914-1916
Ian Willis
University of Wollongong

The country was ill-prepared for soldier convalescent patients who returned from the front during the First World War. From the expeditionary force to New Guinea in 1914 to casualties from the Gallipoli campaign in 1915 military and medical authorities failed to come to grips with the issue for months. Into the void stepped the Red Cross as it did in similar circumstances in England and other countries across the globe from the late 19th century. In New South Wales the groundbreaking efforts of Red Cross workers copied the example of the British Red Cross. Led by the individual efforts of Red Cross volunteers homestays were provided in the early months of the war, which then expanded to a number of dedicated facilities including a number of convalescent homes. Initially with a seaside cottage at Cronulla, then homes at Darlinghurst and the harbourside suburb of Woolwich, with more across country New South Wales. By June 1916 the Red Cross in New South Wales was managing 14 convalescent homes which increased to 19 by 1918, including a tuberculosis sanatorium. All up
Excavating historical and contemporary entanglements between Indigenous people and archaeologists
Kelly Wiltshire
PhD candidate, Flinders University

Historical narratives of Australian archaeology - like other historical narratives - run the risk of perpetuating dominant ideologies where certain stories are privileged and others are marginalised, particularly regarding the formative years of its disciplinary history. Specifically, these narratives will likely privilege the perspectives of Western, mostly male archaeologists, whereas the presence, agency and influence of other contributors - particularly Indigenous people - who have either directly or indirectly contributed to archaeological practice may remain marginalised. Whilst archaeological practice in recent decades has sought to actively incorporate and privilege Indigenous people, perspectives and knowledge, the entanglements between Indigenous people and archaeologists may have a more long-term and subtle influence on archaeological practice, including upon the production of archaeological knowledge and the development of archaeological identities. Drawing upon doctoral research developed in collaboration with the Ngarrindjeri Nation that seeks to reconceptualise archaeological practice as an assemblage, this paper will 'disassemble' and describe the ways in which the production of archaeological knowledge and the development of archaeological identities are active in historical and contemporaries entanglements that exist beyond the boundaries of an archaeological 'site'. In doing so, this paper presents a personal account of metaphorically excavating and uncovering these historical and contemporary entanglements, in order to highlight the long-term agency of Indigenous people in influencing archaeological practice in Australia.

‘We are a farming class’: schools and identity in Dubbo’s hinterland, 1870-1939.
Peter Woodley
PhD candidate, Australian National University

The ascendency of closer settlement and mixed farming in eastern Australia by the 1890s, and the experience of rural decline in the twentieth century, have been extensively treated in Australian historiography. Historians have given less attention to assessing the emergence of political, economic, and social cultures in farming regions in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. One aspect of this neglect is the absence of any consideration of the processes by which people established schools, once education became more or less compulsory in New South Wales from 1880. With the emergence of mixed farming and denser settlement around Dubbo from the 1870s came a demand for basic school education. More than forty schools were established in the district (though many of them were short lived) by the early twentieth century. People had to cooperate in order to submit a coherent proposal, identify the best location, and often to supply land, materials and labour. It also required people to negotiate with distant officials, seek the support of ministers and local members of parliament, and engage with teachers. This paper explores these processes in the Dubbo hinterland between 1870 and 1939, seeking evidence of emerging, and perhaps shifting, senses of identity and of place. It explores how lobbying for, establishing and maintaining schools may have contributed. It draws on public school files to explore issues such as the influence of technology, social relationships, and emerging local, regional or pan-rural identities, as well as the relative influence of class, gender and place.

Connecting Cyprus, New Guinea and Fiji: Don Dunstan and the 1950s-60s politics of decolonization
Angela Woollacott
Australian National University

Don Dunstan, the democratic socialist Premier of South Australia 1967-68 and 1970 - 79 pioneered legislative initiatives for Aboriginal rights. Dunstan’s interest in justice for colonized peoples went beyond Australia’s shores. In 1957 he was put on the Federal ALP’s Foreign Affairs, Territories, Defence and Immigration Committee, on which he would serve for some years, and where he would...
speak in favour of decolonization in the Asia-Pacific region. Also in 1957, Dunstan was invited by the Australian Committee for Cyprus Self-Determination to join Ken Buckley of Sydney University on a fact-finding mission to Cyprus, then wracked by a violent struggle against its British rulers. When Dunstan returned to Australia he met with a barrage of press coverage, much of it hostile. He went almost straight to the ALP Federal conference in Brisbane, which he persuaded to adopt support for self-determination in Cyprus as ALP policy. By 1957 he was also interested in matters to do with New Guinea, participating in shaping ALP policy on Australian decolonization there. Ten years later he would say that Australia needed to increase its aid to under-developed countries, particularly in Asia and the Pacific. Dunstan's political concern about regional colonialism stemmed from his own critical observations of colonialism in Fiji, the place of his birth and part of his education. This paper will explore views on decolonization in the 1950s-60s ALP through Dunstan's work and speeches, drawing on the Dunstan Collection at Flinders University Library as well as the Federal ALP papers. It will draw connections among these disparate colonies' struggles for independence, and between them and race relations in Australia.

Distance, disciplines and disciples: The spatial placement of ideas in Australia's economic history field, 1950 - 1991
Claire Wright
PhD candidate, University of Wollongong

Intellectual communities are inextricably tied to the local environment in which scholars live and work. Connections between scholars lead to communication and collaboration, which influences the type of research questions posed by scholars, and the ways in which they are answered. Economic history, as an interdisciplinary field, is particularly subject to these contextual factors, as it is a fluid domain of knowledge that negotiates the space between larger disciplines. By mapping ties between scholars using social network analysis (SNA), this paper examines the role of institutions, social ties, and local environments in fostering intellectual traditions in Australia's economic history field in the post-WWII decades. Postwar expansion of scholars, students and resources, and the establishment of seminars, joint projects, and separate departments of economic history forged collaborative relationships and a convergence of intellectual trends in each locale. The development of the 'orthodox school' was particularly dependent on the dominance of the Canberra community in the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1970s and 1980s, the development of groups in other locations contributed to the 'spatial placement of ideas' in Australian economic history, with the approach primarily diverging between intellectual traditions in Canberra and in Melbourne. Visualising social networks for this community, and analysing the role of social ties on ideas in this field contributes to an understanding of the role of economic history in bridging larger disciplines, the role of context in the propagating intellectual traditions, and the long-term development of interdisciplinary knowledge within institutions.

The Twelfth Man
Patricia Withycombe
University of Newcastle

The Supreme Court trials following the Myall Creek massacre of 1838 aroused some of the most vehement discussions in the colony of New South Wales regarding the murder of Aboriginal people and the appropriate punishment for the crime. Eleven of the twelve perpetrators were captured, and seven of them were hanged. John Henry Fleming, however, the sole freeborn settler involved in the massacre and likely leader, evaded capture. At the conclusion of the trials, a lively mythology developed around this man. Fleming starred in bushranger narratives and dramatic escapes recorded in early colonial history and literary works. The reality, however, was more prosaic: it would appear that Fleming returned to his family property on the Hawkesbury and openly lived a quiet and respected life within the settler community. This paper will examine firstly the legendary tradition around Fleming, and then the historical sources to reconstruct his likely life story. These will be evaluated for what they can reveal about attitudes and beliefs in the colony in the mid to late nineteenth century.

The Kapyong (Korea) memorials and Australia’s extraterritorial war heritage
Bart Ziino
Deakin University

This paper traces the multiple and intersecting meanings of a series of memorials raised to
Australians and their Commonwealth allies in Kapyong, South Korea, in the sixty years following the Korean War. Unlike so many other memorials to Australians overseas, those in Kapyong are the creations of local people and organisations, and are part of an array of South Korean memorials dedicated to their wartime allies. While marking Australian service and particular Australian achievements in the Korean War, these memorials must also be understood in terms of South Korean commemorative politics, and especially the unconcluded war with North Korea. Unlike a site such as Gallipoli, the meaning of the Kapyong memorials is not immediately subject to the same problems of contestation between divergent national memories and myths of the war. Indeed the potential for genuine connection between these former allies is openly promoted by those responsible for the monuments, and by a succession of Korean leaders over the past forty years. Yet growing Australian interest in these sites - as evidenced by recent Prime Ministerial visits, and the sixtieth anniversary of the battle - point to the potential for greater dissonance in the stories attached to them. The potential for ultimate reunification of the Korean peninsula - though on what terms remains unclear - presents further problems still, and exposes the deeply contingent nature of Australia's commemorative investments on foreign soil.
Plenaries, Panels and Roundtables

TUESDAY 4 JULY

Plenary Title: Imperial Entanglements of Faith, Emotion and Affect
Chair: Anna Johnston. Speakers: Jane Haggis (Flinders University); Margaret Allen (University of Adelaide); Fiona Paisley (Griffith University)

Universalism, cosmopolitanism and internationalism in the life stories of Indian Christians
Jane Haggis
Flinders University

As Sugata Bose observes, ‘Universalism, cosmopolitanism and internationalism are words and concepts jostling for interpretive space in new global, interregional and transnational histories’ (Bose, 2010: 97). His description hints at the conceptual ‘entanglements’ historians confront when trying to make sense of the entanglements of imperial history. This paper provides a conceptual framework for the Plenary by exploring each of the three terms Bose mentions in regard to the ways they are used as concepts to grasp aspects of the flux of empire. The paper does this by (1) exploring the meaning and use in historiographies of empire of each term and to what extent they leach into each other or remain distinct (2) consider their utility respectively and together for grasping the ways in which affect, faith and emotion inform the contact zone of religion. (3) exploring several examples of the lives of Indian Christians from convert families and their engagements in interfaith and cross-cultural networks of liberal anti-colonialism during the period 1880 to 1940. To what extent are these people’s lives illuminated or captured by the use of such concepts, situated as these lives are, at the very vortex of the end of empire’s concerns with race, nation, and authentic modernities?

Circling around Pandita Ramabai and the Little Wives of India
Margaret Allen
University of Adelaide

In 1893 the American physician, Dr. Emily Brainerd Ryder published The Little Wives of India in Melbourne, marked ‘for private circulation only’, it comprised the public lectures on child marriage and Indian marriage law she had been delivering to Protestant church gatherings in the Australian colonies from 1892. Her message fell upon receptive ears and ‘Little Wives of India circles’ sprang up, often including members of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Their feelings towards the child wives and widows were at once sisterly and egalitarian and also hierarchical and racialised. This volume drew together Indian women, US women and those in Australia and New Zealand. Ryder praised Pandita Ramabai, the Indian Christian feminist, who rescued child widows at her Mukti mission in Kedgaon, near Pune. Women missionaries from the UK, US, Australia, New Zealand and Scandinavia flocked to assist her at Mukti, itself virtually a pilgrimage site for people interested in Christianity in India. Financial support came from the Ramabai Association in the US and from countless supporters around the world. Stamatov has identified, ‘long-distance advocacy,’ which he terms ‘a typical institution of European modernity’, as rising from ‘religious radicalization’. Dunch has described religious missions as ‘uniquely placed’ for cultural exchanges, noting the ‘the possibility for transnational and intercultural communications that the missionary enterprise facilitated.’ This paper explores the entanglement of Indian and other people around the missionary impulse focussing upon transnational organisations such as the WCTU, the YWCA and the YMCA between 1890 and 1940.

Indentured Labour, Australia, and Anti-Slavery in the Pacific
Fiona Paisley
Griffith University

Combining shared interests in spiritual and economic, political and social change, humanitarian
internationalism in the first decades of the twentieth century saw affective cosmopolitanisms become codified into modes of progressive and cross-cultural address and interaction. In these years, myriad unofficial networks operating in the Pacific region and Europe attracted mid-rank progressives from Dominions like Australia, as well as from colonised and Indigenous communities, each aiming to perform the entanglements of empire, nation, and colonial rule, in radically new ways. Humanitarianism was interwoven into these interpersonal expressions of international interaction, as various issues of concern around the world such as indentured labour and the future of colonisation animated progressives from Australasia and the Pacific to the Anti-Slavery Society in London and via Geneva. This paper considers the entanglements of British, Australian and Pacific regional networks regarding the figure of the indentured Indian labourer in the decades preceding an era when the global reform of colonial rule would be promoted by the League of Nations and the ASAPS, among others, as essential to the modernisation of ‘race’ relations around the modern world and as an expression of a cosmopolitan worldview.

Panel Name: (Trans)National Independence: configuring statehood at the interstices of empire, diaspora and internationalism, 1955-1975

Chair: Michael Ondaatje. Speakers: James Farquharson (Australian Catholic University); Nicholas Ferns (Monash University); Sarah Dunstan (PhD candidate, University of Sydney)

Response of African-Americans to the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970
James Farquharson

The Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970), a conflict between the Nigerian government and the secessionist Republic of Biafra that killed between one to three million people and tore apart one of Africa’s largest nation-states, has been acknowledged by historians to have had a crucial transnational dimension. However, the response of African-Americans to the war and the subsequent humanitarian catastrophe in Nigeria has been neglected by historians. This is surprising considering the growth in scholarship focused on the role of African-Americans in international affairs and U.S foreign policy over the past two decades. According to historian Brenda Plummer, the response of the black diaspora was subdued because it introduced indistinctness into the truths that freedom movements, both foreign and domestic, had laid down. This paper will argue that, rather than a subdued response, African-Americans were politically, socially and intellectually active in addressing the war in Nigeria. From the beginning of the conflict, civil rights leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr and A. Phillip Randolph worked to bring the Nigerian government and the Biafran leadership together to avoid bloodshed. Groups such as the Joint Afro Committee on Biafra used rallies, conferences, and press coverage to advocate for an independent Biafra as a source of renewed black power on the continent. In the pages of the major black newspapers foreign correspondents provided in-depth commentary on the war and editorial pages overflowed with debates concerning the future of Nigeria as a nation-state and the humanitarian consequences of the conflict.

Tanzanian Thinking: Self-reliance, Development, and the Decolonisation of Papua New Guinea
Nicholas Ferns

In 1975, Papua New Guinea (PNG) was formally granted independence by Australia. Guided by the United Nations trusteeship system between 1945 and 1975, Australian colonial policy had been marked by the provision of developmental assistance in order to prepare the primitive PNG for self-government. By the final decade of Australian colonial rule in PNG, increased international pressure combined with rising indigenous voices to create an urgent push towards independence. Whereas previously Australian experts and policymakers had dominated developmental policy in PNG, by the late 1960s, new institutions and strategies entered the fray. The most prominent of the new ideas was the self-reliance movement, commonly associated with Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere. This broad developmental approach rejected many of the assumptions of Western-centric modernisation programs, instead encouraging a blend of traditional and modern practices. These ideas were most clearly represented in the 1973 Faber Report and inaugural PNG Prime Minister Michael Somare's Eight Point Plan. This paper will examine the intellectual origins and political significance of the self-reliance approach in PNG. As PNG approached independence, the self-reliance movement gained momentum, driven by intensified contact between Tanzanian and PNG leaders. While international ideas of development had long exerted an influence on Australian aid to PNG, the rise of self-reliance marks a pivotal step in the history of PNGs development. Exploring the significance of the self-reliance approach reveals the transnational flow of developmental ideas and practices between...
Tanzania and PNG, thereby broadening the story of PNG’s decolonisation.

La Langue de nos maitres: African Americans, Prsence Africaine and the question of language and culture.
Sarah Dunstan

“We may speak the same tongue as Francois Mauriac, use the same vocabulary as Hemingway. But we no longer speak the same language as them. The truth is that we speak Malagasy, Arabic, Wolof, Bantu in the tongue of our masters” (Jacques Rabemananjara). Jacques Rabemananjara, Malagasy poet, journalist and politician, is best known for his contributions to the ngritude movement and for his political career in the turbulent politics of French colonial Madagascar. These meditations on the link between language and racial identity, however, point to his broader participation in the African diaspora. More specifically, they gesture to the dialogue that occurred between francophone black intellectuals and their counterparts in the United States over the linguistic problematics posed by the project of decolonization. In two Congresses held in Paris in 1956 and in Rome in 1959 and organized by the committee behind the publishing house and journal Prsence Africaine, the question of language and its imperial dimensions became a hotly contested subject. In this paper I will chart the ways that these different black intellectuals understood their use of European languages vis--vis the de-colonizing project and the fight for black civil rights in the United States.

Panel Name: Entangled pasts and ways of telling in Family History

Chair: Anna Clark. Speakers: Georgina Arnott (Monash University); Tanya Evans (Macquarie University); Sue Taffe (Monash University)

Henrietta Drake-Brockman’s Younger Sons as family history
Georgina Arnott

What constitutes family history? I argue for a broad definition based on Henrietta Drake-Brockman’s novels and plays, which I contend reveal the emotional basis for Drake-Brockman encounters with Indigenous people.

The Emotions of Family History
Tanya Evans

My research with genealogical communities in Australia, England and Canada suggests that family historians’ emotional connections to the past can have radical political consequences for individuals as well as their communities.

Tracing family values in two sisters writings
Sue Taffe

Helen Robert’s novel, based on her father, and the biography, Christison of Lammermoor by Mary Bennett, reveal Robert Christison’s attitudes to interracial relationships in colonial Australia transmitted to his daughters.

Panel Name: Framing Indigeneity: crossing historiographies in the Pacific World

Chair: Tim Rowse. Speakers: Rachel Standfield (Monash University); Miranda Johnson (University of Sydney); Michael Stevens (University of Otago)

Kāi Tahu in Australia: mobility, historiography and identity
Rachel Standfield

As recent scholarship in the history of the Tasman World has emphasised, Australia and New Zealand have entangled histories that have often not been acknowledged within histories written from the perspective of the nation. Part of this entanglement is extensive travel between the two countries, and a feature of this travel has been the significant and sustained history of Maori in Australia. The paper will consider the ways Maori travel has been discussed in national histories. There is a lack of recognition of Maori presence in Australian historiography. New Zealand historiography tends not to focus on the reasons for and impact of Maori mobility, particularly when compared to the ways that
mobility is theorised in Pacific history writing. This paper will offer a preliminary discussion of a research project being undertaken with Mike Stevens at the University of Otago, investigating specifically Kai Tahu histories of travel to Australia. It will consider the problems of a lack of written sources for recovering an early Kai Tahu history in Australia given Kai Tahu travel was associated with the shipping trade rather than with missionaries. The richness of missionary sources has meant that Northern Maori travel has come to dominate historical accounts. Instead we turn to Kai Tahu perspectives that speak to the important role that Australia plays as a site for shorter term travel or longer term migration.

Pacific Indigeneities: junctures and disjunctures in settler and Oceanic historiography
Miranda Johnson

The 1990s witnessed a proliferation of ideas about and concepts of indigeneity in different parts of the Pacific. In the Pacific settler states of Australia and New Zealand, where indigeneity was deeply entangled with legal claims to native title and treaty rights, law defined a concept of indigeneity as attached to the land in deep historical time. At the same time, leading Oceanic scholars, notably Epeli Hauofa, were redefining indigeneity in terms of connections between and mobility of Pacific Islanders. Hauofa resisted the belittlement of islander histories, proposing instead a translocal, Oceanic cosmopolitanism. This idea of indigeneity fits well with recent scholarship in and across the settler states as scholars grapple with the mobility of indigenous peoples, a scholarly move which resists the legal framing of indigeneity as bound to territories over long stretches of time. Highlighting and analyzing specific moments of juncture and disjuncture in Pacific historiographies as scholars respond to and engage with local political pressures, this paper traces the intellectual genealogies of these two concepts of indigeneity (landed and mobile) in fields of law, history and anthropology.

