

# Unfinished Business

39th Annual Conference of the Australian Historical Association  
29 November–2 December 2021



THE ULURU  
STATEMENT





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# Welcome from the AHA President



It gives me enormous pleasure to welcome everyone to this important national conference, the 39th Conference of the Australian Historical Association, hosted by our colleagues at UNSW Sydney in partnership with the State Library of NSW.

Returning to UNSW, the university where the first national AHA Conference was held in 1982, we will celebrate just how far we have come as a discipline, share our research, and learn about new historical stories and future directions.

Conferences have always been an integral part of the AHA, gathering together once a year to seek out the latest research or simply to exchange ideas and catch up on news. Whether you are a seasoned delegate or if this is your first conference as a student or interested independent scholar, we welcome one and all.

As I write, it is unknown whether the conference will be face to face or hybrid or online. Yet what I do know is that whatever format the conference takes in late November 2021, it will be one that is warmly welcomed, especially as it will be the first time that we have gathered together as an association since our conference in Toowoomba in 2019.

Unfinished Business is the theme of this conference, one that was selected well before the global pandemic engulfed us in March 2020. Yet it is one that continues to resonate for many reasons. The conference theme was originally framed around the Uluru Statement from the Heart. Through the week, that critical document will guide us, joined by other pressing contemporary issues of our time such as climate change, the pandemic and the human condition.

**Melanie Oppenheimer, FASSA**

President of the AHA, 2020-2022

Honorary Professor of History, ANU



# About the Conference

The Uluru Statement, Black Lives Matter protests, toppled statues and the Whitlam Dismissal are just a few of many examples of history's unfinished business in the contemporary world. On the eve of its 40th anniversary, the Australian Historical Association Conference returns to the University of New South Wales where it held its first conference in 1982 and invites papers exploring the unfinished business of history.

This conference is proudly supported by the School of Humanities & Languages and the Faculty of Arts, Design & Architecture, UNSW Sydney.

## Welcome from the Conference Organising Committee

The organising committee welcomes you to the AHA 2021 @UNSW Sydney. We are so excited to be hosting you virtually at UNSW, though, of course, we would have much preferred to host you in person and on campus. The turnout has been astounding! The line-up of papers is amazing! Special thanks to the School of Humanities and Languages, the Faculty of Arts Design and Architecture and UNSW Knowledge Exchange for their enormous financial and in-kind support for the conference. We are overwhelmed by your generosity.

### Conference Committee

**Ruth Balint**, UNSW Sydney

**Michelle Bootcov**, UNSW Sydney

**Lisa Ford**, UNSW Sydney

**Alison Holland**, Macquarie University

**Georgia McWhinney**, Macquarie University

**Naomi Parkinson**, UNSW Sydney

**Johanna Perheentupa**, UNSW Sydney

**Zora Simic**, UNSW Sydney

### Administrative Inquiries

[ahaconference2021@gmail.com](mailto:ahaconference2021@gmail.com)

# With Thanks

So many people have helped us to put this conference together, we thank them all. We extend special thanks to:

Vanessa Traynor, Ashley Lewis, Lorda Omeissah, Dennison Lindberg, The Roundhouse Team, Taira Malby-Freckleton, Craig Leech, Barbara Ryan, Ariane Le Defreine, Minh Le, Catherine Dolle-Samuel, the School of Humanities & Languages, the Faculty of Arts, Design & Architecture, Nura Gili (all UNSW Sydney), Malcolm Choat and the Macquarie University Department of History and Archaeology, the State Library of New South Wales, SSEAC (University of Sydney), and Uluru Statement from the Heart.

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# Keynote Speakers

## **Associate Professor Shino Konishi**

University of Western Australia

Shino Konishi is an Aboriginal historian, and descends from the Yawuru people of Broome, Western Australia. She is an Associate Professor in the Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences at the Australian Catholic University, and her research interests include histories of exploration, cross-cultural encounter, and collecting practices. Shino currently leads an ARC project on Indigenous biography, in collaboration with the Australian Dictionary of Biography.



## **Professor Alison Bashford**

UNSW Sydney

Alison Bashford FBA FAHA is Laureate Professor of History at UNSW, and Director of the Laureate Centre for History & Population, and Honorary Fellow, Jesus College, Cambridge. Previously she was Vere Harmsworth Professor of Imperial and Naval History at the University of Cambridge. Alison Bashford's longstanding work on population appears in two books, *Global Population: History, Geopolitics and Life on Earth* (Columbia 2014) and *The New Worlds of Thomas Robert Malthus* (Princeton, 2016) with Joyce E. Chaplin.





**Dr Catherine Kevin**

Flinders University

Catherine Kevin is an Associate Professor in history at Flinders University. She recently published *Dispossession and the Making of 'Jedda'* (2020) and with Zora Simic and Ann Curthoys is researching a history of domestic violence in Australia. Catherine was a founding member of the SA Abortion Action Coalition, which led the campaign to decriminalise abortion in South Australia.



**Danielle Carney Flakelar**

Senior Wayilwan cultural knowledge holder

Danielle Carney Flakelar is a Wayilwan and Wakka Wakka Aboriginal woman. She grew up on Wayilwan Country and is a senior Wayilwan cultural knowledge holder. Through various leadership roles, she has sought to facilitate and promote Aboriginal people's participation in environmental conservation and cultural heritage management.



# Plenary Speakers

## **Professor Megan Davis**

UNSW Sydney

Professor Megan Davis is Pro Vice-Chancellor Indigenous and Balnaves Professor of Constitutional Law at UNSW. She is Acting Commissioner of the NSW Land and Environment Court and member of the United Nations Human Rights Council's Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous peoples.



## **Dr Crystal McKinnon**

RMIT

Dr Crystal McKinnon is an Amangu woman from the Yamatji Nation who lives and works on Kulin Nations country. She is a historian and a critical Indigenous studies scholar, who is currently working at RMIT as a Vice Chancellor's Indigenous Research Fellow in the Social and Global Studies Centre.





## **Osca Monaghan**

Aboriginal Legal Service

Osca Monaghan is a non-binary, mixed-race, Guugu Yimithirr lawyer with the Aboriginal Legal Service. They are a criminal defence lawyer, but their research interests are rooted primarily in decolonial and Indigenous legal and political thought.





# Keynote Abstracts

## **Keynote I: The Unfinished Business of Aboriginal History**

Associate Professor Shino Konishi, University of Western Australia

**29 November 2021, 5:00pm AEDT**

While scholars have examined different aspects of Aboriginal people's past since the late nineteenth century, Aboriginal history as a distinct field was not formalised until the early 1970s with the first dedicated course taught at La Trobe University and the journal *Aboriginal History* inaugurated in 1975. In the intervening five decades Aboriginal history, like other fields of history, has evolved in different ways, responding to new lines of inquiry, calls for the recognition of new and alternative sources of evidence, and changing theoretical and cross-disciplinary influences. Aboriginal history has also been shaped by shifting political fronts triggered by anti-racist activism, Indigenous assertions of autonomy and self-determination, momentous changes in political and legal recognition, and increasing numbers of Indigenous scholars in the academy. Despite these developments inside and outside universities, Aboriginal history arguably remains the most contested field of Australian history, often seen as posing the greatest challenge to Australia's national history. As Anna Clark recently argued, this is history that remains 'unfinished business, driven in part by debates over colonisation, sovereignty, injustice and decolonisation'. In this presentation I will explore the 'unfinished business' of Aboriginal history, what I see as perennial issues regarding who can tell Aboriginal history, the past as a source of dignity, and whether and how the discipline should be decolonised.



## **Keynote II: How do we think about population in the Anthropocene?**

Professor Alison Bashford, UNSW Sydney

**1 December 2021, 5:00pm AEDT**

In this lecture, I explore first how modern (post c. 1780) population changes have entered discussion on the Anthropocene. Second, I ask how historians specifically, might (not should) begin to answer this question, with attention both to accelerating global net population growth and local population decline, caused amongst other dynamics by the fertility, mortality, and migration impacts of colonisation. I consider the 'Anthropocene' (not, say, 'climate change'), since the former is an historical as well as a geological phenomenon, and, it turns out, a familiar one. In one version, the parameters of the Anthropocene are simply what historians have long called 'the modern period' or (importantly) 'industrialisation'. Looked at this way, the Anthropocene was core business for historians long before it was named by atmospheric chemists: our own unfinished business. This was a field of historical work in which demographic change was centre stage analytically speaking, including the relationship between energy transitions to fossil fuels and population growth. If this is one common origin point for both 'the Anthropocene' and the work of historians of 'the modern world', what happened to analysis of population?

This lecture tracks the fortunes and trends of historical work on global population from the mid twentieth century into the era when the Anthropocene was named. The catastrophic register of 'the population bomb' era (for shorthand), including its connection to ecological sciences and then environmentalist politics, is the immediate antecedent to political responses to the Anthropocene crisis. That much we already know. Here I explore how and why 'population' went from centre-stage to off-stage. At one level, this indicates one of the more remarkable public impacts of humanities and social science research and its politicised public expression. Discussion of population growth and 'population control' became highly charged and then became almost unspeakable. For better or worse (I'm not positioned) this was a remarkable success story of and for 'critique': of health systems, of political economy, of Cold War geopolitics, variously via feminist studies, race and postcolonial studies, via Marxism and left science studies from the 1970s onwards. After and in the light of that impact, I ask how or whether 'population' might productively be considered via a 'postcritique' humanities and social sciences, not least bringing historians into that conversation.



## Keynote (Australian Women's History Network)

### **Keynote III: Reproductive justice as unfinished business: histories and futures of abortion in the age of decriminalisation**

Dr Catherine Kevin, Flinders University

**30 November 2021, 5:00pm AEDT**

Written from within the South Australian Abortion Action Coalition, in the nation's last jurisdiction to decriminalise abortion, this paper will examine the objectives of Coalition's activism and the wins and losses that were fossilised in the outcome of its five-year campaign: the Termination of Pregnancy Act (SA) 2021. It will identify and analyse historical tropes mobilised on all sides of this and other Australian abortion debates and consider the likely place of decriminalisation in future histories of abortion and reproductive justice in Australia.

## Keynote (Environmental History Network)

### **Keynote IV: Truth-Telling Through Country**

Danielle Carney Flakelar, Senior Wayilwan cultural knowledge holder

**2 December 2021, 5:00pm AEDT**

This is a presentation by an Aboriginal woman. She shares stories from the past five generations of her family who strived to eke out a living and stay on Country. She gives her account of family members' realisations that they were or are a part of the destruction of their Country and culture, feeling powerless due to the dominant culture's subjugating of their lands and waters for agriculture, industry and profit. It aims to demonstrate the effects of this suppression on her Wakka Wakka and Wayilwan families, their purpose, self-worth, Country and culture. She focuses on the Macquarie Marshes in Wayilwan Country, located in north-west New South Wales as well as the Wakka Wakka country of North Burnett - Wide Bay region of Queensland. Like her grandmothers before her, Danielle shares how she is reclaiming Country, challenging environment management systems and de-assimilating their culture and connection today.



# HDR & ECR DAY

## **Digital Archives: What and How**

Session 1.1.1., 29 November 2021, 9:00am AEDT

*Chair: Dr Imogen Wegman, University of Tasmania*

Richard Neville, State Library of New South Wales  
Associate Professor Tim Sherratt, University of Canberra  
Nick Schapowal, Gale  
Dr Alana Piper, University of Technology Sydney

## **History Work Outside the Academy**

Session 1.2.1., 29 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

*Chair: Dr Georgia McWhinney, Macquarie University*

Dr Peter Hobbins, Australian National Maritime Museum  
Cathy Perkins, State Library of New South Wales

## **Publishing in the Popular Media**

Session 1.3.1., 29 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

*Chair: TBC*

Dr Georgina Arnott, University of Melbourne  
Mr Alan Vaarwerk, *Kill Your Darlings*  
Professor Frank Bongiorno, Australian National University

## **Publishing in *History Australia***

Session 1.4.1., 29 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

*Chair: TBC*

Editors of *History Australia*

## **Bursary Meeting**

Session 1.4.2., 29 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

*Chair: Tim Rowse*



# Roundtables

## **Marking Country: Launching the Digital Atlas of Deep History**

Session 2.5.1., 30 November 2021, 5:00pm AEDT

*Chair: Dr Lorina Barker, University of New England*

Professor Ann McGrath, Australian National University

Dr Jackie Huggins, Australian National University

Dr Laura Rademaker, Australian National University

Dr Mike Jones, Australian National University

How can historians visually represent Australia's deep history, one that stretches back at least 60,000 years? What might historians have to offer in an effort to work with Indigenous communities to produce a human history that will be accessible to a wide audience? With such a challenge in mind, the Research Centre for Deep History is working with Indigenous knowledge holders to develop a digital atlas featuring a series of maps that will help people explore and understand Australia's deep history. These new representations will 'speak back' to the ubiquitous maps of Australia used in classrooms that depicted the one-off journeys of European navigators and explorers or the 'wool' and 'wheat' maps glorifying colonial progress. The first of the maps to be developed, the Mungo Map, was led by the Paakintji, Mutthi Mutthi and Ngyiaampa people of the Willandra Lakes region with cultural mapping consultant Kim Mahood. It depicts a history of pastoral work, stolen children, forced removals and ancient belonging in discrete places across tracts of land, their Country. Doing away with timelines and chronological development, this map becomes a multi layered, temporally 'flat' history focussed on Country. The next major map that we are creating is called 'Marking Country.' Aboriginal people 'marked' the country in many ways, including rock art, petroglyphs, scar trees, middens, and campsites. It will show just some of the many places across Australia where people lived hundreds, thousands, or tens of thousands of years ago, places where people continue to live today.



## **Unfinished Business in Southeast Asian History**

Session 2.5.3., 30 November 2021, 5:00pm AEDT

*Chair: TBC*

Associate Professor Julia Martinez, University of Wollongong

Dr Katharine McGregor, University of Melbourne

Professor Nathalie Nguyen, Monash University

Patrick Jory, University of Queensland

Associate Professor Susie Protschky, Monash University

While Southeast Asian countries have their own, older indigenous historiographical traditions, Southeast Asian history as an international field of study arguably only emerged in the post-independence period. John Smail's 1961 essay, "On the possibility of an autonomous history of modern Southeast Asia", was an early attempt to move beyond colonial era scholarship and thinking. During the Cold War, authoritarian Southeast Asian governments produced and disseminated their own nationalist histories. Thus, the desire for history told from a "Southeast Asian point of view" has been present from the very beginning, well before postcolonialism became fashionable in the 1980s. What, then, might the "unfinished business" of Southeast History entail today? Among the issues to consider in answering this question are the following: To what extent has Southeast Asian history become truly "autonomous"? How prominent are Southeast Asian scholars in the field? What are the major silences in modern Southeast Asian history? Which new methodologies have been used to reconceptualise transnational flows to and from the region, including connections to Australia? How have understandings of colonialism and the Cold War shifted over the last forty years? How inclusive of different voices is Southeast Asian history? How are new sources of historical evidence including visual and oral sources changing our understanding of the past? How are historical memories carried and passed on by migrants and refugees from Southeast Asia? This roundtable will consider some of the "unfinished business" of Southeast Asian history drawing on examples from the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, and Indonesia.



## **Author meets readers: Patrick Jory's History of Manners and Civility in Thailand**

Session 3.1.3., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

*Chair: TBC*

Professor Craig Reynolds, Australian National University

Dr Jane Ferguson, Australian National University

Patrick Jory, University of Queensland

Robert van Krieken, University of Sydney

Patrick Jory's new *History of Manners and Civility in Thailand* is a groundbreaking exploration of the relevance of Norbert Elias' idea of a civilising process in a Southeast Asian context. The broad question of how to behave was a preoccupation in 19th and 20th century Siam. Indeed, what is commonly understood as "Asian culture" was once understood more generally as "manners": how to stand, walk, sit, pay homage, prostrate oneself and crawl in the presence of high-status people, sleep, eat, manage bodily functions, dress, pay respect to superiors, deal with inferiors, socialise, use one's time, and how to work and play. Yet the concept of manners in Siam (and later Thailand) changed constantly, especially in response to the imposition of new political regimes. In this round table, three historians will offer assessments of the book, its ideas and its relevance beyond Thai history. The author will then respond before the floor is opened to general discussion.



## **Trove's impact on historical research: A Roundtable**

Session 4.1.9., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

*Chair: Kate Fullagar*

Dr Brett Holman, University of Canberra

Dr James Keating, UNSW Sydney

Emeritus Professor Lyndall Ryan, University of Newcastle

Professor Shurlee Swain, Australian Catholic University

Aileen Weir, National Library of Australia

Since its creation in 2009, the National Library of Australia's Trove has reshaped the methods and possibilities of historical research for historians and citizens alike. Trove collects, formats and manages metadata from many sources, offering a single point of access and discovery for this material. It has allowed researchers to accumulate significant datasets and to visualise their findings in new ways. It has also invited new forms of engagement from citizens: more than 50 000 people regularly contribute text corrections to online transcripts of digitized newspapers. Trove is beloved by family and academic historians alike: the site averages more than 70 000 visitors a day. The 2020 launch of the new Trove portal presents a welcome opportunity to consider the impact of Trove on Australian historical research. How are historians using Trove to undertake new research projects? What possibilities has it enabled? Conversely, are there ways that Trove has detrimentally altered research fields, through the selective availability of records or the wide accessibility of others? How have decisions about what is made available through Trove shaped historical inquiry? Building on History Australia's forthcoming special feature on the impact of Trove on historical research, which will appear in issue 18.4 of the journal, this roundtable brings historians together with a representative from the Trove team to conduct a wide-ranging discussion about the history, future and impact of Trove.



## **The Unfinished Business of Encounters**

Session 4.2.1., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

*Chair: TBC*

Dr Leigh Penman, Monash University

Dr Leonie Stevens, Monash University

Lily Yulianti Farid, Monash University

Professor Lynette Russell, Monash University

The ARC Laureate project Global Encounters and First Nations Peoples: 1000 years of Australian history moves beyond a teleological version of Australian history, which traditionally begins with James Cook's charting of the east coast in 1770, and the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788. Our multilingual, interdisciplinary team considers First Nations Peoples' contacts with outsiders over a millennium, including ancient and early modern trade routes. This panel examines the role of maritime exploration and intercultural contacts in Australia and with its near neighbours, and offers a window into our methodological approach to the reimagining of encounter history. Just as there can be no finished business under settler colonialism, which as Patrick Wolfe pointed out is a structure and not an event with a discernible end, so too the tracing of encounters between First Nations Peoples and outsiders who came from across the seas is a dynamic and ever-widening field of enquiry.



## **Sustainable Academia: Principles & Practices**

Session 4.4.2., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

*Chair: TBC*

Associate Professor Andrea Gaynor, University of Western Australia

Dr Carla Pascoe Leahy, University of Melbourne

Dr Celeste Rodriguez Louro, University of Western Australia

Dr Daniel May, Australian National University

Dr Ruth Morgan, Australian National University

Dr Simon Sleight, Kings College London

Environmental degradation is the most urgent and profound challenge of the twenty-first century. In an era of climate collapse, biodiversity loss and mass extinction, what are the responsibilities of academics? This workshop brings together a group of scholars with diverse expertise to discuss more sustainable modes of academic work across disciplinary and geographic boundaries. Building on the working paper on sustainable history released in March 2020, this workshop will consider what new pressures and opportunities have been generated by a pandemic world. Brief presentations will introduce participants to key issues in thinking about sustainable academia, including the equity and justice benefits of incorporating lower-carbon modes of work and the need to think about sustainability in a holistic way that incorporates emotional and financial sustainability alongside environmental sustainability. Participants will then be invited to workshop concrete actions to embed institutional and individual ways of working that are carbon and biodiversity positive.



## **History, Feminism & Reproductive Lifecycles**

Session 4.3.5., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

*Chair: TBC*

Dr Carla Pascoe Leahy, University of Melbourne

Dr Catherine Kevin, Flinders University

Dr Charlotte Greenhalgh, University of Waikato

Dr Kate Johnston-Ataata, RMIT University

Kristin Natalier, Flinders University

Dr Sianan Healy, La Trobe University

This roundtable presents some of the latest research from the In/fertility Research Network: a group of historians and sociologists from Australia and New Zealand whose research intersects with and interrogates themes of pregnancy, motherhood and infertility. Framed as a series of provocations, roundtable participants will pose critical questions relating to the past and present of reproduction. - To what extent have women exercised autonomy over their fertility, and what dynamics and structures have empowered, coerced, or constrained their reproductive decisions? - How have women's reproductive lifecycles and reproductive decision-making altered over time in relation to changing cultural, technological, medical, and environmental factors? - What are the implications of different methodological and theoretical approaches for understanding historical and contemporary experiences of gendered reproductive bodies? Underpinning the roundtable is a common interest in interrogating the opportunities for and responsibilities of feminist researchers studying historical and contemporary experiences of reproduction and fertility; and in provoking discussion about how activist approaches to research can improve women's wellbeing.



## **The 20th anniversary of the 'Tampa election'. Considering the legacies of John Howard's new nationalism**

Session 4.5.4., 2 December 2021, 5:00pm AEDT

Behrouz Boochani, UNSW Sydney

Professor Claudia Tazreiter, University of Norrköping; UNSW Sydney

Elahe Zivardar, Journalist and Artist

Moones Mansoubi, Community and Cultural Development Worker

Professor Klaus Neumann, Hamburg Foundation for the Advancement of Research and Culture; Deakin University

This year marks the twentieth anniversary of the 'Tampa election' with the infamous anti-immigrant speech of John Howard, stating: 'we will decide who comes to this country and the manner in which they come'. This roundtable contextualises and problematises the recent history of Australia's refugee and immigration policy as a period of division, hatred and cruelty that can be traced to the events leading up to the Federal election of November 2001. This includes: the refusal of the Australian government to allow asylum seekers saved from drowning by the Norwegian freighter, the Tampa, to enter Australia; the 'children overboard affair'; and the beginning of 'off-shore' detention of asylum seekers in Nauru and Manus Island. The election victory of the conservative government of John Howard in November 2001 was due in no small measure to the confluence of events and reactions to them, beginning in August 2001, with the 'Tampa incident' and including the September 11th terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers in New York. The Federal Election of 2001 has lasting effects not only in Australia, but across the Pacific, with the so-called 'Pacific Solution' and the systematic torture of refugees in off-shore prisons. This roundtable asks what are the legacies of this period of Australia's immigration history? What traces can be drawn between this period and new nationalism and xenophobia evident in Australia today? The legacies of the 'Tampa election' truly constitute unfinished business, reverberating in Australia's refugee and immigration policies and systems, with profound impacts on Pacific neighbours.



## **Unsettled Domesticities**

Session 4.5.11., 2 December 2021, 5:00pm AEDT

*Chair: Professor Victoria Haskins, University of Newcastle*

Professor Andrew Gorman-Murray, Western Sydney University

Dr Karen Agutter, University of Adelaide

Ms Katrina Dernelley, La Trobe University

Professor Penny Edmonds, Flinders University

Professor Penny Russell, University of Sydney

In 2019 a roundtable of historians at the American Historical Association and Berkshire Conferences discussed the concept of domesticity. In a conversation facilitated by Antoinette Burton, the panel examined the limits and possibilities of 'domesticity' as a category of historical analysis. Burton argued that by bringing the focus to unsettled domesticities, and with the intent of unsettling domesticities, historians were able to make old histories read differently and enable new histories that transform the present. Chaired by Victoria Haskins, a member of the original conversation, this roundtable revisits 'unsettled domesticities' in the Australian context. Penny Russell reflects on insights and absences in the historiography of settler domesticity, particularly in analysis of its affective, gendered dimension. Katrina Dernelley and Penny Edmonds reflect on gender, consent, domestic service, and women's legal pursuit of independence in the nineteenth century. Andrew Gorman-Murray and Karen Agutter discuss connections between home-making and identity in queer and displaced communities in the twentieth century. The roundtable will bring its focus to consider how the lens of domesticity 'unsettles' Australian histories. It asks: how do ideologies, imaginings and realities of 'domesticity' provide a locale for often intimate and brutal power dynamics; how do domesticities impact on individual and group identity; and do these processes of 'unsettling' domesticities reveal the domestic realm to be a sanctuary or a trap; a place of intimacy or power, a place to seek out or to escape from?



## Abstracts (in alphabetical order)

### **Ms Caitlin Adams, University of Cambridge**

*What happened to class? The language of social hierarchy in early NSW*

Session 3.1.9., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Social inequality is a pressing area of unfinished business in Australia. Although recent research found that Australians have an acute sense of social status, they are ill-equipped with language to discuss what author Tim Winton called in 2014: 'the c-word'. The term 'privilege' is now widely used, however, it locates power disparity in individual attributes, rather than social relationships. This paper interrogates the language of class and social embeddedness in early NSW. Using petitions for clemency from Britain and NSW in the early nineteenth century, it compares how petitioners in each location described their place in the social order. It investigates whether a sense of connection and rank in British petitions was replicated in colonial supplications. Examining the rupture caused by transportation, this paper asks whether differences in the language of social hierarchy in the early years of European colonisation can help answer why we do not readily discuss class.