Whakarēre re taku kaipuke ki Te Moana Tāpokopoko a Tāwhakī: “Sea-ing” Kāi Tahu Whānui in the Tasman World
Michael Stevens

The sealing, flax and whaling trades led to nineteenth century southern New Zealand, and thus southern Maori, becoming deeply entangled with colonial New South Wales and Victoria. Individuals and groups from the Kai Tahu tribe visited Port Jackson from the early 1820s and have crossed Te Moana Tapokopoko a Tawhaki, the Tasman Sea, to trade, to settle and to marry ever since. To quote the Kai Tahu scholar and elder-statesman, Sir Tipene ORegan, The voyage west has always been more attractive to us than the journey north. This dynamic, and its sea-based nature, is a key component of Kai Tahu understandings of our history. However, this history is not well-known by the power-cultures of either New Zealand or Australia because of their ongoing investment in nation-centred history and a pervasive terra-centrism. As with other white settler societies, there is also still a tendency to understand Maori history as being that of authentic Maori people expressing authentic culture in native settings. This paper adopts a Kai Tahu-framed and maritime-centred view of the Tasman World to shed light on the depth and trajectories of Maori historical experience in Australia. It thereby illustrates that tribal-centred history, which thinks up from mobile indigenous lives and interconnected places, is an important way to recover and think through Australasia’s entangled histories.

WEDNESDAY 5 JULY

Panel Name: Australian Entanglements in an Imperial Conflict: The Press, POWs, Painting and the First World War

Chair: Joy Damousi. Speakers: Emily Robertson (University of Canberra); Margaret Hutchinson (University of New South Wales); Kate Ariotti (University of Newcastle)

Methods of barbarism: imperial sentiment and liberalism at the Westralian Worker, 1900-1917
Emily Robertson

When British Liberal politician Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman condemned the treatment of civilian Boers by British soldiers as methods of barbarism in the South African War, the 'Westralian Worker' agreed, and opposed the conflict. Fourteen years later the same newspaper embraced the First World
War. While on initial examination it appears that the West Australian Labor newspaper had rejected one imperial war only to support another, the newspaper's stance had not been in fact been contradictory: instead, it possessed a consistent stance about what it regarded as a just war, and by extension, a just Empire. Although Australian participation in the First World War was largely predicated upon its legal and ideological entanglements with the British Empire, its status as a Dominion within the Empire did not guarantee unwavering support for imperial wars. For Australians with liberal tendencies, support for imperial warfare was conditional: jingoistic patriotism alone was not enough to compel support. The conflict also needed to be one in which the weak were protected against the strong. Through an analysis of the 'Westralian Workers' responses to the South African and the First World War, this paper will demonstrate that liberal imperial sentiment was a key element in how the newspaper considered imperial conflict. Where the newspaper depicted the British Empire during the South African War as a bullying giant preying on the civilian Boer population, the obverse was the case in the First World War: in this conflict it was portrayed as a liberal and just entity that was protecting the Belgians from the bullying, militaristic Germans.

**Dominion Imaginings: Australian and Canadian official art schemes of the Great War**  
Margaret Hutchison

The emergence and development of government directed art schemes during the Great War in many belligerent nations formed part of a larger mission to collect war records to celebrate, commemorate and preserve the experience of the conflict. This paper focuses on the origins of the Canadian and Australian war art schemes, which were born from ideas circulating amongst Allied officials in London during the war. Taking a comparative approach, it proposes to move away from a solely aesthetic examination of the canvases to explore the process of their creation. In doing so, it argues that both Australian and Canadian officials, such as Charles Bean and Lord Beaverbrook, were motivated by a wish to record a particularly national experience of the war and that the art schemes were one manifestation of a growing desire to differentiate their country’s war experience within that of the British Empire. In examining the art scheme as one of the commemorative practices of the conflict, this paper provides an insight into the entangled nature of memorialization of the Great War, which was both tied to the trends of the metropole as well as reflecting emerging national developments. In this way, it affords an insight into the process of memory construction and adds to broader debates about the politics at play in the commemoration of the Great War.

**Locating the Lost: Australian POW Graves in the Ottoman Empire**  
Kate Ariotti

During the First World War some 200 Australians became prisoners of the Ottoman Turks. Captured during the Gallipoli campaign, in Mesopotamia and across the Sinai-Palestine front, these soldiers, submariners and airmen represent the first Australians to experience extended wartime captivity at the hands of a radically different enemy. This paper is focused on those who did not return from captivity in the Ottoman Empire. Fifty-four Australians died as prisoners, from disease, accidents, or wounds received during battle, and were generally buried in the local cemeteries of the various towns or work camps in which they were held prisoner. Where possible, fellow POWs marked their graves and particulars of the burial were forwarded to the military authorities, the Red Cross, and, occasionally, the deceased’s family. Drawing on records from the Imperial (now Commonwealth) War Graves Commission, private papers, and official military correspondence, this paper explores the fate of these graves - particularly the ways in which they were located, identified, and moved to specific sites of commemoration in the aftermath of the war. In doing so, the paper explores British Empire attitudes towards POWs, the delicate political and diplomatic machinations of the Imperial War Graves Commission and its representatives working in the crumbling Ottoman Empire, and how death in captivity was officially commemorated and privately remembered in the aftermath of the war.

**Panel Name: Entanglements of Law and History**

**Chair:** Shannagh Dorsett. **Speakers:** Katherine Ellinghaus (University of Melbourne); Libby Connors (University of Southern Queensland); Alecia Simmonds (University of Technology Sydney)

**Geesing v McCoy:** Ethnographic Refusal in Alice Springs, 1937  
Katherine Ellinghaus

When Arabana woman Emily Geesing was sent to the notorious Bungalow in Alice Springs for living with a white man in 1937 she took the local authorities to court for false imprisonment and won. This
paper will explore the events that led up to the case, the anxieties it produced in local, territory and federal government circles, and what it reveals about the history of race relations in Alice Springs. Geesing v McCoy provides important insights into the long history of Indigenous people refusing to accept the prescribed categories of identity which settler colonialism has continually sought to impose upon them.

The Disobedient Servant: A rare insight into frontier sexual violence
Libby Connors

In 1847 the pastoralist David McConnel unsuccessfully prosecuted an employee under the Masters & Servants Act at the Court of Petty Sessions in Brisbane. The case was in fact about the sexual assault of an Aboriginal girl described in court as about 10 or 11 years old. McConnel and his brother had intervened to try to prevent the assault but failed leading him to bring a charge of disobedience against his servant. The evidence presented in court provides some important insights into the shaping of class and masculine identities in this period. Although it is only one case this paper argues that it provides important evidence about the otherwise hidden world of interracial sexual violence, a world which historians have previously only been able to observe through third references and rumour.

Trials of Intimacy: Law and Cross-Cultural Romance in early-twentieth century Australia
Alecia Simmonds

This paper will examine a selection of Breach of Promise of Marriage cases in the early twentieth century to reflect upon laws production of racial identities through narratives of cross-cultural romance. The cases provide a focus for analyzing how law responded to the overlapping identities of British subjects in a context of heightened anxiety over mixed-marriages, imperial mobility and female assertiveness in romantic affairs. I am interested in how the geographical movement enabled by romance and empire collided with the laws production of fixed racial identities and its privileging of domestic stasis. I am also interested in examining these cases as moments of legal pluralism in non-pluralistic colonial and English contexts. The appearance of certain non-Europeans in these Courts brought discussions about different laws governing love under judicial scrutiny and in so doing highlighted the arbitrariness of Christian marital norms.

Panel Name: Entanglements of Law History and Empire
Chair: Libby Connors. Speakers: Diane Kirkby (University of Technology Sydney); Amanda Nettelbeck (University of Adelaide); Shaunnagh Dorsett (University of Technology Sydney)

The Lascars Case 1939: Australian law, Indian labour, British Empire
Diane Kirkby

Between September and November 1939 hundreds of Indian seafarers in ports across Australia walked off their ships and refused to return. What started as a labour dispute was prosecuted in the courts and soon involved the federal government, the Immigration Department and even the Attorney General. The seafarers were gaoled and many were deported. Their action was in violation of their Articles of Employment, which kept Indian seafarers employed as lascars a legal category placing them on the lowest rungs of the imperial shipping labour hierarchy. Much has been written about the employment conditions of lascars but less has been said about their industrial actions. This previously unexamined episode occurred as Britain went to war. It illuminates important issues in the relationship between labour, law and empire.

Special laws: protection, jurisdiction and the reach of humane governance
Amanda Nettelbeck

Recent scholarship has seen renewed interest in the project of Aboriginal protection as one of the most important means through which nineteenth-century policies of humane governance were put into operation. Once regarded as a short-lived Colonial Office initiative to extend justice to indigenous people, the project of protection has more recently been reconsidered in terms of its role to create indigenous peoples colonial subjectivity. The famed House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines imagined that Protectors might help frame special laws that could serve as a transitional step in the regulation of the Aborigines until their status as colonial citizens was more secure. Although no special laws were enshrined in legislation, Protectors of Aborigines did work to facilitate
Abstracts

Aboriginal peoples amenability to the law through an array of strategies that ranged between conciliation and punishment. This paper will examine this legal role of protection in relation to the work of Edward John Eyre, who in 1841 was appointed Sub-Protector of Aborigines and Resident Magistrate to a government outpost on the Murray River. While Eyres later trans-colonial career in colonial governance is much better known, his appointment as the representative of humane governance on an early South Australian frontier is significant in Australian history in marking the first time that a Protector of Aborigines became responsible for adjudicating indigenous cases in a court. The work of his frontier court opens a window onto how the humanitarian intent of protection evolved hand in hand with the assertion of jurisdiction over untested frontiers.

Excluding the Regular Courts: Martial Law and Maori in New Zealand 1846-1847
Shaunnagh Dorsett

Across the nineteenth century, there was significant debate as to the nature and scope of martial law. While martial law was supposedly a tool to quell rebellion, in the Australian colonies it was often used as a way of circumventing the criminal law and bringing alleged criminals (not uncommonly Aborigines) to account. This was no different in New Zealand. In 1846-7 martial law was proclaimed on several occasions. In two separate incidents settlers were attacked and killed by Maori. Rather than being brought to the regular courts, on both occasions military tribunals were constituted, and Maori were tried and hanged or transported. As in other times and places the legality of these events was questioned: by local lawyers; by local officials; and, subsequently, by the Colonial Office. This paper draws upon a number of legal opinions, including by the local Attorney-General and by James Stephen at the Colonial Office in order to explore how martial law was understood and enacted in this context. New Zealand raised different legal issues to those that had faced colonial governments in New South Wales, Tasmania or South Australia in the years prior to this, not least because questions of the validity of martial law were not so clearly tied, as in those places, to other difficult legal questions as to the subjecthood of Indigenous peoples.

Panel Name: The Australian Assistance Plan: Context, Origins & Memory
Chair: Peta Belic. Speakers: Erik Eklund (Federation University Australia); Carolyn Collins (Flinders University); Melanie Oppenheimer (Flinders University)

From social reform to belt tightening: comparative insights on the western welfare state, 1965 to 1980
Erik Eklund

The period after 1945 saw the rapid growth of social welfare with the state taking an increasing responsibility for pensions, health care, unemployment relief and income support. Economic growth underpinned state investment and was reinforced by the demands from the new social movements of the 1960s. But just as the clamour for reformism reached a crescendo in the late 1960s the global economy began to collapse, culminating in the oil crisis of 1973-74. A close analysis of countries such as Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom reveals signs of a broader shift towards the decline of government spending and the first tentative moves towards a nascent neo-liberalism. Other countries such as Sweden and West Germany remained comparatively untouched by the economic crisis and even sought to reinforce their welfare states in response to it. This paper draws widely from work completed during a Symposium on The Welfare State at the End of the Long Boom held in Dublin in 2016 and seeks to explore in a comparative way the factors that shaped the trajectories of welfare state change over this crucial period.

Key protagonists and conflicting views: Oral histories and the AAP
Carolyn Collins

As a controversial program of social welfare reform in the 1970s, the Australian Assistance Plan (AAP) prompted an outpouring of, often highly critical, evaluations during and immediately after its brief existence. It also prompted the creation of some rich archival holdings, some of which are privately held and have been identified through engagement with our oral history narrators. In this presentation we focus on the oral history component of our project on the AAP, as we seek to explore the roles and experiences of policy makers, community workers and activists who shaped and were shaped by the AAP. Given the AAPs emphasis on recognizing the diversity of communities and their particular priorities, we are especially interested in exploring the extent to which individuals experiences of the AAP were similar or varied. The oral history component of the project is also
prompting us to pay more attention to the legacies of the Australian Assistance Plan for individuals and communities. For some (although certainly not all) of our narrators, the AAP was life-changing, shaping their subsequent careers and philosophies.

The Australian Assistance Plan and the Canadian connection
Melanie Oppenheimer

This paper seeks to explore the origins of the Australian Assistance Plan and its connections to the Canada Assistance Plan. Much of Australian social policy making in the early 1970s derived from the Canadian experience (Medibank being the most famous example). However within the context of the war on poverty and the acknowledgement of the wider global phenomenon of a post-industrial society, the Labor party under Gough Whitlam would seek out other reforming and innovative social policy programs such as the pioneering experiment that was the Australian Assistance Plan. In 1966, the Canada Assistance Plan was introduced after extensive consultation and debate and continued as a major social welfare partnership between Federal and Provincial governments for twenty years. The Australian Assistance Plan, on the other hand, was introduced in a flurry in 1973 and barely lasted longer than the Whitlam government itself. This paper offers a comparative analysis of both national programs, outlining the major differences between the two schemes. In doing so, the paper reveals how context, methods of implementation and the role of individuals can impact on the success or failure of broader social policy initiatives and outcomes.

Panel Name: Troopers, Trackers and Hunting Guides: Personal connections with Aboriginal people in the colonial world

Chair: Mark Dunn. Speakers: Stephen Gapps (Australian National Maritime Museum); Michael Bennett (NTSCORP); Paul Irish (MDCA)

'Entrusted with firelocks' – Warriors, guides and redcoats
Stephen Gapps

This paper focuses on two episodes warfare in the Hawkesbury River area in 1804-5 and Governor Macquarie's 1816 campaign in the south-west Sydney region. Relations between Aboriginal warriors and guides and the colonial military and para-military forces were entangled in traditional and transformative personal networks and allegiances. Guides worked with military forces against other Aboriginal people, but also undoubtedly subverted punitive expeditions. The importance placed on Aboriginal peoples bush skills by colonists has been well documented. Traditional military skills were also highly valued, however these have often been conflated with bush skills and knowledge. Confrontation and conflict in early Sydney is generally seen as a template for further frontier wars, often entangled in debates over ritual versus resistance warfare. However the Cumberland Plain was first and foremost a military zone in which the roles of para-military forces have often been overlooked in a period where the frontier is at best blurred, if at all relevant. In this paper I consider the military skills and tactics of Aboriginal warriors, the responses of colonial military and para-military forces, and the people who moved between these two highly militarised groups in the context of broader patterns of warfare in the Sydney region between 1788 and 1817.

Post-Frontier Collaboration Aboriginal Trackers and the NSW Police, 1862-1973
Michael Bennett

Aboriginal trackers working for the NSW Police Force combined traditional skills and knowledge of the landscape with ones learned in the pastoral industry after the period of frontier violence had ended. Their roles varied from pursuing bushrangers and other criminals to finding people lost in the bush, looking after and breaking in police horses and retrieving the remains of the drowned. Although rarely acknowledged or properly compensated, trackers became an indispensable arm of the force for over a hundred years from 1862, working at over 200 police stations in NSW. Some enjoyed careers spanning 40 years and more, building strong, workable relations with other police officers. There were times when police owed their lives to trackers and vice versa. In many cases, though, trackers had to endure racist attitudes and were not given credit for their skills and work, with recognition in police correspondence and press going to other officers instead. The recently launched Pathfinders website, a joint project between Native Title Services Corporation and NSW Police, aims to shed light on this often overlooked entanglement in NSW Aboriginal and colonial history.

The Sydney Aborigines Committee Cross-cultural relationships in the mid-19th century
Paul Irish

The Sydney Aborigines Committee formed in the 1840s but its origins were in the relationships that had developed since the early 1800s between coastal Sydney Aboriginal people and locally born Europeans (particularly the children of convicts). Cross-cultural relationships between men often centred on a shared love of hunting and fishing. By the 1830s, a number of native born Europeans were wealthy and powerful members of colonial society, and some owned large estates in today's eastern suburbs. Despite their wealth and status they still had personal connections to local Aboriginal families who continued to live in a number of settlements around the harbour. In 1844, when Governor Gipps ceased the decades old government practice of annual blanket distributions to Aboriginal people, some of these men formed a fundraising committee for the Sydney tribe. By the late 1840s they had formed into an informal group who took it upon themselves to advocate on behalf of local Aboriginal people. They were few in number, but had sufficient impact to influence the fate of Aboriginal people in coastal Sydney for several decades. In an urban environment often assumed to have no place for Aboriginal people, the Committees story shows the importance of understanding the role of personal relationships and the circumstances in which they can form and unravel.

Digital Online Map of Aboriginal Massacre Sites in Eastern Australia

Chair: Stephanie Gilbert. Speakers: Jennifer Debenham (University of Newcastle); William Pascoe (University of Newcastle); Lyndall Ryan (University of Newcastle); Mark Brown (University of Tasmania)

The Challenge of Preparing Historical Data about Massacre for Digital Maps

Jennifer Debenham

The translation of the historical narrative about massacre in Eastern Australia onto a digital mapping platform presents problems for the historian. At first, the historical data seems too complex and nuanced to lend itself readily to what initially appears to be inflexible algorithmic functions. An important step in overcoming the problems was establishing the categories for data recording to ensure preservation of the integrity and nuances of the rich historical narrative. The translation process also needed to consider how the data would appear on the map, along with relevant details about each massacre event. Key factors included providing appropriate interfaces designed for access to a wide audience. This paper cites some examples and reflects on the process of preparing historical data about massacre for use on a digital mapping platform.

Web Production for Historical Maps

William Pascoe

Focusing on the web as an ongoing research platform rather than an end publication point presents problems for historians and web developers. What makes history web maps different from other forms of web development and mapping? Which kinds of technology should be selected for uploading digital maps of frontier massacre? How can digital maps be made integral to history projects? Presenting and conducting history research on the web raises questions about the visual representation of sensitive historical data, such as evidence, appropriate protocols and access to sensitive data, and about how technologies can be best adapted for mapping events in time and place.

What is frontier massacre? Definitions and Interpretive methods

Lyndall Ryan

The visual representation of the evidence of colonial frontier massacre has long eluded historians. By developing a definition of frontier massacre and deploying an interpretive framework based on the work of European and Australian scholars to interrogate the disparate primary and secondary sources, the paper will draw on the skills of digital cartography to insert the evidence of massacre on historical maps for web production. In taking this approach new understandings emerge of Indigenous people's experience of frontier massacre in Eastern Australia 1794-1870. Rather than a rare event, the paper visually shows that massacre of Indigenous peoples was widespread across the colonial frontier and played a significant part in their rapid population decline. The paper concludes that by combining the skills of historical research and digital mapping to produce the visual representation of massacre, new understandings emerge about how and where it happened and its impact on Indigenous peoples.
The Use of Digital Cartography in the Visual Representation of Massacre Site
Mark Brown

Digital Cartography is a new field of technical research that can assist the historian in understanding how massacre sites can be visually identified from the archival sources and mapped and how they may have changed visually over time. By selecting 4 different massacre sites across the 4 Australian Colonies in Eastern Australia between the mid-1820s and the late 1850s, the paper will demonstrate how the techniques of digital cartography can visually articulate a site as it was when the original incident took place. It can also help to explain how some sites may have disappeared as a result of changes in the physical landscape including changes to river flows as a result of flooding or the construction of physical barriers such as dams and reservoirs or land clearance. The paper concludes that digital cartography can provide an important visual link between the archival source and the physical location of a site.

Roundtable: Serving Our Country: telling the histories of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participation in the Australian Defence Force
Chair: John Maynard. Speakers: Craig Greene; Noah Riseman; Samuel Furphy; Shannyn Palmer; Geoffrey Gray; Allison Cadzow

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives on their history of involvement with the Australian Defence Force have not been included extensively in national histories until relatively recently. This panel will focus on the tensions, dilemmas and benefits encountered in doing oral history research with community members to develop a richer account of this history. Panel members will provide examples from a large-scale oral history project with Indigenous communities, and the challenges and issues raised by this form of community engagement and history making. Such experiences will open a discussion about international Indigenous peoples opportunities to record and share their defence histories.

Roundtable: The Pot of Gold at the End of the Rainbow: How to Write a Winning Grant Application
Chair: Carolyn Holbrook & Meggie Hutchison; Speakers: Stuart Macintyre; Joy Damoui; Libby Roberts-Pedersen; Chris Wallace; Mark Edele

This panel discussion focuses on an important issue facing Early Career Researchers in history, winning grants. Emeritus Professor Stuart Macintyre, Professors Joy Damousi and Mark Edele, Dr Libby Roberts-Pedersen and Dr Chris Wallace will talk about their experiences of building a career as an academic historian and share tips on the writing and assessment of successful grant applications. This session will be chaired by the Australian Historical Associations Early Career Representatives, Carolyn Holbrook and Meggie Hutchison. It will be followed by drinks at the Happy Wombat all welcome!

Roundtable: You turned in your thesis... Now what?
Chair: Melanie Burkett (Macquarie University). Panellists: Kate Ariotti (University of Newcastle); Sharon Crozier-De Rosa (University of Wollongong); Alexis Bergantz (RMIT); Ben Mountford (La Trobe University); Laura Rademaker (Australian Catholic University)

In this panel for PhD candidates and ECRs, early career researchers will share their paths during the first years after thesis submission. From post-docs to casual teaching/research to non-academic jobs, the options for new PhDs aiming to work in academia are varied and not always obvious. Find out what worked for our panellists, what didn't, and what they wish they had known when they first began their job searches. Each panellist will briefly describe his/her post-PhD employment before the majority of the session is devoted to audience Q&A.
THURSDAY 6 JULY

Plenary Panel: Re-Entangling Capitalism, Settler Colonialism and the Environment.

Chair: Kit Candlin. Speakers: Grace Karskens (University of New South Wales); Hannah Forsyth (Australian Catholic University); Julie McIntyre (University of Newcastle).

Re-entangling settler colonial, Aboriginal and environmental history
Grace Karskens

The colonisation of Australia was utterly entangled with environmental factors and ideas, from notions of preventing disease emanating from British gaols and the famous fantasy of antipodean 'meadows', to the geographic realities of the 'colonial earth': soils and stone, shorelines and rivers, flood, fire and drought, and forests in all their immense variety. The land was only 'strange' or 'new' to settlers, of course. For Aboriginal people it was Country, already intimately known, named and occupied. In every place that settlers went, then, new geographies overlaid ancient ones, and settler and Aboriginal histories were thoroughly entangled too. Yet the widening gulf between the humanities and sciences (ecology, geology, soil science), and increasing specialisation within them, meant that colonial history – and history more generally – was largely disentangled from environmental factors. Historians often resorted instead to a suite of anachronistic clichés and generalising tropes: the monotonous bush, the homesick, alienated settler, the harsh wasteland, tropes which in turn obscured what actually occurred. Within the humanities, post-contact Aboriginal and cross-cultural history have been recovered and explored over the past fifty years. And yet, as archaeologist Denis Byrne has shown, disciplinary legacies in history, anthropology and archaeology meant that the post-contact histories and struggles of Aboriginal people were ignored and hidden, particularly in the fields of heritage, museums and archaeology. In more recent years historians and archaeologists have begun the great project of recovering colonial history holistically and ethnographically, demonstrating that it is possible to re-entangle settler, Aboriginal and environmental histories, and moreover that an interdisciplinary approach offers radical new insights into this pivotal period and its aftermath. In this paper I will explore some of these breakthroughs, but also reflect on the processes, implications and challenges of disciplinary boundary-crossing. How do we recover entanglements so long overlooked? What barriers of thought and practice continue to divide disciplines that have grown so far apart?

Historicising capitalism, rethinking class: towards a new history of the professions
Hannah Forsyth

My new project starts with the hypothesis that we struggle to navigate class in the present, since we do not properly understand the place of the professions in the structures of capitalism. Earlier explanations for the dominance of this middle class, which is neither quite labour nor capital, connect them to the specialisation of expertise that we associate with the growth of modern urbanism. This paper, however, is about the professions in the small Australian outback town of Broken Hill, where their presence – even when the town is little more than a row of tents and shacks – requires a different explanation. The story of Broken Hill is usually understood through class struggle, situated against a ‘master narrative’ (to use Harold Perkin’s phrase), of labour versus capital. In this paper, I will argue that rethinking Broken Hill through the larger history of global capitalism, the growth of the professions makes a new kind of sense. We need more than this economic account, however, to also understand what holds the professionals together as a class, for it is evident, as I will show, that middle-class morality was structured into the professions in order to moderate some of the worst effects of capitalism, even as the professionals were also increasingly necessary to its success. I will suggest that by pairing the moral and the economic, the professionals were central to the ‘progress’ and ‘civilisation’ that were key justifications for the settler colonial project in Australia.

Circuitries of capitalism, ecologies of modernity: Writing the local globally
Julie McIntyre

University of Newcastle

This paper argues for a conceptual sense of ‘global’ that integrates the environmental as well as social and economic features of a commodity community in a region or locale. New histories of global capitalism trace the spatial circulation of commodities in a value system of production, distribution and consumption. This permits a socially redemptive view of inequality in regions and nations that have provided modern capitalists with land and human labour for extraction, cultivation, manufacture and
trade. Less commonly do such histories critically appraise the agency and fate of non-human nature in human cultures although land, plants and animals are involved. In my current project I am collaborating with a sociologist to explain the identity of a commodity community through its history and heritage. As this is a Linkage Project and one of our partners is the Hunter wine community we are writing not only of settler capitalists but for them at a time when – like historians and sociologists – they are grappling with the impact of globalisation on land, markets and legacy. The Hunter is Australia’s oldest wine and coal producing region and our partners’ livelihoods are entangled with land policies, the energy market and the need to tell a story about wine identity to consumers and tourists in the global marketplace. Even so, to write this community’s history as one of triumphant settler progress without attention to Indigenous communities, free and unfree migrant labour and the role of non-human nature would be contradictory to contemporary historical practice. In searching for an alternative conceptual framework I surveyed global historiographies of entanglement and ultimately adapted an approach from integrated accounting to consider the connections between economy, society and the environment to understand settler agency from sources as diverse as family histories, farm records, scientific texts, wine labels and cultural landscapes.

Panel Name: Constructing the post-war economy: Australia in global Maelstrom

Chair: Carolyn Holbrook. Speakers: Stuart Macintyre (University of Melbourne); PhD candidate, Miesje deVoge (Australian War Memorial); Carol Fort (Flinders University)

A Failed Attempt to Extend War Powers by Referendum
Stuart Macintyre

The conventional view of post-war reconstruction links the sacrifices required of the Australian people to win the Second World War to an extensive program of economic and social reform following it. The Commonwealth acquired an enlarged authority during the war under the defence power, but that would expire when the war was over. The government’s plans thus required enlarging federal powers and proposals to do so were prepared in September 1942. Yet they were not put to referendum until August 1944. By then the substantial support had ebbed and the failure of the referendum created major difficulties for the implementation of the government’s plans. This paper explores the reasons for this tardy failure and its implications for Australia’s path in the international project of post-war reconstruction.

Affording the dividends of peace
Miesje deVoge

Australia’s transition to a fully funded war-time economy had been fast but also fruitful. However peace was likely to bring more financial risk than success. Bond drives would no longer deliver, international trade would open up to market forces, and war-time tax rates and investment and spending controls were now too onerous for a public hungry for the dividends of peace. At the same time war debts accrued at home and abroad would have to be repaid, and the repatriation and pension costs had to be met. This paper evaluates the success of the Commonwealth in retaining or reforming its domestic and international financial policy approaches to fulfil the political commitments of full employment and post-war reconstruction in a free-market world.

The Commonwealth Employment Service: a Transition Success?
Carol Fort

For two generations following World War II, Australia’s publicly-funded universal labour exchange, the Commonwealth Employment Service, supported the national economy before being dismantled in the rationalist policy wave of the 1990s. Few recognise it as the continuation of one of Australia’s most pervasive wartime powers: the National Security (Man Power) Regulations. Faced with the demobilisation and economic reconstruction necessitated by the running down of the war effort, the Australian Government had made so many (often contradictory) promises to keep its flagging workers focused on the prize of victory, that it sought a simpler, universal response. A Full Employment Policy would be more durable in the long run and more fair to all who had worked or fought through the war, but would need an administrative vehicle that could stay aloof from the competing interests that had hampered wartime employment policies. The hardworking Manpower Directorate transformed without fuss into the CES.
Panel Name: Did we do it too? Prosecuting the war crimes of ‘our’ soldiers in the Soviet Union, Japan and Australia
Chair: Martin Crotty. Speakers: Narrelle Morris (Curtin University); Mark Edele (University of Melbourne); Robert Cribb (Australian National University)

Australians as War Criminals?: The Failure to Prosecute Australian War Crimes after World War II
Narrelle Morris

After the Second World War, Australia conducted 300 military court trials of accused Japanese war criminals. However, no trials were held which accused Australians of committing war crimes or atrocities against the enemy. This is, perhaps, not unsurprising given the controversy that the very idea of holding such trials would have created in Australia at the time, and undoubtedly still would today as shown by the recent backlash over the attempted military prosecution of two Australian servicemen for negligent manslaughter allegedly committed in Afghanistan. While opposition to the very idea of prosecuting Australians for war crimes often seems to be based on the controverting of the ANZAC myth of the Australian soldier, historians have ample evidence that some Australians have acted badly in every war from the Boer War onwards. The Second World War is less well researched on this subject than other wars, but there is anecdotal evidence that Australian servicemen did sometimes breach the laws and usages of war and, ergo, potentially committed war crimes. Today, any decision not to prosecute Australians for committing war crimes, if there is a prima facie case, would be seen as a gross failure to uphold international law, as well as Australian criminal law. This paper suggests that there was no deliberate policy not to prosecute Australians for war crimes; rather, the idea was ignored in the hectic aftermath of the war. Indeed, Australia continues to be accused of inaction in this area.

Soviet War Crimes in the Second World War: Categories and Origins
Mark Edele

The question of Red Army war crimes remains a live wire in public debate about the Soviet past. Discussion of them quickly leads to public outrage, not only in the successor states of the Soviet Union, but also in Australia. In 2014, to quote one example, an Australian academic writing in The Age triggered a storm of protest from the Russian lobby in this country for an off-handed comment about the barbarity of the Russian invasion of Germany in 1944-45. Soon, the outrage spread to Russia itself. Apologies from the Russophobic professor were demanded. Back in Australia, a colleague chastised the victim of such abuse as having demonstrated little awareness of how sensitive a topic World War Two remains for most Russians today. The case showed, he claimed, what happened if non-specialists were allowed to speak and write about Russia. Cultural sensitivities and the politics of expertise aside, how accurate is the claim that the Soviet invasion of Germany was accompanied by criminal conduct? More broadly, did the Soviet armed forces commit war crimes in the Second World War? And if so, what were the reasons for them?

Trying their Own: the Japanese military and war crimes trials during and after the Second World War
Robert Cribb

The Japanese army resorted to courts martial much less often than did Western armies during the Second World War. Nonetheless, captured records indicate that the Japanese military regularly prosecuted its own men for war crimes, especially rape. As the war drew to a close, war crimes trials were conducted as a means of forestalling Allied prosecutions. Immediately after the war, the Japanese public came to recognize the scale of Japanese military brutality, but over time this awareness faded.
Panel Name: Digital Histories in Australia

Chair: Catharine Coleborne. Speakers: Victoria Haskins (University of Newcastle); Mark Finnane (Griffith University); Hamish Maxwell-Stewart (University of Tasmania)

Replica Archive
Victoria Haskins

Digital technology and the internet are revolutionizing the way we do history. Archives that were once practically inaccessible without incredible resources of time and money are now open or potentially open to anyone in the world with an online connection. Where historians once laboriously transcribed the documents held within the archives, or lugged home piles of paper photocopies, we now can capture and save them almost instantaneously, with nothing more sophisticated or heavy than a smartphone. These technological advances have made historical research possible to an extent unimaginable even ten years ago. But how do these changes in practice affect the histories that are produced by such practices? In this paper I reflect on my own experiences as a historian in the digital age, and my creation of what I call a replica archive to draw from in my work. I will look at how the process of constructing this replica archive and then drawing upon it has impacted upon my historical writing, and offer some thoughts on how digital technology changes our relationship to the archives, shifting the way we think about history and our role as historians.

Towards an archives commons
Mark Finnane

Current archive content (the messages within the medium whether letters, government documents, inquest papers, court records, ratebooks etc) is accessed by individual users on an ad hoc basis, rarely recorded systematically, and even more rarely accessible by other users. The individualistic craft of the archival historian is a one-use only system of accessing content. This is true whether the users are researchers, family or community historians. Shareable content is for the most part restricted to the catalogues and finding aids of archive holders. Current commercial initiatives like Ancestry or Find My Past poke at the problem rather than resolve it. In this panel I will discuss the value of a collaborative process involving digital technology that could dramatically improve access to archival data. Like astronomers with their international collaborations in retrieving data from outer space, I will propose that historians can do a whole lot more, and do it themselves in collaboration with each other and with other communities, to ensure that the age of open data includes archives.

Working with Life Course Data
Hamish Maxwell-Stewart

Some argue that there have been two big data revolutions. The first, a nineteenth-century phenomenon, quickly resulted in the production of more data than it was possible for states (let alone individual researchers) to fully process. Thanks to the current digital revolution such access problems have significantly diminished. Historical records are being converted into machine-readable form at an impressive rate. Access to a lot of data, however, will not of itself result in the production of better research outcomes. Particular problems arise when attempting to combine information drawn from a variety of different record sets. Using convict examples I will explore techniques that can be used to reconstruct past lives in ways designed to minimise the problems associated with combing information sourced from many different records.

Panel Name: Entangled Sexual Histories

Chair: Alison Holland. Speakers: Lisa Featherstone (University of Queensland); James Bennett and Marguerite Johnson (University of Newcastle); Shirleene Robinson (Macquarie University)

Contested evidence: Medicine, Psychiatry and Sexual Offences in 1950s Australia
Lisa Featherstone
In trials for sex crimes, medical evidence is imagined by the general public as somehow necessary to the courtroom process. The details of the sexual assault should be recorded on the body of the victim, and possibly on the body and mind of the perpetrator. Indeed, medical testimony has been, on the surface, important to the administration of the court, with a demand for scientific and technological investigation. Yet this paper will suggest that, in the mid twentieth century, medical evidence had far less to offer in trials of sexual offences. Somatic medicine lacked the tools for persuasive investigations on the body, and defence lawyers would readily disrupt medical testimony. Psychiatric testimony, too, was subject to substantial challenge, particularly when it was at odds with the judge and jury’s own beliefs about sexual violence, offenders and victims. Using evidence from almost 500 court cases in NSW across the decade, this paper will explore the complex interactions between sexual offences, the body, and medical and legal authority.

Teaching Entangled Sexualities
James Bennett & Marguerite Johnson

James Bennett and Marguerite Johnson discuss the complexities, and the pedagogical challenges and rewards of their course, Sex and Scandal in History. Originally designed by Lisa Featherstone (University of Queensland), Sex and Scandal is a 3000-level course in the History Major at The University of Newcastle involving two hours of lectures and two hours of seminars per week. Its redesign by the current teaching staff, required to meet their research strengths and interests, was underpinned by their aim to create an egalitarian approach to history and its sources, including the privileging of small histories such as domestic stories and intimate encounters, as well as the broadening of what constitutes historical documentation, with the inclusion of literature and non-elite sources such as tabloids. These approaches and methodologies were unpacked over twelve weeks and were embedded in historical time frames from First Century BCE Rome to twentieth century Australasia. The paper focuses especially on the following topics: 1. The entangled nature of teaching sexualities in the tertiary classroom (the perils of going 'too far in selection of historical examples'; engaging students in 'taboo' topics); 2. The need for the entanglements of interdisciplinary approaches to subject matter and multifaceted and multimedia sources; 3. The research-teaching nexus.

Uncovering Hidden Histories of Lesbian Desire, Sex and Love in the Women's Royal Australian Army Corps, 1960s-1980s
Shirleene Robinson

In 1992, the Australian Defence Force announced it was lifting an official ban on gay and lesbian service. Despite this relatively recent pronouncement, lesbian women had enlisted and served, albeit in relative silence, for several decades already. The Women’s Royal Army Corps (WRAAC) was a branch of service that attracted significant numbers of lesbian service women. While these women could be subjected to aggressive policing, punishment and discharge, service afforded lesbian women opportunities to form relationships with other women and provided outlets for the expression of same-sex desire at a time when such opportunities in civilian society were even more limited. This paper deploys original oral history interviews focused on the period from the 1960s through to the 1980s with lesbian ex-service women from the WRAAC to investigate the nuances of lesbian desire, sex and love in the military at a time when broader social change towards homosexuality was impacting on the experiences of lesbian women in civilian society. Were these changes reflected within the military? What role did military service play in providing lesbian women with a sense of identity and community? Crucially, how do the experiences of these servicewomen contribute to broader understandings of Australian lesbian history?

Panel Name: Indigenous Australians and New Zealanders within global networks of science

Chair: Matthew Fitzpatrick. Speakers: Tom Murray (Macquarie University) and Hilary Howes; (Australian National University); Antje Khnast (PhD candidate, University of New South Wales); Alexandra Roginski (Australian National University)

A German-Jewish Sculptor, an Australian Aboriginal Draughtsman, and a London Accountant: Wartime Encounters at the Edge of Art
Tom Murray and Hilary Howes
In 1918, after being wounded in the first Battle of Bullecourt a year earlier, Douglas Grant found himself in an unusual situation. Transferred to a POW camp purpose-built for Muslim soldiers near Berlin, he became one of many men studied as part of anthropological experiments conducted in the German camps. One of those to take advantage of the work opportunities on offer was Rudolf Marcuse, a German-Jewish sculptor beginning to make a name for himself in the fine art circles of pre-war Berlin. In the POW camp Marcuse modelled a bronze bust in Douglas Grants likeness. This paper discusses the biographies of these two men and how their lifehistories led to a wartime meeting, the circumstances in which this encounter took place, the German political impetus for creating racialized images of the POWs, which signified difference and even threat (as historian Andrew D. Evans has written), and the de-contextualised transformation of the bust into art-object in the collection of a retired London accountant.

German physical anthropology and Indigenous Australians
Antje Khnast

In the Australian colonial context, Germans have largely been described as humanitarian forces in the relations between settlers and indigenous peoples. One example is the German artist and naturalist, Ludwig Becker, who showed more sympathy towards the plight of Aborigines and appeared to have a better understanding of their rights as human beings than many of his British contemporaries. In 1858, he provided information to the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines of Victoria, presenting three Aboriginal skulls and the likenesses of two Aboriginal men, Billy and Tilki. In 1861, Alexander Ecker and Gustav Lucae published their respective investigations of Australian Aboriginal skeletal remains. The Freiburg anatomist Ecker compared the skeletons of an Aboriginal young man and a woman with those of an African and a German; Lucae, a comparative anatomist in Frankfurt, demonstrated his invention of a geometrical drawing device using the skulls of six Indigenous Australians. Furthermore, he derived brain models made of glue from these skulls, weighing them up with those of a number of famous and infamous Germans. Struggling with the inconclusive nature of their so-called anthropological material, both referred to the evidence provided by their compassionate compatriot in the Australian colonies. Their interpretations of Aboriginal ancestral remains and Becker's artistic evidence however offer a sense of how Indigenous Australians figured in liberal, non-Darwinist German Anthropologie. They challenge the prevalent view that the first generation of German physical anthropologists followed a more humane, less racialising approach to the investigation of colonised peoples in general.