### **Dr Karen Agutter, University of Adelaide**

*Revisiting Unsupported Mothers: The 'Big Picture' Approach*

Session 4.3.4., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Like other areas of historical enquiry, migration history is being re-examined, subjected to new methods, studied through new lenses, disciplines, and cross-disciplinary approaches. For me, studying the post-war migrant accommodation system raised questions about migrants' experiences, especially within specific groups. One such area that I, and other scholars have considered is Australia's acceptance of 'unsupported mothers' within the displaced persons cohort. Generally focusing on individuals and small groups, we have studied how official policy impacted them, and their children, after arrival. Recently I have moved toward a 'big picture' approach, collating data on more than a thousand of these mothers in order to examine their collective backgrounds and experiences. In this paper I will outline how, through this different approach, I have gained a deeper understanding of them as a collective, in particular their circumstances in Europe, and how this approach has led me to other questions and comparisons.



**Dr Avril Alba, University of Sydney**

*'One in the Eye?' Holocaust Memory at the National Museum of Australia*

Session 3.4.6., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

On 11 March 2001, The National Museum of Australia (NMA) opened. One week later, architectural critic Peter Ward penned a sharply critical piece about the now-famously controversial building, and in particular the Gallery of First Australians, the design of which directly references the famous 'fractured star' of Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum Berlin: 'This extraordinary piece of rhetoric not only fundamentally misreads both European and Australian histories ... but serves metaphorically to trivialise one of Europe's blackest recent experiences. And in doing so ... it trivialises our own, Australian, attempts to understand ourselves.' Contra Ward, I posit that rather than offering a prescriptive (mis)reading of the past, this architectural referencing of Holocaust memory in an Australian setting challenged and deepened Australians' conceptions of their national past and its ongoing resonance, providing a focal point for reflection on what 'coming to terms with the past' might require in an antipodean setting.

**Dr Angel Alcalde, University of Melbourne**

*Decision-making processes and genocide in the Spanish Civil War*

Session 3.3.6., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

This paper examines the decision-making process of Francoist repression in the early stages of the Spanish Civil War. Historians have often argued that Francoist violence was driven by a 'plan of extermination' against the political left, implemented right from the coup d'état of 18 July 1936. Applying methodological and theoretical perspectives from Holocaust and Genocide studies, this paper carefully revises this interpretation and shows why, when and how decisions for extermination were made and who the main rebel decision-makers were. Thus the paper sheds light not only on the origins of Francoist repression but also on the relationship between war and genocide.



**Mr Md Forkan Ali, UNSW Canberra**

*Rethinking Community in Post-War South Asia: Kashmir in Focus*

Session 3.3.6., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The war-torn, conflict-ridden, and highly disputed place, Kashmir, is surprisingly a less-studied region. The ever-growing political turbulence, conflicts, and ensuing militarisation has left the Kashmiri people dispirited and prone to traumatic experiences. Since 1947, Kashmir has witnessed many historical events, being part of the serious conflict zone of (South)Asia. Therefore, it is a place of many historical silences and a subject of unfinished businesses in the contemporary world, but it has received little scholarly attention, particularly by historians and socio-cultural experts. An in-depth historical awareness and understanding will promote inclusive historical narratives and inform contemporary debates about politics in/about Kashmir and national identity in that region. Using trauma theory, this textual analytical paper involves this unfinished business of the past to examine the connection between the history of war/conflicts and personal traumatic experiences and the construction of an alternative community about the fictional narrative, 'The Collaborator' by Mirza Waheed.

**Dr Matthew Allen, University of New England**

*Samuel Marsden's Political Economy: Agriculture and Convict Reform in Early New South Wales*

Session 2.4.8., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

In 1807, Samuel Marsden wrote a pair of closely related essays advising the incoming Governor Bligh in which he argued for the government to promote agriculture to reduce the price of labour. Setting out a patriarchal vision of convict society Marsden called for compulsory agricultural labour to encourage habits of industry, claiming '[n]o man, bond or free should be allowed to live in idleness ... since the Provisions they eat are a loss to the Community because they cause none by their own labour'. Framing the colonial economy in moral terms he recommended privileging 'industrious' agriculture over 'idle' trade, through fixed prices and preferential access to convict labourers. In this paper, I read Marsden's essays as a pioneering exercise in convict-colonial political economy and consider what they tell us about the agricultural and reforming vision of the colony promoted by Bligh and decisively rejected by the rebels of 1808.



**Dr Kylie Andrews, University of Technology Sydney**

*Producing ABC women: Restoring women to Australian broadcasting history*

Session 4.2.5., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

This paper resuscitates women's contributions to the development of Australian broadcasting in the post-war era. It describes how a cohort of trail-blazing producers manifested their own type of feminism and challenged the status-quo at the post-war ABC, both in their authoritative positions in the gendered workplace and in their creation of progressive and innovative programming. Comparing their careers to the majority of women working in public broadcasting between 1945 and 1975, it highlights the barriers, both official and unofficial, that confronted so many media women at the time. This paper also considers the relationship between the lack of women in the historical landscape and their continued destabilisation in present-day media hierarchies. It questions the connection between this lack of parity and the continuing reliance on male-centric industry narratives that refuse to recognise women's achievements; justifying specious arguments that women broadcasters were, and therefore are, incapable of agency and authority.

**Dr Alessandro Antonello, Flinders University**

*Gondwanaland as geopolitics: geology, environment, and international relations since the 1960s*

Session 3.1.11., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Since the consensus around the theory of plate tectonics formed in the 1960s and the first reconstructions of Gondwanaland were offered soon after, the ancient supercontinent has been enrolled into geopolitical structures, contests, and gestures. This paper seeks to explain the impulses and meanings behind the modern combination of geology and geopolitics through three moments in the international history of Antarctica: first, the conjunction of the final consensus on plate tectonics and the rise of hydrocarbon politics and prospecting in Antarctica in the late 1960s and early 1970s; second, the Greenpeace campaign to protect Antarctica from mining in the 1980s; and third, the deployment of Gondwana-talk by the Indian government when establishing an Antarctic scientific base in the early 2000s. Through these cases, this paper seeks to illuminate global ideas and practices surrounding the geography and meta-geography of continents and the earth's elements in contemporary history.



**Dr Georgina Arnott, University of Melbourne**

*Western Australian Governor James Stirling's West Indian Years*

Session 4.3.10., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Before becoming Western Australia's founding governor in 1829, James Stirling was for seventeen years a captain in the British Royal Navy. How this career entangled him in transatlantic and intra-American slave business has received little scholarly attention. The same could be said of Stirling's family's involvement in these trades over four generations. This paper focusses on Stirling's career between 1812 and 1818, the years in which he captained HMS Brazen and executed the capture of enemy vessels carrying slave-produced cargo. Prize money distributed by the British Courts of Admiralty helped Stirling amass a small personal fortune, which he used to support his family's London merchant house, ruptured as it was by geopolitical shifts in slavery business. This paper considers how those years stationed in Jamaica and Barbados deepened Stirling's dependence on slavery, and how their telling contributes to our picture of British slavery and colonialism in the post-1807 Abolition era.

**WITHDRAWN – Prof Michelle Arrow, Macquarie University**

*'A Gigantic Women's Refuge': Anti-feminism and the Liberal Party in the Fraser years*

Session 3.4.9., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

In 1983, Babette Francis, founder of the anti-feminist women's group Women Who Want to Be Women, painted a gloomy picture of a feminist state, arguing that 'feminists [...] won't feel their utopia has arrived until they have herded all Australian women into a gigantic women's refuge or rape crisis centre.' The historiography of Australian feminism has examined the ways that the women's movement 'fandangoed' with the state under Whitlam to secure support for women's services. The role played by anti-feminist women's groups under Fraser has attracted less attention. While Fraser initially retained many feminist initiatives, his government's support of women's services was undermined by the growing influence of the New Right within the Liberal party. Women's refuges lost all direct commonwealth funding in the early 1980s. This paper asks: what role did anti-feminism (especially the groups Women's Action Alliance and Women Who Want to Be Women) play in this process?



**Dr Kate Bagnall, University of Tasmania**

*The Origins of Cantonese Migrants to Colonial Australasia: A Case Study*

Session 3.4.4., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

In early 1881, the *Glamis Castle* set out from Hong Kong for Sydney with 840 Cantonese passengers on board. After the press expressed concern about the increasing numbers of Chinese arriving in the colony, a report was prepared for the New South Wales government by authorities in Hong Kong about the Cantonese passengers onboard and the circumstances of their emigration to the Australasian colonies. The report included personal details of each passenger and a number of more detailed individual profiles, offering a rare insight into the backgrounds of a significant cohort of Cantonese migrants. In this paper, I will consider how this report alters our contribute to our understanding of the origins of Cantonese immigrants and patterns of migration from Guangdong to the Australasian colonies in the late nineteenth century.

**Ms Daisy Bailey, Monash University**

*The Emotions of Exile and Activism in 'The Irish Exile and Freedom's Advocate', 1850-1851*

Session 2.3.8., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

This paper examines how emotions were utilised in 'The Irish Exile and Freedom's Advocate' (1850-1851) to create an 'imagined community' of the Irish diaspora and anti-imperial sentiment in the Australian colonies. Edited by the Young Ireland political prisoner Patrick O'Donohoe in Van Diemen's Land, this newspaper was significant in the founding of the Irish-Australian radical tradition. With an international reach, it exploited the power of print to position several of the Young Ireland leaders as martyrs after their unsuccessful 1848-armed rebellion, conviction and transportation to Van Diemen's Land. With its aim 'to defend every oppressed man', O'Donohoe engaged with issues in the colony through liberal catholic principles and Irish experiences of British colonialism. By examining the structures of feeling that the Irish Exile appealed to, this paper demonstrates how the history of emotions and transnational history can expand the archive and our understanding of media activism in Australian history.



**Ms Jacquelyn Baker, Deakin University**

*'Was there any activism?': Finding the splinters of the WLM in Melbourne, 1976-1980s*

Session 2.4.5., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Katy Reade asserted that, during the early years of the women's liberation movement (WLM) in Melbourne, women had attempted to organise under a singular feminist identity. However, by 1975 they were struggling to mobilise as a unified movement. She argued that women's liberationists tried to rectify this by redefining and reconstructing their identity. Reade concluded that this process was emancipatory as it broadened the definition of 'women's liberationist'. Reade's research findings were published in 1996. Since then, academic histories have not traced the activity of the splintered WLM in Melbourne beyond the late-1970s. Drawing predominantly on oral history interviews, this paper traces the splintered Melbourne WLM from 1976 and into the 1980s to consider the different categories under which women's liberationists organised and practised their activism. The aim of this paper is to build on Reade's research and to expand our understanding of this area of unfinished business.

**Dr Jeannine Baker, Macquarie University**

*Women and technical work in early Australian television production*

Session 4.2.5., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Historical studies of women's work in the screen industries have mainly centred on film rather than television, and on the elite creative roles of director, producer and writer, rather than less visible 'below-the-line' or technical positions. Scholars in the emerging field of feminist production histories have begun to challenge several assumptions relating to women's labour in television, including the widely held belief that women were largely confined to secretarial and production support roles in the early decades. Drawing on new oral history interviews with women who worked in early Australian television, this paper discusses women's contribution to the development of Australian television, with particular reference to technical areas, including camera operating, and control room and videotape operations. It argues that entrenched gendered production cultures and institutional structures in television organisations have contributed to the marginalisation of women in the historiography of Australian broadcasting.



**Dr Lorina Barker, University of New England**  
**(Co-authored by Eliza Kent & Michael Brogan)**

*Creating Cultural Spaces Online and OnCountry: A COVID-19 reality to zoomland*

Session 2.4.7., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Yarning Online OnCountry, an Aboriginal-led project connects Elders with artist online and OnCountry, through creative workshops. In 2020 it was a direct response to COVID-19, and a means of combatting social isolation, improving health and wellbeing. Bringing Elders online helped maintain social, cultural connectedness and knowledge transmission. Stage two, Yarning Online OnCountry: KurruPurra Pila Weaving focuses on regeneration and restoration of natural fibres used for weaving. Extending into other communities to connect people, the river, spiny sedge and weaving techniques to the Songlines of the Baaka/Barwon river systems and its tributaries the Ngarntu, Paroo and Warrego. COVID-19 forced us all to devise new ways of working and gathering, and Yarning Online OnCountry allows us to move beyond online service provision, to explore the potential of online cultural spaces for cultural exchange, preservation and continuity of Aboriginal culture, community and Country, and the capacity building between and across generations.

**Dr Thomas Barker, University of Nottingham, Malaysia**

*Debating Culture in the Shadow of the Cold War: Indonesian Cinema 1950-1966*

Session 2.2.3., 30 November 2021, 11:00 am AEDT

For the newly independent nation of Indonesia, culture (kebudayaan) emerged as an important space of debate, contestation, and definition. The 1950s were marked by a series of conferences, festivals and exhibitions, public debates in newspapers, political organisations, and works that sought to articulate a vision and idea of Indonesia. Drawing on archival materials from the period, this paper looks at film (cinema) as it became a key domain of imagery, imaginary, and ideology. While this period has often been portrayed as one of political contestation between the 'left' and 'right', documents of the period describe a much more complicated space of cultural contestation characterised by shifting alliances, personal feuds, organisational manoeuvring, and varied political expression. This paper frames these within the growing authoritarianism of Sukarno's regime, especially after the introduction of Guided Democracy in 1957, and the backdrop of the Cold War as superpowers vied for hegemony in Southeast Asia.



**Ms Jill Barnard, Monash University**

*Memories of parents in interviews with Australians who experienced out of home care 1920s -1960s*

Session 4.2.11., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

This paper is based on oral history interviews recorded with Australians who experienced out of home care in the periods between the end of World War One and the 1960s (Forgotten Australians). The paper will examine the roles that these Forgotten Australians attribute to parents, as well as to broader social contexts, in the breakup of their families. I will consider how views of the responsibility of parents for the entry of children into 'care' might change over time and in the light of contemporary understandings of historical periods.

**Dr Joel Barnes, University of Queensland**

*Evolutionary Science and Religious Belief: Evidence from Denominational Student Publications*

Session 2.3.4., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

This paper reports on Australian findings from work in the historical strand of the Science and Religion: Exploring the Spectrum project, a multidisciplinary, multi-country project examining contemporary and historical relations between religion, belief and evolutionary science. The paper uses the Christian denominational colleges of Sydney, Melbourne and Queensland Universities as sites to explore these themes, broadly within the framework of a 'complexity thesis' that recognises the multiplicity of historical relations between science and religion. More than 700 issues of the mostly annual publications produced by students within the colleges, covering from 1907 to the twenty-first century, were examined for materials on evolution, Darwinism and related themes such as perceptions of an associated materialism. Produced by students living within faith-based communities and often studying science or medicine within broadly secular central institutions, these publications allow patterns of belief in relation to science to be identified both chronologically and across denominations.



**Dr Chelsea Barnett, University of Technology Sydney**

*Love, Lust, and Land Rights in 'The Naked Country' (1984)*

Session 4.1.5., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

In the ten years before *Mabo v Queensland* overturned *terra nullius*, Indigenous land rights were firmly entrenched in the national agenda. This conversation spilled into the cultural landscape, too: director Tim Burstall intended that his 1984 film, *The Naked Country*, be 'absolutely a land rights thing'. Like other historical films of the 1980s, *The Naked Country's* depiction of the past was a way of negotiating and articulating a particular image of Australian identity in its context of production, revealing how audiences of this period grappled with questions of land rights, race relations, and Australian nationalism more broadly. Yet its depiction of sex and love (between Indigenous and non-Indigenous couples alike), so far overlooked by historians, is equally important to understanding the cultural work done by the film. This paper will explore sex and sexuality in *The Naked Country* to understand 1980s race relations and Australian nationalism in new ways.

**Mr Liam Barnsdale, University of Queensland**

*Boys into soldiers: Secondary school cadet training in Australia, 1939-1945*

Session 3.1.6., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Throughout the Second World War, thousands of adolescent Australian males underwent military training at secondary schools across the country. Each school was individually responsible for the cadet training it provided, with training syllabi directed by teachers holding temporary officers' commissions and implemented by older boys holding commissioned and non-commissioned rank. This led to a wide variety of training programmes and an equally diverse range of lasting experiences for those pupils involved, both frequently enlivened by the wartime zeitgeist of the 'home front.' This paper examines the varying forms of cadet training given to Australian secondary school pupils between 1939 and 1945. In doing so, it will reflect on the influences of demography on this school-based training, and the differences between adults' idealistic views of cadet training and the realities of the training experienced by the cadets themselves.



**A/Prof Michael Barr, Flinders University**

*Constitutions: Shaping sovereignty, representation, and power*

Session 3.3.3., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The constitution of a state is a basic law that sets out the authority of core institutions and their relationship both with each other and with the public. Formal constitutions were a feature of the colonial political order in Southeast Asia; they paid lip-service to Western ideas of democracy and accountability while upholding inequitable colonial orders. The first local constitution was that of Sultan Abdul Bakar of Johor in 1895. The constitutions put in place in Siam from 1932 and elsewhere in the region from 1945 sought to balance enthusiasm for and scepticism about democracy, as well as the question of how to facilitate just and effective government.

**Dr Isobelle Barrett Meyering, Macquarie University**

*Debating Children's Political Rights: Australian Responses to the International Year of the Child*

Session 4.4.8., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

In 1979, Australia joined in global celebrations of the International Year of the Child (IYC). Coming at the end of a decade of youth unrest, it is perhaps unsurprising that the year spurred a range of initiatives aimed at facilitating Australian children's participation in political debate and decision-making, from their involvement in IYC planning committees to their inclusion in official conferences and events. Meanwhile, some children and young people used the year to make demands for ongoing mechanisms of representation, such as the establishment of youth councils, introduction of a bill of rights for young people and lowering of the voting age. This paper will trace the debates that ensued in response to these calls for the expansion of children's political rights and their relationship to the wider generational upheavals of the decade.



**Dr Simone Battiston, Swinburne University of Technology**

*Historicising the early years of Nuovo Paese (1974-1981)*

Session 4.2.4., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In 1974, the Italian Federation of Migrant Workers and their Families (FILEF) of Melbourne launched Nuovo Paese (New Country), a fortnightly tabloid. Before becoming a monthly (1984) and adopting a magazine layout (1986), the Italian-language newspaper lived one of its most politically-charged and controversial phases which culminated with the arrest and deportation to Italy of Ignazio Salemi, a central figure of the editorial board. Besides being a journalist and a migrant rights campaigner, Salemi was an official of the Italian Communist Party and a point of reference for local Italian communists. For the migrant historian, this early period of Nuovo Paese represents a rich site for exploring migrant activism. By drawing on transnationalism, transculturalism, and oral history, I argue that Nuovo Paese was shaped as much by local issues and organisational dynamics as wider contexts and globalising forces.

**Ms Claire Baxter, Independent Academic**

*Contextualising Exiled Heritage: Are Statue Parks A Solution for Contested Heritage?*

Session 2.2.7., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

The 'statue wars' have been the cause of much debate around the world in recent years. Whilst some people believe that controversial statues should be removed, others fear that removing this difficult heritage will enable forgetting and a missed opportunity to use these monuments for education purposes. One solution that is frequently proposed is that of the post-Soviet statue parks in Budapest, Lithuania and Moscow. Preserving an artefact's context is vital for that artefact to have any use for future study. In the case of the statues, it is not just their physical context, but also their historical and socio-political context which need to be preserved. Fieldwork undertaken over the summer of 2019 examined how the three statue parks have gone about preserving context, how successful they have been, and whether any of these parks may be suitable as a model for contested statues in other parts of the world.



**A/Prof Andrew Beattie, UNSW Sydney**

*Overcoming silence and neglect? Histories of Allied internment in Germany after the Second World War*

Session 3.3.7., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Between 1945 and 1950, the victorious Allies interned over 400,000 Germans without trial in scores of camps across occupied Germany, including in former Nazi concentration camps. Some internees were suspected war criminals, but most were simply deemed 'dangerous' to Allied purposes due to their positions in Nazi Germany. The topic was long regarded as 'neglected', but it has also been sensationalised and politicised, especially the Soviet-zone camps, where one third of internees died. The paper will examine how German (and other) historians have approached internment. To what extent have they addressed or neglected it (or aspects of it)? How have their questions, interpretations, methods, and sources changed? What role have changing political contexts, ideologies, and identities played? How have they interacted with other producers of histories, such as former internees, politicians, and institutions of public memory? What influence, if any, have historians and their histories had?

**Ms Bronwyn Beech Jones, University of Melbourne**

*The Footsteps I Follow: Tengko A. Sabariah and activism for women's suffrage in colonial Indonesia*

Session 4.1.3., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Scholars of Southeast Asia continue to seek more inclusive perspectives on colonial history by turning to local sources and reconsidering the dynamics of colonial society. Using the case of North Sumatran women's rights activist Tengko Ajo Sabariah's involvement with the Dutch Association for Women's Suffrage in the 1910s, I ask how she worked with Dutch women to advance the welfare of all women. Ajo described herself as following in the 'footsteps' of male Indonesian leaders who joined Dutch-led organisations as a means of seeking a political voice. In this presentation I build on Dewi's (2019) chronology of Indonesian advocacy for wider enfranchisement by using Ajo's writings and related Malay and Dutch-language newspaper commentaries to locate her ideas within transnational discourses about rights, equality, and justice. I reflect on her privileged and marginalised position and review the possibilities and limitations of vernacular press archives to partially reconstruct networks of women's organising.



**Dr Johnny Bell, Monash University**

*Tracking a Backlash: Lone Father Groups in 1970s Australia*

Session 4.2.11., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Fathers' rights groups in Australia have gained notoriety for their (occasionally violent) hostility towards the Family Court of Australia. From testimonies and submissions to the Royal Commission on Human Relationships (1974-1977), this paper explores the early activism of 'lone father' groups to understand the origins of acrimony. As custodial parents, single fathers usually had less to fear from the new regime of family law, and they often deployed the language and ideas of feminism to articulate their experiences and needs. Like liberated women, they were adapting to a new role. But well before the operation and outcomes of the Family Court, lone father groups were ambivalent about the renegotiation of gender roles in the early 1970s, and they were quick to position themselves as victims of feminist-inspired policy. This posture came to define the fathers' rights movement, in their agitation around issues such as property division, custody, and child maintenance.

**A/Prof Melissa Bellanta, Australian Catholic University**

*Tropical Whites: Menswear and Power at the Crossroads of Australia and Asia, 1900–1939*

Session 3.2.9., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

This paper explores the social and gender history of 'tropical whites'—all-white men's suits worn with pith helmets in tropical societies colonised by European powers—between 1900 and 1939. Focusing on Darwin and Broome, two northern Australian ports with multiple connections to Asia, the paper shows that tropical whites helped to sustain inequities of race, gender and class that persist as unfinished business in these localities today. Tropical whites served this function because of their symbolic properties, representing racial whiteness and imperial mastery. They also did so because of their material dimensions: the labour involved in who produced and cared for them, and the bodily influence they exerted on their wearers. The paper thus draws on the perspectives of scholars of material culture as well as historians of northern Australia and empire to provide multidimensional insights into the relationship between menswear and power in these tropical towns.



**Dr Oleg Beyda, University of Melbourne**

*Pushkin to Sydney: A Woman Under Nazi Occupation, 1941-43*

Session 3.4.6., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

In 1941, when Hitler's army had invaded the USSR, Evdokiia Bogacheva was a perfectly normal doctor working at the polyclinic in the city of Pushkin. She did not know yet what fate had in store: two years of quotidian endurance amongst the terror and hunger, the label of collaborators for her and her husband, the forced displacement to Germany, the years-long wait in DP camps, and finally, the salvation in Australia. Living in Sydney, Bogacheva decided to put the crucial events of her life under the Germans into writing. She died before finishing the job, and then the hastily written sheets were buried in an archive across the ocean, where they laid in waiting for almost 50 years. Although unfinished, the emerging perspective is telling; it presents a female outlook on the Nazi occupation, everyday terror, hopes, and the mechanisms of survival in a collapsing occupied space.

**Dr Matthew Birchall, University of Auckland**

*The Inner Lives of Corporations*

Session 3.4.8., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

It is frequently assumed that companies only concern themselves with profit and loss. However, the tendency to view companies in such restricted terms can blind us to the larger objectives that often accompany business enterprise. Drawing on the records of three settler corporations—the Australian Agricultural Company, the Canada Company, and the Van Diemen's Land Company—this paper argues for the centrality of culture to understanding the inner workings of the business corporation. To do so, the paper focuses on the rhetorical self-positioning of the respective boards of directors, while also exploring the company crossings that united them in a shared discursive universe. It shows how the aims and motivations of these company men had a bearing on the revival of company colonisation in the years after Waterloo, and how the cultural history of the firm in turn had an impact on Britain's settler empire.



**Dr Catherine Bishop, Macquarie University**

*Writing Annie Lock and the minefield of mission history*

Session 2.2.4., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In 1990 I wrote a Master's thesis about Annie Lock, a white woman missionary to Aboriginal people. Few people then were writing about female missionaries, especially in Australia. Caught up in the Coniston Massacre, complicit in child removal policies and constantly mobile across Australia, this twentieth-century woman was a complex figure. Her impact endures both as an individual and part of the settler colonial machine. This year I published Lock's biography. The intervening decades saw an explosion of scholarship as feminist historians discovered less feminist subjects. At the same time, there have been changes in Indigenous history telling – in understanding the intersections of power, voice and race. In this paper I reflect on the differences in writing missionary biography in 1990 and in 2020, how her story complicates broader narratives, and of the unfinished business that is the legacy of Annie Lock's life of evangelism, child removal and activism.

**A/Prof David Blaazer, UNSW Sydney**

*Barely started business: reflections on the underdevelopment of Australian monetary history*

Session 3.2.8., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

While the UK, Ireland and North America have seen a major surge of interest in the history of money by a diverse range of scholars (geographers, sociologists and literary scholars as well as legal, social and economic historians) monetary history in Australia sits largely where S J Butlin's formidable 'Foundations of the Australian Monetary System' left it in 1953. In this paper I will reflect on the consequences and possible reasons for this neglect and argue that careful, multi-dimensional study of the complex and highly dynamic monetary history of colonial Australia will not only shed new light on its people, society, culture, and politics, but will also enrich perspectives on monetary history that have developed elsewhere in the Anglosphere in recent decades. I will conclude by suggesting some possible research agendas to open up this field of study.



**Mr Joshua Black, Australian National University**

*You Either Don't Act or You Do': Speed, Stimulus, and Institutional Memory of the 1990s Recession*

Session 4.1.8., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

In 2008, at the height of the GFC, Treasury Secretary Ken Henry famously advised the Australian government to 'go early, go hard, go households' to avoid recession. That advice was not just the product of individual intelligence or economic training, it also stemmed from Australia's failed attempts to respond to the 1990s recession. In this paper, I argue that the decisions, missteps and consequences of that recession have greatly shaped government responses to subsequent economic crises. In particular, successive administrations have deployed 'fiscal stimulus' programs in order to avoid repeating the policy missteps of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Drawing on recently released Cabinet papers, as well as public statements and political memoirs, I conclude that the 1990s experience is a great example of institutional memory and collective learning, and more broadly, a textbook example of the importance of history in policymaking.

**Dr Michelle Bootcov, UNSW Sydney**

*The Australia Antigen: First Nations' Blood, 'First World' Science*

Session 2.4.10, 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

In the 1960s, the 'Australia antigen' was isolated in an American laboratory. It came from First Nations' blood serum and was collected in a desert, 20,000 km distant. What was the Australia antigen and how did the blood samples get there? This paper introduces Robert Kirk, the man responsible for its collection, and the Australia antigen, a key to hepatitis diagnostics knowledge. Kirk, a population geneticist, was so troubled by mid-twentieth century racial discrimination practices in the USA that he migrated to Western Australia. Yet blood collections of this type are frequently associated with race science. Additionally, population genetics posits that there is no genetic basis for race. The largely unknown history of the Australia antigen and its Indigenous connection therefore has unfinished business.



**Dr James Bradley, The University of Melbourne**  
**(Co-authored by Tamsin O'Connor)**

*The Pirate Bushrangers, the Convicts Prevention Act and the Moral Status of Convicts*

Session 2.2.8., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In the 1990s we set out to challenge the way historians had made moral judgments about convicts as a class. In *Representing Convicts*, we argued that such an approach, attached as it was to issues of national identity, limited our understanding of convicts and ex-convict. Here we argue that, by characterising the Convicts Prevention Act, legislation designed to control the movement of convicts between VDL and Victoria, as a moral panic, historians have revived and reinforced older moral paradigms. Our paper, therefore, returns to those questions of representation (be they condemnatory or exonerative) by developing a micro-history of the 'Pirate Bushrangers', Henry Bradley and Patrick O'Connor, two escaped convicts whose exploits in 1853 coincided with the re-passing of the Convicts Prevention Act. We will frame the Act and the convicts it sought to control within the wider transnational and shifting contexts of 'masterless men'.

**Dr Wayne Bradshaw, James Cook University**

*On building a Church in the north: Father William McGinty's time in Bowen*

Session 3.2.11., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Father William McGinty has long been recognised as a foundational figure in establishing the Catholic Church in Queensland. His work in Ipswich mission between 1852 and 1862 included arranging the funding of multiple churches, the grandest of which was the gothic St Mary's which still stands today. Indeed, he was a prodigious fundraiser for the early church in Queensland and a noted controversialist who regularly found himself embroiled in public arguments with parishioners, superiors, and the editors of multiple newspapers alike. One particularly unedifying quarrel with the Bishop of Brisbane, James Quinn, led to his reassignment to Port Denison. Effective banishment in early 1864 to spend his final years in the isolated township of Bowen might seem like the end of McGinty's story, but he had unfinished business in the north, and a new bastion of Catholicism to establish.



**Dr Claire Brennan, James Cook University**

*Historians, hunters, and the place of a popular activity in public and historical consciousness*

Session 3.4.2., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

While academic work dealing with hunting is still comparatively rare, in the past decade New Zealand has produced studies across the disciplines of anthropology, geography, and history. At present, Australian studies have tended to concentrate on hunting within the Australian tropics, although histories of fishing cover more of the continent, and within Australian environmental history the field of animal history is becoming well established. Despite this relative academic neglect, hunting has been and continues to be a popular activity in Australia and New Zealand. This paper will examine the work that has been undertaken to date, compare the hunting historiographies of Australia and New Zealand, and explore the presence of hunting in our collective past. Writing the history of hunting in Australia and New Zealand is unfinished business, and this paper will suggest ways in which engaging with that project may shed light on significant aspects of Australia's past.

**Dr Keagan Brewer, Macquarie University**

*The Voynich Manuscript: An Unfinished Business? An Unstarted Business?*

Session 4.1.5., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

The enciphered Voynich manuscript, with its illustrations of plants, planets, stars, and nude women, has long attracted public interest, while professional historians have tended to avoid publishing about it. Vibrant online forums of obsessive Voynich sleuths, affectionately dubbed 'Voynicheros', provide a case study in the democratisation of history, facilitated in particular by the internet and manuscript digitisation. Their contributions have been immense. Much is now known with high probability. We know, for instance, that the subject matter is probably gynaecology, and that the underlying language is probably German. The remarkable illustrations, some completely unique, can be convincingly matched to late-medieval medical understandings of the female body. There is evidence of specific people hiding such information using ciphers in Germany in the fifteenth century. Yet although some progress has been made on the grammar of Voynichese, the business of decipherment, and much else besides, remains unfinished.



**Dr David Brophy, University of Sydney**

*Unfinished business with China? Historians and public discussion in Australia*

Session 4.3.9., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

In a short space of time, Australia's discussion of China has shifted rapidly from 'end of history' anticipations of liberal convergence to warnings of history making an unwelcome return. Something that was thought finished turns out not to have been. In a single speech on the eve of the G7 summit, Prime Minister Scott Morrison invoked the 1930s, the post-WWII descent into Cold War, and the fall of the Berlin Wall as reference points for the present day. There might be disagreement on the best historical analogy, but everyone seems to be looking for one. This presentation reflects on the recent turn in the academic and public discussion of China in Australia, and the place of history within it. What sort of history are we getting in this debate, and what sort of history do we need?

**Prof Nicholas Brown, Australian National University**

*The Elocution of the 'Broadbacked' Australian Professional*

Session 2.2.9., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Post-World War II challenges to codes of masculinity are a familiar historiographical theme, but studies tend to keep to specific fields, ranging from the 'organisation man' through to the boundaries tested in creative/cinematic/theatrical depiction and genres. This paper will explore the links between the cultivation of 'white collar' professionalism, and the expanding domain of public policy, and the cultivation of 'camp' style in the figures such as Robert Helpmann, and the roles accorded to 'the arts'. The interdependencies between these apparent polarities are part of the resilience of gendered identities in Australian culture, and of the centrality of sexual performance to its transactions, exclusions and endurance.



**Dr Neville Buch, Independent Academic**

*Wither Local History in the Academy? The shifting historiography in Local Studies and Local History*

Session 3.4.7., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

A historiographical-but-very-practical problem began in the history wars of the Prime Ministership of John Howard and escalated into the cultural war of the Trump era. Very few Australian universities currently teach or research in state (regional) or local history. The promises of the 1990s local studies, where there was a wide-ranging thematic agenda for social inclusion, is hitting hard upon the large socio-political problem in the marketplace of history. There are cognitive bubbles from closed-grouping formats. The educative processes are undermined. The paper highlights the applied historiography engaged with the local communities. The frame of philosophy of history brings an understanding of intellectual schema, examining the perspectives of trans-national history and the local-regional-global dynamic. The paper delivers long-established arguments from the philosophy of history to effectively address the academy's problem in the cultural-history wars. The paper will also look to the best educational theories for effective communications with local communities.

**Ms Kathleen Burke, Australian National University**

*Gender, Race and Class in Colonial Kitchens in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire*

Session 4.3.7., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The eighteenth-century Dutch Indian Ocean Empire was made up of multiple, overlapping claims to sovereignty, all of which intersected with food and gender in complex ways. The concept of sovereignty places processes of food production, preparation and consumption into an explicitly political context, encouraging us to see the power relationships that underpin them. Despite this, few historians have used food as an analytical lens to investigate these power relationships or the production of imperial hierarchies of gender, race and class. This paper traces the stories of three very different women in the port city of Cape Town and shows how food provisioning, preparation and consumption intersected with their gendered, racialised and classed roles in European colonial kitchens. In different ways, these women exerted sovereignty over food preparation, provisioning and consumption in colonial households that highlights their role as active participants in both shaping and contesting the hierarchies of empire.



**Dr Paula Jane Byrne, State Library of NSW**

*Pencil Markings Project - Geography of Power 1850s*

Session 3.2.1., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

The Attorney General received criminal depositions and read through, marking them in pencil as he read. These pencil markings and the way in which depositions were constructed by individual benches allow the historian access to the way the legal system worked in local areas. One local area will also answer questions another introduces. One of these questions concerns the layout of relations between Aboriginal people and the law, the way colonisation happened. This paper explores the differences in local areas and the law's relationship to the Aboriginal polity.

**Ms Cassandra Byrnes, University of Queensland**

*Interrupted Reproduction: Abortion in Queensland*

Session 3.2.5., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Before 1970, abortion remained illegal in all states of Australia. Throughout the twentieth century, the criminalisation of abortion was historically framed as intending to protect women from using the services of untrained abortionists. This was, however, ineffective, as women still sought terminations wherever they could access and afford them. This research examines reproductive rights and the role of paternalistic government policies, using later-twentieth century Queensland as a case study. This paper argues that the conservative Queensland government repressed reproductive rights (particularly abortion) when other states were liberalising legislation, yet women still found ways to assert agency over their reproductive functions. Considerations of the morality of abortion remain fundamentally relevant to understandings of conservative state institutions, where 'the tension between beliefs about what is 'moral' and conviction about what is necessary in one's real circumstances' dictates the challenges in legislating and accessing contraception and abortion.



**Mr Tim Calabria, La Trobe University**  
**(Co-authored by Catherine Gay)**

*Rethinking Frontier Massacres and their Accompanied Modalities of Governance, 1790-1928*

Session 3.3.10., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

This paper reconceptualises massacres on the Australian frontier, exploring them through a biopolitical frame. Drawing from early colonial journals, official correspondences, depositions and newspaper articles, we argue that many massacres in Australia were intended to impact on the mentalities of living Aboriginal populations and cause communities to self-regulate by staying away from settlement processes; massacres were intended to establish an ideological distortion, geared, in many cases, to buttress the expropriation of Aboriginal lands by a vulnerable settler minority. Recognition of these as the biopolitical 'vital massacres' observed by Michel Foucault reveals that attempts to impute a sense of inferiority and fear extended beyond the actual killing of Aboriginal Australians to the threat or simulation of mass killings. This paper therefore recognises the roles of settler women and children as colonising actors on the Australian frontiers, who also pursued the social impacts which underpinned the killing times.

**Dr Cobi Calyx, UNSW Sydney**

*Could Indigenous mobility have influenced early Mauritian migration?*

Session 4.3.4., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Could Aboriginal women of the island now called Tasmania have influenced my sang-mêlé ancestors' Australian migration? Drawing on Russell's writings about Indigenous mobility, specifically women who sailed to Mauritius in 1825, I link these women with subsequent Mauritian womens' immigration before federation. Most black people in Mauritius were slaves in the 1820s, during their visit. Mauritius was the last British colony to abolish slavery. These women who sailed from southern islands spent time in the Mauritian capital, where my great-great-grandmother was born. Their status as free women was given as reason for leaving them first on Rodrigues - why were there fears about taking them to the capital? Recently historians have reframed these trafficked or enslaved women with some agency. Could sailor womens' worldliness and relative freedom have influenced my ancestors' migration to where those women returned? Can linking Indigenous mobility to pre-federation migration of sang-mêlé families change Australian understanding?



**Dr Tania Cammarano, William Angliss Institute**

*The power of the imagined Italy: Italian warehouses in colonial Australia*

Session 4.2.7., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In 18th century England, 'Italian warehouses' sold Italian goods to consumers hungry for the cultural capital these products embodied. These establishments were frequently owned by Italians who had commercial ties to Italy (Riello, 2006). In Australia, Italian warehouses can be found in the historical record as early as 1831 but there is little evidence they were owned or operated by Italians or that the goods they sold were particularly Italian in nature. Understanding the role of conceptual factors in food change is largely unexplored terrain in food history. By studying the Italian warehouse in colonial Australia, this paper will examine what, if any, connection to Italy they had. In doing so, this paper will explore the power of the imagined Italy on colonial food habits and culture more broadly. Riello, G. (2006). A Taste of Italy: Italian Businesses and the Culinary Delicacies of Georgian London. *The London Journal*, 31(2), 201-222.

**Dr Rachel Campbell, University of Sydney**

*The Reception of Corroboree*

Session 2.3.9., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

John Antill's *Corroboree* (1944) was widely regarded as the most prominent piece of Australian classical music before the 1960s. The 1950 ballet production was hailed as a landmark in national culture. The ballet and its music have subsequently been discussed by cultural historians, dance scholars, and musicologists. Most analysis has centred on interpretations of elements of the work and the influences on, and circumstances and intentions, of its creators, as well as its political implications as a representation of First Nations Australian culture. However, a thorough examination of the ballet's critical reception has been lacking. Studies of reception can offer vital insights into the meanings that cultural expressions had for their audiences. This paper analyses contemporary articles and reviews of *Corroboree*, providing a measure of its initial impact and asking what it meant to mid-century settler Australians, and why this troubling representation was widely acclaimed and celebrated.



**Ms Rosa Campbell, University of Cambridge**

*Australian feminist entanglements with Chinese and Vietnamese Communism, 1969-1979*

Session 2.4.5., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Between 1969-1979, the Australian Women's Liberation Movement was entangled with Vietnamese and Chinese communism. Women's Liberation has been necessarily critiqued for its privileging of white women. Yet speaking to the theme of 'Unfinished Business,' I will consider the ways women did work across racial difference, albeit imperfectly. I will explore the coverage of Vietnamese and Chinese women in Australian Women's Liberation periodicals and key texts. These reveal the impact of Maoism on the important feminist technique of Consciousness Raising and the projections of Australian feminists who saw East Asian communist women as tantalising evidence of a woman-friendly communist utopia, or concluded that they were similar to themselves. However, a set of face-to-face visits in both directions reveals the agency of South East Asian communist women, beyond Australian women's projections, and the differences between women. These visits also highlight the similarities between East Asian state feminists and Australian 'femocrats.'

**Dr Kit Candlin, University of Newcastle**

*Homosexuality and Slavery: Unfinished Business, a Case Study from Grenada.*

Session 4.4.5., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Gender and enslavement have a long historiography, however homosexuality and enslavement are considerably less explored. This paper investigates a report made to the then governor of the West Indian colony of Grenada in the 1760s. This crucial source tells the strange tale of itinerant priests from Trinidad who persuaded several enslaved men to abscond from their plantations in Grenada. The document suggest that these men engaged in debauchery with the priests in Trinidad. From the governor's perspective it was just another case of runaway slaves. However this terse source also hints at the prevalence of homosexuality among the enslaved in colonial settings. The paper surveys the extant literature on the subject and offers several new perspectives on themes such as opportunity, coercion, politics and culturespecific to a Caribbean setting as well as the status of homosexuality and queer relations in the colonial world of the eighteenth century.



**Dr Clarissa Carden, Griffith University**

*Captain Mein's Masturbating Monkey: Fears of Moral Contagion on the Nautical Training Ship 'Vernon'*

Session 3.4.11., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

In the first few months of 1869, a Select Committee of the New South Wales Legislative Assembly sought to examine the operation of the Nautical Training Ship 'Vernon', an institution for 'neglected' and 'destitute' boys which opened in 1867. Among other areas of concern, members of the committee took particular exception to the pet monkey kept by the institution's superintendent, Captain Mein. While Mein insisted that the monkey was kept to amuse the boys, committee members were far more interested in the potential for the 'Vernon' boys to witness the creature masturbating. Concerns about the monkey's masturbatory habits were so significant that several witnesses were questioned about them at length even after its death shortly after the committee's work began. This paper takes the case of Mein's monkey as a starting point from which to examine fears about moral contagion in the institution's earliest years.

**Dr Jane Carey, University of Wollongong**

*Population, Reproduction and British Settler Colonialism in the Early Twentieth Century*

Session 3.3.5., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

As Anna Davin has noted, in early 20th century Britain the birth rate became a matter of national and imperial importance: 'Population was power.' This paper traces how these ideas translated into voluminous discussions of population as the fundamental basis for British global dominance. These discussions overwhelmingly focussed on the (former) settler colonies – in ways that demonstrated the centrality of (white) reproduction, and the broader politics of population, to British settler colonialism. The paper thus also speaks to recent debates over whether or not settler colonialism was/is a distinct colonial formation. To date, these debates on have focussed on issues of governance, land, labour and difference. This paper turns to an arena (population as power) where settler colonial difference was assumed and unambiguous.



**Ms Emma Carson, University of Adelaide**

*Separated Spouses and the Construction of Intimacy in World War II*

Session 3.1.5., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

The emergence of gender history in the late twentieth century has transformed approaches to studying war and its impact, with the public contributions of women's labour being more widely recognised. Nonetheless, the private aspects of women's lives and the ways that modern war impacted families and their relationships is an area that still requires urgent scholarly attention. How servicemen interacted with their family is also largely neglected in the historiography. In this talk, I will explore how Australian servicemen and their wives used correspondence to construct intimacy during World War II. To achieve this, hundreds of letters that were written between separated spouses in this period were analysed to see how couples updated one another on their lives, replicated real conversations, shared vivid fantasies, and performed romance. Exchanging these material objects enabled these couples maintain their relationships across continents and experience intimacy in ways they never had previously.

**Mr Yianni Cartledge, Flinders University**

*Unresolved: How a Period of Turmoil Shaped Early Greek Migration to Australia (1900-45)*

Session 3.1.4., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Early Greek migration to Australia came during periods of turmoil in the Eastern Mediterranean. With the Balkan Wars (1912-13), World War One (1914-18), the genocide of Ottoman Christians (1914-22), the population exchange between Greece and Turkey (1923), the Great Depression (1929-30s) and World War Two (1939-45), many Greeks lived lives that were 'unresolved', pushing them to seek new frontiers. This paper examines how these wars and catastrophic events shaped early Greek migration to Australia, why Australia became a destination of choice, and how those migrants used their unresolved experiences to integrate into their new homes. It will follow the stories of some of these migrants, examining the identity crises, challenges, and successes and that they faced, as well as brief looks at chain migration, the longevity of their communities, and the circumstances of return migration.



**Mr James Cassidy, University of Western Australia**

*Three Outlaws, Two Brothers, One Cart: Revisiting and Unpacking the Velvick Case of 1833*

Session 3.3.10., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The killing of the Velvick brothers by a group of Whadjuk Noongar people in May 1833 was a major turning point in the history of the early Swan River Colony. The colonial administration's decision to outlaw the Whadjuk Noongar men who had been recognised either just prior to, or at the scene of, the killings was part of a wider shift towards projecting settler sovereignty over the Noongar people. Unfortunately, histories of this period often glance over this event and offer only a simple explanation. Closer examination of the relevant documents reveals a much more complex narrative than is typically presented. These complexities have significant implications for our understanding of the events that both preceded and followed the killings. Rather than a simple case of Noongar payback justice, the deaths of the Velvick brothers were tied up in a web of settler violence, intrigue, and colonial machinations.

**Dr Nicole Chalmer, University of Western Australia**

*Australia's Expanding Deserts: The Urgency of Drought and Desert Histories.*

Session 4.3.2., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Australia is unquestionably a land of droughts and flooding rains, yet do we realise that these are part of an expanding desertification since European invasion? It is increasingly substantiated that the droughts and floods since colonisation are different to those in the deeper pre-European past because they have been magnified by inappropriate human land management activities that have intensified their duration and severity. It is unjustifiable that all Australian States continue to allow clearing of bushlands, savannahs, wetlands and forests either for Agriculture or Urbanisation, for there is plentiful worldwide and local research evidence showing how often drought and deserts follow historical deforestation. Replaced by mismanaged cropping and grazing systems or paved over for housing developments that de-vegetate further, the landscape hydrology heats, dries out and drought follows. Or it overfills causing salinisation and floods. Climate change intensifies as droughts compound and become more frequent, and the creeping deserts follow.



**A/Prof Emma Christopher, UNSW Sydney**

*Importing and Exploiting People from 3 Continents: The Davidsons in Jamaica, Guyana and Australia*

Session 4.2.10., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

The Davidson family's participation in the sugar industry led to the global non-free migration of men, women and children from Africa, the Indian subcontinent, and Pacific Islands to work on their plantations. Before 1834 these workers were enslaved; afterwards the family spearheaded importing Indian immigration to Guyana and then Pacific Islanders to Australia under different legal arrangements. Despite the legal differences, much remained the same, with the former importation of enslaved people across the Atlantic acting as a playbook for later types of labour arrangement. This paper will explore the connection between Atlantic slavery and Australian South Sea Islander labour through this family's story, examining how money to invest, ideas of labour requirements, and the strengthening of 'black' versus 'white' as posited extremes of racial difference, all cut across the idea that Britain was a solidly anti-slavery nation by the 1860s.

**A/Prof Anna Clark, University of Technology Sydney**

*Acknowledgement of Country: placing History in Australia*

Session 3.2.2., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

This paper explores 'Country' in Australian historiography. Until the mid-twentieth century the History discipline tended to ignore the complexity of 'Country'. Just as Australia was thought to have had no 'history' prior to colonisation, its landscape was also often inscribed with potential, rather than a past. Colonial histories viewed Country as largely peripheral to disciplinary historical practice. Place was somewhere history happened, rather than a historical subject and agent in its own right. The relatively recent acknowledgement of Country in Australian historiography has pushed out those early boundaries of discipline, recognising Indigenous histories of Country that pre-dated the discipline by thousands of years, as well as the historical subjectivity of Country as a living archive of evidence and a historical agent. Yet that acknowledgement of Country has also raised important questions about the limits of Australian History to understand and accommodate the very place on which it locates its narratives.



**Ms Sharyn Clarke, Independent Academic**

*Unfinished Business: Belair National Park*

Session 3.3.2., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Belair National Park was declared in 1891 following a ten-year campaign to preserve the area. This paper will briefly examine the original ideas and actions behind the park's creation but will concentrate on recent history following the proposal by the South Australian government to allocate space for extensive soccer ovals on the park. The strong, and ultimately successful, community campaign against the soccer pitches was conducted on a number of levels: via facebook, through community events and through feedback on government consultation. Close analysis of these sources reveals people's ideas about nature and conservation, their methods of engaging and their reasons for doing so, and highlights the strength of certain factors in both campaigns. Ultimately the campaign led to a rejuvenation of people's connections with the area and with its history, and how people perceive and value this history will also be examined.

**Mr Sean Coker, University of Southern Queensland**

*Take Up Thy Pen and Talk: Johann Georg Hamann's 'Word'*

Session 2.3.4., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

In the history of ideas, the German Aufklärung movement produced philosophers such as Immanuel Kant and Johann Gottfried von Herder. Less known is J.G. Hamann (1730-1788), whose historical significance has been reduced to a problematic within/without binary of either 'Counter-' or 'radical-' Enlightenment thinker. Having experienced a sudden religious awakening in 1758, Hamann wrote epistolary essays to his friends, Kant and Christophe Berens, Herder, and Moses Mendelssohn, adopting a metacritique against a priori assumptions underpinning the authority of secular reason amid a broader attempt to evoke the numinous in his reader. His thought centred around the Pauline precept 'by faith alone' and a Johannine logos expressed via an affected style that eschewed his reader's attempt at rational explication. This paper argues that Hamann's religious awakening inspired him to petition his friends to accept a personal relationship with the divine as the proper path toward awakening.