Science in their Hands: Indigenous Engagement with Popular Phrenology in the Mid-to-late Nineteenth Century
Alexandra Roginski

The discredited science of phrenology, which declared that character and intellect could be judged from head shape, features in the Australian historiography primarily as a study of race and criminality. As in some other settler/colonial nations, this focus derives partially from the confronting postcolonial legacy inherent in the collecting of Indigenous Ancestral remains. Yet phrenology broadly influenced settler societies in the Anglophone world and, as a popular practice in Australia, functioned beyond its preoccupation with Indigenous people and convicts, the others of colonial society (although our contemporary national context has demanded the consideration of these aspects with greater urgency). On the Australian public lecturing circuits, which also spanned across the Tasman to New Zealand, and which survived into the twentieth century, phrenologists made a living by pandering to the needs of their clientele parents fretting about childrearing, young people agonising over vocation, and lecture auditors who ascended the stage for public head readings as an evening lark. Australian and New Zealand newspaper sources from the 1850s to the 1890s reveal that Australian Aboriginal people, Maori and people of colour also engaged with these individualistic aspects of phrenology, participating as auditors, clients and on-stage collaborators. These sources paint a complicated picture of Indigenous relationships with a science remembered today for legitimising intercultural abuses. While raising questions about the agency wielded by some participants, these evocative encounters nevertheless illuminate how some Indigenous people took pleasure in, or sought answers from, scientific modernity.

Panel Name: Judicial Activism in Australian History - Before and After the Culture Wars

Chair: Susan Bartie. Speakers: Mark Lunney (University of New England); Tanya Josev (University of Melbourne); Susan Bartie (University of Tasmania)
A Different Kind of Activism?: Isaac Isaacs in Private Law
Mark Lunney

Tanya Josev’s forthcoming book on the history and meaning of judicial activism in Australia identifies debates about activism taking place against a paradigm of value-neutral legal reasoning identified primarily with Sir Owen Dixon. While the precise meaning of Dixon’s views - that the only safe guide to judicial decisions in great conflicts was a strict and complete legalism - has been the subject of much later discussion, critics of later High Courts, in particular the Mason High Court, have seen Dixonian strict legalism as the model for a restrained High Court jurisprudence. However, this paper argues that the Dixon model itself was not necessarily representative of the approach taken by members of the High Court throughout its first fifty years of existence. As an example, the judgments of Sir Isaac Isaacs in private law in the High Court in the 1920s reflect an awareness of the social implications of the decisions being made and of the necessity of adapting law to ensure it accorded with contemporary views of responsibility. In the words of the young Geoffrey Sawer (who is mentioned in Susan Barties paper), Isaacs adopted a crypto-sociological approach, drawing inspiration from American legal realists to interpret previous law in a way consistent with the needs of a progressive society. Seen from this perspective, Dixon’s strict legalism was as much an attempt to direct the jurisprudence of the High Court than to appeal to a particular view of judicial restraint enshrined in the courts history.

Dispatches from the Judiciary Culture Wars: Activism, Elitism, History Warriors
Tanya Josev

Assessing a courts decision-making process through the paradigm of activism versus restraint has been prevalent in popular discourse for over seventy years in the United States and in many other jurisdictions. The paradigm has not only been adopted by constitutional lawyers, but by cardinals, commentators, lobbyists, and even US Presidents and it has also been rejected as an oversimplification of judicial decision-making by many others. By contrast, the history of this paradigm in Australia is somewhat abbreviated, as the terminology was explicitly rejected as early as the 1950s by the Australian legal academy as inapplicable to the Australian constitutional structure. When the terminology was eventually adopted in Australia in the 1990s, it gained traction as a by-product of the history wars, and through political discourse on elitism the legal academy had little, if no, involvement in the debate on the issue. What followed was one of the most brutal, damaging, and uninformed attacks on the High Court in its then 90-year history, purportedly framed as a critique of the Court’s undemocratic and illegitimate activism. This paper attempts to assess the political climate in which the activism terminology flourished, and the effects of the Australian academy’s belated involvement in the public debate. The question is posed: if the Australian academy had been able to anticipate the arrival of the activist terminology, would the public debate over the Court’s jurisprudence have taken a different turn?

Judicial Activism and the Australian Legal Academy: Australian-US Transplants
Susan Bartie

This paper reviews one important aspect of Dr Tanya Josev’s upcoming book on the history of judicial activism and legalism in Australia. It examines Josev’s discussion of how US judicial activism/self restraint terminology was understood by Australian lawyers in the 1950s and 60s. It accepts Josev’s thesis that Dixonian legalism meant that the heated US debates on the Warren Court gained little traction amongst Australian lawyers or within the legal academy. It concentrates on the founding of the modern Australian legal academy and suggests that its failure to adopt US concerns was of crucial importance to the shape and trajectory of Australia’s discipline of law. Not only did it mean that Australia’s modern legal academy was founded on scholarly agendas that were distinctively different from those pursued in the US, it also helps explain why Australian legal scholars and their contributions to legal theory are not better known. This thesis is pursued through an examination of a leading Australian legal theorists, Peter Bretts, attempt to bring US ideas about judicial activism to Australia. Brett was the Chair of Jurisprudence at the University of Melbourne. He was one of a number of Australian legal academics who travelled to the US to study and teach at elite US law schools. He was taught and mentored by leading US legal scholars, Henry Hart, Albert Sacks and Lon Fuller, and adopted the intellectual agenda of the leading US jurisprudential school of the period, The Legal Process School.

Panel Name: War experiences & mobility: Papua New Guinea and the Pacific War
**Chair:** Jan McLeod. **Speakers:** Yasuko Kobayashi (Australian National University); Christie Winder (Flinders University); Geoffrey Gray (University of Queensland)

**Soldiers as mobile subjects: Japanese POWs Experiences through ATIS Interrogation Reports**

Yasuko Kobayashi

Wars cause extraordinary movements of people and WWII scattered Japanese around the Asia and Pacific region. Both English and Japanese literature has studied soldiers of the Japanese Imperial Army and has portrayed particular representations of them during WWII: that they refused to surrender, and took their own their lives when defeated in order to show their loyalty to the emperor or to save themselves from the national shame of becoming prisoners of war. The source of such representations in English is a well-cited ATIS Report No.76, by the Allied Translator and Intelligence Service (ATIS). ATIS was a joint Australian/American World War II intelligence agency and was located in Australia. Australia was thus the centre of the Allied nations united endeavour to generate military intelligence about the Japanese Imperial Army to defeat the common enemy, Japan, in the Asia Pacific region. ATIS Report No. 76s main source is millions of interrogations of Japanese POWs. However, those actual interrogation reports reveal much richer tales narrated by Japanese POWs. These narratives were muted in ATIS Report No. 76. This project attempts to unmute narratives of Japanese soldiers in GHQ primary sources, by reading them as migrants experiences. Having experienced extraordinary movements through the war, those POWs were now able to view Japan differently. Through interrogation, Japanese soldiers met Australian or American officers as individuals for the first time, to talk about their views about the war, surrender, and so forth. This is about tales of individual cross-social experiences.

**Stability and mobility: New Guinea villagers during the Pacific War**

Christine Winter

The end of the Pacific War in PNG is presented by most Australian historians as a victorious colonial power lauding Papuan New Guinean loyalty (the fuzzy wuzzy angels) and expressions of Australian gratitude underwritten by promises of a New Deal exemplified, e.g. by compensation for war damage. Multiple histories jostle against each other. Stories surrounding Kokoda and its growing tourist industry embrace themes of sacrifice, duty, loyalty and Australian bravery, and, a reification of New Guinean carriers and labourers. New Guinean histories, however, are ambiguous, questioning the support of the war by New Guineans and highlight broken promises and betrayal. This presentation is drawing on accounts by senior New Guinean men written during and shortly after the war. These documents enable an analysis of relationships and structures that facilitated survival during difficult times. The reference point, I argue, for the Jabem and Kate speaking villages along the coastline of the strategically important Huon peninsula were inter-village relationships consolidated within an overarching church framework. Survival, food, health, and schooling was thus negotiated more or less successful at times with Japanese, Australian and Allied armies in a region remembered for the first amphibious assault by Australian forces since Gallipoli, and the site of the first airborne operation of the War in the Pacific.

**Mobilities, Transnational Spaces and Borders in History**

Geoffrey Gray

The administrative structure adopted by ANGAU was that of the Department of District Services in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. The District Office was responsible for the recruiting of native labour. Subject to the general direction and supervision of the District Officer, the NLS was responsible for controlling all natives in native labour camps; organising the requisite working parties; and supervising labour in their allotted tasks. This presentation analyses New Guineans remembering and interpreting war work and resulting dislocations within a framework of labour migration. It asks in how far this might assist in rethinking raptures and continuities between the pre-war mandate and ANGAUs use of labour during war time.

**Panel Name: Human Rights in Australia: Critical Histories**

**Chair:** Anna Johnston. **Speakers:** Jon Piccini (University of Queensland); Alison Holland (Macquarie University); Jane Lyndon (University of Western Australia)

**Without distinction of any kind: human rights in 1940s Australia**
Jon Piccini

Presented today as an age-old inheritance, the idea of global human rights was a novelty to Australians in the late 1940s. Rights had previously been conferred at the level of the nation and group, and certainly had not been as they were in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, applicable without distinction of any kind. Different political forces made their own meanings of the Universal Declaration, with readings from the social democratic left to the religious right contributing to turning, as Mark Bradley puts it in his recent work The World Transformed, an exotic aspirational language into an everyday vernacular. This papers looks at how activists and ordinary people contributed to this vernacularising, as they integrated global human rights language into their local struggles, in this case, against racialist immigration laws. Activists took advantage of a disjunction between the Labor governments rhetoric at the United Nations, spearheaded by H.V. Evatt, and the operation of the Immigration Restriction Act by Arthur Calwell to make human rights meaningful locally. Cases of deportations of Chinese and Malaysian seamen proved instances that Australians from diverse backgrounds, wives of deportees, trade unionists, church leaders and newspaper editors could present as infringements on a concept of Human Rights which was still very much in flux. Such activist deployments also prompted the Labor government to rethink its position on the Universal Declaration, as it articulating an argument for domestic jurisdiction that presaged the terms more vociferous usage by Labs conservative successors.

Freedom in this Land: How Human Rights Shaped Postwar Aboriginal Policy

Alison Holland

Assimilation is widely understood as the policy setting for Aboriginal affairs after the Second World War. This has been variously interpreted but is mostly understood as holding out a particular version of citizenship to Aboriginal people. To date, no analysis has been made of the way in which the broader context of human rights impacted the policy setting, despite Aboriginal affairs providing an important ignition to a national human rights movement after the war. I make a start with this in my recent book on human rights activist, Mary Bennett (1881-1961). In this paper I argue that the postwar policy setting, particularly as it was enunciated by Paul Hasluck, the Minister for Territories, and implemented in the Northern Territory, represented an implicit engagement with, and repudiation of, the discourse and implications of human rights for Aboriginal people. Part of this was in Hasluck’s co-option of the language to advance a vision of citizenship for Aboriginal people grounded in the common law and the Australian ethos of egalitarianism. I argue that understanding this is important to recognising the propaganda behind the rhetoric that was assimilation. It is also important to understanding the challenges of, and administrative responses to, Aboriginal rights as human rights.

'Visual history at its best': UNESCO's 1951 Human Rights Exhibition

Jane Lydon

In November 1951 a travelling photographic exhibition titled simply Human Rights opened in Adelaide in its impressive Public Library lecture room on North Terrace. For many Australians, the 1950 exhibition provided their first comprehensive and accessible introduction to human rights. Curated in Paris by UNESCO, the exhibition presented 110 photogravures (printed photographs) depicting ancient manuscripts, sculptures, paintings, mosaics, engravings, and contemporary photography tracing the dramatic struggle of man, from earliest times, to assert his birth right to free citizenship (UNESCO 1950). In this paper I explore this exhibition and its Australian reception in the context of UNESCOs attempts to harness the universal language of photography to disseminate the new system of principles embodied in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), proclaimed in December 1948. At the end of the Second World War, this new legal and ethical framework was articulated through a range of visual narratives that sought to create a sense of a universal humanity and a shared global culture through picturing unity in diversity. As Article 1 of UNESCOs constitution states, it would collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image (UNESCO 2014). However key blind spots such as the symmetry between the universality espoused by UNESCO and Australian assimilation reveal how human rights idealising framework was profoundly shaped by state agendas and cultural predispositions.
Panel Name: Women, War and Transnational Spaces

Chair: Kate Ariotti. Speakers: Sarah Bell (PhD candidate, University of Notre Dame); Christine de Matos (University of Notre Dame); Elicia Taylor (PhD candidate, University of Newcastle)

Liberation to legacy: The postwar lives of AANS POWs
Sarah Bell

During the Asia-Pacific War, two groups of Australian Army Nursing Service (AANS) nurses were taken as Prisoners of War (POWs). Liberated in 1945 after the end of the war, the nurses returned to Australia and to a climate of outrage and sympathy. Stories of their captivity and struggles filled newspapers around the country, and the nurses return was celebrated with great fanfare. However, this highly visible support and recognition was short-lived and, apart from fleeting waves of renewed attention, gradually declined with each year following the end of the war. In interviews conducted during the postwar period, the nurses voiced evidence of war-related trauma and grief nightmares, nervous habits, and other conventional manifestations of anxiety and depression. There is also evidence of more unconscious expressions of grief and trauma, for example in their volunteer work, views of the Japanese, and relationship building. However, what has been written about the AANS POWs focuses specifically on their wartime experiences, few dealing with the aftermath of the war to any great extent. Some similar studies on the postwar lives of World War One AANS nurses and Vietnam nurses have been conducted, and reveal a similar pattern of largely hidden struggle. The postwar lives of these women not only entangle wartime with peacetime, but also contradictory representations of Anzac, and are woven into the ways modern Australian society and culture heritage is remembered and constructed. This paper therefore intends to specifically explore AANS POW postwar lives, and contribute towards a greater understanding of the impact of their wartime experiences.

Working for the victor: women and labour in occupied Germany
Christine de Matos

War is a great entangler; military occupation even more so. The occupied confronts and negotiates with their occupier, the victors ideals clash with and attempt to smother those of the defeated, and a changed power dynamics enters both public spaces and the private sphere. This paper will focus on women who worked for the occupation forces in occupied Germany after World War II, from Germanys defeat in 1945 and into the 1950s. It will pay particularly attention to the private sphere as a gendered occupation space of corporeal and ideological entanglement. In occupied Germany, the families of US occupation force personnel joined them in the occupied zones, often for many years. Scarce undamaged homes were allocated to occupier families, and mostly female domestic labour assigned to them. Occupied German women thus took care of the homes and children of the occupiers as well as their own. The large-scale assignment of domestic labour to occupier homes emphasised the position of the victor/occupier. Such a performance of power sits awkwardly against the rhetoric of gender equality espoused by occupation personnel, and by the visiting experts from the United States and Britain who advised occupation authorities on women’s issues. Based on archival documents and interviews conducted in Germany, and other sources such as fiction, this paper will consider the intimate relationship between gendered labour and power in occupied Germany, in the wake of World War IIs destruction and within the emerging cold war context.

'Unspeakably happy and content': Unmarried Australian Women and War Service
Elicia Taylor

Historical analysis of Australian women’s overseas service during the First World War has typically focused on the Australian Army Nursing Service in which women’s roles conformed to conventional standards of feminine behaviour. Historians have also critiqued the perception that aside from knitting socks or raising money for charities, Australian women had limited opportunities to serve more directly in the First World War compared with their European counterparts. Yet the conclusion that Australian women merely performed patriotic duties that adhered to accepted notions of femininity and maternalism overshadows our understanding of other models of women’s war service. Directing our focus to the specific experiences of some unmarried Australian women reveals surprising examples of individuals who defied convention and, like Australian men, pursued service and
adventure overseas. Single women such as Olive King, who served as an ambulance driver in the Serbian Army, and Mary Brennan, who worked in the British munitions industry and Women’s Land Army, both embraced opportunities to contribute more meaningfully to the war effort. Despite their different class backgrounds and education levels, these women’s letters and memoirs explain how their quests for independence found legitimacy within the unusual social climate of wartime Europe. Not only did these women perform roles unimaginable to most of their married Australian counterparts, their accounts speak of entangled relationships and experiences, much less constrained by traditional divisions along gender and class lines. This paper offers a more nuanced consideration of Australian women’s overseas contributions during the First World War.

Panel Name: Rethinking Aboriginal Histories for the 21st Century

Chair: Lorina Barker. Speakers: Lawrence Bamblett (Australian National University); Victoria Haskins (University of Newcastle); Jakelin Troy (University of Sydney); Raymond Kelly (University of Newcastle)

Dramatic evils: Transformative stories about Aborigines in the pre-Protection/ Welfare Board period.
Lawrence Bamblett

From the 1832 waves of white people entered Narrungdera Wiradjuri lands to stay. A giant Narrungdera Warrior set out to clear them out of his country. Thus started the Second Wiradjuri War. The giant warrior, nicknamed Brian Boru after the Irish king and freedom fighter, was feared for his size and fighting skill. He was a most influential figure in the forming of a narrative that changed the Narrungdera world. This paper uses stories told about the Narrungdera warrior to examine the origins of the historically constructed category of the disadvantaged Aborigine. It describes how stories about his reportedly dramatic evils led a free and powerful people to be confined at a missionary’s 'camp of mercy' resisting persistent efforts to consign their way of life to history.

For the record: the archives of the NSW Aborigines Protection / Welfare Board.
Victoria Haskins

Over its regime of some eight decades the Board created a substantial body of documentation that remains deeply significant to Aboriginal people today and critical to the writing of their history. However, since the Board’s abolition, both Aboriginal family researchers and historians have faced major obstacles in accessing and drawing upon these volatile archives. This paper will trace a brief history of the use and control of the Board’s records to draw out the vexed issues that confront us today, as we work towards a substantive and collaborative critical history of the Board and its policies and impact.

‘Unprotected’: Aboriginal people who lived beyond the reach of the NSW Aborigines Protection/Welfare Board
Jakelin Troy

This paper considers what it was to be Aboriginal in NSW during the period of the NSW Aborigines Protection/Welfare Board and to not be under its ‘protection’. It asks the question ‘what price freedom’? Aboriginal people under Board control had every aspect of their lives interrogated and managed by the government. People who denied their Aboriginality and passed as ‘others’ avoided what are now recognised as abuses of human rights. However, for many people this freedom came at a terrible cost not only to one generation but down to the current generation of young Aboriginal people now trying to find their way back to their people, families and communities. It was a choice that meant disassociating with family and community in an attempt to fit into the wider community. It meant having to obtain passes to visit family and relatives. Giving up languages and cultural practices and trying to fit into a world that was not necessarily accepting even to people who seemed to have all the ‘social capital’ and assets to fit into the wider community with ease. Many people talk about being asked to explain themselves and making up stories to explain their ‘exotic’ looks, unusual families, living preferences. The list is endless. Always under suspicion and always worried they would be ‘found out’ possibly leading to having their children removed or rights infringed. This paper looks at the impact on the lives of these people and their attempts to find their way back to language, culture and community.
A revival of the art of storytelling in the digital world
Raymond Kelly

Over the timespan of Aborigines Protection and Welfare Boards the everyday thoughts, aspirations and petitions of Aboriginal people in NSW have been fettered and controlled by the power and control of uncompromising editors and producers. In this digital age Gurri are communicating about all manner of things. From births, deaths and marriages to expression of anger and outrage, we are broadcasting current political attitudes and forecasting future challenges. The world outside of our own communities can see us, and perhaps for some this will be the first time.