**Ms Anne-Marie Condè**

*Elegy written in a Tasmanian churchyard*

Session 3.2.6., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

I have a modest wish. It is to understand something about the lives of families affected by the First World War, not just during and after the war – but before. The story should begin, I think, when the parents were young. I'm exploring the lives of two couples, Caroline and John Saunders, and Maria and William Saunders. Between them they had 21 children and sent five to the war. However, each couple lost three children before 1914, so they entered the war already bereaved. I began pondering this while standing in front of the graves of Caroline and John and several of their children in a tiny cemetery in Liffey, in Tasmania's northern midlands. Can the Saunders parents be considered part of a 'generation' in the way we think of their soldier sons as a ('lost') generation? What common experiences shaped their lives before the war?

**A/Prof Liz Conor, La Trobe University**

*Traces of Sovereignty: Smoke Plumes in Colonial Prints – through the Pall of the Climate Crisis*

Session 2.2.2., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In the 'Black Summer' of 2019/20 plumes of bushfire smoke circled the globe. Hundreds of years earlier, in the first coastal profiles of colonial exploratory prints, wisps of smoke uncoiled in uncharted territory. Both are signals of human presence on this continent. The most recent rose from the ashes of a climate crisis, a calamity that consumed an area the size of England. The earlier more benign plumes in colonial prints could be seen as the heraldic unfurling of Indigenous sovereignty. These two very different emanations of fire—Indigenous and settler—bookend the outer parameters of what Andreas Malm calls 'Fossil Empire' – referencing the burning of fossil fuels in service to colonial expansion. This paper examines how carbon-fired industrialisation and colonial invasion became interdependent economies of Indigenous dispossession. In retrospect, colonial prints reveal the interstices of carbonisation and colonialism and the ways they were bound together in a logic of extraction.



**Mr Matthew Coote, RMIT**

*Mapping the History of Competitive Bodybuilding in Australia*

Session 4.4.11., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Bodybuilding is an activity of human muscle development for aesthetic purposes. Such muscle development occurs through the combination of resistance and weight training, rest, dietary intake, the use of legal, and at times illegal, performance and image enhancing drugs. Many bodybuilders participate in non-competitive activities (such as 'working-out' to build muscle) but an interesting aspect has been the emergence and development of bodybuilding as a competitive sport. This paper maps out competitive bodybuilding in Australia, a topic that, to my knowledge has not received scholarly attention. From its tentative development with the first national contest in 1947, to the emergence of rival contest associations in the late 1970s, followed by the rise of 'natural' competitions in 1990s, and more recently, the enormous increase in women's participation, the history of competitive bodybuilding in Australia is a wide-ranging and fascinating phenomenon worthy of study.

**Dr Lorinda Cramer, Australian Catholic University**

*Bachelors and Breadwinners: Masculinity and Businesswear in the Synthetic Age, 1950-1970*

Session 3.2.9., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Easy to wear and quick to dry, the new synthetic menswear worn from the mid-twentieth century was favoured by Australia's bachelors and travelling businessmen – or so advertising and commentary suggested across the 1950s and beyond. Nylon business shirts, in particular, were heralded as a 'modern miracle'. They could be worn day after day, needing only a quick rinse in the basin to look fresh again. Against the skin, though, they might feel unpleasantly clammy. This paper develops ideas around bachelor and business masculinities in the new age of synthetics. It draws attention to men's excited embrace of synthetic clothing, their practices to maintain it and interest in its material qualities. Taking an approach used by historians of dress and scholars of material culture, this paper aims to reveal the advantages of considering clothing as not only something that is worn but that is felt on the body.



**Prof Helen Creese, University of Queensland**

*Family and Gender Regimes in Early Southeast Asia*

Session 2.4.3., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Social organisation and gender identities took different forms through the Early Period of Southeast Asian history (to ca 1500), and partly reflected regional variability in outside influence. Southeast Asian ethnography underscores the importance of kin and kin-like relations that frequently transcended biological relationships among commoners: populations viewed (and treated) rulers as parents. Debate continues over the precise nature of Early gender relationships, but clear regional differences characterised the construction of Early family and gender relations. This paper compares mainland and island Southeast Asian documentary sources to explore variability in relationships between religions and cultures in the construction of Early family and gender relationships.

**Prof Robert Cribb, Australian National University**

*Incident at Bacan, 1942: everyday violence during the Japanese occupation*

Session 4.4.3., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

There is a widespread belief that the behaviour of Japanese soldiers in Indonesia during the Japanese occupation (1942–1945) played a major role in normalising 'routine' violence and thereby laying ground for the intense violence of the revolution and after. The belief is difficult to examine because many accounts of Japanese violence were set down years later at a time when irrational Japanese violence had become a common narrative trope. This paper uses the recently released record of a Dutch war crimes trial of a Japanese interpreter for his role in a violent incident in the residence of the sultan of Bacan in eastern Indonesia in 1942. It considers whether broader circumstances of the Japanese occupation explain the incident and makes comparisons with violent episodes before and after.



**A/Prof Sharon Crozier-De Rosa, University of Wollongong**

*Memory-Keepers: Women Activists' Strategies to Preserve their History*

Session 2.3.5., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Women activists are less well remembered than their male counterparts in the historical record and collective memory. Their memory has fallen victim to a male-dominated public agenda. Current efforts are underway to correct that omission, from feminist recovery histories to grassroots campaigns for public monuments. Yet, what is often overlooked is the immense, time-consuming and often costly project of documenting, organising and maintaining the record of women's activism for these recovery projects to be possible. We know about many of the challenges encountered by British women activists who constructed, maintained and made public their archives, notably the post-suffrage organisations the Fawcett Society and the Suffragette Fellowship. However, we know little about the rationale, strategies and tactics that Australian women employed to preserve their own histories. This paper examines how these women activists have acted as gate-keepers of their own memory until wider social shifts allowed that memory public visibility.

**Dr Joanna Cruickshank, Deakin University**  
**(Co-authored by Amanda Lourie)**

*Conducting Lawful Relations (1): The Framlingham Petition*

Session 3.4.1., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

This paper explores the notion of lawful relations by looking at interactions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Victoria related to the Framlingham petition, a little-known document produced in response to the proposed eviction of the Aboriginal community from Framlingham Reserve in 1889. Since its production, the petition has moved in and out of visibility in the public eye, with its relative prominence or absence determined by both contemporary events and historical and legal norms. Here we consider the status of the petition at three different moments in time, looking at the ways in which interactions around the petition have variously facilitated and impeded the establishment and maintenance of lawful relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Victorians. This paper is part of the 'Lawful Relations' panel, which will describe the rationale and initial findings of an ARC Discovery Indigenous Project, 'Indigenous Leaders: Lawful Relations from Encounter to Treaty'.



**A/Prof Nancy Cushing, University of Newcastle**

*The Australian Agricultural Company and energy transition in New South Wales, 1825–1847*

Session 2.2.2., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In May 1830, Australian Agricultural Company commissioner Sir Edward Parry posed queries to the proprietors of Sydney's few steam engines, seeking to assess their current levels of wood consumption and possible future coal purchases. Parry understood that although steam technology was intimately connected with the burning of coal in Britain, in many colonies, wood remained the primary fuel for industrial and domestic purposes. Energy choices in NSW became increasingly important to the Company over the following decade as its expectations of establishing a robust export trade in coal to the Indian Ocean world faded. In keeping with On Barak's insight that the introduction of a new source of energy tends to enable an expansion and intensification of energy use rather than displacement of other fuels, the role of firewood in local economies, personal sensibilities and the wider colonial project ensured that coal's adoption in NSW was incremental, partial, and mutable.

**Mr Sam Dalgarno, Monash University**

*Contesting Bringing Them Home's history in the National Library of Australia's oral history project*

Session 4.4.1., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Committed to the view that Indigenous people should be able to tell their stories of child separation, the 1997 Bringing Them Home report recommended that the Commonwealth Government fund Indigenous organisations to record further testimonies. However, hoping to counter Bringing Them Home's history, the Government instead chose another organisation—the National Library of Australia—to conduct this oral history project and stipulated that it include interviews with non-Aboriginal people involved in separating Aboriginal children from their families. This paper will seek to demonstrate that the Library's project became a key site of contestation over Bringing Them Home's story. It will also show how the Library negotiated the competing demands brought to bear on it – most notably the insistence that the project 'set the record straight' and a belief that an oral history project could reveal the truth about the past.



**Ms Alanna Dargan, University of Wollongong**

*Anzac as a Political Pawn: The Commemoration of the Centenary of WWI in the Australian Parliament*

Session 2.2.6., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

This paper explores some of the dozens of speeches delivered by politicians in the Australian parliament in connection with the centenary of WWI. These speeches demonstrate the ongoing political value of Anzac as a key facet of Australian national identity and revealed a strong desire to protect and reinforce this mythology. Anecdotes, family memories and stories of honour and bravery that glorified the Anzac legend were selectively chosen and showcased. Parliamentary speeches from across the political spectrum displayed little interest in historical 'truth' or accuracy. Rather, politicians deployed simplistic and distorting narratives for their own political ends – in the belief that these would resonate with, and gain them the support of, the majority of the Australian community. Ultimately, these speeches reflected a broader failure to incorporate a sense of historical responsibility within the framework of the centenary commemorations. The complex histories of Australian servicemen and women were simply erased.

**Ms Cindi Davey, James Cook University**

*Conservation in Wongi forest: effects of the regional forest agreement process*

Session 3.3.2., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

How to best use and manage Australia's forest resources remains unfinished business, as forests outlive people. Use and management issues have generated a forest of paper, but attention has been focused on the spectacle of southern fires and the romance of rainforests. Queensland's dry-sclerophyll forest processes have not received the attention that their southern cousins have, yet represent different ways in which common tensions have been negotiated. This paper investigates how environmental tensions were negotiated in Wongi forest, near Maryborough, Queensland. Wongi hosts multiple uses, including conservation, timber and cattle grazing. State forest sections were converted into national park following the drafting of Queensland's regional forest agreement. Though the federal government rejected the agreement (drafted by environmentalists and timber industry representatives), it continued to inform forest policy. Wongi illustrates how existing forest uses have intersected with conservation policies more cooperatively than implied by the 'fight' narratives constructed around other forests.



**Dr Alexandra Dellios, Australian National University**

*Intersecting the Migrant, Industrial and Environmental Heritages of the Latrobe Valley, Australia*

Session 3.2.7., 1 December 2021, 11:00 am AEDT

The Gippsland Immigration Park was conceived, designed, and managed by locals who seek to commemorate and memorialise migrants and migration to the region of Gippsland and the Latrobe Valley. In Australia's Anglophone heritage landscape, such a community-initiated migrant heritage space warrants attention. The Park is a platform etched with contested and intertwined histories: it engages with narratives around industrialisation, migration, and working lives. The case study of the Gippsland Immigration Park offers a means to unpack the Latrobe Valley's industrial and deindustrialising history, and to examine the shared and layered community histories in a liberal multicultural nation-state. I also argue for a collaborative heritage approach that forefronts the historical connections between these heritages (Indigenous, environmental, migrant, de/industrial) that have been unnecessarily separated in historiographical and heritage-policy discussions. This work privileges local voices to build understanding of the function of community dialogue in heritage futures.

**Dr Catherine Dewhirst, University of Southern Queensland**

*Subversive, Radical and Defiant: Italian-Australian Women during World War II*

Session 2.3.5., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Australia's World War II internment regulations targeted non-British migrants, naturalised British subjects and the Australian-born by enemy-state parentage or marriage, amongst others. The files of Italian-Australian women reveal how many confronted the gender and 'enemy' typecast, symbolised by official descriptions of them as 'clever', 'dangerous', 'arrogant', 'cunning' and 'pro-Axis'. While beliefs about the threat they posed to the nation differed from that of their fathers or husbands, archival records also capture a rich array of their voices and life histories, inherently significant to Australia's war on the home front yet frequently ignored in mainstream histories. Drawing from feminist scholarship on the centrality of women to ethnic and national boundary-marking, and disparaging beliefs about their radicalism, this paper explores how family and community disruptions, and narratives of subversion and radicalism facilitated a deep sense of empowerment within several cases of women's testimonies, at once ideological as personal.



**Ms Portia Dilena, La Trobe University**

*The Long Fifties: Early 1960s Australian University Student Protest*

Session 4.3.11., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The 1960 Sydney University protest in response to the South African Sharpeville Massacre is often portrayed as the first break in the apathy that had been gripping the student body throughout the fifties. An isolated prelude to the radical protest that was to emerge in the middle of the sixties. Yet this popular narrative ignores the more subtle student action of the fifties and prevents the question: to what extent was the pre-Vietnam protest of the early 1960s the unfinished business of the 1950s? Drawing on student newspapers, this paper will demonstrate that Student Action in Melbourne, and Student Action for Aborigines and the Sharpeville protest in Sydney were in fact a continuation of the work of 1950s students. The students continued to base their arguments on moral grounds, in particular the equality of man, and identified with an imagined international student community.

**Ms Paige Donaghy, University of Queensland**

*False conceptions and the incertitude of pregnancy in early modern Europe*

Session 3.2.5., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In early modern Europe, it was common knowledge that reproduction included 'two kinds of conceptions'. As one eighteenth-century physician explained: 'one where there is a foetus in the womb, which is called true; the other where there is a fleshy substance, which is called a mole'. These moles, also called 'false conceptions', were defined as the conception, gestation and expulsion of non-foetal flesh from a woman's uterus. As this paper shows, in the era before ultrasound, pregnancy was an uncertain, unknowable process, because false conceptions physically and experientially mimicked true conception. Examining seventeenth- to eighteenth-century medical casebooks, as well as a famous eighteenth-century inheritance trial, I reveal the impacts that the incertitude of pregnancy had on early modern women and medical practitioners. This paper suggests the history of reproduction remains 'unfinished', because the continuing historiographical focus on 'successful' reproduction obscures the historical importance of 'other' reproductive experiences, like false conception.



**Ms Patricia Downes, Australian National University**

*The unfinished business of the convict legacy: military convicts in Australia*

Session 3.2.6., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

The rise in family history studies has done much to rehabilitate selected convicts—especially those lucky enough to have descendants—and groups of convicts such as women. But little has been done to rescue the character of the 6500 British soldiers who were transported as convicts. This cohort retains a reputation for violence, drunkenness, and petty theft. Yet only about ten per cent of these men ever experienced life in the penal settlements for the doubly convicted, and even fewer, less than three per cent, found themselves in multiple settlements as persistent offenders. My paper examines the 354 soldiers who were re-transported from NSW to one or more of the penal settlements. It argues that the exploits of the few incorrigibles have tainted the overall reputation of a cohort which contributed much to the military character of early colonial Australia.

**Dr Alison Downham Moore, Western Sydney University**

*The Unfinished Business of the Dark Side of Gynaecology*

Session 3.3.5., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The prescription of radical gynaecological surgeries exploded in biomedical practice only after the 1880s in France, Germany, Switzerland, England, the US and Canada, rapidly becoming globalised throughout the twentieth century. But from their very debut as innovative new procedures, abdominal hysterectomy and oophorectomy were unequally prescribed to different kinds of bodies on the basis of class, caste, race, disability, criminality and age. While such surgeries have recently become less common among affluent women in the global North, recent sociological and anthropological research indicates that they are still increasing in prevalence throughout the global South and are still disproportionately prescribed within populations. This paper is about the asymmetries of healthcare inherited from past biopolitical entanglements which continue to inform current gynaecological research and clinical practice.



**Dr Ana Dragojlovic, University of Melbourne**  
**(Co-authored by Kate McGregor)**

*Iswanto Hartono: Art and the Submerged History of Dutch Colonial Violence in Indonesia*

Session 4.4.3., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

This paper takes up the conference theme of other ways of doing history to consider how Indonesian activists have intervened in debates about the unfinished business of Dutch colonialism, including histories of violence. Focusing on the 2017 installation in the Old Church in Amsterdam by the Indonesian artist Iswanto Hartono entitled 'Monuments', we ask how Iswanto confronts the violent history of the VOC including the Banda islands massacre carried out in the Banda Islands in the pursuit of a monopoly over the spice trade, by the VOC officer Jan Pieterszoon Coen who is still celebrated through monuments in the Netherlands? Furthermore, we examine the responses in the Netherlands and Indonesia to this transcultural memory project which was part of a Europalia festival's decolonisation focus. We argue that public art can create productive spaces of engagement with silenced histories, and serve as a vehicle of promotion of more inclusive historical narratives.

**Dr James Dunk, University of Sydney**

*Towards an Australian Planetary History*

Session 2.4.2., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Twelve years ago Dipesh Chakrabarty called for a radical revision of our modern historical narratives in light of the shattering findings of earth systems science; in 2018 he wrote about the chasm between thin and fictional framing of the global and the deep and insistently physical imaginary of the planetary. So far from being finished, this business of rewriting our histories as planetary stories has barely begun. This exploratory paper will sketch the outline of a historical consciousness which is both Australian—responding to the specific concerns and features of this place—and planetary. It will address the scalar politics, and scalar velocities, of whole earth narratives and the disciplinary curiosity and courage demanded by the present.



**Dr Richard Dunley, UNSW Canberra**

*The Impact of British First World War Propaganda on the Interwar United States*

Session 2.2.6., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Between 1914 and 1917 Britain mounted a concerted effort to influence opinion in the United States. The impact of this campaign on the American decision to enter the war is debatable, but its legacy in the interwar period is both clear and significant. This paper will explore the ways in which revelations about British propaganda fed into the revisionist movement questioning American involvement in the conflict and suggesting that the country had been tricked into war. The propaganda narrative became an important part of the American interwar foreign policy debates, being regularly drawn upon by those pushing for an isolationist approach, and influencing development of legislation such as the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Through this, British First World War propaganda exerted an important, if unintended influence on American foreign policy through until American entry into the Second World War.

**Mx Robin Eames, University of Sydney**

*Trans pathologisation and the social mediation of madness in late 19th-early 20th c Australia*

Session 4.4.5., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

The social mediation of gender transgression in colonial Australia was informed and shaped by logics of carceral systems, capitalist imperialism, madness, illness, degeneracy, deception, and sexual perversion. This paper will examine the mediation of gender transgression through the language and infrastructures of madness in late nineteenth–early twentieth century Australia. I will reference case studies where gender deviance was considered to be related to (or directly responsible for) lunacy, and therefore arbitrated through medical and legal institutions. Analysing these cases as inextricable from state structures, community, and context allows a materially grounded appraisal of the social infrastructures of the past and their legacy in the present. Framing this analysis as a project of trans history provides nuanced insights into the relationships between gender transgressors and their communities.



**Prof Mark Edele, University of Melbourne**

*Decolonising the Curriculum: a history of the Soviet Empire after its fall*

Session 4.3.9., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The breakdown of the Soviet Union has not ended the politicization of its history. While until 1991 there was one politics of history for 'the West' and one for 'the Soviets', now we deal with complex history wars within and between the fifteen successor states, their associated diasporas, and scholars located both within and outside the region. This paper reflects on my attempts to 'decolonise' the history of the Soviet Union, that is, to tell it to undergraduate students and broader audiences not as the history of 'Russia' but as the history of fifteen successor states.

**Prof Penny Edmonds, Flinders University**

*'A female slave in Queensland'? Gender, Consent, Protection & the Law in the Trans-Pacific Frontier*

Session 4.2.10., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In the 1880s a Pacific woman named Nie walked off Virginia plantation in Queensland. Nie had been engaged as a domestic servant in Fiji and had been moved with her European employers, the Woods, to Queensland without documentation. Mr Wood, who had well established Caribbean slavery, then abducted Nie with another man and forced her back to Virginia. The matter went to court as an oddly framed labour dispute between the Polynesian Inspector (or government protector) and Mr. Wood, highlighting the misalignments of law and labour contracts between Fiji and Queensland. At the same time, Nie's escape and her testimony highlights the experiences of female Pacific workers, and the gendered, non-consensual and mobile dimensions of the Transpacific frontier, and of various labour acts in tension with the complex systems of protective governance, in the shadow of the 'new' Pacific slavery.



**Dr Richard Egan, Independent Academic**

*Ramifications of the 1916 restructure of the New South Wales Board for the Protection of Aborigines*

Session 4.4.1., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

In 1916 the New South Wales Government reconstituted the Board for the Protection of Aborigines (APB). It replaced all the private members with senior departmental bureaucrats. The restructure was not because the government thought the interests of the Aboriginal clientele were being poorly served – the reform was pragmatic and self-serving. Prior to 1916 the Board had demanded too much - the Government believed the time had come to rein the body in. Unwittingly, the government's new structure ushered in two significant changes: first, it created a streamlined approach to Board activities with a significantly reduced input from Board members; and second, it enabled a small cabal of non-Board member officials to take control of the Board's daily activities. For the next two decades, this largely autonomous group carried out Board policies with little accountability. One result was the continued focus on the removal of Aboriginal children from their communities.

**Mr Jordan Evans, Flinders University**

*The League of Red Cross Societies and the development of blood transfusion during decolonisation*

Session 2.4.11., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

During the decolonisation period post-1945, new nation-states in Asia and Africa emerged with different levels of medical infrastructure and technological development. One of the ways the League of Red Cross Societies sought to support these new countries and their national Red Cross and Red Crescent societies was through the expansion of blood transfusion services, a new and complex technology. The League's ambitious aim was to achieve safe, universal and free blood transfusion services run by national societies. The League's blood programme developed through a series of resolutions, conferences and seminars and placed it as one of the leading authorities on blood transfusion at the time. Using the results of a blood transfusion questionnaire distributed by the League to its member Red Cross and Red Crescent national societies in 1961, this paper examines how blood, humanitarianism and decolonisation intersected during the Cold War.



**Mr Michael Evans, University of Melbourne**

*Outlining Australia's Disaster Imaginary through nineteenth century chronologies*

Session 4.3.2., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

In scholarly and popular discourse disasters are increasingly positioned as giving meaning to Australian seasons, forming part of an environmental imaginary. This paper focuses on such events as forming a specific disaster imaginary whose historical outlines can be discerned in an unlikely source, chronologies of events published in Australian almanacs and directories between 1855 to 1940. Analysis of data generated from these chronicles enables the identification of significant changes over time to both the types and defining criteria of Australian disasters. It is also possible to see patterns in the varying length of time that certain types of events were seen as memorable, to hint at changing shapes of memory. A historical understanding of the Australian disaster imaginary enables more effective engagement with the unfinished business of understanding Australian responses to the continent's environments over time and to climate change in the present.

**A/Prof Tanya Evans, Macquarie University**

*History, Community and Collaboration in the Blue Mountains*

Session 2.4.7., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

This paper will focus on the first collaborative and multidisciplinary, scholarly and community-based study of a forgotten shale-mining settlement in the environmentally and culturally significant Jamison Valley in the Blue Mountains. By combining archaeological, archival and oral evidence the project aims to provide new insights into everyday working and family life, community, gender, transiency and migration that can contribute to conservation of this site and its industrial heritage, cultural heritage tourism and education at a time of environmental change. The paper will report on attempts to engage diverse members of the local community in the project's first year.



**Mr Jack Fahey, La Trobe University**

*Corporate Communications and Mass-Automobilism in Australia: General Motors- Holden's Magazines*

Session 3.4.8., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

On 1 October 1926, the company General Motors-Holden launched an unusual project, a company magazine titled *Motor Progress*. The magazine aimed to place General Motors at the vanguard of progress through the integration of the automobile into the everyday lives of Australians. The magazine constituted an ambitious experiment in this nascent form of publishing. This paper explores the role of the company magazine in shaping the arrival and growth of General Motors in Australia from 1926–1964. What set General Motors-Holden apart in its approach to the company magazine was the inherently political nature of its product. The private motor car presented a structural challenge to existing forms of transport, urban development and labour relations. By tracing the evolution of this communicative mechanism, we can locate tangible connections between the global marketing strategies of General Motors and the rise of the car in Australian society.

**Mx Simon Farley, University of Melbourne**

*The Sparrow and the Bulbul: two non-native birds in the settler-Australian imaginary*

Session 3.4.2., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Over the last forty years, many Australian historians have embraced the concept of 'ecological imperialism', but our understanding of 'introduced' or 'invasive' species remains incoherent. Rather than taking scientific categories as given, we must acknowledge settler colonialism's role in determining the way non-native species were (and still are) received. This paper compares settler reactions to the introduction of two species of bird to Australia: the house sparrow in the 1860s and the red-whiskered bulbul in the 1920s. The differing reactions to these birds—one closely associated with the metropole, the other with Asia—illuminate changing settler perceptions of native and non-native fauna. Settlers' conversations around these birds reflected their beliefs regarding what groups of humans did (and did not) belong in this continent. Using settler-colonial theory to enhance and refresh environmental history, this paper represents a new vision of the shifting role/s of non-native animals within settler-Australian culture.



**Dr Romain Fathi, Flinders University**

*Cremation and body disposal in World War I: an anthropological rupture in funerary practices?*

Session 2.4.6., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

WWI generated an unprecedented number of military dead over limited spaces, engendering the significant challenge of large-scale body disposal to prevent the spread of diseases and epidemics. This paper considers the influence of the medical profession in pushing for legislation regarding large-scale cremation of war corpses, and the exploration of wartime cremation in the French army. The paper documents how WWI became a turning point in the way that belligerents dealt with their own war dead, initiating a practical and scientific genealogy of mass death in the 20th century. This paper asks: what can we learn from French Army testing of battlefield cremation and medical practitioners' publications on the topic? Using medical publications, press reports and French army archives, this paper showcases how human remains of WWI were treated as noxious waste to be disposed of, and how cremation seemed a solution to an epidemiological threat.

**Ms Ilona Fekete, University of Queensland**

*Sons of Nimrod Down Under: The Ethno-Genesis of Hungarians in the Diaspora and its Reception*

Session 3.1.4., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

In 2019, the Hungarian Government established the 'Hungarian Research Institute' [Magyarságkutató Intézet] in Budapest, whose main goal is to research the ethno-geographic and genetic origins of the Hungarian people. This has long been a preoccupation of Hungarian scholars, both amateur and professional, particularly among the worldwide Hungarian diaspora. But the theories and phantasmagorias postulated in much of this literature, have been heavily influenced by Hungarian national socialism, the so-called 'Hungarist Movement.' This paper examines the impact of Hungarist thought on the diaspora community in Australia. Focussing on the cases of Viktor Padanyi, Antal Endrey, and the Turanian Society, the paper will show how discourse on the origins of Hungarian identity was shaped by national-socialist ideology.



**Dr Jane Ferguson, Australian National University**  
**(Co-authored by Simon Creak )**

*Structures for Play: Music and Sport as Popular Culture in Southeast Asian History*

Session 3.3.3., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The diversity of music and sport in Southeast Asia reflects the region's historical dynamics and its webs of cultural contact. For centuries, Southeast Asians have created, appropriated and selectively adopted musical forms and genres, physical cultures and leisure activities. How can we understand local and personal practices like everyday creative or leisure activities, along with multi-billion-dollar entertainment spectacles across such a diverse region? While music and sport have appeared in histories of the region, their everyday power and meaning as creative and playful social structures has been elusive. This paper explores the modern history of Southeast Asian music and sport. From local leisure activities and creative or religious use of these forms, to colonial restructuring of political economies and capitalist commodification, to the advent of mass events and their co-optation in service of the post-colonial nation, we consider the power and meaning of music and sport for Southeast Asia people.

**Dr Nicholas Ferns, Monash University**

*Defending Colonialism: Australia in the United Nations Trusteeship Council, 1947-1975*

Session 4.4.10., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Australia was an unconventional colonial power, administering New Guinea and Nauru first as League of Nations Mandates and then, after the Second World War, as United Nations (UN) Trust Territories. These systems provided international oversight for Australian colonial rule. This paper will look closely at Australia's behaviour in the UN Trusteeship Council, exploring how Australia's representatives commented on both Australia's colonial rule in New Guinea and Nauru as well as their perspectives on other colonial administrations. Australia regularly found itself defending the maintenance of a colonial status quo in the face of criticism from representatives from the socialist bloc and the emerging Third World. By examining Australia's actions in the UN Trusteeship Council, this paper provides new understandings of Australia's role as a colonial power in the years after 1945. It will also shed new light on the relationship between the UN and international decolonisation.



**Prof Mark Finnane, Griffith University**

*The Australian Criminal Justice History Dataverse: Counting Cases and Sharing Data*

Session 4.2.9., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

This paper will consider the Australian Criminal Justice History Dataverse as a collaborative venture in archival discovery, case counting and data retention for the better understanding of Australian history. Historians are specialists in retrieving fragments from the past and telling stories about them. Their work depends on resources that have survived ageing or destruction. The vast labour of painstaking discovery in these resources is still for most a highly individualised process. This paper considers how might we better use the possibilities of digital methods and infrastructure to advance the unfinished business of data sharing. I discuss the process by which new data may be discovered and shared more effectively through a systematic process of collection, storage and description enabled by the 'Dataverse', a platform accessible through the Australian Data Archive. The paper will draw on the example of the Prosecution Project and its continuing development with new collaborators.

**Prof Matthew Fitzpatrick, Flinders University**

*Can Colonial Business Be Finished?*

Session 4.4.10., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

If we are in a state of 'unfinished business' pertaining to the colonial past, what might finished colonial business look like? And is it even desirable? Via an examination of recent attempts to come to terms with a problematic colonial past in Germany, this paper argues that while concrete measures might be taken to redress historic wrongs, the role of history might well be to ensure that colonial business is never finished. It investigates agonism as a historiographical strategy that might complement decolonisation efforts elsewhere. It also seeks to problematise the 'end of history' impulse of reconciliation-oriented history. By examining the successes and missteps of other historiographical and civic communities wrestling with the historical legacies of empire and violence, it suggests that colonialism is properly a past that cannot pass into history.



**Prof Sheila Fitzpatrick, Australian Catholic University**

*Writing the History of a 'Finished' State*

Session 4.3.9., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Most national histories are open-ended, but just occasionally that is not the case. Not so the Soviet Union, which collapsed unexpectedly in 1991. In a conference devoted to exploring 'unfinished business'), it seems particularly timely to reflect on the difference between writing the history of a nation/state which continues to exist and one which no longer exists and has thus become 'finished business'. I approach this topic as a Soviet historian who wrote general histories of the Soviet Union before and after its demise. I will also reflect on the challenges of writing the histories of countries perceived to be 'enemy states', a challenge I faced as a historian of the Soviet Union during the Cold War, and is now confronting historians of China.

**Mr Roger Ford, Griffith University**

*Convict Workers and Moreton Bay*

Session 3.4.10., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

*Convict Workers*, a quantitative study of forced labour in colonial New South Wales, challenged Australian convict historiography by asserting that convicts were a skilled, productive, immigrant population drawn from the British and Irish working classes, who experienced favourable employment conditions (Nicholas, 1988). This thesis was countered by historians Ray Evans and Bill Thorpe who argued it downplayed the role of punishment and excluded the significance of secondary penal settlements such as Moreton Bay, where work was designed to inflict pain above profit (Evans & Thorpe, 1992). My paper returns to this debate, addressing both arguments within the specific context of the Moreton Bay penal settlement under the administration of Commandant Patrick Logan. The paper will examine the hierarchical divisions of Logan's workforce, the methods of production and labour extraction utilised by his administration and the impact of significant external factors including climate and economic recession upon the convict population.



**Dr Meg Foster, University of Cambridge**

*Old Legends, New Names? Writing Subaltern Bushrangers into National Histories*

Session 2.2.8., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

For nearly 200 years, bushranging has been lauded as a white male pursuit. Untethering this practice from settler masculinity is new and arduous work, and when female, Aboriginal, African-American and Chinese bushrangers come into public view, they are often met with attention and support. Against the backdrop of global protests against racial and gendered injustice, these stories carry a particular sense of urgency and power. But no matter how welcome, this public enthusiasm is not without its problems. This paper charts the perilous terrain of offering an alternative to the white male bushranging hero. It asks, what happens when the historian lets go of control over these stories and they are launched into a wider, national imaginary? It also questions whether these bushrangers can be seen on their own terms and used to destabilise existing bushranging mythology, rather than simply adding new characters to an enduring Australian legend.

**Ms Eleanor Foster, Australian National University**  
**(Co-authored by Maria Nugent)**

*On Object Histories and Exchanges within early Colonial Sydney and the Hunter Region*

Session 4.1.1., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

This paper reflects on historical research that seeks to reconstruct the contexts within which objects were exchanged and collected in early colonial Sydney and the Hunter region, and the pathways they followed to reach museums and collections in Britain. Questions of the value and meanings of objects within different kinds of cross-cultural relationships and contexts is central.



**Ms Vashti Fox, University of Western Australia**

*Aussies and Stinking Reds!: Cold War Communist Antifascism*

Session 4.2.6., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

The last decade has seen the resurgence of far right politics both globally and in Australia. These developments have prompted a plethora of academic studies into fascist movements. Antifascist organising, by contrast is in need of further historical attention. This paper will focus on the antifascism of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) during the Cold War. In 1955, muckraking Sydney journalist Frank Browne formed the Australian Party, a fascist organisation dedicated to the White race and to the fight against a Communist Australia. The main interlocutor of the Australian Party was the CPA. The Party's response reveals much about post war Australian antifascism, including its nationalism and conservatism, and provides an entry point to consider the Party's earlier antifascism. This research is part of my PhD: "'Never Again": Radical antifascism in Australia in the post war period.'

**Dr Karen Fox, Australian National University**

*Monuments and Miscreants: Researching Historical Reputations in the Shadow of the Statue Wars*

Session 4.1.7., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

As recognised in the call for papers for this conference, toppled statues are a striking example of the 'unfinished business' of history in today's world. The changing fortunes of these monuments, together with challenges to other commemorative artefacts such as portraits or named buildings, reveal the extent to which historical reputations are subject to revision and contestation. Such making and unmaking of reputations is surely among the subjects most in need of further historical attention. Yet, while celebrity has become a significant focus of scholarship, much existing work has concentrated on its modern manifestations, especially in the United States; its origins in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe; or individual examples of heroic or famous individuals. Responding to the invitation to 'chart [our] future directions,' this paper will reflect on how recent controversies over past heroes have reshaped my current research into the history of fame and celebrity in Australia.



**Ms Sarah Fulford, Curtin University**

*The Overlooked Anzacs*

Session 3.2.6., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Australian military history is focused on men and their heroic deeds. The patriarchal parameters which define what it means to be an Australian at war deliberately marginalise the female experience. Australian nurses have served in every conflict since the Boer War in 1899. They have paid their own way to follow 'the boys' into battle in World War One, become Prisoners of War in World War Two, been part of the armed forces during the Korean War, the Malayan Emergency and the Vietnam War. Yet, women have become the marginalised 'other' in the context of Australia's warfare history. The Anzac legend, developed from the landing at Gallipoli in World War One specifically overlooks the contribution of this group of women – women who put their patients first, who showed resourcefulness under pressure and are an intrinsic part of the Anzac mythology despite their stories being under-researched and underrepresented.

**Ms Monica Galassi, University of Technology Sydney  
(Co-authored by Beth Marsden; Cate O'Neill)**

*Unfinished Business: Historians and Settler Colonial Archives*

Session 4.3.1., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

This paper examines the role that historians can play in the renegotiation of the power relations of the settler colonial archive. It is well known that archival colonial collections in Australia are entangled in multiple power structures which continues to pose access barriers to the people whose lives and histories are recorded in those archives. In 1989 Henrietta Fourmile asked 'Who owns the past?' and declared Aboriginal peoples to be captives of the archives. Many of the issues she raised are still relevant today. Historians using colonial archives must consider how their research can perpetuate systems which continue to deny Aboriginal peoples access to and self-determination in their cultural heritage. In this presentation the authors explore ways that historians and other researchers can explicitly challenge these power relations. They argue that participatory methodologies and consultation are central to addressing the legacy of past collecting practices and extractive historical research methodologies.



**Dr Adam Gall, New York University**

*Beyond narrative: On the diversity of argumentation in Australian environmental history*

Session 3.2.2., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In this paper I examine the kinds of informal reasoning used in Australian environmental history with a particular focus on now-classic works by Eric Rolls, Geoffrey Bolton and Joseph Powell. Through a consideration of the argumentative starting points and schemes in their historical writing, I show how the problem of human experience and multiple timescales—with which environmental historians must inevitably grapple—has been addressed through non-narrative means. Without disputing the fundamental place of storytelling in the practice of historians, I hope to broaden our sense of the rhetorical richness available to environmental history by turning to the field's own recent past.

**Miss Emily Gallagher, Australian National University  
(Co-authored by Frank Bongiorno)**

*Playing Politics? Towards a Political History of Australian Children*

Session 4.4.8., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Children are often considered as the objects of politics, less commonly as its agents. Sociologists and political scientists have long been preoccupied with their political socialisation while folklorists have considered children's political imitation, satire, and mockery. But for Australia, we have less understanding of how children have contributed to the shaping of political culture. How have children understood and enacted in their own lives the meanings and purposes of democratic politics? Children figure only ambiguously in Australian political history; they are normally understood as future members of the political nation rather than participants in their own right. Yet children have long played politics, and they have exercised political agency: through art, rhyme and play, protest, debating and campaigning, and correspondence with politicians. They have been political actors, and while they do not engage in politics in the same way as adults, they too have a political history.



**Dr Matthew Galway, Australian National University**

*Radical Phnom Penh: The City and Cultural Revolution Fervour in Cambodia's Global Sixties*

Session 2.2.3., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Scholarship on Cambodia's global sixties has largely ignored the role of Phnom Penh as a site in which radical currents erupted into mass demonstrations. At the centre of these movements was a parallel movement in China, the Cultural Revolution, which fuelled an urban radical culture in the Cambodian capital. This paper shines overdue light on Phnom Penh as a contested terrain by highlighting the factors that drove Cultural Revolution fervour to spread among Cambodian huaqiao in Phnom Penh and China-curious Khmer activists. I examine Chinese- and Khmer-language memoirs and newspapers, notably Sino-Khmer Daily, the official propaganda outlet of the PRC Embassy in Phnom Penh. This paper argues that as readership increased, so too did Maoist fanaticism. I track how the rising popularity of Sino-Khmer Daily and the emergence of a pro-China friendship association intertwined to spur Phnom Penh's radical urban culture before the Khmer Rouge ascendancy in 1975.

**Dr Stephen Gapps, University of Newcastle**

*Revisiting the Bathurst War 1822-24*

Session 3.2.10, 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

The name of the Wiradjuri resistance leader Windradyne became widely known after a 1971 publication by two local historians and a 1980 work by Wiradjuri woman Mary Coe. Since then, there have been no dedicated histories of the Wiradjuri war of resistance that occurred around the Bathurst Plains in the 1820s. As historian Emma Dortins has noted, the limited historical material around these events leaves the historian with a hazy understanding of what occurred. While there have been treatments of the warfare at Bathurst in various general frontier wars histories, the questions posed by historians 40 years ago about the extent of violence and massacres that occurred in 1824 around the Bathurst Plains are still largely unanswered. This paper will focus on research conducted for my forthcoming book 'GUDYARRA – The first Wiradjuri War of Resistance, the Bathurst War of 1822-1824' that looked beyond the well-worn and limited historical sources.



**Mr Nathan Gardner, University of Melbourne**

*United we stood but divided we were: Chinese Australian unity and the 1984 immigration debate*

Session 3.2.4., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

This paper investigates the concept of Chinese Australian unity as articulated in the context of the 1984 'Blainey debate'. It does so through a study of the histories of three Chinese Australian community organisations from different parts of the country (the Chinese Fellowship of Victoria, the Chinese Association of South Australia, and the Australian Chinese Forum [NSW]), tracing them from the onset of the Blainey debate to the aftermath of the '1986 National Conference of the Australian Chinese Community'. It argues that even powerful motivations for pursuing the goal of ethnic unity might only temporarily overcome the inherent differences between Chinese Australian communities and their representative organisations.

**Ms Tess Gardner, Australian National University**

*China's 'Flying Wedge': Australian journalist-advisers and China's entry into the First World War*

Session 4.1.4., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

In the early twentieth century a number of Australian journalists became advisers to the Chinese government and, while their lives have been studied individually, they acted as a cohort that remains to be studied as a whole. In this paper I focus on the role of the most prominent two of these journalist-advisers, George Ernest Morrison (1862–1920) and William Henry Donald (1875–1946), and their actions during the First World War. While they supported the efforts of the Allies at times, they focused much of their attention on the Japanese threat to China, culminating in their efforts to bring China into the Allies in 1917. In doing so they acted at an intersection between the interests of China and the British Empire, revealing the complexities of their position at a time when different powers intersected in China.



**Mrs Fiona Gatt, Deakin University**

*The forgotten class? The ambiguities and common threads of the petite bourgeoisie*

Session 3.3.8., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The petite bourgeoisie (shopkeepers and artisans retailing their goods) have had less attention in Australian history than the working-class and middle-class. Within this cohort there exists a myriad of circumstances and affiliations, and the debate about whether the petite bourgeoisie constitutes its own class remains unresolved. The lens of local history provides the scope to investigate how the petite bourgeoisie fit into a particular social landscape. Shops were a defining feature of North Melbourne, known for much of the nineteenth century as Hotham. This paper finds that despite the diversity of business types, the petite bourgeoisie's role in the middle ground between production and labour proudly boasted of independence and offered the possibility of building security for the family at the heart of the business. Ultimately, this paper finds the petite bourgeoisie had a very particular role in Hotham society, intimately connected to daily living, local people, and place.

**Ms Averyl Gaylor, La Trobe University**

*Dance and the Unfinished Body*

Session 3.2.9., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

This paper investigates the body as unfinished business in the context of dance. It focuses, in particular, on the way dance training was marketed to women as a technique of self-improvement in Australia and the United States during the first half of the twentieth century. Through a changing cast of international dance celebrities who were held up in the press as exemplars of 'perfection,' women were encouraged to train, eat, dress, walk 'like a dancer.' This paper repositions dance as critical to twentieth century body-political culture in the West by revealing dance as a key mechanism through which women and their bodies came to be understood as requiring perpetual intervention. This paper concludes by reflecting on the way historical discourses of corporeal perfectibility continue to inform culture today, arguing that dance's long tradition of framing the body as 'never fully realised' endures in new and ever more complex ways.



**A/Prof Andrea Gaynor, University of Western Australia**

*From Star Swamp to Roe 8: The Unfinished Business of Urban Conservation Conflict*

Session 2.3.2., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The first green ban at Kelly's Bush on Sydney's north shore is widely regarded as a milestone event in Australian environmental history, yet we have little sense of the trajectory of conflict over urban remnant vegetation, or its causes over time. As urban development continues to eat away at remnant vegetation during a climate and biodiversity emergency, histories of past conflicts can serve to inform and inspire action to preserve these non-human communities. This paper will survey some conflicts over urban bushland that took place in Perth from the 1970s to the 2010s, with a focus on why residents fought for these living places, what this says about changing relations between (particular) humans and (certain) non-humans, and how the struggles were won or lost.

**A/Prof Ann Genovese, University of Melbourne**  
**(Co-authored by Julie Evans)**

*History and the Conduct of Lawful Relations*

Session 3.4.1., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

In this paper, we will discuss the concept and practice of lawful relations and its function in joining historiography and jurisprudence. We will ask how our practices - as historians and jurists - are able to be adapted to meet the contemporary challenges relating to encounters between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. This paper is part of the 'Lawful Relations' panel, which will describe the rationale and initial findings of an ARC Discovery Indigenous Project, 'Indigenous Leaders: Lawful Relations from Encounter to Treaty'. This paper outlines the conceptual framework of our research, providing context for the other two papers in the panel.



**Dr Jason Gibson, Deakin University**  
**(Co-authored by Prof Alistair Paterson)**

*Schooling the Scholar: How Aboriginal Stockmen Educated Professor Berndt*

Session 3.1.1., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

In 1945, at the remote outstation of Birrundudu (Northern Territory), a small group of Aboriginal stockmen produced a vast body of visual material for the anthropologist Ronald Murray Berndt. The men eagerly took up crayons and brown paper to create vivid illustrations of their cultural lives in the form of drawings of ceremonies, ancestral stories and cultural sites. Treated as sub-human by white workers on the cattle station, these men saw an opportunity in Berndt to convey the depth of their own humanity through visual means. Day after day the men presented to Berndt's camp and ultimately produced over 800 images. The seemingly boundless array of Dreamings and meanings embodied in these drawings were dutifully documented by Berndt. Early analyses of this material, undertaken with descendants of the original artists, is now beginning to enrich our understanding of Western Desert art, and reveal a critical history of anthropological knowledge-making.

**Dr Sarah Gilbert, State Library of NSW Oral History Fellow**

*Contemplation in the streets: Catholic nuns at the coalface of 'reconciliation.'*

Session 2.2.4., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In the 1980s, a group of formerly cloistered Catholic nuns moved from Melbourne to Newtown, Sydney. They came at the invitation of Father Ted Kennedy and planned to establish a contemplative religious community alongside Redfern's Indigenous community. Over the next decade, the nuns developed new forms of contemplation that could respond to the needs of their Aboriginal neighbours and to their urgent demands for justice. By the time Paul Keating delivered his famous Redfern Speech in 1992, he did so among people, black and white, who were grappling daily with the legacies of colonialism he named. Drawing on the oral histories and life writing of several of these women, this paper examines how they were changed by that early experiment in what came to be known as 'reconciliation.'



**Dr Emma Gleadhill, Macquarie University**  
**(Co-authored by Dr Katja Heath)**

*Vive L'Empereur!: Napoleon's visual and material legacy in Australia*

Session 4.1.7., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

The 200th anniversary of Napoleon's death sparked a global debate about how to commemorate him. President Emmanuel Macron laid a wreath at Napoleon's tomb. With one eye towards next year's election, he played a balancing act between his liberal supporters and conservative voters. We are 'commemorating not celebrating' a 'part of us' the President reflected of Napoleon and the modern state he shaped. Napoleon's history in Australia is seemingly tenuous, but we have substantial holdings of Napoleonic artefacts. These include the popular painting 'Vive L'Empereur!' (AGNSW), the Napoleon and the Duke of Wellington Special Collection (UNSW/ADFA), the Briars homestead and collection of 300+ Napoleonic mementoes (Mornington Peninsula), and many willows grown from cuttings immigrants gathered at St Helena. Today we will consider the history of some of these mementoes, reflect on Napoleon's material legacy here and explore the reasons behind the Australian effort to make Napoleon 'part of us'.

**Ms Paige Gleeson, University of Tasmania**

*A Veritable Wonderland': Viewing the 'Australian Pacific' at the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery*

Session 4.2.10., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

The career of Alexander Morton, the nineteenth century curator of the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery (TMAG), was profoundly shaped by professional and personal connections to the Pacific Islands. Born on a cotton plantation in Louisiana in 1854, Morton migrated with his family upon the outbreak of the Civil War to the new 'cotton growing colony' of Queensland. As a young man in the 1870s, Morton participated in the Pacific labour trade, transporting South Sea Islanders to Australian sugar fields. This paper will use a biographical approach to explore the relationship between Australian labour exploitation in the Pacific, and Australian museums. Viewing TMAGs history in the context of unfree labour in the southwest Pacific sheds new light on the nature of 'ethnographic' collecting and scientific culture in the Antipodes, and hence on TMAGs Pacific Collection.



**Dr Iva Glisic, Australian National University**

*Activist Histories and Their Futures: A Monument to Collective Action at the ANU*

Session 4.1.7., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

In late March 2021, the Australian National University (ANU) unveiled the newest piece in its vast collection of public artworks. Conceptualised and executed by ANU students and alumni, *A History of Student Activism at the Australian National University* is a large-scale wall-mounted installation that commemorates six decades of student activism at the ANU. From the student-led establishment of Women's Studies, to current protests against the use of Proctorio software for exam invigilation owing to privacy concerns, this artwork both foregrounds and complements the contribution made by students to major social and political debates in the national capital. In providing a critical analysis of this artwork, this paper will explore the contemporary intersection between artistic and political activism, and contextualise the role of artistic production in driving action on urgent social and political issues.

**Dr Rachel Goldlust, La Trobe University**

*Expanding 'the archive' to include the stories of women homesteaders*

Session 2.3.2., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Australian environmental activism has long been associated with public demonstrations, protests and boycotts, and any documentation concerned with prominent figureheads, grass roots campaigns, and the conservation of untouched 'wild' places. With the 1990s cultural turn to embrace hybrid landscapes, comes recognition of activism on a private and community level, particularly in rural and semi-rural areas. Although the domestic is often confined to the home and family, it can also translate care and concern into broader spatial and social locations. Beyond direct action campaigns, this paper suggests simple acts of self-sufficiency can become productive 'everyday materialist practices' that challenge established binaries between women/nature, and modernity/the domestic sphere. An expansive understanding of domesticity means going back-to-the-land can become a vital form of environmentalism, where women can speak to their experiences living and working from home, and craft narratives of independence and autonomy from within a traditional vision of yeomanry.