FRIDAY 7 JULY

Panel Name: Royal exile, travel and transformation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries
Chair: Dane Kennedy. Speakers: Cindy McCreery (University of Sydney); Bruce Baskerville (University of Sydney); Robert Aldrich (University of Sydney)

Royal vessels and tours in Asia-Pacific, c.1866-1925
Cindy McCreery

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, princely royal tours were all the rage. While most attention has focused on British royalty, and on visits to Northern Hemisphere destinations, princes from other royal houses also undertook significant overseas visits around the globe, including the Asia-Pacific region. In the late nineteenth century both the Hawaiian King Kalakaua and the Sultan of Johore Abu Bakar visited Europe as well as Asia, as did the Crown Prince of Japan in the 1920s. This paper provides an overview of these and other little-known tours, and considers how royal vessels the yachts, warships as well as commercial steamers which carried the royal passengers helped to assert royal claims to both power and modernity. Just as industrial nations began building bigger, faster and more powerful warships than their rivals, so royals increasingly chose famous warships to transport themselves around the Asia-Pacific (and beyond). Here, as in other royal tours, the ships were welcomed and viewed as celebrities in their own right. But western naval technology was not the only influence. Earlier (and non-western) traditions of royal travel also inspired these tours. Thus King Kalakaua travelled in the footsteps of earlier members of the Hawaiian Royal Family, and was farewelled by traditional songs and hula; while Sultan Abu Bakars voyages displayed respect for both British material culture and Islamic tradition. Indeed these tours reflect numerous examples of cultural exchange; not least in the return visits paid by successive British princes to Asian and Pacific rulers.

Allegiances beyond Borders: South Australia’s journey from Saxe-Coburg-Gotha to Windsor
Bruce Baskerville

A century ago this month the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha dynasty in Britain became the Windsors. This was much more than a mere name change. It capped a series of de-Germanising or de-Europeanising tactics by George V during the Great War to strategically reposition his dynasty and its future as fundamentally British. The change drew upon, and consciously projected, stories and traditions of a mythologised ancient past of Anglo and Celtic mixing or fusing to create a new and uniquely Briton dynasty with shared genealogical and emotional links to every British community in the world. South Australia was one of those British communities, and the dynastic strategy both mirrored and was interlinked with responses to a vicious anti-German campaign in the State. Between 1.5 and 4 per cent of South Australians shared some degree of German heritage, and the campaign to demonise, exclude and contain them between 1915 and 1918 was visceral and relentless. It was also, measured by its own objectives, perhaps the most successful such campaign in the Empire. Like the dynastic name change, the mass toponymic cleansing of German place names in South Australia reached its fruition in 1917. But, like the king, the opponents of South Australia’s anti-Germanists drew upon a mythologised traditionalism of what they called admixture in response to anti-German racialism. Both
sides invoked the dynasty and its supposed histories in support of their claims and counter-claims. Eventually, a re-imagined and newly-traditional royal family emerged, transformed for the cultural needs of modern South Australia.

The French General and the Malagasy Queen: Conquest and Exile
Robert Aldrich

In the mid-1880s, the French established a protectorate over the large, fertile and geopolitically well situated Indian Ocean island of Madagascar; a decade later, they moved to transform the protectorate into a fully-fledged colony. This involved invasion and occupation of the island under a force led by General Joseph Gallieni, and in 1897, the deposition and exile of Queen Ranavalona III, who had ruled since 1883, as well as the abolition of her Merina dynasty. The queen was banished first to Reunion Island, and then to Algeria, where she spent the remainder of her life and died in 1917. The circumstances of Ranavalona’s removal illustrate a strategy employed around the colonial world by French, British and other conquerors: replacing native sovereigns implicated in resistance, and those who politically or personally failed to meet the colonisers’ expectations of collaboration, fealty or probity. The ouster of particular rulers led, in various cases, to the enthronement of alternative royals or to the abolition of the throne. Ranavalona’s life in exile in Algeria, and the status of a minor celebrity (now apparently reconciled to French dominion in her homeland) that she enjoyed during visits to France, offer poignant examples of the fate of monarchs without thrones, and those banished by colonial overlords. Her reburial in Madagascar at a time when the French were trying to appropriate the heritage of the monarchy to counter more radical nationalist demands shows the ways that even posthumously indigenous rulers could be manipulated in colonial situations.

Panel Name: Reluctant entanglement: Resistance to migrations

Chair: Melanie Burkett. Speakers: Jayne Persian (University of Southern Queensland); Kate Bagnall (University of Wollongong); Melanie Burkett (PhD candidate, Macquarie University)

Jews Ship, Due Today, Needs Food: The Story of the Hwa Lien
Jayne Persian

Almost twenty thousand German, Austrian and Polish Jews found refuge in Shanghai from the genocidal racial policies of Nazi Germany. Around two and a half thousand of these Jewish refugees resettled in Australia, under an immigration scheme beset with anti-Semitic visa and quota restrictions. In January 1947, the largest grouping of Jewish refugees were able to circumvent these restrictions, setting sail for Sydney on board the infamous Hwa Lien. This paper examines the circumstances surrounding the sailing of the Hwa Lien, and provides fresh analysis of its reception in Australia.

Naturalisation and Chinese restriction in colonial Australasia
Kate Bagnall

In Defining British Citizenship (2003), Rieko Karatani has written, somewhat dispassionately, of how - with exclusive immigration and naturalization laws combined, colonial governments were better equipped to exclude peoples whom they did not wish to include (p. 57). In colonial Australia, such people were overwhelmingly Chinese. Beginning with Victoria in 1857, each of the Australasian colonies (including New Zealand) implemented anti-Chinese immigration laws, mostly variations on theme that included poll taxes and tonnage restrictions. Less consistent were the ways colonial governments brought naturalisation into their anti-Chinese measures. New South Wales, for example, was the only colony where Chinese naturalisation was prohibited by statutory law. This paper discusses the entangled history of naturalisation law and Chinese restriction in colonial Australia and New Zealand, highlighting the role naturalisation played in shaping the racial make-up of the settler colonial population.

Collateral Damage in a Political Game: Resistance to Assisted Immigrants
Melanie Burkett

In the early 1830s, the British government launched a controversial program of assisted emigration to New South Wales. The scheme ended colonial land grants and used the proceeds of newly implemented land sales to pay the passages of poor labourers and single women to the colony. Rather than welcoming this additional labour stream, the colonial press claimed Britain was sending
the colony depraved and worthless characters. However, this rhetoric was about much more than the moral character of the assisted immigrants, as this paper argues. Instead, the complaints surrounding the immigrants were a means of resisting the land-emigration policy overall. The quality of immigrants became a convenient scapegoat as the elite wanted to control the process of emigration and, most importantly, the colonial purse. The imposition of the policy escalated colonial cries for representative government, cries which revealed deep insecurities among the colonists regarding the colony’s place in the Empire. The colonial elite wanted respect and control and saw the assisted emigration scheme as an affront to both desires. In their efforts to resist, they generated collateral damage: the perceived character of the assisted immigrants themselves.

Roundtable: History Councils Roundtable: Community Engagement and Outreach

Chair: Tanya Evans

Speaker: David Carment (Charles Darwin University); Co-authors: Tanya Evans; Annmarie Reid; Margaret Birtley

History Councils operate in New South Wales, South Australia, Victoria and Western Australia. All aim to ensure that history in its diverse forms is a significant part of the cultural life of people and communities, and that the value of history is recognised. The session will report on a new collaborative project to advocate the value of history. Presenters will also highlight some differences with their approaches and priorities in providing relevant services and programs that showcase history's values and meet community needs. They will discuss the challenges and opportunities in reaching out to diverse audiences and stakeholders in both capital cities and regional and rural areas, and the types of programs and services they are considering and developing. In some states these already include organisation of and/or involvement in heritage and history festivals/weeks, participation in writers' festivals, working with schools and schoolteachers, providing speakers for other organisations, and organising specialised forums and workshops. The roundtable will also touch on funding for such activities and the communication and media strategies used to promote them.

Plenary Roundtable: The State of the Discipline: History in Australia and New Zealand

Chair: Kate Hunter. Speakers: Martin Crotty; Paul Sendziuk; Stuart Macintyre

These three papers will examine the current state of the History discipline in Australia and New Zealand. Based on the results of an AHA survey of staffing, students and curricula in Australia and New Zealand, Paul Sendziuk and Martin Crotty will explore what is being offered in terms of courses, the levels of student interest and uptake, and the staffing profiles of Australian and New Zealand history disciplines/departments. Comparisons and contrasts will be drawn with earlier surveys where applicable to reveal historical trends, while the data will also be analysed for any significant variations between, for example, Go8 and non-Go8 universities in Australia, and between Australian and New Zealand universities. Stuart Macintyre will draw on his study of the changes made to higher education from the late 1980s onwards to suggest how institutional arrangements for teaching and research have affected the discipline.
Australian and New Zealand Environmental History Network Conference

PAPERS

Paterson Valley: 200 years of technological disruption - impacts and consequences
Cameron Archer
Tom Farrell Institute University of Newcastle

The Paterson Valley forms part of the Hunter Valley with the Paterson and Allyn Rivers flowing south off the Barrington Tops. The Valley can be seen as a microcosm of land use change in the Australian environment. It produced many products including wheat, potatoes, broom millet, wool, milk, butter, cheese, tobacco, wine, arrowroot, oranges, tomatoes, beef and vegetables. The first changes were wrought by convict cedar cutting parties. That was just the start. Since 1822 agriculture has used the land resources producing a myriad of products and creating social institutions and communities through the length and breadth of the valley. It was Australia's first wine producing locality, with the first grapes planted in the 1820's. Coupled with wine was tobacco, production excelling for a long period. Timber was signature product for the whole period with technology dramatically changing over time, leading to the industry reaching the upper reaches of the Valley in the mid-20th century. The ability of the industry to exploit the forests increased dramatically with technology. Another signature industry was dairy farming which virtually rose and fell in the 20th century. The changes in technology saw the growth to larger farms and the relative cost of producing milk fall in real terms. The transport and processing of milk also changed. As a result of these changes local communities were created and thrived for a period then disappeared with little extant evidence of schools and other public institutions. The paper will analyse the impact of these disruptions on particular industries and forms of land use and the subsequent impact on communities.

The Herbert River Farmers' Association: unity, improvement and family farming.
Bianka Vidonja Balanzategui
PhD candidate, James Cook University

While by the first decade of the twentieth century sugar mills, operating in tropical environments might boast instantly recognizable, shared technology, they sourced their cane from very different types of suppliers. These suppliers ranged from primitive pre-industrial agriculturists to independent small farmers. The authentically independent, small sugar cane farmer was unique to Australia as were the sugar farmer associations which represented him. Who was this farmer and what was the nature of his sugar farmer association? The tropical north Queensland sugar farmer was of European origin. He owned a family-sized farm and his own machinery, and outsourced harvesting to gangs of white cane cutters contracted for the season. In addition, as part of a cooperative enterprise with other small farmers, he could own and control a mill. The Herbert River Farmers’ Association, in Ingham, tropical north Queensland, is a remarkable example of a small farmers’ association formed in 1882 during a time of intense and troubled plantation activity. It was formed to negotiate with the dominant planter so that small growers could supply cane to his mill for crushing. Within two years the association’s negotiations had successfully secured reliable contracts. The association’s members proved that sugar cane could be successfully grown by independent white small growers in a tropical environment and the association significantly advanced the change from vertically integrated plantation to small
farms. Moreover the association not only gave the small farmers a unified bargaining voice but informed their farming practice by encouraging agricultural improvement.

The Old West fishes Australian Waters: Zane Grey's 1935-6 tour
Claire Brennan
James Cook University

While Zane Grey is best known for his invention of the romantic 'Old West' and his plethora of western novels and movies he was also a keen fisherman and sports writer. In 1926 he had visited New Zealand (at the request of the New Zealand government) and successfully drew attention to the fishing available there. A decade later he made a similarly government-sponsored trip to Australia in an attempt to promote the newly discovered big game fishing available off the New South Wales South Coast. Grey's trip to Australia was widely celebrated at the time of his visit. His catches were reported on radio, and his doings were published in newspapers throughout Australia (and mentioned in newspapers overseas). He deliberately cultivated attention, running two boats for the duration of his visit so that one could carry a camera crew. While in Australia he made two movies (starring in one) and his Australian experiences formed the basis of a novel as well as fishing publications. The furore surrounding his visit was not universally positive - he was targeted by the RSPCA which engaged in a campaign criticising the cruelty involved in big game fishing. However, the big game fishing tourism Grey established in Australia struggled in the immediate postwar period and Grey's own star has faded since the 1950s. This paper examines the quality of Grey's fishing fame at the time of his visit, outlines the progress of his fishing tour, and identifies the traces that remain. It also considers the difficulties of grappling with vanished celebrity.

Counting Food Miles in early colonial Australia
Dr Nancy Cushing
University of Newcastle

Food miles have recently become a matter of concern when counting the social and environmental costs of globalised food systems leading some ethical consumers to buy only local produce. In doing so, many would assume that they are engaging in a traditional practice, eating as people did in the past. This paper will challenge that assumption by exploring an early instance of very long food journeys: those undertaken to feed the British convict colonies in Australia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Foods in the rations issued to convicts, servicemen and civil servants travelled distances comparable to those of the immigrants themselves, including meat from Britain and Tahiti, pulses and tea from India, and sugar from Rio de Janeiro and India. This food mobility freed labour in the colonies to be invested in building infrastructure and initiating large scale agricultural production but the shift to locally sourced foods was not a systematic progression. It occurred irregularly, with years of plenty followed by times of drought or pests which forced increased reliance on imports. Some key elements of the colonial diet, including sugar and tea, continued to be imported in the long term. Accounting for the origins and journeys of the foods eaten by European Australians during the early convict period adds to the emerging understandings of these nascent colonies not as cut off from the world at large but as nodes in imperial and transimperial networks deeply entangled within an array of other peoples, places and systems, drawing upon distant environments even as they began the process of exploitation in Australia.

Jodi Frawley
Byron Shire Council
Byron Bay is New South Wales’ most popular visitor destination outside of Sydney. That means the Shire gets plenty of tourists, and ‘tourism’ is the primary pillar of economic activity, with its low paid seasonal work and a strange disconnect between those that benefit from its economic returns and those that do not. However, at Byron there are other successes in entangled processes between the place and the market. This paper is exploratory. It provides four vignettes of Byron businesses who have organically emerged from very local understandings of the environment, and environmental values. This paper considers the ways that McTavish Surfboards; Global Therapeutics; Brookfarm and Tony Kenway’s Furniture grew out of the particularities of living in Byron Shire. To do so, I follow the lead of Andrew Warren and Chris Gibson’s groundbreaking work on the cultural geography of Surfboard makers. In this paper, I start to ask, whether their model can be used to provide a richer picture of the entanglements that produce these kinds of niche market businesses. Because I am no longer working as an academic environmental historian, this paper is also a pitch to create a working
group willing to develop these fragments into a linkage grant with Byron Shire Council as the primary industry partner.

**Fishing in Bass Strait; cray boats, sharks and the sea**  
*Cheryl Glowrey*  
*Federation University*

The waters of Bass Strait, notorious for their dangers, are the fishing grounds for Port Albert, Port Welshpool and Port Franklin, all villages sheltering behind Wilsons Promontory on Corner Inlet in southern Victoria. This paper explores how local fishermen adapted to the conditions of Bass Strait with a focus on the cray-fishing (rock lobster) and shark industries. Three key themes emerge: the influence of the Scandinavian origins of many of the fishermen, the impact of two World Wars on the application of technology and emerging environmental concerns related to declining fisheries. In the twentieth century, technology and innovative, adaptive responses to the marine environment resulted in a thriving fishing industry despite distances from the Melbourne markets. Confronted with increasingly declining fish stocks, fishermen and their boats sailed further into the unprotected waters of Bass Strait. At their peak, the fishermen combined technology and local knowledge of the currents in Corner Inlet as a factor in controlling the price for cray fish in Melbourne. Technological responses were not always successful as new and old knowledges merged to create distinctive local fisheries. In an increasingly competitive industry, the early adaptations of boats, cray pots and kauffs shifted to high-tech responses in the form of echo-sounders, plane spotters and mother-ships in the quest for shark. The experience of the Corner Inlet fisheries mirrors that of communities nationally and internationally where technology heightened the decline in wild fish stocks and environmental regulations forced the development of the highly restricted commercial fishing industry of today.

**Hazara journeys: memory, migrancy and water**  
*Heather Goodall*  
*University of Technology Sydney*

The environmental experiences of migrants and refugees are seldom analysed - or even noticed. Yet the Hazara community in Australia have in most cases undertaken arduous journeys in order to seek asylum and so they have necessarily been involved in rapidly changing environmental conditions. As becomes clear in discussions and interviews, much of their journey involves environmental experiences which were related to water. This may have implications for water use in Australia, a continent where water scarcity is a constant challenge yet where there is a strong expectation and belief in the entitlement of all citizens to unlimited, pure water. Rogaly (2015) has built on Doreen Massey's work on migrancy, fixity and power (1993; 2011) to consider how life histories may be used to explore the tensions between mobility and fixity, through the lens of 'translocality', the 'simultaneous situatedness across different locales'. One lesson from Rogaly's work is that events other than the migration itself may have far heavier impacts on later life choices. Our project, Cultures, Diversity and Environments, is using life histories to explore the changing environmental experiences during migrancy of three Muslim groups: Jordanians, Bangladeshis and Hazaras. Focussing on the Hazaras, this paper asks how water has shaped each stage of their journey and how Hazara community members consider water now they are established in both urban and rural settings.

**Alice in Wonderland: Environmental lore on the Australian frontier**  
*Tom Griffiths*  
*Australian National University*

The white writer Alice Duncan-Kemp was born on Mooraberrie pastoral station east of the Diamantina River in south-western Queensland in 1901 and wrote four books between 1934 and 1968 that describe life in the region, especially in the years from 1906 to the early 1920s. The Queensland pastoral frontier was a violent place for Aboriginal people at the end of the nineteenth century; thus Alice was a white witness born into a land undergoing revolution. Her books offer a very significant and intriguing window on Channel Country people and culture in the early twentieth century. More than that, they give us a glimpse of what was a rare occurrence in modern Australia: the transmission across the frontier of environmental lore. How did this come about in the Channel Country? What did Alice know, who were her teachers and why was she - and they - forgotten?
Fish Acclimatisation: An Entangled History
David Harris
La Trobe University

Fish acclimatisation was an influential scientific and socio-political movement active in several Australian colonies during the nineteenth century. Politically and scientifically conservative, the fish acclimatisers drew on emerging North American and European ideas about fish hatcheries to promote a specious scientific image of themselves through the breeding and release of exotic fish species in many Australian waterways. At the same time, they pursued local political ambitions and specific political agendas that, at times, reflected older ideas of social position as a key determinant for the access to natural resources. The historical significance of the acclimatisers does not lie in the environmental legacy they bequeathed to future generations through their release of carp or trout, rather it is in the contribution they made to the entrenched debate about the recreational and commercial harvesting of fish. By the end of the nineteenth century in Australia, their political influence had declined as colonial governments looked to the industrialisation of commercial fishing fleets as the measure of a modern economy. Historians have moved from portraying the acclimatisers as foolish and naive to generously placing them as the precursors of the modern environmental movement, yet fish acclimatisation remains one of the more contentious aspects of Australia's environmental history in the nineteenth century.