**Mr Nicolás Ignacio Gomez Baeza, University of Warwick**

*Workers from the southernmost: narratives on labour history of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego*

Session 3.3.8., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

This paper proposes a review of narratives about labour history of nineteenth and twentieth century Southern Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego (Argentina and Chile) . It will analyse written publications, from early-twentieth century local actors to historians who had studied the development of labour relationships at the mentioned southernmost territories. As the history of labour has been a traditionally developed topic in Patagonian historiography, this review firstly seeks to contribute reflections on the scopes of its emphases and silences in the present local context, including in historical memories, public historical heritage and education. Additionally, it aims to encourage thinking on new approaches to the characterisation of the regional capitalist labour regimes. This paper's findings propose challenges to continue the research in this field, such as problematisation in imperialist and global contexts, the methodological inclusion of micro-spatial perspectives, or new archival usages.

**Prof Em. Heather Goodall, University of Technology Sydney**

*Green Nightmares: Resident Action and Jungle Warfare in the Suburbs*

Session 2.3.2., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Australian conservation histories have ignored the 1960s and 1970s suburban resident campaigns to defend polluted and damaged local environments. As urban populations expanded after World War Two, garbage and sewage volumes exploded, intensifying local government 'reclamation' by dumping garbage onto mangroves to make 'green space' or 'playing fields'. Residents along Sydney's temperate Georges River were determined to save mangroves, salt marsh and bushland. Why were local government calls to dig out mangroves so vitriolic? Old European fears of 'fens' and 'marshes' had persisted in Australia but, by the 1950s, had shifted to focus on mangroves. These plants had been expanding since mid-century. In addition, clues from local press and council staff point to the psychological injuries suffered by troops in World War Two, as they fought a very new and terrifying 'jungle war' in Asia. Did mangrove expansion threaten the peace of mind of veterans trying to regain 'normal lives'?



**Dr Simon Graham, University of Sydney**

*Finding Voices in Silent Archives: The Evolution and Ethics of Intelligence History*

Session 4.4.6., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

This paper examines the changing uses of secure archives and surveillance materials in the writing of Australian political and diplomatic histories. The Hope Royal Commissions (1974/83) raised significant questions over the accountability of Australia's security and intelligence agencies to the parliament and public. Similar debates in the United Kingdom, United States and West Germany made the problem of historicising intelligence and security services' activities even more urgent. I trace the evolution of these efforts over the past four decades from their origin in diplomatic historians' footnotes through the so-called transnational turn and to emerging approaches that try to understand the emotional topography of intelligence and observation. This includes discussion of the ethics of using classified sources and a survey of approaches to teaching intelligence in Australia and further afield. Thus, the paper hopes to make a significant historiographical contribution by chronicling the development of intelligence history and its methodologies.

**Ms Elspeth Grant, Golden Grove High School**

*Learning State and Territory History under a National History Curriculum*

Session 4.4.9., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

The Shape of the Australian Curriculum: History (ACARA 2009) stated that 'the national history curriculum, while building from direct experience towards more abstract understanding, must ensure that learning opportunities allow for relevant national and global connections to be made to personal, family and local history across all years of schooling'. More than 10 years on, and with another Australian Curriculum review currently underway, this remains a challenge. South Australian history teacher Elspeth Grant has been awarded a Churchill Fellowship to explore ways to boost learning about state and territory history, particularly in secondary schools. She was fortunate to complete two thirds of her overseas study tour before the global pandemic was declared. Elspeth's Fellowship is 'unfinished business', but she will share findings from her interim report, covering her travel to Thailand, Spain, Scotland, Wales, and Washington DC in early 2020.



**Ms Ellen Gray, Deakin University**

*Australia and the Soviet Union: Negotiating the Re-establishment of Diplomatic Relations, 1954-59*

Session 4.1.6., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

The power and influence of the Soviet Union has attracted enormous interest from historians all over the world, especially in relation to the Cold War. Despite this, scholars of Australian foreign policy history have yet to rigorously address Australia's interactions with Moscow during this period. This is surprising given the staunch anti-communism that prevailed in Australia throughout the 1950s-60s following the election of the Menzies Liberal Government in 1949. Of course, the Soviet Union did not loom as large as America, Britain or Asia in Canberra's international outlook at this time, however, its superpower status meant that Australia could not ignore it. Thus, this unfinished chapter in Australia's foreign policy history needs further historical attention if scholars are to fully understand the era. This paper discusses these issues in the context of the severance of diplomatic relations between the countries in 1954, and the subsequent efforts to re-establish diplomatic ties.

**Ms Samantha Grey, University of Queensland**

*Potent Males and Patent Females: Sterility investigation, male infertility and World War II*

Session 3.1.6., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Following World War II, there was increasing concern about the Australian population's strength and vitality; declining birth rate and war losses motivated a 'populate or perish' mentality. The Australian medical profession, having investigated female infertility throughout the early twentieth century, showed a renewed effort towards determining the causes of sterility, incorporating novel approaches. As part of this, there was a turn towards investigating male infertility, especially in the post-war period. Diagnostic tools and procedures were developed, and investigations became increasingly standardised by the late 1940s. This paper will explore how these Australian doctors, gynaecologists, obstetricians and surgeons framed male infertility in the medical literature. Sterility investigations, through their standardisation, began incorporating both the husband and the wife in their scope. This paper will argue that although there was an acknowledgement of the husband's role in a 'barren marriage', his sterility was framed as a component of his wife's infertility.



**Mr Brenton Griffin, Flinders University**

*Permanent Outsiders? Two Controversies Involving Mormons in Australia, A Century Apart*

Session 2.4.4., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

This paper will examine two controversies surrounding Mormonism and its adherents within Australian history. The first were the so-called 'Mormon Riots' in Adelaide, February 1913. Enraged by rumours of 'white slavery', disgruntled members of the public accosted Mormon missionaries for three consecutive weeks as they attempted to preach. Of concern to the protestors was the idea that Australian women were migrating to Mormon headquarters in Utah; this perceived slight on Australian identity and nation-building was echoed in numerous newspapers across the country. The second controversy is the recent public policing of Mt Druitt-based music outfit OneFour, the majority of which were raised as Mormons. This little-known aspect of their identities has been buried by intense media and police focus on the criminality glorified by these musicians. By comparing these two case studies, this paper illustrates how Mormonism and its adherents have historically and contemporarily confronted anxieties surrounding Australian masculinity.

**Mr Matthew Grubits, Charles Sturt University**

*Reassessing Russell and Beamish*

Session 2.4.4., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Francis Cusack Russell and Peter Teulon Beamish are generally remembered in academic literature as two foolish young deacons who clashed with the older and wiser Bishop of Sydney, William Grant Broughton, over Broughton's Tractarian sympathies. The pair's subsequent careers in Victoria, which were long and distinguished, are frequently overlooked. This paper offers a reassessment of Russell and Beamish's early years in New South Wales by way of three points. First, it will be shown that the prevailing emphasis on Russell and Beamish's anti-Tractarianism is misplaced, and that other concerns sparked their conflict with Broughton. Second, it will be shown that there were remarkable continuities between the pair's careers in New South Wales and Victoria, and that these challenge the negative reputation of the pair. Third, it will be shown that Broughton's handling of Russell and Beamish was not beyond reproach, and that a reassessment of Broughton is also warranted.



**Prof Andrew Gunstone, Swinburne University of Technology**

*Unfinished Business: the Australian reconciliation process*

Session 2.2.10, 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

While there have been a number of examples of reconciliation over many decades, a national reconciliation movement began in 1991 with the establishment of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation (CAR). CAR overlooked a ten-year formal reconciliation process. Following the conclusion of this process at the end of 2000, Reconciliation Australia replaced CAR as the national organisation responsible for the reconciliation movement. In this paper, I explore the thirty-year history of the Australian reconciliation movement. I specifically analyse the ten-year history of CAR and the twenty-year history of Reconciliation Australia, including the development and growth of the Reconciliation Action Plans (RAPs) program in the last fifteen years. I argue that several key elements of reconciliation – Indigenous rights, truth-telling, reparative justice, treaties, addressing racism and white privilege – remain unfinished business.

**Dr Lisa Hackett, University of New England**

*Witches, Angels, WASP & ATA-Girls: Use of uniformed, Second World War female pilots in propaganda*

Session 3.1.6., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

As is well-known, during Second World War many of the belligerents turned to female labour to bolster their militaries as well as economies. Employing women in traditionally masculine occupations presented governments with more than just logistical management issues; and recruiting women to the armed services also meant negotiating longstanding social and political constructs of gender roles. This was particularly the case for female pilots who undertook work which was seen as not only a masculine occupation, but a rarefied one too. Part of a larger project, this paper examines the way governments attempted to manage the socio-political roles of women via the depiction of uniformed, female pilots in visual propaganda. Through three case studies, I explore ways in which the deployment of uniform in propaganda was used publicly to control the identity of the subjects within.



**Dr Natasha Hamilton-Hart, University of Auckland**

*The re-invention of partnership: New Zealand's 'founding document' in Southeast Asian perspective*

Session 3.2.3., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Functionaries of Dutch and British colonial rule in Southeast Asia described their relationship with indigenous rulers as advisory and protective. In practice, agreements signed by the East India Company and the Dutch VOC with local rulers consolidated colonial control. This paper asks what such arrangements between colonial authority and local rulers tell us about a British territory where independence from empire did not sever the constitutional continuity of the Crown as sovereign. The Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840 between the Crown and indigenous rulers, is celebrated by those who see its articles as providing for an enduring 'partnership' between the Crown and Māori. The paradoxes of re-inventing a treaty that marked an act of colonial incorporation can be explored in light of the fortunes of local rulers brought into varying forms of direct and indirect rule in the British and Dutch empires in Southeast Asia.

**Dr Guy Hansen, National Library of Australia**

*The Unfinished Business of Public History in Australian Museums and Libraries*

Session 3.1.7., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

The theme for the 2021 AHA conference challenges historians to reflect on how Australian history has changed over the last forty years. In this paper I will focus on changes in the presentation of public history in Australian museums and libraries. Major historical anniversaries including the Bicentenary of the arrival of the First Fleet in 1988, the Centenary of Federation in 2001, and the Centenary of the First World War 2014-18 triggered significant investments in history exhibitions around the country. Exploring the type of history produced to mark these anniversaries provides a window into how historical debates have played themselves out in the public sphere. I will make some observations about how history exhibitions have evolved from the 1980s to the present and discuss some of the major challenges of presenting history in libraries and museums today.



**Prof Victoria Haskins, University of Newcastle**

*The Ayahs' Great War: Glimpses from Australia and England*

Session 2.3.3., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

For South Asian women living away from India as childcarers to imperial families—the so-called 'travelling ayahs'—the declaration of war in 1914 was momentous. Many fewer families would move around the circuits of empire in the coming years, and the ayahs could find themselves effectively stranded overseas. In Australia, where the entry of Asian servants had been blocked since Federation, the impacts were less dramatic. Yet it is striking that the earliest entry exemption for an ayah dates from 1917, at the height of wartime travel restrictions. This paper explores the brief glimpses of the travelling ayahs' experiences of the Great War that we can glean from surviving records. These fragmentary stories, contextualised against the war's larger impact on the demand and supply of mobile domestic labour, underscore both the marginality of the travelling ayahs, and the profoundly transnational nature of their work.

**Ms Jade Hastings, Flinders University**

*The Case of Ann Mara: Judicial Bias in 19th-Century South Australian Rape Trials*

Session 3.1.5., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

In 1856, Ann Mara brought a charge of rape against her employer, William Popham; however, when the case came before the Supreme Court in 1857, it quickly became clear that Mara would be the one on trial – literally as well as figuratively. The mishandling of the Mara trials perfectly demonstrates the prejudice facing servants who dared to charge their employers with rape. Contemporary historians (Allen, Stevenson, Larcombe) have agreed that the criteria which nineteenth-century rape complainants had to fill in order for their charge to be successful were very specific and extremely strict. Ann Mara's charge suited many of these criteria, and yet her case was dismissed out of hand and her name has gone unrecognised in South Australian histories. As reports of sexual violence in the workplace are reaching new levels of recognition in the Australian media, it is time for Mara's forgotten story to come to light.



**Dr Vanessa Hearman, Curtin University**

*The campaign for East Timorese family reunions in Australia*

Session 3.4.3., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

This paper examines the first campaign for East Timorese family reunions in Australia, undertaken between the late 1970s and early 1980s by activists and the East Timorese following an agreement in March 1977 between the Australian- and Indonesian governments to allow such reunions. East Timorese who had settled in Australia were asked to nominate family members who they would like to be allowed to leave the Indonesian-annexed territory to join them, but the implementation of the program suffered several delays and privileged those who had more resources to leave. Drawing on Australian activist- and diaspora materials such as newsletters, bulletins and ephemera, the paper looks at this facet of the history of East Timorese migration to Australia and analyses the relationship between this campaign and the campaign for a complete end to the Indonesian annexation.

**Dr Mark Hearn, Macquarie University**

*Reading the Future? The Late Modern History of the Fin de Siècle*

Session 3.4.7., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

The fin de siècle, that turbulent transitional period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, provides a rich if ambivalent source of historical lessons. Since the 1990s, late modern historians of the fin de siècle often assume that their interpretations help clarify a troubled present: some argue that models of fin de siècle activism and idealism offer a progressive future. Are such assumptions of the social or political benefit of historical analysis valid? Is the fin de siècle fear of catastrophe and decay more appropriate in late modernity, as the future, historian Francois Hartog observes, is 'perceived as a threat not a promise?' Exploring fin de siècle 'double consciousness', in which Michael Saler argues oppositional ideas and practices operated in creative tension, suggests an historical dialectic from which an alternative future, neither catastrophic nor narrowly triumphalist, might be conceived.



**Dr Sadie Heckenberg, Swinburne University of Technology**

*Our lives in Archives: Ancestral Articulations or Anthropological Accounts?*

Session 4.3.1., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

As Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, we are connected to Culture; Ancestors and Place are through knowledges shared from generation to generation. With the arrival of non-Indigenous peoples and the amateur anthropologist our stories and life ways were observed, collected, and placed in archives. These historical narratives, shaped by the collector, are now being used as historical fact. Historical fact often misunderstood, misrepresented, or held above the oral histories of Indigenous peoples ourselves. This then begs the questions: within paradigms of sequencing data from historical narratives, are researchers (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) using Ancestral knowledge with an occasional imprudent bias; is there misinterpretation/misappropriation taking place within this space; who owns the narratives in the archives; and how does this way of doing fit within traditional dialogues of the 'camp-fire', a metaphor for employing traditional community practice and protocol through oral history and story.

**Miss Elizabeth Heffernan, University of Sydney**

*Challenging Australian histories of the First World War using environmental methods*

Session 3.2.2., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Histories of the First World War commonly highlight the death, destruction, and suffering wrought by the advent of mechanised warfare. Yet soldier experience in the war was often far more nuanced than such histories allow, encompassing quiet moments of self-reflection and nature appreciation as well as times of trauma and sacrifice. Using the diaries of twenty Australian soldiers of the First AIF, this paper challenges accepted approaches to the study of World War I history to instead analyse the ways in which servicemen wrote about—and as such thought about, interacted with, placed value upon—their wartime environments. Specifically, it seeks to analyse how Australian soldiers understood the role of nature within the war itself, and thus confronted their own role in both its destruction and post-war renewal. Such a history has yet to be written within an Australian context. This paper aims to address this unfinished business.



**Dr Claire Higgins, UNSW Sydney**

*Stopping their own boats: refugee agency and a new take on Australia's resettlement history*

Session 4.4.4., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

In recent years, a controversial Australian policy of turning back asylum seekers at sea has highlighted an aspect of the nation's refugee history that remains underexplored. That is, when Australia first dealt with the sustained arrival of asylum seekers by boat, Vietnamese refugees in the late 1970s, how did Canberra 'stop the boats' then? The usual explanation is that Australia gave the Vietnamese an alternative, by opening a resettlement program from camps in Southeast Asia. But archives of the U.S. State Department reveal a more complex picture. Many Vietnamese refugees stopped their own boats. After telling anxious U.S. and Australian officials they would 'leave for Darwin on the next tide', these refugees leveraged the threat of their journey to secure a resettlement place. With the importance of refugee agency gaining increased attention in contemporary scholarship and practice, this paper offers a new take on a long-running policy question.

**Prof Philip Hirsch, University of Sydney**

*Land regimes: custom, control, commodification and countermovement*

Session 3.3.3., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Southeast Asian history since 1800 has seen enduring tension over access to and control of land. In pre-colonial times, access to land was socially-defined and marked by various forms of rights governing different kinds of use. Colonial authorities recognised, reinterpreted or ignored traditional forms of land tenure according to both their immediate economic interests and their assessment of the political effects of land laws. Colonial regulations governing the leasing and mortgaging of land further complicated control and access. The result was a kaleidoscope of land regimes. Land was a key rallying point in anti-colonial movements. After independence, land reform became a major political issue defined by Cold War schisms, sometimes seen as a crucial element of socialist redistribution, sometimes as a measure to undercut the appeal of communism. The post-Cold War/neoliberal period has seen the imposition of new land regimes that revive interest in Polanyian movement and counter-movement dynamics.



**Dr Nicholas Hoare, Australian National University**

*The Voice of the Pacific: The Pacific Islands Monthly and the Threat of Decolonisation*

Session 2.2.11., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

First appearing in 1930, the Pacific Islands Monthly was an important source of news and opinion for Pacific watchers and Pacific Islanders until its demise in the year 2000. As the only journal circulating throughout the region, it was celebrated as 'the Voice of the Pacific'. However, Hank Nelson perhaps described it best as 'the Sydney magazine that circulated through the white communities of the islands', and as such its absence from Tracey Banivanua Mar's 2016 *Decolonisation and the Pacific: Indigenous Globalisation and the Ends of Empire* is unsurprising. That said, the magazine's renaissance since its 2017 digitisation invites us to re-examine its role in shaping the region, both at the time and in its present re-telling. Part of a larger, critical history of the Sydney-based magazine that gave a voice to the Pacific, this paper outlines how the 'winds of change' affected even the most conservative of Pacific voices.

**Mr James Hogg, University of Melbourne**

*Beyond 'Mimetic Fascism': The Australian National Alliance and 'White Australia' in the late 1970s*

Session 4.3.6., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The 'Australian National Alliance' (ANA) was an ultranationalist group active between January 1978 until its dissolution in 1981. Though small and short lived, the ANA revolutionised Australian ultra-nationalism by reorienting its symbology from 'mimetic' or 'explicit' fascism to a 'White Australia Republicanism' that outwardly mimicked national discourses to in turn influence them. This 'mimetic shift' in symbology has posed significant problems for anti-fascist resistance in the latter 20th century and today. Though most Australians sympathise with quashing skinheads adorned with swastikas, 'workerist nationalism' has bled into national discourse through organisations like Pauline Hanson's 'One Nation Party'. Despite its legacy, the ANA has attracted little scholarly interest beyond its progenitors, who deny its fascist origins. Using a transnational methodology, I propose to surface the influence of European 'New Order' and 'National Front' parties on the ANA, and demonstrate the ANA's crucial role in the 'unfinished business' of Australian politics today.



**Dr Carolyn Holbrook, Deakin University**

*Referendum Hesitancy: The case of the 1944 Fourteen Powers Referendum*

Session 2.3.11., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The novel Coronavirus pandemic demonstrates that Australians engage with complex issues of public policy. There is a high level of public literacy about 'flattening the curve', viral variants and the merits and shortcomings of the Astra Zeneca and Pfizer vaccines. Yet, this capacity to be informed citizens is not a feature of Australians' relationship to their Constitution. Only eight of forty-four referendums have been passed since 1901. Scholars debate the reasons for and the meanings of Australians' reluctance to amend the Constitution. Is it a symptom of apathy, ignorance, conservatism, or an innate suspicion of politicians? Using Cabinet papers and records from the education and publicity campaigns preceding the 1944 vote, this paper examines the failure of the fourteen powers referendum. It seeks to understand the nature of Australians' referendum hesitancy, and attitudes to their system of government. The paper concludes that the Australian civic deficit is fundamentally sentimental.

**Mr Jeffrey Hole, Deakin University**

*Electricity problems? Call a historian. Learning from the history of electricity reform in Australia*

Session 4.1.8., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

For over a decade policy makers in Australia have been fighting over reform of the institutions and rules that govern the national electricity market with seemingly little progress having been made. A critical issue in the debate is how to best reduce the carbon emissions of the sector, while also addressing community concerns about reliability and high power prices. But Australia has been through at least two major successful reform periods in the electricity sector since WWII. This paper examines the relevance of earlier reform periods to current policy debates, highlighting how temporal dimensions affected policy decisions. Important temporal dimensions included how past events or choices affected policy decisions, and the processes and timeframes for implementing reform successfully. This paper will argue that understanding the history of electricity sector reform can help Australia deal with the unfinished business of reforming Australia's electricity sector.



**A/Prof Alison Holland, Macquarie University**

*'A Failure...No-One to Blame But Themselves'? Media Representations of the Abolition of ATSIC*

Session 3.3.1, 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

ATSIC was an experiment in Indigenous public administration and the institutional embodiment of Indigenous demands for self-determination in the period after WW2. A hybrid entity that combined an administrative and elected arm it was a unique mix of representative voice and government entity. Despite many policy successes it was declared a failure and abolished 15 years into its operation. Using the recent work of Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars on the role of the media in representing Aboriginal political aspirations, this paper will focus on the media representation of ATSIC's abolition, comparing Indigenous and non-Indigenous samples. While the latter overwhelming promoted the idea of failure, going so far as to suggest Indigenous shame, Indigenous media presented a much more complicated rendering of this moment. Yet, the non-Indigenous message has proved particularly durable since. This paper considers the medium, the message and its implications for the unfinished business of Indigenous self-determination.

**Dr Brett Holman, University of Canberra**

*Mutual Aid in an Air-Raid? Community Civil Defence in Britain, 1914-18*

Session 2.3.6., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The First World War saw the first widespread attacks against civilians from the air, including the German Zeppelin and Gotha raids against England and Scotland between 1914 and 1918. This necessitated the development of new forms of defence. One of these—which was to assume particular prominence in the next war—was the air raid shelter. The British government was not involved in shelter provision in 1914-18; civilians were largely left to find their own means of protection. In 1917, a new—and now little-known—model for civil defence emerged in the East End of London, one based around local communities providing mutual aid. This paper will examine the evidence for such local, unofficial civil defence groups, including the Poplar Patrol and the Stepney Raid Shelter Corps. It will also seek to explain their origins and why they seem to have left so little trace.



**Prof Katie Holmes, La Trobe University**  
**(Co-authored by Lilian Pearce)**

*Broken Hill: Inland water dreaming*

Session 3.1.2., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Broken Hill occupies Wilyakali country. It is also the birthplace of mining conglomerate BHP and a case study of powerful desert imaginaries, global market ambition, and the environmental limitations of an inland town. One of those limitations is the availability of water. For over 100 years residents and industry have depended on water being carted and pumped from elsewhere. The latest in a long list of attempts to secure water for Broken Hill is a 270km pipeline carrying water from the Murray River to Broken Hill. The debate that raged around the pipeline echoed a century of controversy around how water in the inland is valued, shared and contested. This paper explores the settler meanings that have emerged from the social, economic and environmental relationships that surround water in Broken Hill and the impact of these on the ways in which water is engaged with, experienced and understood.

**Dr Jarrod Hore, UNSW Sydney**

*Energising Colonial Geology: The Carboniferous Imaginary and the Gifts of Gondwana*

Session 3.1.11., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Geoscientists have come to refer to the oil, gas, and coal reserves of Australia as the 'gifts of Gondwana.' In their reckoning these energy resources are the material base of a fossil-fuel centric economic history that stretches back over two hundred years. This paper aims to place these contemporary understandings within a longer cultural history of southern carboniferous imaginaries. Colonial and environmental historians have long insisted that Australian energy transitions lagged behind the industrialised north: colonial Australia was an organic world, they have argued, and the scale of mineral extraction was negligible until well into the twentieth century. Economically and materially, the gifts of Gondwana were bestowed closer to the time that the supercontinent was accepted as a fact of geological history. Rhetorically, however, they connect to a longer history of providential thinking about the earth that framed southern resources as the inheritance of white settlers from the 1840s.



**Dr Jessica Horton, Monash University**

**(Co-authored by Beth Marsden & Dr Aunty Doris Paton)**

*Not the Time for a History Lesson: Unsettling the Memorialisation of Angus McMillan*

Session 3.2.7., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

At the height of the 2020 BLM movement, the ongoing fight to have memorials to mass murderer Angus McMillan removed from Gunaikurnai Country again erupted. The Wellington Shire Council voted to reject a proposal to remove the cairns, based on claims of their historical importance. In this paper, we take direction from Gunaikurnai people about the effect that the McMillan cairns are having on the community. We examine historians' role in constructing, and correcting, dominant settler narratives and the way an over-reliance on records of violent colonisers, like McMillan, can be used to perpetuate epistemic violence. This paper reflects a collaborative project that aims to unsettle the presumed usefulness and authority of historians and historical practices.