Towards a History of Avian Entanglements on Makatea, French Polynesia.
Nicholas Hoare
PhD candidate, Australian National University

Central to the debate over plans for renewed phosphate mining on Makatea is the fate of the island's endemic birds. More closely resembling a tropical rainforest than lunar mine-scape, Makatea is today recognised globally as a 'hotspot for biodiversity' (Fred Jacq; Bird Life International). Endemic birds, such as the now-endangered Rupe (Polynesian Imperial Pigeon), have been critical to the revegetation of the island since 1966 when mining ceased and all heavy-industry was abandoned practically overnight. Moreover, long seen as an important node for the dispersal of species across the Tuamotu Archipelago, recent botanical research strongly suggests the raised-atoll has operated as a refugium for migrating species during times of sea-level variation. In our present age of climate change and rising sea levels, the surrounding low-lying atolls of the Tuamotu Archipelago will quickly lose their ability to accommodate bird species, therefore making the ecological services provided by Makatea all the more critical. Hence an Australian firm's vision to re-mine and rehabilitate the land for productive purposes is causing concern amongst environmentalists and local Ma'ohi. This paper, based largely off conversations with the aforementioned actors, aims to reflect upon the role of avian species in Makatea's human and non-human history. Drawing principally from Thom van Dooren and his concept of avian entanglements, I argue that the co-option of the Rupe, as a symbol of hope and resistance in the present fight against future mining, reflects the continued importance of birdlife to the island and its people.

Settlers in 'earthquake country': Apprehending instability in California and New Zealand
Jarrod Hore
PhD candidate, Macquarie University

For settlers in late nineteenth-century California and New Zealand the threat of terrestrial instability was a central concern in a range of images and texts. Spurred on by four major earthquakes between 1855 and 1888, geologists and surveyors grappled with the formation and disturbance of landscapes at the same time that photographers and artists made visual sense of settler territory. In the immediate aftermath of earthquakes, and in landscapes marked by their traces, settler scientists and photographers alike were conduits through which ideas about rupture flowed. These ideas were inflected by the context of the Settler Revolution - an international process that remade imperial economies by forging new connections and circulations between metropolitan and settler spaces.

Most noticeable in the remarkable though uneven growth of post-1849 California, the Settler Revolution was just as influential across the Pacific in New Zealand, where settler responses to earthquakes were also organised around both doubt and optimism. In times of optimism scientists could find inspiration in instability just as artists rendered it as a sublime spectacle. However in times of doubt earthquakes became more feared as threats to settlement or harbingers of decline. An examination of these moments emphasizes the extent to which the physical world is entangled with the cultural, while also uncovering some of the connected foundations of settler identity in distant
New Zealand Ecology, War and Women's Fashion to the 1930s
Kate Hunter
Victoria University of Wellington

During the Great War two unusual trends in women's dress in the Anglophone world emerged: the fur garment and trim industry blossomed during these years of austerity, and New Zealand - a country with no native mammals - became one of the 'new world' fur suppliers that dominated the trade. Examining the serendipitous interplay between New Zealand's unusual ecology, changes in women's purchasing power during the war, and the nuanced meanings of producing and wearing fur, this paper illuminates the entangled histories of a local ecology, a global commodity and changes for women wrought by a world war.

The Ecology of the Socialist City: Cultivating and Protecting the Green Spaces of Moscow, 1931-1941
Johanna Conterio
Flinders University

Since the publication of William Cronon's landmark work, Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West (1991), urban environmental history has been a vibrant subfield of environmental history. In the young and rapidly growing field of Russian and Soviet environmental history, however, the history of efforts to protect and develop urban and exurban green space remains relatively undeveloped. This paper focuses on the role of experts, particularly physicians, in conceptualizing, promoting and managing green spaces in and around Soviet cities in the Stalinist period, and in particular on the incorporation of forest parks into the expanding borders of Moscow during the state-led reconstruction of the city in the mid-1930s. The state, advised by its physicians, developed these forests into parks as a public health measure, to prevent the spread of tuberculosis and other social diseases. Moreover, the state placed these forests under strict environmental protection, citing early Soviet environmental legislation. The paper proposes that the cultivation and protection of urban green space was integral to the Soviet state project of public health in the Stalin period. Moreover, the Soviet state, advised by its physicians, saw environmental protection as having a central role in the development of healthy settlements. At the same time, the cultivation of green space was tied to the increased police surveillance of cities from the mid-1930s. The paper is based on archival documents from the Commissariats of Communal Economy and of Public Health from the State Archive of the Russian Federation, the Moscow Municipal Archives, and Soviet academic journals.

'You have entered Aboriginal land': Archaeology on the Franklin River
Billy Griffiths
PhD candidate, University of Sydney

On 1 July 1983, in a dramatic four-three decision, the High Court of Australia ruled to stop the damming of the Franklin River. It marked the end of a long and protracted campaign, which had helped bring down two state premiers and a prime minister, as well as overseeing the rise of a new figure on the political landscape, the future founder of the Greens, Bob Brown. But while the public campaign was dominated by ideas and images of natural splendour, the High Court decision hinged on a cultural revelation. The archaeological research that took place during the campaign revealed that southwest Tasmania was far from being a timeless, untouched 'true wilderness': it had a deep human history. What was undoubtedly a natural wonder was also a cultural landscape. This paper explores the tensions and collaboration that emerged between archaeologists, conservationists and a resurgent Tasmanian Aboriginal community in their fight to stop the hydro-electric development on the Franklin River. It reflects on the significance of the campaign for the discipline of Australian archaeology and the fraught question that lingered in its wake: 'who owns the past?'

More Than Geometry: Surveyors and Environmental Sensibility
Terry Kass
Consulting Historian

As a fundamental element of the imposition of European forms of land tenure on newly settled colonial spaces.
colonies, the subdivisional geometry created by boundary surveys has blinded historians to nuances in the role of surveyors in the settlement process. Surveyors in NSW fulfilled multiple roles. Since land management was a key function, they gained intimate knowledge of the Australian environment. Surveyors recorded their growing 'sensibility' to the Australian environment in maps, sketches, paintings, official reports and correspondence, letters to the press, books and articles. When assessing the productive capability of land, surveyors needed to understand the environment. In this case, it was the Australian environment. Over 300 surveyors were licensed between 1860 and 1880. Amongst such a large body of men, some were immune to interest in the Australian environment, but for all surveyors, an understanding of geology, landform and vegetation was necessary. For some, it became a significant passion. During the 1860s and 1870s, the surveying profession in New South Wales changed from a service dominated by British expatriates to one with large numbers of Australian-born and Australian trained individuals. Born and bred in Australia, despite their yearning for 'Home' focused on a Britain many had never seen, their eyes were attuned not to the green and pleasant fields of England, but the dry infertile soils of their homeland. The work of various surveyors will be scrutinised to demonstrate the change from a British perspective regarding the Australian landscape to a more nuanced understanding or 'sensibility'.

Victims of a hostile environment or lucky benefactors of a 'natural' paradise?
Skye Krichauff
University of Adelaide

In her influential article 'Exodus, Expulsion and Exile' (first published in 1999), historian Ann Curthoys argues that non-Aboriginal Australians' lack of empathy for Aboriginal suffering must be analysed in conjunction with an awareness that a pervading sense of victimhood prevails among the Australian population. Curthoys perceives this as deriving from early settlers' sense of exodus from Europe and their experiences of battling an alien land. Curthoys' thesis continues to be uncritically promulgated by highly regarded scholars. Putting aside the 'eastern-state-centrism' inherent in notions of expulsion and exodus, in this paper I question the veracity of Curthoys' presumption that a sense of victimhood has derived from notions (real or imagined) of newcomers' battle with a hostile land. Knowledge of the pre and early-colonial natural environment and the concrete workings of memory illustrates the shortcomings inherent in homogenising and universalising theories which fail to take into account the richness and diversity of Australian eco-systems and, relatedly, the colonial experience. Curthoys and her proponents base their arguments on secondary sources. Drawing on historical records and oral narratives and site visits conducted with fourth to sixth generation settler descendants, I demonstrate that, rather than a sense of victimhood, other explanations are required to deepen our understanding of non-Aboriginal Australians failure to recognise and connect with Aboriginal suffering.

Melbourne's sanatoria woodlands: landscapes chosen by coincidence, or by design?
Rebecca Le Get
PhD candidate, La Trobe University

For much of the 20th century, treatment of tuberculosis revolved around specialised medical institutions called sanatoria. Around the city of Melbourne, Victoria, four of the five former sites of tuberculosis sanatoria, under state government management, were located in grassy, eucalypt woodlands. They were largely clustered to the north and north-east of the city, in then-rural areas that were retained as bushland reserves after urbanisation, making them a valuable resource for environmental historians. While in the late 19th century, eucalypts were seen as an important aspect of sanatorium site selection, it appears that by the 20th century these locations were carefully selected according to other criteria, such as geography, aesthetics, and the availability of public transport for staff, visitors and supplies. This also facilitated resource-sharing by placing sanatoria and other hospitals close to each other. Yet the environmental history of these forests before being managed as reserves is largely unknown, which can mislead researchers into assuming that these landscapes are unchanged since European settlement. This paper explores what landscape features these sanatoria sites had in common, including flora and geology, and compare them to government reports, contemporary newspaper reports, and archived federal and state blueprints for infrastructure, to gain a fuller view of why these particular properties were selected to become sanatoria sites. This paper also aims to investigate why the majority of these sanatoria were placed in eucalypt woodlands, even though it was not a deliberate decision by the government at the time.
The entangled itineraries and rhythms of desert pastoralism in Central Australia
Shannyn Palmer
PhD candidate, Australian National University

The 1930s and 1940s witnessed significant pastoral expansion into the so-called 'marginal' country that lay to the south of Alice Springs and west of the Overland Telegraph Line. In the arid lands of Central Australia local knowledge of country was necessary to pastoral settlement. The desert ecology, the location of water in particular, imposed itself on pastoralism in a way that ensured that whitefellas and their enterprises would become dependent upon local knowledge and labour. Records and memories of the relationships that developed during this period illuminate an emergent entanglement between Anangu and whitefella itineraries that was being traced along both socio-cultural and ecological lines. Tjuki Tjukanku Pumpjack's memories of Angas Downs station feature in excess of fifty different named places, which punctuate his oral histories and orient this historical period in the desert world in which it took place. Drawing upon the spatial knowledge encoded in Tjuki's memories, combined with other historical sources, this paper traces the ways in which the desert ecology shaped the pastoral enterprise in the arid southwest of the Northern Territory, revealing a history of pastoralism quite different from that evoked in the pastoral mythology of the north. Focusing upon the mutual production of people and place, this paper illustrates how colonial cultures of economy intersected with Anangu cultures of travel, and how whitefella pastoralists too were being changed and shaped by their encounters with Anangu in the desert.

Caring for the Ugly: Conservation Practice in History
Libby Robin
Australian National University (Fenner School of Environment and Society)

Have you got the nerve to swerve? This is a tagline for doing nature conservation in Northern Australia. The uncharismatic Cane Toad, Bufo marinus, is an alien invasive species, deliberately introduced from South America by Queensland sugar farmers in the 1930s. Cane Toads are number one on the government's Feral Animals control list, yet Cane Toad eradication is increasingly a project for volunteer groups of "Toad Busters". The prominent Kimberley Toad Busters stun toads with vehicle headlights then swerve to crush them. The Cane Toad Muster is, in the words of a folk song, an opportunity for "ornery cowboys" to "unify the nation /to fight a plague they all fear". Such treatment of Cane Toads feeds into a Border Control mentality. Eradication of problem animals is heroic. Yet native/alien and good and bad animals need historical context. They have changed over time, as does the science that is used to justify conservation practice. If conservation is just about control, and the best scale is the biggest, there is no room for either the history or the ecology of the animal in question. Making machismo of killing toads is only partly about protecting native species. It is more about the moral superiority of nature's warriors. Toad-busting is a recent example of Australia's confusion between nature and nation. If we disentangle patriotism and ideas of national progress from conservation practices, we might enable 'compassionate conservation' (Rose 2016) and other new ways to manage nature (including ourselves), especially in relation to unloved and ugly animals.

Changing Time at Tulla Station
Edward (Ted) Ryan
La Trobe University

This paper focusses on changes in the cultural and physical landscape of Tulla station in south west New South Wales. Tulla Station itself and the people connected to it come into our view through book and voice; through the station diaries and shearing tally books and the songs of the station workers. The written station sources give us an intimate portrait of aspects of everyday station life over a period of 40 years of relative economic, social and environmental stability from the early 1870's. The songs of the workers broaden our understanding of station life, as well as giving us a glimpse of deeper time well before the station's establishment. Taken together these sources enable us to see the basis for the stability of life and landscape during that period, as well the community that developed in that environment, before the massive changes forced by the creation of the Wakool Irrigation Area.
Entangled Histories of the Eversleigh Meteorological Data Records 1877-1922: History and Climate Science
Ken Thornton
University of Newcastle

Traditionally the stories that history and science narrate have followed separate paths. While social history and environmental history are somewhat entangled, the 'hard sciences' have generally been kept separate. In reality, they are entangled with the humanities. This entanglement has the potential to enrich both disciplines and is illustrated by an exploration of past weather and in particular droughts and floods. Historians attempt to explain these extreme events in terms of human experience, generally over extended periods. Equally important is an exploration of the day-to-day lived experiences of individuals. These people, as is the case in the present, knew about yesterday and today, but could only guess about tomorrow. Diaries and similar sources can assist in this endeavour. However, meteorological observations of these events and specifically the data that are generated can augment historical reports of weather events. If this data is detailed enough it can add context to the daily lived experience of people in the past. Similarly, historical documentation can shed light on the people observing the weather. What were their motives? What did they do with their records? Do their circumstances suggest that their records can be believed? Similarly, historical documentation may shed light on the conditions in which their observations were made, which in turn may contribute to an understanding of any inconsistencies in the data. Utilising the Eversleigh Meteorological Data Records (1877-1922) this presentation explores some of the connections between meteorology and social / environmental history, and how each discipline can benefit the other.

'More destructive than rabbits': Galahs and the Kerang Galah Championship
Karen Twigg
PhD candidate, La Trobe University

In 1910 the Kerang Gun Club, on the edge of the Victorian Mallee, included galah trap shooting on their program. This was one of the first times native birds had been used for such purposes. By 1930 the contest had become the Commonwealth Galah Championship, and was attracting shooters from all over Australia. Settlement had provided galahs with new food sources, as Bill Gammage has demonstrated, allowing a rapid increase in both their numbers and range. Outraged farmers reported the damage galahs wreaked on newly-planted wheat fields, the high visibility of the bird making them an easy scapegoat, and rapidly cementing their reputation as a destructive 'pest'. This paper explores how the perception that galahs preyed on farmers' wheat crops allowed the birds to be seen, literally, as a fair target, and provided the impetus for the Kerang Galah Championship for over forty years. At a time when the preservation of native birds was high on the public agenda, it also investigates broader attitudes to native wildlife and what species were considered 'deserving' - or not - of protection.

River that Died of Shame? Cook’s River in Comparative Perspective.
Prof Ian Tyrrell
UNSW

Deals with Cook’s River in Sydney, a river subject to considerable landscape changes and pollution from the 1830s. Arguably the most polluted and altered urban river in Australia, its history encompasses also recent attempts at restoration or rectification of riverscapes. Looks at transnational ideas of place and space that have been routinely imported to change the river, and compares the outcomes to similar histories, notably of the Los Angeles River, California. Treats the separate but complementary character of transnational history and comparative history. Shows importance of intense place-making in the successive alterations of the river.
Panel Name: Speaking for nature: Australian conservationists

Chair: Alison Holland
Speakers: Dorothy Kass (Macquarie University); Janine Kitson (Workers Educational Association, Sydney); Russell McGregor (James Cook University)

On the Effect of Settlement: Alexander Hamilton, nature writer, nature advocate
Dorothy Kass

American ecocritic Daniel Philippon, in Conserving Words (2004), studied the relationship between American nature writers and conservationist and environmental movements over the course of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He observed that nature writers were often involved in the formation and development of environmental organisations. Today, in the first of three papers which look at the lives, writing, advocacy, and action of Australian conservationists and environmentalists, I introduce Alexander Hamilton, 1852-1941, school teacher, lecturer, naturalist, nature writer, and conservationist. While schoolmaster at the small settlement of Guntawang, near Gulgong, NSW, and later at Mt Kembla, a coal mining village in the Illawarra, Hamilton wrote popular nature essays, published in the Sydney Quarterly Magazine in 1888 and 1889. His scientific paper, On the Effect which Settlement in Australia has Produced upon Indigenous Vegetation, won a medal in a competition hosted by the Royal Society in 1892. This paper shows an unflagging understanding of the interrelations of the natural world and a deep concern for their disturbance. As concern about the natural environment increased in the early twentieth century, Hamilton became a strong advocate for the teaching of nature study in primary schools. He was a founding member of the Wildlife Preservation Society of Australia and the Gould League of Bird Lovers of NSW, remaining an active member of these and other organisations for decades.

Cosmopolitan Conservationists and Sydney's Blue Gums
Janine Kitson

Peggy James in Cosmopolitan Conservationists, Greening Modern Sydney develops a relational biography of networks and the Sydney landscape. These networks were important when two forests were under threat, during the Depression, the Blue Gum Forest in the Blue Mountains and the Dalrymple Hay Forest in Sydney's northern suburbs. Despite the economic hardship of the 1930s, many generously donated funds to protect these forests. Both campaigns were strongly supported by the Wildlife Preservation Society, Australia's first wildlife protection organisation, established in 1909 under the leadership of David G. Stead.

The Blue Mountains Blue Gum forest campaign is legendary. Through this campaign, Myles Dunphy and his bushwalking networks became committed to the cause of conservation and went on to champion a system of national parks and wilderness areas. The other campaign, to protect Pymble Dalrymple Hay Forest, is less well known. This involved a network of Sydney conservationists such as Annie Wyatt, Fred Berman, Charles Bean and Cressell O'Reilly. Entangled in this history are recent tenth anniversary celebrations that commemorate how in 2007 a new generation of networking conservationists, yet again, led a successful campaign to publically acquire land within the Blue Gum High Forest in Pymble or what is known today as St Ives. Is it time to rethink how these two 1930s Sydney forest campaigns - led by influential cosmopolitan conservationists - shaped values for the importance and protection of wilderness and urban bushland?

Mateship with Nature: Alec Chisholm's conservationism
Russell McGregor

Alec Chisholm (1890-1977) inspired generations of Australians to see nature anew. A prolific writer of popular works on natural history, he promoted a conservationist ethos. He also promoted an Australian nationalism that cherished the landscapes, flora and fauna of this country. This paper explains how Chisholm's love of nature was entwined with his commitment to Australian nationhood,
and explores the consequences of this entanglement.

Panel Name: Environmental entanglements: people, places and disaster

Chair: Tom Griffiths
Speakers: PhD candidate, Margaret Cook (University of Queensland); PhD candidate, Gretel Evans (University of Melbourne); PhD candidate, Daniel May (Australian National University)

It will never happen again: The myth of flood immunity in Brisbane
Margaret Cook

Many southeast Queenslanders share a common denial that they live on a floodplain, despite enduring flood memories. Although scholarship shows how collective memory aids community resilience to hazards, socio-political forces erode this transformative potential. A study of Brisbane River floods highlights the entanglement of memory with a myth of flood immunity that pervades popular culture. This article surveys collective flood memories from media accounts, and argues that they are part of wider socio-technical understandings of the environment. Somerset and Wivenhoe dams have created a false belief in flood prevention, fed by the infrequency of floods and cycles of drought. These factors have become entwined in hydrological misunderstandings which together dispel floods from public consciousness. The myth sustained floodplain development, perceived as an essential economic booster. When flooding threatened the myth of immunity in 2011, the event was framed as dam mismanagement to deflect attention from poor land use practices and government culpability. This myth endures, leaving southeast Queensland no more resilient for unpredictable, but certain future flooding.