**Mr Bolin Hu, University of Auckland**

*The Commemorations of National Humiliation Day: Rituals, Memory and Chinese Australian Identity*

Session 3.3.7., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

This paper explores the relationship between China and the Chinese diaspora in Australia in the early 1930s through the perspective of the construction of wartime memory through commemorations. Nanjing established memorials of National Humiliation Day, an 'invented tradition', to promote Chinese patriotism and nationalism at home and throughout the global Chinese diaspora to seek their support for China's war effort. The Chinese authorities in Australia took this opportunity to unite the local politically divided Chinese community. The memorials set up to construct and shape a collective war memory through various rituals. Yet, Nanjing's efforts were partly successful and resisted by its local rivals within the Chinese community, leading to China's failure to establish the authoritative leadership of the Chinese residents in Australia. This paper argues that commemoration services shaped collective memory, but using memorials to encourage loyalty in an already politically divergent Chinese diasporic community in Australia backfired.



**Dr Jane Hunt, Bond University**

*Archival (In)Significance: the partial inclusion of women's sport in Australian archives*

Session 4.4.11., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Celebrations of progress of women's sport have appeared in Australian newspapers periodically for more than a century. Fiona McLachlan suggests that progress narratives mask 'blind spots' that are maintained through structures of power (2019, p.9). This paper demonstrates the impacts of unequal representation of women's sport in mainstream media over time in Australian archival holdings. It proposes that gendered hierarchies of sporting significance structurally maintain unequal public knowledge, with implications for how women involved in sport, their experiences, perspectives, identities, and modes of storytelling are valued by archivists, historians, educators, policy makers and journalists alike.

**Dr Meggie Hutchison, Australian Catholic University**

*Surviving Beyond War: Veterans, Old Age and Care*

Session 2.3.6., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Many Australian soldiers and nurses who survived WWI suffered physical and mental trauma. Their wartime and immediate post-war medical history has been the subject of numerous studies, but historians have yet to explore their experiences of growing old in any depth. WWI veterans provide a unique group through which to examine how the state and communities cared for veterans as they aged. Not only were they the first large cohort to survive an industrialised conflict, they also reached old age at a time when there was a profound shift in healthcare practices to more professionalised systems of aged care under developing welfare schemes. In the light of recent government inquiries into old age as well as veteran healthcare, this paper examines the care the state did, or did not, provide to WWI veterans as they aged, exploring the politics of care and the long-term legacies of war and medicine.



**Ms Caroline Ingram, University of Western Australia**

*A Very Lamentable Case': Indigenous women defendants and the Courts of General sessions Act (WA)*

Session 3.1.5., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

There is, as yet, little research examining the experiences of Indigenous women defendants in nineteenth century Australia. This means that the voices of Indigenous women brought before the upper courts have not been heard. The 1845 Courts of General Sessions Act (WA), where defendants appeared before untrained magistrates, rather than legally trained judges, disproportionately impacted Indigenous women defendants due to the geographical location of their crimes. For many women, it was their life experience, dictated by their gender and Indigeneity, that brought them into court. Once there, they were judged by non-Indigenous, male juries who did not understand their customary obligations, or recognise a pre-existing system of law. The case of Fanny Harris illustrates how Magistrates' ignorance of legal institutions and rules could disadvantage Indigenous women. The gross overrepresentation of First Nations women in Australian prisons today means that this history is still unfinished business.

**Mr Ray Ingrey,**

**(Co-authored by Noeleen Timbery & Paul Irish)**

*On La Perouse Aboriginal Community Engagements with Objects in Overseas Museums*

Session 4.1.1., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Over the last five or so years, the La Perouse Aboriginal community has been engaging with international museums that hold objects from the Botany Bay and coastal Sydney region. The paper will reflect on the ways in which community knowledge and perspectives contribute to ongoing interpretation of objects held 'off country', and will canvass the issues involved in contributing to a larger research project to build knowledge around the Sydney region's material history.



**Ms Lian Jenvey, Murdoch University**

*The Apostasy of Harold Wells and the construction of NSW Coal Mining Communities 1938-50*

Session 4.2.6., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In 1941, Communist Party member Harold Wells, was elected federal president of the Australian Coal and Shale Employees Federation (ACSEF), the most powerful and militant union in Australia. Wells presided over the growing conflict within the union between the pro-war Federation leadership and an oppositional and in some instances anti-war rank-and-file. Documenting these experiences in his 1948 novel *The Earth Cries Out*, Wells recanted his Communist politics. Coal mining's impact on Australian wartime politics is overlooked by historians. Wells' records provide an invaluable window into coal mining life. Using police surveillance records, union archives and his own unpublished memoir, this paper argues that Wells became part of a public campaign - conducted by coal owners, the media, and the government- to construct the coal miners in the public imagination as subject to malign Communist influence in response to miners' attempts to restore their Depression era losses during the war.

**Mrs Nadia Johnson, Independent Academic**

*Secrets of a Country Town: Examining Jean Martin's interviews with European Migrants post WWII*

Session 4.2.4., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

As a PhD student, Jean Martin (née Craig), chose to conceal the identity of a NSW rural town that was the subject of her study. The people Martin interviewed, Displaced Persons who migrated to the town and surrounding districts after World War II, also wished to remain anonymous. In her book, *Refugee Settlers* (1965), Martin names the town Burton. Until recently, few people in the town of Goulburn, realised that Martin's 'Burton' actually referred to their own city and the people who lived in it. Why the secrecy? Why were the migrants cautious? Why did Martin deem the situation serious enough to withhold naming the town Goulburn? As a child migrant to the Goulburn district in those post-war years, I can personally relate to the hesitancy of migrants revealing too much. From my research and interviews, I also propose to explore possible reasons for this secrecy.



**Dr Miranda Johnson, University of Otago**

*Frontier Conflict and the Politics of History in Post-Settler Societies*

Session 2.2.1., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

How to understand the meaning and significance of violent conflicts on the nineteenth-century frontiers of settlement in the 'Angloworld' is hotly disputed in several post-settler societies. An established settler tradition of symbolizing the frontier between settlers and indigenous peoples as one in which the 'civilised' inevitably and necessarily overcame the 'savage' in the making of new nations has, from at least the 1970s, been significantly challenged by indigenous and non-indigenous historians. The best of this work has replaced inevitability with contingency and archetype with agency; yet much of the nuance is lost in public debates, particularly in Australia and New Zealand, where history-writing about frontier conflicts is drawn into questions of identity, belonging, responsibility and guilt. This paper examines history-writing in a doubled aftermath: the first of historical violence, and a second in which older settler representational traditions of the frontier have been fractured. What new historical tellings are possible?

**Dr Jennifer Jones, La Trobe University**

**(Acknowledging the late Uncle Roy Patterson)**

*A Small Matter of Recognition: Unfinished Business on the Blacks' Spur*

Session 2.4.1, 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

The 'Black Spur Drive', in the scenic Yarra Ranges, holds unacknowledged historical significance for Taungurung people. Settler stories cite prospectors trekking to northern goldfields in 1861 and recognise the earlier 'pioneering' movement of squatters along the 'Yarra Track'. Histories that do recall Indigenous occupation centre upon dispossession, when 'the blacks' walked down to Coranderrk and into exile in 1863. The 'Blacks' Spur', as it was then known, was a trail of tears which rendered Taungurung people 'casualties of colonial dispossession'. Taungurung Elder Uncle Roy Patterson, however, claimed an unbroken connection to the Blacks' Spur, an ancient route used for trade and cultural purposes. This paper charts the labour of the Patterson family who maintained connection to Country and culture after 1863; with axe and saw in the forests and with pick and shovel on the road itself. I suggest that recognition is the unfinished business of our daily commute.



**Dr Rebecca Jones, La Trobe University**

*Mad Dogs and Settler-Colonial Women go out in the Midday Sun*

Session 4.1.2., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Settler women in remote arid Australia in the interwar years adopted a persona of capable, adaptable, uncomplaining and stoic bush women. This persona conflicted with ideas of women's susceptibility to climate and assisted women to cope with extreme weather, remoteness and challenging social conditions. It also helped them to form bonds with other women. However, the stoic persona also belied, and at times aggravated, mental and emotional issues which some women experienced in these challenging circumstances. This paper draws upon archives of the Australian Inland Mission and Flying Doctor Service including personal diaries and correspondence from western New South Wales, north-eastern South Australia and Queensland channel country. This is part of a larger project exploring the physical and emotional impact of, and adaptations to, extreme weather in remote arid Australia in the first half of the twentieth century.

**Dr Timothy Jones, La Trobe University**

*God made Adam and Eve, not Adam and Steve: Creationism and the Ex-Gay Movement in 1980s Australia*

Session 3.4.9., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Reactionary Christian conservatism in Australia is best known through its political activities, represented in movements such as the Festival of Light, Australian Family Association and Australian Christian Lobby. Forming in response to the sexual revolution, the New Christian Right (NCR) has attempted to influence Australian sexual politics with its conservative family values discourse. In the 1980s, a less visible but nonetheless vibrant ecology of NCR organisations emerged devoted to the production of 'alternative knowledge' that reinforced its more visible political lobbying. Creation Science and the ex-gay movement propagated the message that the earth was young and that humans were created male and female: binary and heterosexual. Unlike other Australian NCR organisations, Australian creationist and ex-gay organisations did not only network with, and learn from, like-minded international organisations. They became global leaders in their fields, exporting their message and their methods to the region and to the world.



**Dr Benjamin Jones, Central Queensland University**

*'We must not become a billabong republic': The republican campaign against the 1999 referendum*

Session 4.4.6., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

On 6 November 1999, nearly 55% of Australians voted against becoming a republic. From this majority, only some were monarchists and supporters of the status quo. A significant minority of republicans actively campaigned against the minimal model put forward in the 1999 referendum, where parliament would appoint a head of state. This paper traces the history of the republican No campaign from the 1998 Constitutional Convention to the failed referendum in 1999. Its specific focus is on a loose alliance of direct-electionists that would become known as the Real Republic. Although the Australian Republican Movement was the largest and most influential pro-republic lobby group, the Real Republic had many high-profile supporters and campaigned effectively against the referendum. Functionally, they demanded that any constitutional change include directly voting for the head of state. Philosophically, they invited Australians to think holistically about what a 'real' republic might look like.

**Dr Max Kaiser, University of Melbourne**

*'More and better gum leaves'? Anti-racist threads in Australian culture in the 1940s and early 1950s*

Session 2.4.9., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

As WWII drew to a close, left-wing and liberal Australian artists and writers began to shape a distinctive Australian culture. Cultural history of this period has focused on texts that reinvented Australian folk traditions and emphasised egalitarian bushman masculinity. This thread of 'Australianism' is assumed to represent Australian cultural nationalism as a whole. In contrast, an anti-racist counter-current in Australian cultural production in the 1940s and 1950s shaped by Aboriginal activism, global decolonisation and Jewish antifascism is little recognised. This paper analyses the role of a group of writers and artists associated with the New Theatre; the Australasian Book Society; and the Realist Writers Group. Through an examination of some minor and forgotten cultural texts from this period we can see how 'Australianism' was in fact heavily contested.



**Dr Barbara Kearns, University of Sydney**

*Alternative Facts: How the Fantasies of a Visiting Novelist have Coloured Australian Public History*

Session 3.4.7., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Next year marks the centenary of D. H. Lawrence's visit to NSW and his 'Australian' novel 'Kangaroo': a 'thought adventure.' Next year also marks forty-six years since journalist Robert Darroch embarked on a thought adventure of his own. What if the fictional 'Kangaroo' was based on fact? What if there really had been a secret right-wing army of returned servicemen in NSW in 1922. Who would their leaders have been? Darroch's resultant dreamscape of alternative facts, expressed with the kind of political certitude that has become all too familiar in recent years, has captured the public imagination. Numerous texts, from Clark's 'History of Australia' to the 'Oxford Companion to Australian Literature' now cite the fantasy as if it were fact. My research over the past eighteen months has looked at what actually inspired the novel. It aims to put the record straight in time to forestall a centennial debacle.

**Dr James Keating, UNSW Sydney**

*They learn nothing, they forget everything: stories of women's enfranchisement in interwar Australia*

Session 2.2.5., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In the aftermath of white Australian women's world-leading campaigns for the vote, histories of their activism circulated globally. Seeking to inscribe themselves into the metro-centric narrative of the woman movement, and to inspire activists in other countries, Australian suffragists detailed their struggles from the speaker's platform as well as in newspaper articles and essays commissioned by overseas feminists. By contrast, within a decade of Australian women's enfranchisement, domestic readers had little access to their own suffrage histories. This fact was lamented by activists like Vida Goldstein, who gazed enviously at the canon produced by her British and American counterparts. Beginning in the 1920s and culminating with the series of women's histories published for state anniversaries in the late 1930s, a moment when the boom in women's writing coincided with the reinvigoration of national history, this paper will explore attempts and impediments to providing interwar Australian readers with suffrage stories.



**Dr Kathryn Keeble, Deakin University**

*Who gets to speak in Australia? The Drover's Wife and The Nightingale reclaim the frontier*

Session 2.4.9., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Henry Lawson's 1892 short story 'The Drover's Wife' is a quintessential romantic depiction of the Australian frontier. At its core, it represents the Australian foundation myth, the triumph of White civilisation over the savage wilderness. Leah Purcell's dramatic adaptation *The Drover's Wife* (2016) and Jennifer Kent's film *The Nightingale* (2018) reflect and challenge Lawson's story by reclaiming an indigenous presence and female agency in their revisionist Westerns. Both are criticised for their depictions of the harshness of colonial Australia. Conservative forces coined a new term to describe Purcell's reimagining as 'Revenge Black Lit'. Likewise, Kent's film is condemned for its violence, including rape and murder. This criticism reflects an ongoing debate where questioning Australia's colonial past threatens to re-ignite the history wars. In light of this criticism, this paper investigates the historical antecedents to Kent and Purcell's works.

**Dr Kim Kemmis, University of Sydney**

*Opera in strange places: Count Ercole and Anne Filippini and the boundaries of high art*

Session 2.3.9., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Histories of opera in Australia start with the big cities and the big stars and rarely get any further. They do not capture the diverse experiences of the performers and entrepreneurs who kept opera alive in Australia until the mid-twentieth century. Without these stories the history of opera in Australia is unfinished. Two such artists were the Argentinian-Italian baritone Count Ercole Filippini and his Australian wife Anne. In the 1920s and '30s the Filippinis performed through war, pandemic, economic depression, and illness, touring in small towns and large cities in every state. They opened opera schools, and created choirs and orchestras. They crossed the lines of cultural bifurcation, appealing to middle class people with traditional opera, and attracting working class audiences by adapting their presentations to vaudeville, cinema and radio, using all means possible not just to earn a living but to spread the gospel of opera.



**Ms Anna Kent, Deakin University**

*Fee Free – How Education Subsidies changed Australia's Place in the 1970s Asia Pacific*

Session 4.4.9., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

An important policy of the Whitlam government was the provision of free higher education. Free education was not limited to Australian citizens, students from around the world were able to access Australia's tertiary education system over more than a decade. The subsidy scheme remained in place, with some changes, until 1989, ensuring that tens of thousands of students from Malaysia, Indonesia, Fiji and elsewhere studied in Australia. This scheme removed a significant barrier to access for middle-class families around the region. With this policy in place, Australia was able to develop a different reputation in the region – shaking off some of the baggage left by the White Australia Policy. In this paper it will be argued that this policy achieved more for Australia's reputation, and had a greater soft power impact, than several scholarships that were designed to have this impact, such as the Colombo Plan.

**Dr Bernard Keo, Monash University**

*More Chinese than the Chinese?: Hybridised Overseas Chinese Communities in the Age of Empire*

Session 3.4.4., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

At various points during their long history, the Peranakan Chinese—a hybridised community borne of intermarriage between Chinese migrants and women indigenous to the Malay World—claimed to be ‘more Chinese than the Chinese’, ‘more Malay than the Malays’, or ‘more English than the English’. Though this story is likely apocryphal, it nevertheless sheds light into the complex constructions of identity held and deployed by communities like the Peranakan. Occupying a liminal space between Chinese, Malay, and colonial communities across Southeast Asia, the Peranakan were ‘essential outsiders’ that acted as important colonial intermediaries despite being ostracised for their creolised nature. This paper investigates the lives of Peranakan Chinese from Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia to reveal the inherent tensions between a distinctly cosmopolitan community and the rise of ethnocentric conceptions of nationalism between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a case study into the challenges of decolonisation and nation-making.



**Mx Matilda Keynes, University of Technology Sydney**

*Teaching History's 'Temporal Turn': Towards a Pedagogy of Possibility*

Session 3.4.7., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Time is not a neutral, universal substance in whose emptiness something called 'history' unfolds' remarked Christopher Clark in *Time and Power* (2019), but is rather 'a contingent cultural construction whose shape, structure, and texture have varied' (4). In this text—a prominent example of history's 'temporal turn'—Clark detailed "the forms of historicity appropriated and articulated" by four German political leaders (1). This approach, he claimed, shifts attention away from diffused and agentless processes of change and towards the ways that specific ideas about change and time give 'meaning and legitimacy to the actions and arguments of the sovereign authority' (14). This paper explores the implications of de-naturalising historical time for Australian history education. The paper is generative, seeking to theorise a curricular response and a series of pedagogical strategies that are reflexive to the plasticity and politics of historical distance and the contingency of time.

**Ms Tianna Killoran, James Cook University**

*Far more than Satisfactory: Japanese Small Businesses in North Queensland before 1941*

Session 3.2.11., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

While historians such as Oliver (2010) have indicated that a network of large Japanese companies named *zaibatsu* operated throughout Australia prior to the Second World War, others such as Loy-Wilson (2014) and Simpson (2016) show that migrant shopkeepers have been 'othered' in Australian history. This paper extends on Oliver's *zaibatsu* network, examining the interconnectedness of Japanese small business owners in north Queensland before WWII. Analysis of newspaper advertisements and intelligence reports reveal the prevalence and interconnection of these businesses. Japanese migrants developed long-term economic and social connections throughout north Queensland, among both the wider public and Japanese owners of silk stores, laundries, and cafes. This migrant community was interconnected before WWII and Japanese businesses were regular sites of intercultural and social contacts. The paper emphasises the significance and centrality of the Asian migrant experience in northern Australia's history and demonstrates 'globalisation at the fringes' of northern Australia.



**Ms Kate Kirby, University of the Sunshine Coast**

*Prosopography and Australian history: uncovering social histories and microstories*

Session 4.2.9., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Effective in identifying the experiences of groups in social history, prosopography focuses on the common or shared elements of individuals in a population. While use of this method remains low in Australia, as an approach to historical inquiry prosopography provides an option for researching and uncovering historical narratives across both mass and elite populations. Considering the evolving nature of prosopography, both advantages and limitations of its use as an approach to Australian historical inquiry are discussed. With digital humanities in mind, connection points with Australian archives are explored and analysis of prosopographical lexicons using Microsoft 365 PowerBI demonstrated. This presentation includes a case study of doctoral research use of prosopography focusing on regional Queensland history.

**Dr Gareth Knapman, Australian National University**

*Penang and Port Jackson as 'uninhabited islands': British sovereignty and terra nullius*

Session 3.2.3., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

British authorities established a colonial settlement in Penang in 1786 and at Port Jackson in 1788. In both locations, they recognised the presence of local people, and yet they defined the lands they had seized as 'uninhabited'. They subsequently 'legitimised' their occupation of Penang by signing a treaty with the Sultan of Kedah to transfer sovereignty, but no such treaty was ever concluded to ratify the seizure of Port Jackson. How did the British reconcile and distinguish their ideas of land ownership, land occupation and sovereignty in this crucial early period?



**Dr Alexandra Knight, Charles Sturt University**

*Saving Poulton Park: Campaigning to Maintain an Entire Living River System*

Session 3.3.2., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

This research used archive materials including photographs, correspondence and submissions to explore the role of education in an environmental campaign fought from 1971 to 1974 to save the natural features of a small bay in southern Sydney. The Save Poulton Park campaign focussed on conserving suburban bushland, maintaining tidal influence and protecting a pristine mangrove forest. It highlighted the importance of maintaining entire living river systems in the face of indiscriminate actions of municipal councils, industries and individuals. Poulton Park was a wonderful education resource and a valuable outdoor laboratory for students. School students were part of the campaign, delivering evidence of pollution to local government. This education component encouraged families to interact with and understand the benefits and beauty of tidal wetland systems and suburban bushland, developing a lived sense of belonging within the more-than-human world and articulating a sense of dependency upon it.

**Mr Themistocles Kritikakos, University of Melbourne**

*Memory & Cooperation: Genocide recognition efforts among Armenians, Greeks & Assyrians in Australia*

Session 3.1.4., 1 December 2021, 9:00 amAEDT

This paper examines a unique period in the early twenty-first century when Greeks, Assyrians and Armenians in Australia cooperated to achieve genocide recognition. Whilst the Armenian genocide (1915) has gained international awareness, the persecution of Greeks and Assyrians in the Ottoman Empire (1914-1923) remains largely unknown. This paper investigates the intergenerational memories of Greeks and Assyrians living in Australia. Using an oral history method, it considers the place of memories of traumatic experiences in families and communities. The influence of Armenian genocide recognition efforts toward the end of the twentieth century led to inter-communal dialogue and the start of joint recognition efforts. By referencing each other's experiences and negotiating memories, the three groups developed a mutual understanding of the past as co-victims of genocide. Although differences inform how each group remembers the past, remembrance has been negotiated among the three groups to represent a common experience of genocide.



**Dr Mei-fen Kuo, Macquarie University**

*Chinese Diaspora in Australia on the Cold War: The Case of Two Chinas in the 1956 Olympic Game*

Session 3.2.4., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Given the recent trade, technological and diplomatic competitions between the USA, China and Russia, we are told that the Cold War is not over. The emergence of a Cold War narrative and deteriorating bilateral relations between Australia and China raises significant challenges for Chinese Australians who face increasing scrutiny in public life. Is Cold War a helpful framework to analyse the history of the Chinese Australian community and their diverse experiences? By analysing previously neglected archival documents, this paper aims to understand the consequences of the Cold War on how Chinese Australian identities and communities were shaped and contested. The case of competition between the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China in the 1956 Olympic game in Melbourne will be a case study to discuss how the Cold War influenced the local formation of the Chinese diaspora in Australia.

**Dr Juanita Kwok, Independent Academic**

*Re-evaluating Local History and Heritage*

Session 3.3.4., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Colonial settler narratives still dominate local histories, often marginalising or excluding the histories of the indigenous people and non-Anglo-Celtic migrants and their interactions with white settlers. So too, sites and buildings that commemorate colonial settlement dominate heritage registers at national, state and local government levels. The vast majority of heritage funding goes to these colonial sites and buildings listed on heritage registers. In this presentation I argue that inclusive narratives begin at a local level and a major shake-up of heritage listings is needed at all levels in order to value the heritages of those who have been excluded. In making this argument I discuss issues of local history and heritage in Bathurst, New South Wales and research into the history and heritage of Chinese communities in regional New South Wales.



**Prof Zoë Laidlaw, University of Melbourne**

*Writing Slavery into Australian History*

Session 4.3.10., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Building on the Western Australian Legacies of British Slavery project, this paper explores connections between the Antipodean colonies and chattel slavery in the British Empire. What happens when analysis is extended beyond well-documented and high profile individual links, to connections collectively? Extended families, for example, accrued wealth from the slavery business over multiple generations before turning to Australian investments or settlement. Similarly, military and commercial networks enabled the transfer of capital, contacts, technologies, ideologies and knowledge from the slave plantations to the nascent Australian colonies. Even before compensation pay-outs under the 1833 Emancipation Act, those involved with the slave business had recognised Australasian opportunities for acquiring land, status and cheap labour. Highlighting these multiple and diverse connections, this paper argues that settler colonial activity was suffused with the ideologies, practices and wealth of slavery.

**Dr Kate Laing, University of Technology Sydney**

*Interwar campaigns for Constitutional reform in the Australian women's movement*

Session 2.2.5., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In 1921 a number of state-based women's organisations joined together to form the Australian Federation of Women Voters (AFWV), primarily to accredit delegates to international women's conferences. Yet their collaboration as a national organisation made many activists think about how the relatively new federal structure of national politics, inaugurated at federation, was shaping and limiting their calls for law reform. When the government announced a Royal Commission on the Constitution in 1927, the AFWV used this as an opportunity to review the impact of federation on women. This paper surveys the witness statements of the nine women that presented to understand how they critiqued the division of power between State and Federal governments from a gendered perspective. The Constitutionally defined federal system of politics continues to shape and constrain women's political participation. Constitutional reform remains 'unfinished business' because the rigid structure requiring referendum has been relatively unchanged since its adoption.