I didn't have my background here: Entangled histories in migrant memories
Gretel Evans

As an English backpacker travelling to Australia for a new adventure, Kat did not anticipate the way her life would become entangled in this country. Nor did Bende expect a bushfire to reveal previously the hidden background and beginnings of the locals within her community. As migrants, these people were actively engaged in learning new environments and creating connections with communities before being entangled in Australia’s history of natural disasters. Yet, their memories of natural disasters in Australia reveal more than a memory of fire or flood. Oral history interviews with migrants who have experienced natural disasters in Australia unearth a new perspective on understanding our long histories of migration and natural disasters. They enrich our environmental histories with a migrant voice and expose memories and stories in disaster spaces. Migrants brought memories of a pre-migration past which influenced memories of natural disasters. But disaster experiences and memories reveal more than environmental and disaster histories, as they unearth previously concealed histories of the locals in this place and created the space for new connections to community and environment. Migrant memories of disaster reveal not just their individual experiences, but the layered histories interacting with these spaces. These oral histories reveal how histories of migration and natural disasters became entangled in the lives and memories of Australian migrants, and created a space for deeper connections with people and places.

The 1961 Dwellingup bushfires and the politics of prescribed burning
Daniel May

Prescribed burning has been a key article of faith for two generations of foresters, fire ecologists and land managers. Furthermore the practice of deliberately lighting fires to reduce potential bushfire fuel is today one of the most contentious areas of environmental debate, often entangled with competing understandings of Indigenous burning practices. The Australian strategy of institutionalised prescribed burning can be traced to the Rodger Royal Commission, which was established to investigate the 1960-61 Dwellingup bushfires. The Dwellingup bushfires ravaged an area that had been thought to be well managed. While there were no fatalities, hundreds of people were left homeless and it was regarded for many years as Western Australia’s worst bushfire disaster. The Rodger Royal Commission has attracted less historical attention than the famous Stretton Commission, which followed the 1939 Black Friday bushfires. Yet it has been argued that it was this Commission that truly
enshrined prescribed burning as an accepted land management practice and legitimised the systems to deliver it - in particular aerial ignition. This presentation will examine the arguments of foresters, farmers and fire scientists that led to Rodgers recommendations for increased prescribed burning. Furthermore, this presentation will explore how conceptualisations of Indigenous burning were entangled with West Australian understandings of the environment as expressed in 1961, and the degree to which these understandings interacted with advocacy for prescribed burning.
The body, the site of perfection  
Jenny Caligari  
PhD candidate, Deakin University

The body, according to the Australian woman, Bessie Harrison Lee, was a site of God's work where the spiritual and physical were intertwined, or more specifically, the perfect expression of the Holy Spirit. Lee's life that spanned from 1860 to 1949 was representative of the connections and contradictions that a transnational life could offer, or in the spirit of this conference, defined as 'entangled'. This paper will question how Lee melded contemporary scientific ideas on marriage, heredity and the social evil, that had permeated the transnational Woman's Christian Temperance Union reading lists, Evangelical Christian ideas and her own experiences to produce a new language and framework for a utopian sexual future. This period of Lee's campaigning for a new definition of marriage, illustrated British, and more importantly American influences on Lee's contemporary environment where a polarisation developed between medical and moral views of heredity diseases such as predispositions to mental illness or inebriety. Despite this, there were existing doctors, clergy and philanthropists in both Australia and the transnational community who attempted to join the two. This paper will examine this trend and determine if it was reflected in Lee's written publications and speeches where she wrote careful instructions on measures to preserve and enhance society.

Glamour at the Bank Counter: The Bank of New Zealand 1945-1972  
Sarah Christie  
PhD candidate, University of Otago

In 1961 the Te Aro Branch of the Bank of New Zealand published a photo of one of their young tellers in the company newsletter. Alongside the photo they issued a challenge to the rest of the country to find the first ‘Miss Bank of New Zealand Teller’. This informal beauty contest was part of a wider narrative that sort to instruct women on how to be the ideal female employee, and which perpetuated an international motif of the glamorous business girl. Glamour, as Stephen Gundle argues is inherently about sexuality, consumption, mobility and leisure. All of these elements were utilised in the motif of the glamorous business girl and were negotiated by young clerical women within their workspaces. This paper will explore how formations of glamour in the workplace were projected and consumed internationally as well as how they were enacted and contested locally, specifically focusing on the experiences of female workers at the Bank of New Zealand from 1945 to 1972. This leads to an examination of the ways in which the interactions of the international and local produced nationally unique variants of the glamorous business girl.
Obstacle Course: Women in Heavy Industries in Newcastle, 1970s-1990s
Jude Conway
PhD candidate, University of Newcastle

As women entered 'non-traditional' employment in heavy industries in the 1970s and 1980s they confronted a longstanding gender and work symbiosis between industrial work and blue collar masculinities. The second-wave women's movement generated the climate for disruption of this symbiotic relationship based on outdated stereotypes of what occupations and workplaces were considered 'feminine' and 'masculine'. Using the city of Newcastle as a case study this paper shows how feminist, community and government campaigns promoted the removal of barriers to women's entry into heavy industries, and examines the challenges women faced in gaining jobs, their experiences on the plant, the variable reactions of family and friends and the level of trade union support. Evidence gathered from research projects, government reports, newspapers and feminist and labour history articles reveals that, in comparison to the Second World War, women had to fight for industrial jobs ranging from labouring to apprenticeships, although there were new opportunities for higher level training. In the battle to maintain the masculine workplace, sexual harassment was widespread and women had to develop mental and physical strength to survive. However in the harsh conditions and with minimal on-the job union assistance, some women did survive and succeed, and remained in the blue-collar workforce even after Newcastle's heavy industries began to close at the end of the 1990s. Knowledge of the failures and successes from this period has slipped from social memory but is of historical and current significance as women today still face obstacles in well-paid industrial occupations.

Feminist ethics of violence in early twentieth-century Britain and Ireland
Sharon Crozier-De Rosa
University of Wollongong

Early twentieth-century Britain and Ireland were home to notorious acts of female militancy. In Britain, a substantial body of suffragists had adopted militant tactics. Suffragists too in Ireland threatened to resort to violence. In Ireland, many women had already been drawn to other forms of violent activism, especially that in the name of anti-colonial nationalism. Each group of female militants - suffragists and nationalists - had to rationalise their violent tactics through constructing a specific feminist ethics of violence. There were similarities across the ethics of these distinct but intersecting communities - suffragist and nationalist, Irish and British. But there were many differences too. Accusations stemming from the anti-suffragist side of British politics that said that British militant feminists were guilty of leading their unsuspecting, weaker Irish sisters astray - by leading them into the fray of political violence - exposed the potency of some of these divisions. Such accusations, for example, drew heated retorts from Irish feminist nationalists that served to deny the subservient position of Irish women in relation to their stronger, worldlier British sisters. In this paper, I look at how different communities of militant women responded to assumptions about woman's proclivity - or lack of - for violent activism. I look through the prism of female political violence to understand how nationalist feminists in Ireland and UK defined their specific communities of national feminism. I also ask what roles gender, emotions, anti-colonialism, and nationalism play in remembering women's violent activism across these political and regional sites today.

A black bushranger, a white woman, and a murder
Meg Foster
PhD candidate, University of New South Wales

The Gold Rushes of the 1850s saw the largest surge of immigration that the colonies of Australia had ever seen. In this time of unprecedented demographic mobility, there was also great cultural change. The parameters of colonial society shifted alongside its population, and the 'lawlessness' of the goldfields required new means of maintaining order, the façade of civilisation and official control. "Black Douglas" was a bushranger who roamed throughout the Victorian goldfields near Maryborough during this period. He was notorious during his own times and word of his countless, brutal crimes, spread like wildfire among the diggers. In May 1855, between 200 and 400 miners rose up to capture Douglas and put an end to his reign of terror. And the crime that apparently compelled these men to act was the murder of a white woman. This murder was used by newspapers to praise the diggers' actions; they had proven themselves to be worthy men by fighting against such an injustice. It made for a compelling narrative that restored colonial ideas of gender balance as well as racial and civic order. The only problem is that there is no evidence that Douglas was involved in the crime. This paper examines the symbiotic relationship between masculinity and femininity in the tumultuous
context of the Australian goldfields. It examines gender, race and class by revealing the purpose served by attributing the murder of a white woman to a black bushranger. And it interrogates the way that colonial categories of difference remain so frustratingly embedded in our record of the past.

Untangling the life of Lizzie Vincent from her memoir of alcoholism, 'Broken Fetters' (1892)
Donna Lee Brien
Central Queensland University

When English immigrant to Australia Lizzie Vincent wrote and published her life story, 'Broken Fetters', in 1892, she chronicled a life in terms of both her addiction to, and salvation from, the demon drink. From a cossetted childhood in the picturesque and historical Vale of Evesham in Worcester, England, where Cromwell famously took shelter from his enemies, to the degradation of life in the opium dens of urban Australia, Vincent's memoir charts the depths to which a problematic relationship with alcohol was understood to drive women at this time. Another, entangled and as yet forgotten history, however, can be pieced together about Vincent, who, after renouncing alcohol became not only an acclaimed published author whose works ran to a number of editions both in Australia and internationally, and an advocate for temperance, but also a community leader performing roles more usually completed by men. The biographical narrative of Vincent's life is contextualised not only in terms of Australian history but also in terms of Australian women's autobiographical book-length memoirs that focus on problem drinking and/or the recovery from alcoholism. This study therefore contributes not only to biographical/historical knowledge, but also to emerging scholarship on this type of popular memoir, which despite being a prolific form of contemporary writing by women, has not been explored in detail.

The Penniless Seamstress and the Commercial Traveller
Marian Lorrison
PhD candidate, Macquarie University

One of the inaugural divorce cases tried by jury in 1873 New South Wales involved Martha McLean Anderson, a seamstress whose husband alleged that he was not the father of Martha's new baby and she had tricked him into marriage. Based on extensive case files from the Colonial Divorce Court and abundant supplementary press material, the paper adopts an intersectional approach to ask how social class interacted with gender to determine opportunities for feminine agency in colonial society. It argues that skilled working class women had a greater capacity than more affluent women to act with autonomy and free will because of their (admittedly limited) ability to earn an independent income. Relying on the emotional and financial support of her siblings, Martha ultimately convinced the court of her innocence. She emerged from the trial with her reputation - and her marriage - intact, while her husband was declared insolvent. The paper reviews extensive evidence of mobility in colonial society, both within and outside of New South Wales. Court testimony revealed how Martha moved freely about her community and the wider city, in an advanced state of pregnancy travelling solo to Auckland to visit her new husband. It concludes however, that despite her strong and independent character, Martha was condemned to a life of poverty and hardship without a man to provide financial support. While her case reveals abundant evidence of agency, this could only be exercised within the iron cage of gender, which determined the paths available to colonial women.

An Alternative to Separation: Pregnant state wards in Victoria 1890-1910
Nell Musgrove
Australian Catholic University

Female state wards in Victoria have fallen pregnant while under the control of the Victorian child welfare department since it was established in 1864. For most of the century which followed, pregnant state wards were routinely separated from their babies at birth - the mothers then typically sent to a reformatory and the infants provided for elsewhere. For a short time, between roughly 1890 and 1910, a more sympathetic approach emerged: the department could pay for the young mothers to be boarded out with their babies while they birthed and nursed them. This paper argues that, for a time, ideas about nation-building, softening attitudes towards welfare relief, and a sharpened sense of responsibility on the part of the child welfare department, intersected to allow a more sympathetic and optimistic view of these young women's sexuality and their potential as mothers.
"A Rational and Innocent Delight": Gender, Class and Equestrian Culture
Lauren Robinson
PhD candidate, Deakin University

This paper explores the intersection between gender and class in relation to European women's use of horses in 19th century Victoria. Many aspects of colonial Australian women's lives have been studied in depth over the past several decades. There has been a particularly strong focus on women and gardening, women and religion and women's historical economic contributions. However the importance of horses in relation to women's lives has remained largely unacknowledged by the academy. In *The Lady's Equestrian Manual*, published in 1854, horse riding is referred to as "a rational and innocent delight", and as an acceptably feminine hobby for ladies. This paper will, in part, consider whether horses were still representative of frivolity and relaxing amusement for women not of the leisured classes. As Daniel Roche notes, the horse is an intriguing area of research, given their simultaneous ubiquity and absence in the primary material. As an important dimension of the colonial era, understanding the roles that horses played in the lives of women is a significant and compelling area of study. Furthermore, despite the ubiquity of the horse, their use was strongly differentiated according to class, and as such can reveal much about the ways in which class and gender were entangled in colonial Australia.

Deakin's Daughters: The emergence of modern Australian girlhood
Louise Scott-Deane
PhD candidate, University of Wollongong

This paper will examine how the childhoods of Ivy, Stella and Vera Deakin contributed to their futures as modern Australian women. While there has been a good deal of scholarship focused on Alfred Deakin, the lives of his three daughters have previously not been closely examined. Although the Deakin daughters came from a privileged family, each of them succeeded in taking their lives in directions befitting the early twentieth century modern woman, Ivy in the fields of politics and philanthropy especially for organisations to aid women and children, Stella in the male-dominated academic world of science and Vera in her lifelong work for the Australian Red Cross. The lives of the Deakin daughters are highly revealing of the new opportunities that were opening up to elite and middle class women in this period, many of which would have been impossible for women of their class in the nineteenth century, as well as the constraints they and other women continued to face. This paper will focus on their childhoods, early experiences and education with a focus on the influences including their father Alfred and aunt Catherine that allowed them to emerge as the modern and successful women that they would later become. It will also reflect upon whether the experiences of the Deakin daughters should be viewed as representative or atypical of the changes in Australian women's experiences more broadly in this period.

Entanglements in Writing: Imperial Women's Experiences During Crises
Anne Sengstock
PhD candidate, University of Southern Queensland

British women were connected throughout the British Empire in the nineteenth century by, among other aspects, imperial ideologies that transcended the formation of national boundaries. Their identities were in part a product of these connections and this included their written expression conveyed in diaries, journals, letters and public writings that merged their experiences with that of others around the empire. Women during the Taranaki Land Wars in New Zealand had read horror stories about their counterparts in India during the Uprising of 1857-1859 and it is necessary to examine how the writing by women in India influenced those in New Zealand from 1860-1881. The articulation of their gender in these texts highlights a continuing entanglement with colonisation and a symbiotic relationship between gender and mobility across the empire that transplanted ideas from one outpost to another. Such transnational movement can highlight the connections and contradictions women faced when writing about crises faced by the British Empire. Their experiences divulged in women's written expression are explored in both its national and imperial context and identifies the entanglement of women in New Zealand with British women's writings and experiences during the Indian Mutiny. This paper will discuss women's understanding of gender as expressed in their writing in order to unearth the connections and contradictions the women faced in these two crises that drew the attention of the empire.
On 'unnecessary' force: Economies of violence in the Northern Territory
Ben Silverstein
University of Sydney

In 1932, a former 'resident of the Northern Territory' wrote to the Sydney Morning Herald to 'certify that a lot of unnecessary ill-treatment and cruelty is meted out to the natives' in the north. 'But', he went on, 'I also maintain that natives need rather harsh and drastic treatment to keep them under control, otherwise the Northern Territory would not be safe for the white race, white women especially'. The letter, in its claim that there was a 'need' for 'unnecessary' force, is suggestive of the contradictory functions of violence in ordering both work and sex. The letter is one of several which claimed 'understanding' of how to treat Aboriginal people based on the intimate knowledge derived from prolonged contact, developing an argument that the 'most contented natives in the north ... are those whose homes are at the stations' where a milieu of force reigned. In this paper I focus on these testimonies of justification produced in response to criticisms of excessive force in the Northern Territory, exploring the tensions constituted by white disagreements over the functions of violence in colonial labour exploitation. I probe these moments of excess, where violence either ceased to be part of the everyday settler milieu and instead provoked either humanitarian or legal criticism or was rationalised as necessarily unnecessary. Through examining these arguments, the paper will map some of the ways settlers discursively constituted stations as spaces of legitimised, and sometimes necessary, violence.

Reading and Responding to Germaine Greer: The 1970s and beyond
Ana Stevenson
University of the Free State

Germaine Greer's The Female Eunuch (1970) is a feminist blockbuster with competing national and transnational legacies. Building on new scholarship published from the Greer archive, this paper seeks to consider the origins and meaning of some of Greer’s rhetorical strategies and examine responses to her famous monograph. Like many other feminists and women's liberationists, Greer sometimes interpreted women’s oppression through the lens of racial and colonial oppression. If Greer engaged in such rhetorical strategies less frequently than many of her contemporaries, their influence is nonetheless apparent. Scholars argue that her fascination with American radicals such as Eldridge Cleaver and Norman Mailer revealed a transnational awareness about civil rights and black power which influenced her thought, while her admittedly few allusions to women's bodily 'colonisation' can be viewed as a precursor to another feminist blockbuster, Anne Summers’ Damned Whores and God’s Police: The Colonisation of Women in Australia (1975). Yet the recognition of such analogical reasoning alone elides the significance of the symbiotic history it represents: between feminism and the local and global histories of chattel slavery, colonialism, and indigenous dispossession. Additionally, this paper uses previously overlooked sources from Australia and the United States ‘ especially magazines, television interviews, and monographs ‘ to bring together responses to The Female Eunuch from groups as diverse as schoolgirls, journalists, and feminist theologians. Placing Greer and her writing in a transnational context thus reveals the competing meanings and legacies of The Female Eunuch in 1970s Australian history and beyond.

Ruth Fink, anthropologist, at Brewarrina Mission in 1954
Kathryn Ticehurst
PhD candidate, University of Sydney

In 1954, the young anthropologist Ruth Fink spent four months at Brewarrina Mission, in northwestern New South Wales. Brewarrina was a racially segregated town in the 1950s, and most Aboriginal people lived at the mission, fourteen kilometres out of town, on the other side of the Barwon river. The houses, provided by the Aborigines Welfare Board, were small, made of wood and sheets of corrugated iron, without gas, electricity or running water. Fink intended to investigate the contemporary conditions of life for Aboriginal people in Brewarrina in order to work towards a more hopeful future. She had experienced the assimilation policy as a young migrant: born in Frankfurt am Main in 1932, Fink and her parents were stripped of their citizenship in early October 1938, when the Reich Ministry of the Interior invalidated all German passports held by Jewish people. They left Germany in November, 1938, on Kristallnacht. Arriving in Australia as a seven year old, Fink had felt the pressure to leave her past behind. The past remained a haunting presence in Brewarrina. The world it had made seemed full of secrets and missing pieces. Fink’s field notes reveal her struggle to observe life in a place where the inhabitants at first believed her to be the new social worker, come to
take their children away.

The May Club: Adelaide's first Ladies' Club 1893-1922
Sarah Gibson Walker
PhD candidate, University of Adelaide

When The May Club opened in 1893, the men of Adelaide were shocked by the thought of a club available exclusively to ladies, even though the city's gentlemen had been able to access to the Adelaide Club for the past 30 years. In her book Love and Freedom, Alison Mackinnon explores Australian women's wish to have both independence and a family at the turn of the century. Some were able to prove themselves in a male-dominated world, earning a living and enjoying the independence an income brought them, whilst others were able to embark on a life of married love and children, but seldom few managed to achieve both. This quest was particularly pertinent to the women of the May Club, as it provided a venue for women of all ages, married or single, employed or not, to conduct themselves in an independent manner away from their family. The club was established and managed by women for women. Some of its members were able to use the May Club to create an income through the sale of artwork; whilst all were able to use it as an intellectual meeting place, where ideas and opinions could be discussed openly in a female-dominant environment and professional highly educated women could share their knowledge with others. This joining of highly educated, well travelled, middle to upper-class women created a cultural hub where women could share their ideas and knowledge away from male influences. Also, many of the women who visited the May Club were also avid collectors of decorative arts, making the May Club an ideal place for members to exhibit their collections and sell their artwork.

PANELS

Interdependent histories: Law and gender across the twentieth century
Chair: Lisa Featherstone. Speakers: Hollie Pich (University of Sydney); Alana Piper (Griffith University); Marama Whyte (University of Sydney)

Masculinities, emotions and law in twentieth-century Australia
Alana Piper

Legal processes do not just expose the ideals of masculinity that operate in particular socio-historic contexts, but influence the ways in which these are emotionally articulated. Shifts in trial procedures during the early twentieth century enabled, even encouraged the men caught up in them to reflect on their identities as gendered subjects in emotive ways. Successful emotional self-representation could in turn impact the legal outcomes experienced by these men. The discourses about masculinity revealed in court records can therefore not be divorced from either their legal or emotional contexts; rather, gender, emotions and law must be treated as interdependent categories of analysis. This has to some extent been recognised when it comes to the scrutiny of explicitly gendered offences related to sexuality or reproduction. Less attention has been paid by historians to the role of gender and emotions in more prosaic categories of crime, such as property offences. This paper will explore how different models of masculinity, from the tough man to the family man, influenced both Australian men's involvement in theft and the ways in which thieves presented themselves to twentieth-century courts. It is argued that the sense of male self expressed in these arenas was structured in relation to a range of legal and social factors, from the rise of the guilty plea and introduction of legal aid to the evolution of the Australian economy and the growing recognition of the psychological impact of war.

Respectable ladies and manly men: black memphians and the courts, 1907-1915
Hollie Pich

During the construction of the color line that demarcated the United States (and especially the American South) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, blacks flocked to court.
Courtrooms were public spaces that presented a unique opportunity to disrupt dominant racial scripts, and legal sources reveal that African Americans recognised and seized upon this opportunity. African Americans countered racist assumptions by performing gender, self-identifying as respectable ladies and manly men in order to counter the persistent mythology of black brutes and unconstrained black female sexuality. This improved their individual chances of success within the legal system. While historians have examined the experience of African Americans within the American legal system, the majority of this attention has focused on the ways in which blacks were seeking to overturn racial segregation. However black Memphians, and in particular women, strategized not to overturn the system of racial segregation but rather improve their lot within it, seeking the enforcement of the edict separate but equal. This paper will reveal that only by reading legal sources through the lens of gender and race is it possible to perceive the ways in which African Americans utilised the legal system to eke out space for themselves in the Jim Crow South; it is also makes apparent how self-representations of gender and racial identity were structured and influenced by their performance in a legal arena.


Marama Whyte

In the 1970s, after protest and petitions had failed, women journalists in the U.S. turned to the legal system to address the institutional gender inequality they faced in the workplace. Using Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which forbade discrimination on the basis of sex, newswomen across the country charged their employers with discrimination, seeking redress in the form of back pay, affirmative action programs, and increased numbers of women in senior positions. These cases made national headlines in 1974 when women at The New York Times filed the class-action suit Elizabeth Boylan et al. v. The New York Times on behalf of all women at the venerated publication. Although recent histories have explored the use of litigation as a tactic by feminist groups including the National Organization for Women, historical understandings of second wave feminism are still commonly shaped by social movements. However, the legal archive makes clear that professional women, who did not necessarily identify as feminists, also wielded litigation as a tactic. In addition, newspaperwomen involved in class-action suits were required to represent themselves and resist others representations in specific gendered ways, in order to engage successfully with the legal system. This paper will use the Boylan case to explore this particular historical moment, when women across the U.S. were experimenting with a variety of tactics to both seek parity in the workplace, as well as broader changes in gender relations across the country.
Oral History Australia and the National Oral History Association of New Zealand

PAPERS

Mobilities through time borders: historical narrative defining coal mining communities
Peta Belic
PhD candidate, University of Newcastle

Superficially, it seems almost impossible to relate ‘tangled histories’ to the concept of human mobility. Social understandings of mobility are largely corporeal. Even abstract concepts such as class and mobility between classes is traditionally defined by access to tangible objects, such as housing, clothing and food. Yet, when we begin to understand the enfettered nature of narrative in not only forming but also maintaining communities, the realities of tangled histories become evident. This paper will analyse the ability of narrative to move beyond the corporeal and become unrestricted by even temporal boundaries. This paper will consider the narratives told in depicting the Pacific community, a neoliberal era coal mining community, centered around Teralba Colliery in Newcastle NSW during the 1980s. These narratives will be considered with reference to historic events and historical themes that define the community yet are beyond the temporal boundaries of the miners’ experiences. The memories detailed in Lockout by Jim Comerford, focusing on the miners’ lockout and the infamous Rothbury Riot that symbolises the industrial relations of the depression era, will also be utilised to present historic narratives and narrative styles still utilised by miners in the 1980s. Analysis will show that the foundation of the Pacific community is not their link to the physical environment, but the mobility of the narratives that bind them, to link them to an historical reality they are able to adopt and reference. Belonging to this community required a personal entanglement with a mining past beyond the experience of any of its members.

Testimonies, Representation, and Poetic Transcriptions.
Maria Haenga-Collins
PhD candidate, Australian National University

Testimonies are produced, co-produced, and eventually reproduced. They are a way of talking about extremely painful or traumatic events while simultaneously providing a way for witnesses to help carry the burden of trauma; not as expert historians interpreting accounts not fully understood by those providing the testimonies, but as witnesses to testimonies produced with their own layers of memory, personal interpretation, and historical meaning. In my research on the ‘closed stranger adoption’ of Maori, a community of memory was created, where personal stories of loss and pain were brought together as a collective. Witnesses have a responsibility or ‘response - ability’ not only to listen but to act. This paper draws on my doctoral research, and the process of converting testimonies into printed form, while grappling with issues of re-silencing, objectifying, and distancing people from their own testimonies and experiences. In my search for a balance between the participants’ representations and my own reflexivity, I found poetic transcriptions. Instead of focusing on absolute meaning I was more interested in the multiple and possible meanings that can be co-created through poetic transcriptions. This paper discusses that process and its outcomes.
Tangled memories: Australian veterans and nostalgia in Viet Nam
Mia Martin Hobbs
PhD candidate, University of Melbourne

Since the 1980s, Australian veterans have returned to Viet Nam on journeys of reconciliation, healing and commemoration. When they returned, their memories of war were frequently challenged by the postwar reality of Viet Nam at peace. This paper will draw on oral histories with returned veterans, exploring how veterans made sense of this conflict between war and peace - between their past and Viet Nam's present - by engaging in nostalgic practices. Three distinct practices are identified in this paper, demonstrating pre-war, wartime and postwar nostalgia. Some engaged in nostalgia tourism, re-imagining the pre-war idyll of Viet Nam. Others restaged wartime culture in expatriate spaces, demonstrating restorative nostalgia. Many came together to reinvent Australian traditions of commemoration, remembering 'Vietnam' through the Gallipoli framework. Drawing on Svetlana Boym's theories of nostalgia, this paper will discuss how veterans used nostalgic practices to collapse time through space and claim parts of Viet Nam as belonging to them in order to reconcile their wartime memories with Viet Nam's postwar reality.

The Martial Madonna: resurrecting sacrifice in the Hall of Memory
Susan Kellett
PhD candidate, The University of Queensland

This paper contests the misconception that the Hall of Memory of the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, represents a secular space. While this belief accommodates the expectations of contemporary society, it fails to recognise the influence of Christianity upon the generation that experienced World War I and developed the memorial practices that arose in response to it. This paper argues that veteran-artist M. Napier Waller drew upon his personal philosophy of art, the medieval customs of his forebears and his own experiences of war to embed complex religious symbolism in the windows he created. It further argues that by locating a nurse as the central element of both his scheme and Australia's premier war memorial, Waller subverted the prevailing traditions of the establishment to make a powerful - albeit personal - statement about the contribution of a population broadly marginalised from the nation's memory of war: its women.

‘Unspeakable Truths’: Working with painful memories of the HIV/AIDS epidemic
Cheryl Ware
Macquarie University

This paper investigates the valuable opportunities, and distinct challenges that arise when using oral history to explore narrators’ memories of past events. While scholars have conducted significant and valuable research into Australia’s political responses to the epidemic, less emphasis has been placed on how the epidemic impacted gay men’s intimate lives. This paper reveals how oral history offers rare insight into the personal memories and private reflections of those who were most affected by the virus. It draws on a selection of original life story interviews conducted with gay men who have been living with HIV since the 1980s. These interviews offered narrators a unique platform to remember and recount their personal histories in ways that both aligned with, and challenged existing understandings of how gay men responded to the virus. Specifically, the ways in which the threat of HIV and AIDS galvanised gay activists across western countries has been memorialised in numerous international and Australian theatre productions, films and documentaries. Such influential accounts provided some narrators with affirmation that they were members of a community that established a distinct response to HIV and AIDS. Consequently, some narrators’ testimonies were entangled with these dominant depictions, and they emphasised the importance of having their pasts recorded. Yet, this paper also explores the complexities of engaging with narrator’ memories several decades later, and being conscious of which versions of the past narrators preferred telling and why.
Panel Name: Experiences of working with Indigenous memory and oral history

Chair: Lorina Barker. Speakers: Sue Anderson (University of South Australia); Lorina Baker (Indigenous Oral History Network); Nēpia Mahuika (University of Waikato)

Experiences of Working with Indigenous Memory and Oral History
Sue Anderson and Sadie Heckenberg

Cross-cultural collaboration in the recording of Indigenous history can be fraught with difficulty and yet produce positive outcomes. Sue will explore her experiences as a non-Indigenous historian working with Indigenous communities.

Using art-based mediums as tools to capture Indigenous memories and stories
Lorina Barker

Art-based mediums are tools to capture memories, stories and provide cultural spaces for creative collective sharing. Lorina will discuss the ‘politics’ of using voices, stories and images and the implications for Indigenous communities and researchers.

Indigenizing Oral History Methods for Native Communities
Nēpia Mahuika

This paper examines the use and significance of indigenous methods in oral history practice, focusing specifically on the shaping of individual and collective memory in a process called Wananga.
KEYNOTE

‘Sex in the Maltese Position’: Dr Letitia Fairfield and British Catholic Attitudes to Contraception in the Interwar Years

Dr Alana Harris, King’s College London

In 1938 the Senior Medical Officer for the London County Council, Dr Letitia Fairfield, undertook a social-scientific mission to the then predominantly Catholic colony of Malta to examine the prevalence and prevention of the spread of venereal disease. It was a revelatory experience, leading the staunch Catholic convert (and longstanding feminist) to acknowledge, empirically, the links between poverty, clericalism and unconscionable infant morality and thereby revisit her earlier opposition to birth control at home and throughout the Catholic world. This biographical excavation forms part of a larger in-progress study seeking to redress a curious historiographical neglect of a number of Roman Catholic medical men and women active in the field of birth control, including Dr Fairfield’s contemporary Dr Halliday Sutherland who is name-checked in histories of sexuality but little studied beyond his role as the defendant in the Marie Stopes libel trial. It therefore begins to explore the contribution of English Catholic medical practitioners to the evolution of British sexology in the interwar period and thereby to chart the complexities, intra-ecclesial conflicts and theologically-inflected lines of development in making judgments about the ‘laws of life’ (citing one of Sutherland’s best-known publications). It argues that there was a distinctive form of ‘Catholic sexology’, which has been unrecognized in existing histories of twentieth-century gender and contraception which complicates traditional ‘secular’ accounts and challenges complacent chronologies which date the advent of a ‘modern sexual (Catholic) self’ to the Humanae Vitae (1968) encyclical furor.

Biography: Dr Alana Harris undertook her Arts/Law degree at the University of Melbourne, before completing for her doctorate at Wadham College, University of Oxford. She taught for six years at Lincoln College, Oxford moving to King’s College London where she is a Lecturer in Modern British History. Her research interests encompass the transnational study of Catholicism, gender history, sexuality and the history of emotions, identity and subjectivities – including the practice of oral history and material culture. Recent publications include: Love and Romance in Britain 1918-1970 (Palgrave 2014, co-edited with Timothy Willem Jones), Faith in the Family: A Lived Religious History of English Catholicism (Manchester University Press, 2013) and ‘The writings of querulous women’: Contraception, Conscience and Clerical Authority in 1960s Britain’, 34(2)(2015) British Catholic History, 557-585.
Impurity and Negation: Evil Spirits in Victorian English Occultism
Sarah Bartels
PhD candidate, University of Queensland

Victorian-era occultism drew on a wide range of influences, often appealing to sources, such as the ancient Egyptians or eastern religions, which were perceived to be exotic. While occultism was able to claim, at least, some territory in the English imagination, throughout the nineteenth century, it gained increasing prominence during the latter part of the period. Late-nineteenth century occultism was diverse, with prominent groups including the Theosophical Society, the Golden Dawn, and Anna Bonus Kingsford and Edward Maitland's Hermetic Society. Occultists drew on a plethora of ideas and sources, often innovatively combining concepts from Christianity, the western occult tradition, and various eastern religions. Drawing on this exciting melange of ideas, occultists formulated various, sometimes pioneering, models of spiritual good and evil. While they tended to reject traditional Christian ideas regarding the Devil, they often accepted the existence of various evil or dangerous spirits, which might, depending on context and personal preference, be regarded as anything from entirely horrifying to, potentially, useful. The sheer diversity of ideas regarding spiritual good and evil, current during this period, as well as the miscellaneous sources used to formulate them, called into question the distinction between good and evil and between knowledge, which was 'rational' and 'western', and knowledge, which was 'irrational', 'eastern', or 'other'. Late-nineteenth-century occultism also offers intriguing hints as to the continued salience of concepts of spiritual evil and danger during the late-Victorian period, suggesting that they were not, necessarily, rendered obsolete by modernity.

Protestant Rescue and The Women of the Victoria Home
Tamara Cooper
PhD candidate, University of Wollongong

The Victoria Home and Orphanage was opened in Hong Kong in 1888 by Mary Ost and her husband Reverend John Ost and formed part of the Church Missionary Society's growing presence in the British colony. The Home was intended as a refuge for young Chinese girls who were regarded by missionaries to be victims of trafficking and slavery. Over the years of its operation, it became the largest missionary organisation in Hong Kong. Run mostly by women missionaries, the Home became a site of female education, religious devotion and conversion, while playing a role in the wider Protestant rescue project. This paper examines the Victoria Home as part of the women's missionary movement focusing specifically on the role that women played in creating and maintaining the home. In particular, it looks closely at two women who were involved with the Victoria Home from its earliest stages: Mary Ost one of the Victoria Home's founders, and her successor Agnes Hamper, who ran the Victoria Home following Ost's departure in 1892. By examining the work and lives of these women, it is possible to demonstrate the growing influence that was being exerted by women missionaries within the wider missionary movement.

Julian Tenison Woods: from entangled histories to history shaper
Mary Cresp and Janice Tranter
Sisters of St Joseph

Julian Tenison Woods (1832-1889) was a product of richly entangled histories, mobilities and connections. From a family uniting the Irish Catholic/Protestant divide, growing up in London and widely educated, he met religious orders arriving in England after Catholic Emancipation. Encouraged by a scholarly mentor, he joined the Passionist Fathers of Italian origin, then the French Marists. Enthusiasms ignited in France had lasting influence. The volcanic landscape of central France whetted his appetite for and knowledge of geology and all natural sciences. A group of religious Sisters re-founded in post-revolutionary France gave him the idea of the Sisters of St Joseph which he later founded in Australia with Mary MacKillop. In 1854 he came to Tasmania as prison chaplain to convicts. Then, living with another religious order, the Austrian Jesuits in South Australia, he completed study for ordination. Aged 24, he was sent to Penola in the State's south-east as Parish
Priest. From here, his connections kept expanding with scientific work and writing and as religious founder and itinerant preacher. Fourteen years in South Australia, eleven in eastern Australia and three in Asia saw him interacting with different cultures in ever widening circles. The number of scientific colleagues grew as did recognition of his scientific prowess. Men of standing recognised his worth. A prolific writer, he wrote learned papers for scientific societies and popular articles for the newspapers. He moved through these entangled histories, making his own what he resonated with and leaving his imprint in Australian history and beyond.

**White Women, Aboriginal Missions and the State, 1800-1945**  
Joanna Cruickshank  
Deakin University

This paper will propose a new narrative of white women's involvement in Aboriginal missions, from the earliest period of colonisation until the mid-twentieth century. In 1995, Hilary Carey published a three-stage account of white missionary wives' participation in Aboriginal missions which remains the only detailed overview of white women's missionary work in Australia. Drawing on multiple case studies, this paper builds on and extends Carey's analysis. Authority on missions was gendered and thus the changing roles of white women - both married and single - were tied to both state policy on missions and missionary understandings of gender norms. Focusing on the operation of settler colonialism in Australia, which shaped state policy on missions, helps explain why the narrative of white women's involvement in Aboriginal missions differs somewhat from the broader historical pattern of white women's missionary work worldwide.

**The Catholic memory and archive project: religious women**  
Dianne Hall  
Victoria University

In November 2016, historians and archivists from English speaking countries met at the University of Aberdeen for initial discussions around the idea of a co-ordinated approach to funding for preservation and research into Catholic archives. In a climate of decreased funding, the co-ordinator of the project Colin Barr of the University of Aberdeen feels that sharing information, funding schemes and ideas around the possibility of joint projects. The idea that seems to be the most developed is Catholic religious women and memory. In this paper I will give a report on the Aberdeen meeting as well as share some of the ideas for the Catholic religious women project and explore possibilities for Australian research.

**The Centrality of Wreaths in War Memorial Design: A Consideration of Three Australian Examples**  
Darren Mitchell  
PhD Candidate, University of Sydney

Wreaths and images of them appear as essential components of Australia’s First World War remembrance practice from the earliest instances of memorial construction and ceremonial ritual through to the present time.

**Transgressive Male Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century Methodism**  
Glen O’Brien  
Booth College (Sydney College of Divinity)

The eighteenth century is now generally considered by historians to evidence a change in attitude toward transgressive male sexuality. Differences of interpretation coalesce around those who stress crime and punishment in relation to ‘sodomy’ and those who stress the gradual toleration of such behaviour and the emergence of an identifiable ‘molly culture’ on the fringes of British society. It has been estimated that of an English population of five million in 1700, 5% or 250,000 may have been same-sex attracted. A large scale popular movement such as Methodism must have had its share of same-sex attracted members. This paper will survey instances of transgressive male sexuality in eighteenth-century Methodism that were subject to disciplinary measures, evaluate contemporary
claims made about the sexual proclivities of leading Methodists, and consider the social location of eighteenth-century Methodism as a dangerous underworld of deviant religiosity whose centres of activity were often perched on the edge of queer sites. It considers responses to the effeminacy of George Whitefield and the lack of heterosexual passion in his life as a mode of examining transgressive male sexuality in the heteronormative world of eighteenth-century Methodism.

The parameters of method: Comparing Moravian Missions to Greenland and Australia.
Christina Petterson
Australian National University

Comparison is most often carried out with eye to similarities between the objects under scrutiny. Taking a leaf from historians who focus on differences, this paper will canvass some methodological considerations over the issue of comparison, presenting a case for the usefulness of difference and unpicking the ideology behind the compulsion to insist on similarity. The case will be argued using the Moravian missions to Greenland and Australia.

Eastern Orthodox Christianity in WA: A Service to Diaspora as Mission
Wal Slaven
University of Notre Dame

A prominent feature of Christianity within Western Australia has been its sense of mission and reaching out to others. Disparate missionary activities such as those among indigenous people, in schools and hospitals, community welfare agencies and organisations and advertising through church owned press and radio outlets, are testament to their outreach. In Western Australia however, Orthodox Christianity has been involved in few of these activities, preferring to remain self-effacing and largely unknown within the wider Christian community. Stephen Godley in his treatise The Eastern Orthodox in Australia observed that, “The Orthodox churches did not see Australia as a mission field”, an observation which arguably misrepresents Orthodox notions of mission. This raises important and under-researched questions regarding Orthodox understandings of missionary activities within Western Australia and the circumstances which may explain them. Unlike Western Christian Churches, it was the laity in diaspora which founded the Orthodoxy in Western Australia, later calling on mother churches to provide clergy to minister to them. I contend this to be another legitimate understanding of mission. Associated with this, I wish to investigate other historical factors which explain Orthodox reticence to assume a higher profile, a faith community in Western Australia which remains under-researched.