**Dr Jessica Lake, Australian Catholic University**

*Sex, Speech & Social Status: Women's Struggles for Self-definition via Slander Law in 19th Century*

Session 3.3.9., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

In 1856, Lucy Inskip, a young unmarried woman sued Mary Swailes for slander in the South Australian Supreme Court for stating: 'Miss Inskip has a baby...and her brother is the father.' In 1863, lauded public vocalist, Suzanna Wishart, brought a slander action for allegations that she was a 'bad woman'. This paper investigates the cases and debates that prompted the South Australian legislature to become the first Australian colony to enact a 'Slander of Women Act' and partake in a transnational movement to 'protect' women's social status by silencing speech about sex. These cases and reforms occupy an ambivalent status. On the one hand, they reflected and reinforced chastity as both white women's privilege and primary social value. On the other, they broke from English traditions to contest the masculinist nature of defamation law and allowed some women greater access to vindication in the civil courts and opportunities for self-definition.

**Dr Jan Lanicek, UNSW Sydney**

*This has nothing to do with Australia': Historical connections between Australia and the Holocaust*

Session 3.4.6., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

The presentation will focus on the connections between the Australian population and the Holocaust. In the main part I will focus on family and community networks that existed between recent Jewish immigrants in Australia, and their relatives who remained in Nazi Europe during the Holocaust. I aim to show that Australia and its population were part of the global Holocaust geography. Almost 9,000 Jewish refugees arrived in Australia before the war, but almost all of them left behind in Europe close family relatives, in some cases even their spouses, husbands, or children. I will discuss how these recent migrants attempted to use family connections to bring their relatives to Australia, or support them in other ways when the immigration routes closed. I will demonstrate that there was a community in Australia that was deeply involved in the Holocaust, and argue that the Holocaust was a part of our history.



**Miss Emily Lanman, University of Notre Dame**

*Tales from Fremantle Gaol: Prisoners and Punishment in the Swan River Colony, 1831-1841*

Session 3.4.10., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

The stories of convicts are synonymous with the prevailing founding myth of Australia; this is also reflected in the penal history of the Swan River Colony, which has focused heavily on the arrival of largely British convicts between 1850 and 1868. In turn, this has silenced the histories of local criminals imprisoned before convict transportation. As a result, questions remain about who made up the local criminal population, their crimes, and significantly, how they experienced and reacted to their punishment. Through an examination of archival material and newspaper articles, this paper explores the people imprisoned in the colony's first prison, Fremantle Gaol (Fremantle Round House), between 1831 and 1841 in order to build an understanding of the themes surrounding their backgrounds, their crimes and how they navigated prison life. This research aims to promote a diverse and more inclusive interpretation of Western Australian penal history.

**Dr Amanda Laugesen, Australian National University**

*Finding an 'Australian voice'? Constructing 'Australian English' 1940-1960*

Session 3.1.9., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

The established view is that the embrace of the Australian accent and lexicon – a distinctive variety of English understood to be 'Australian English' – took place in the decades following the Second World War. The shift from an ideal of 'BBC' English to the acceptance of Australian English is usually attributed to the growth of nationalism. Nationalism was certainly one factor at work, but so were concerns about Australia's standing in the international community, developing notions of the 'Australian Way of Life', and ideas about modernity and communication. In this paper, I explore ways in which 'Australian English' was constructed through these important decades, and unpack some of the consequences of this construction. 'Australian English' continues to be invested with cultural and political significance, co-opted and deployed in a variety of ways for various purposes. A critical look at the history of our attitudes towards Australian English is overdue.



**A/Prof David Lee, UNSW Canberra**

*The Australian Wheat Trade to the People's Republic of China, 1956-72*

Session 3.2.8., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

The paper examines the development of Australia's relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC) on two tracks during the Cold War. One track, the political track, involved the Australian Government following the United States in not recognising and seeking to contain the PRC. This paper concerns the second track on which Australia diverged from US practices and wishes by supporting the development of a flourishing wheat trade with China in the 1960s. The paper examines the role of the Department of Trade, the Trade Commission in Hong Kong and the Australian Wheat Board in developing the wheat trade with China in opposition to US wishes and to elements of the Liberal Party and the Democratic Labor Party.

**Ms Deborah Lee-Talbot, Deakin University**

*The AJCP or: how I learned to stop worrying and love surrogate records*

Session 4.2.9., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

This paper discusses how collections based on surrogate records offer historians opportunities to establish and maintain collaborative relationships with cultural institutions while also producing unique archives. Using the 'world's most extensive collaborative copying project', the Australian Joint Copying Project, as a case-study I detail how Australian historians worked with Officers from the Mitchell Library and the National Library of Australia and, consequently, influenced the Project's curation. This paper also explains how Australian-Pacific historians used the resulting AJCP microfilms, from both the Public Records Office, London, and the Miscellaneous Series, to support their production of island-centric histories. I argue the collaboration and use of the AJCP by historians, such as Harry Maude and Dorothy Shineberg, facilitated new ways of perceiving surrogate records and supported a decolonisation of history.



**Dr. Emma Ligtermoet, University of Western Australia**  
**(Co-authored by Richard Baker & Julie Narndal Gumurdul)**

*'Bust then boom' in saltwater crocodiles shapes shifting baselines in Bininj biocultural knowledge*

Session 4.2.2., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

The unregulated commercial hunting of the saltwater crocodile (*Crocodylus porosus*) between the 1940s to the early 1970s drove the global population almost to extinction. Legal protection resulted in rapid recovery and a conservation success story. This research explores the human-environment relational legacies of this rapid change in saltwater crocodile, or ginga (Kunwinjku) population, as experienced in living memory by Traditional Owners and residents in the West Arnhem and Kakadu National Park region of northern Australia. Through semi-directed interviews, archival work and on-Country learning, this 'big story' of change is shown to influence contemporary customary engagement with crocodiles and freshwater Country. Influences included driving changes in harvesting methods, consumption and management preferences, loss of access to freshwater customary harvesting sites and species, and critically, opportunities for inter-generational knowledge sharing. The findings are discussed in relation to the concept of the Shifting Baseline Syndrome and its recent application to Indigenous ecological knowledge.

**Mr Alex Little, Australian Catholic University**

*Imperial responsibility and the Australian contribution to the Boxer Rebellion, 1900-1901*

Session 3.3.11., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

In 1900, the Australian colonies of Victoria and New South Wales contributed naval contingents to respond to the Boxer crisis in China, while South Australia contributed the HMCS Protector. Already embroiled in a lengthy war in South Africa, the colonial leaders of Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia resolved to send their reserve naval forces to China with the hope of demonstrating solidarity with Britain's position there. This paper examines the circumstances surrounding this decision. It will look at what drove these colonies to further commit to defending British interests abroad when their military resources were already stretched thin by a concurrent war. By doing so, this paper re-examines the contemporary debates surrounding what the colonies defined as an 'imperial crisis'. It also examines what the Boxer crisis reveals about colonial military contributions within the broader framework of the period.



**Prof John Lodewijks, SP Jain School of Global Management**

*The History of Economics in Australia: Unfinished Business?*

Session 3.1.8., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Scholarship in the history of economics has come under considerable attack in Australia, despite the enviable international reputation and standing of Australian scholars in the field. We analyse specific assaults on the history of economics in this country to unravel the independent and confounding factors at play. The study of economics in general has also not fared well. Economics in Australia appears to be increasingly concentrated in elite universities. Many post-Dawkins universities, and even several established before then, are struggling to maintain viable economics programs. There are uncanny similarities between the UK and Australian situation. Studies published by the Australian Academy of the Humanities reveal that similar forces are at work more generally in other humanities disciplines, and need to be resisted for the common good.

**Dr Belinda Lopez, Independent Academic**

*Honai Study Club*

Session 3.4.3., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

The Indonesian state education system creates an absence of Papuan histories for many young Papuans who arrive in Java to study at university. The term Papuan scholar Benny Giay uses for this occurrence is budaya 'bisu' — a mute or silent culture. It is the outline of these unspoken histories, like the white chalk of a victim in a traffic accident, that Papuans recognise when they come into contact with these stories, with their peers. A series of case 'stories' will demonstrate how young Papuans are transplanting traditional modes of discussion and storytelling to their sites of study in Java. They do this to discover their own histories, as independent scholars working outside the formal Indonesian education system.



**Prof David Lowe, Deakin University**

*Towards a Genealogy of Australian National Security*

Session 4.2.8., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

This paper sketches some of the main lines of inquiry into changing Australian ideas of national security since federation. In 2021, such a study is badly needed. National security has become a capacious concept. It brings external dangers into dynamic engagement with conditions of Australian life. National security has also, in recent times, justified an extraordinary range of controls and government licence to act without question, and has enabled curtailing of freedoms. So how did we get here? This paper argues that Australian national security was not always so capacious and that it might best be elucidated by means of the temporal turn in historical inquiry. As a concept it is always close to mobilised hopes for the future, both governmental and more popular.

**Dr Claire Lowrie, University of Wollongong  
(Co-authored by Charmaine Lam)**

*Chinese Amahs in White Australia: Domestic Workers and the Second World War*

Session 2.3.3., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Between 1940 and 1942 thousands of British women and children were evacuated from Malaya and Hong Kong and sent to Australia in the context of Japanese wartime expansionism. Though it contravened the terms of the Commonwealth government's Immigration Restriction Act (1901), some of those women were granted permission to bring their Chinese amahs (nursemaids) with them. Exemptions to the White Australia Policy were also granted to small numbers of elite Chinese and Eurasian women fleeing Japanese occupation. They too brought amahs to care for their children on board the ship and while in Australia. This paper explores the little-known story of Chinese amahs in Australia during the Second World War and their attempts to remain in the country at the conclusion of the war. It is part of an ARC Discovery Project on Ayahs and Amahs Transcolonial Servants in Australia and Britain 1780-1945 with Victoria Haskins and Swapna Banerjee.



**Dr Sophie Loy-Wilson, University of Sydney**

*A ghost economy? Reconstructing Chinese Australian family business in Australia via court records*

Session 3.2.4., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Chinese migrants built their own economic institutions in Australia; intricate banking and remittance systems based upon kinship obligations and debt bondage helped create vast and reliable distribution networks. How were remittances managed? How were family obligations met, to both Australian and Chinese families? How was money borrowed, credit extended, debts collected? How were profits divided between share farmers, and shares passed down the generations? Who paid for the bones of the dead to be returned to China? And what does this tell us about Chinese communities in Australia? This paper addresses these questions using Victorian, Queensland and NSW court records. It argues that these records reveal a partially hidden world of Chinese Australian social, political and economic activity, a 'ghost' or 'shadow' economy, which operated at a necessary remove from the state. The 'ghost' economy is hard to trace because the intention was to hide it from Australian authorities.

**Dr Sophie Loy-Wilson, University of Sydney**

*Chinese Australia? Writing histories of Chinese settlement in troubled times*

Session 2.2.1., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Chinese migrants to the settler colonial world have occupied an ambiguous position in debates over indigenous dispossession. Where are the Chinese in the unfinished business of settler colonial history? What can the relationship between Chinese Australian history and settler colonial studies tell us about the promises and limitations of recent methodological approaches to the colonial past? This paper traces the history of Chinese Australian historiography since the 1990s. It compares the field's history to parallel developments in Chinese American, Chinese Canadian and Chinese New Zealand history. It follows the engagement of Chinese Australian historians with Australia's settler colonial past – from the work of family and regional historians to contributions from Sinology and Archaeology. It maps out debates in the field over settler colonialism and the question of complicity. Finally, it offers a path forward for Chinese Australian historians seeking engagement with Australia's fraught political present.



**Prof Jane Lydon, University of Western Australia**

*'Mr Wakefield's Speaking Trumpets': Abolishing Slavery and Colonising Systematically*

Session 4.3.10., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

This paper argues for the role of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's theory of 'systematic colonisation' within the transition from Caribbean slavery to settler colonisation to reveal the sequential relationship of these two imperial systems. During the 'ameliorative' 1820s phase of the anti-slavery movement, experimental colonial schemes combined both abolitionist principles and pro-slavery interests, particularly visible in the form of arguments against free labour and the advocacy of racial, as well as class, labour hierarchies. Wakefield's theory embodied principles of labour discipline drawn from the plantation, allied to new techniques of land commoditisation, offering a solution to the looming problem of abolition. These principles were invoked in debating the emancipation bill introduced in May 1833, and were applied in the Caribbean after emancipation by planters. In the settler colonies reformers deployed an entwined discourse of anti-slavery and systematic colonisation.

**Prof Martyn Lyons, UNSW Sydney**

*'I am sir [sure] you will act as human bean': Letters to Robert Menzies, 1949-1966*

Session 4.3.8., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Robert Menzies received over 22,000 letters during his record-breaking second term as Prime Minister (1949-66). The corpus is an example of 'Writing Upwards', a distinctive epistolary genre in which the weak wrote to the powerful, to praise them, abuse them or wish them a happy birthday (cf. scholarly work on letters to Hitler, Mussolini, Mitterrand, Obama). After briefly outlining the main features of the corpus, I will focus on the theme which most consistently exercised ordinary writers: the level of the aged pension and the difficulty of trying to live on it. Conventional histories portray this as a period of rising prosperity dominated by Cold War conflicts: but ordinary writers had other priorities and a bedrock of poverty clearly endured. In their letters to Menzies, writers expressed their malaise; they wrote, in the terms of James C. Scott, the 'hidden transcript' of their misgivings and desire for change.



**Mr Paul Macgregor, Our Chinese Past Inc.**

*Contributors or colonisers – the recuperation of Chinese artefacts into the settlement narrative*

Session 3.3.4., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Twenty years ago, the Golden Threads project put the case for recuperating Chinese 'contribution' into the grand narrative of 'settlement' in Australia. Little thought, though, was given to why Chinese had been 'excluded' from local histories. This paper argues that it is problematic from a white perspective to include Chinese into a narrative that is a comfort story to both justify and mask the appropriation of Aboriginal lands, and also mask the post-contact degradation of the environment caused by agriculture and mining. Bringing Chinese 'settlers' into the settlement narrative, without investigating that narrative, ignores Chinese complicity in, and benefit from, colonial occupation. It also runs the risks of equating anti-Chinese racism with anti-Aboriginal racism. By looking anew at the Chinese collections in regional NSW museums, this paper considers how these collections can be used in new cultural narratives that address the entwined problems of settlement dysphoria, racism and ecological damage.

**Dr Amrita Malhi, Australian National University**

*The Trans-Border Muslim Communism of Malaya's Displaced Muslim Brotherhood Party*

Session 2.2.3., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

This paper explores the politics of PAPERI (Muslim 'Brotherhood' Party, or Parti Persaudaraan Islam), established in 1965 by the Tenth Regiment of the Malayan National Liberation Army (MNLA), an armed wing of the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM). The Regiment, consisting entirely of Malay Muslims in a Chinese-dominated communist movement, has been based in Narathiwat, Thailand, since its displacement by Malaya's 'First Emergency' (1948-1960) in the 1950s. PAPERI was one component of the Regiment's late-1960s United Front agitation, through which it aimed to drive increasing militancy in Malaysian social movements. It focused on increasing communist influence inside the PMIP (Pan-Malayan Islamic Party, or PAS), then loosely connected with the Left through its Kelantan state President, Dr Burhanuddin al-Helmy, and the land reform movement. The movement's militancy coincided with Indonesia's 'confrontation' of Malaysia (1963-66) and contributed to producing Malaysia's 'Second Emergency' (1968-1989), triggering government action against Burhanuddin for his left-wing 'links.'



**Beth Marsden, La Trobe University**  
**(Co-authored by Dr Aunty Doris Paton)**

*Authority, Authorship and Provenance: Archives of Aboriginal Education*

Session 3.1.1., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Archives and the ways they are used are always political. This paper examines two archival collections of white women—Valentine Leeper and Frances Derham—who, during the 1930s and 1940s, involved themselves in the education and schooling of Aboriginal children. This interest has been historicised as largely independent of government structures, but this paper unsettles that assumption. It uses archival and decolonial theories to question the authority, authorship, and provenance of these archival collections as case studies that speak to wider themes. The paper shows that the class, race, and privilege that has accrued in the records of white women, including their repeated use as historical source material, as well as the cultural biases of archival collections and practices more broadly, ought to be challenged.

**Dr Jeremy Martens, University of Western Australia**

*Forced labour and apprenticeship in the Western Australian pastoral industry, 1840-1860*

Session 2.3.10, 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

This paper examines the methods by which Western Australian pastoralists sought to enforce labour discipline through summary punishment of young apprentices in the mid 19th century. Highlighting the experiences of both Indigenous and settler apprentices, it aims to analyse the extent to which a forced labour regime—built around Masters and Servants laws and extra-judicial violence—had emerged in the decade before the advent of transportation; and how this regime was affected by the arrival of convict labour after 1850. It aims to shed light on how modes of punishment usually associated with slavery, including flogging, were routinely applied to juveniles contracted to settler employers.



**Dr Toby Martin, University of Sydney**

**(Co-authored by Dr Amanda Harris, Prof Neal Peres Da Costa & Prof Jakelin Troy)**

*Performing the Musical Past: reimagining 1826 Sydney concerts in 2021*

Session 2.3.9., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

In May 2021, we reassembled the Sydney Amateur Concerts of 1826/1827, with the addition of several Aboriginal songs. Through rehearsing, reinterpreting and publicly performing this music, we sought to discover not just what was performed, but what the music sounded like and how might it have been heard. How should we understand the context for concerts of European music in a town built on Aboriginal land and humming with the songs of Aboriginal people whose singing across the wider colony of NSW was also recorded in written text and notation at this time? In this presentation, we explore performance as a non-traditional research method for interrogating the past. We demonstrate the new knowledge created through rehearsing historical music, how our collaborative efforts to reimagine both European and Indigenous musical practices might disrupt the ongoing colonial resonances of the musical canon, and how we might fill historical silences with music.

**Dr Mia Martin Hobbs, Deakin University**

*'The Security Situation Changes Everything': Empathy and Ideology in the US Reconstruction of Iraq*

Session 4.2.8., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In 2003, the US military deployed the most diverse soldier-force in its history to Iraq, touting cultural competence as a strategic strength in counterinsurgency operations. Drawing on interview transcripts with women and minorities in the US Institute for Peace Oral History 'Iraq Experience' Project, I explore tensions between empathy and ideology in the US reconstruction of Iraq, focussing on interactions between the US military and the occupied Iraqi population. Interviewees drew on identity-based skills and sensitivities to relate to Iraqi frustrations with the US occupation, yet failed to connect deteriorating security conditions with US conduct and separated Iraqi experiences from US security concerns. These interviews indicate a refusal among soldiers to 'see' how the US mission in Iraq itself sustains the security threat in Iraq, demonstrating the limits of empathy in militarised contexts and raising the question of who or what was being kept secure by the US mission.



**A/Prof Julia Martinez, University of Wollongong**

*Asian support for the League of Nations on anti-trafficking in Southeast Asia.*

Session 4.3.3., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The 1930s League of Nations' anti-trafficking campaign drew on the so-called 'civilising' framework of the late colonial project, as the League sought to close brothels, to restrict women's immigration, and to 'reform' wayward women. Some colonial administrators decried this as international interference, but the League's Travelling Commission marshalled Asian supporters on their tour of Southeast Asia. As Barbara Watson Andaya observed, prostitution became a legitimate topic of study in Southeast Asian history from the 1980s (e.g. Hesselink; Ingleson; Warren; Manderson; Crinis; Stoler; Levine), with scholars framing medical surveillance and brothel regulation as evidence of growing European colonial power. The abolition movement, however, had support from both colonial maternalism and emerging nationalist discourses of respectability. Comparing Jakarta (Batavia) and Singapore, this paper considers the extent to which the League's campaign engaged with the emerging intelligentsia of a decolonising Southeast Asia.

**A/Prof Katharine Massam, University of Divinity**

*Good, that will be all of them: the unfinished business of women and religion*

Session 2.4.4., 30 November 2021, 3:00 pmAEDT

In 1964 Mary Luke Tobin was invited with 14 other women, including Australian theologian Rosemary Goldie, to join the ranks of 'auditors' at the Second Vatican Council. She was told she would have the right to attend and speak in the committees that were drafting material of particular concern to women. 'Good,' she remarked, 'that will be all of them.' Tobin's assumption that theological work needed to be intelligently linked to everyday life was built on traditions of theological reflection on experience that had flourished in the decades following the Second World War. Drawing on Australian examples, this paper examines the significance of involvement of women in formal and informal movements that promoted reflection on experience. It locates the impetus for religious change in the intersection of theological narrative and personal experience and points especially to the significance of opening theological education to women in effecting change in religious institutions.



**Mr Hirokazu Matsui, Deakin University**

*Australia and Japan's Reengagement with the Southeast Asia, 1952-1957*

Session 4.1.6., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Drawing upon archival sources in Australia and Japan, this paper examines Australia's attitude towards Japan's reengagement with countries in Southeast Asia from 1952 to 1957. During this period, Japan was cut off from mainland China and sought to make connections with Southeast Asia as an alternative. The Australian government recognised this attempt, but was often ambivalent towards it, with Australian officials cautiously monitoring Japanese initiatives in the region. In particular, the Japanese Prime Minister's proposal for the Asian Development Fund in 1957 prompted the Australian government to consider its attitude towards Japan's possible reentry into Southeast Asia. The ambivalence was clear in Canberra's response to this proposal, as exemplified by its concern about the fund's relationship with the Colombo Plan. Although the proposal eventually failed, this episode indicates that Australia's attitude towards Japan's reengagement with Southeast Asia was fraught with hesitation.

**Prof Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, University of New England**

*Ensuring that business remains unfinished: Convict absconding 1820-60.*

Session 2.4.8., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Despite savage punishments and an extensive system of rewards designed to incentivise the recapture of runaways, thousands of male and female convicts absconded from their place of work in the years from 1820-60. Drawing on evidence from 67,000 absconding notices that appeared in the pages of the Hobart Town Gazette in the years to 1860, this paper reconstitutes this impressive mass withdrawal of labour. Using innovative GIS techniques and other digital methodologies, it explores the geographical distribution of attempts to run, mapping these across both the private and public sector. A key aim of the paper is to place individual and collective absconding practices within the context of other unfree labour resistance. It will argue that absconding was a form of organised convict protest, part of a wave of unrest triggered by the introduction of the post-Bigge reorganisation of convict labour in Eastern Australia.



**Dr Daniel May, Australian National University**

*Fire suppression or fire oppression? A framework for historical understanding*

Session 2.4.2., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Interest in historical Indigenous burning is growing while the need for contemporary fire management grows more pressing. In this talk I will demonstrate the direct and indirect entanglements of violence and fire and propose a new framework for examining fire histories in settler-colonial states. Extending Alfred Crosby's 'ecological imperialism' thesis to fire demonstrates that the apparent 'success' of European imperialism had a pyro-ecological component. Indigenous ignition, fuels, and obligations towards Country were disrupted – all of which accelerated settler-colonialism in Australia and the United States.

**Dr Joy McCann, Australian National University**

*On the edge: Towards a more than human history of Antarctica's ice in the Anthropocene*

Session 2.4.2., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

In 1986, environmental historian Stephen Pyne published the first edition of 'The Ice: A Journey to Antarctica'. In this paper, I revisit Pyne's classic natural and social history to consider some of the dramatic changes that have occurred in scientific and cultural knowledge and perceptions of Antarctica and the Southern Ocean in the intervening decades. With mounting evidence about the devastating impacts of climate change in the polar regions, this paper discusses the emergence of new insights and ways of thinking about interspecies relationships, ecological processes, the deep history of the ice sheet, and the emergence of diverse voices, imaginaries, and cultural connections with Antarctica's ice. It concludes by considering the crucial role that environmental history can play in distilling the entangled, circumpolar, more than human stories of Antarctica and the Southern Ocean in the Anthropocene.



**Ms Alexandra McCosker, Australian National University**

*Unfinished business: pilgrimage to Papua New Guinea in the era of adventure travel*

Session 2.4.6., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

After the Second World War, many Australian families embarked on pilgrimages to overseas war graves where their loved ones laid buried; a phenomenon, this paper will argue, which has continued to the present day. This paper will look at more recent journeys made to Papua New Guinea within the last 30 years. These modern pilgrims often make the journey, not only to visit a grave but to 'walk in the footsteps' of the men who fought along the infamous Kokoda Track. For some families, this completes the unfinished business of paying respect to their dead; but also, in the case of Indigenous families, finally having the opportunity of bringing the spirit of their fallen soldier 'home'. These journeys to PNG will be examined as an example of the convergence of pilgrimage and tourism.

**Prof Anne McDonald, Sophia University, Japan  
(Co-authored by Erika Salazar)**

*Refrigeration – The Silent Game Changer of Tuna Stocks?*

Session 4.2.2., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

How did tuna go from being 'poor man's food' in the Tokugawa Era (1603 -1867) to being one of Japan's most popular seafoods in the twenty-first century? It is estimated that Japan consumes one quarter of the total global tuna catch. The drive to secure enough tuna to meet Japanese consumer demands has taken tuna fishing boats from the coastal waters of Japan in the early 1900s to Australian fishing grounds in the Southern Ocean. What helped facilitate this? Enter refrigeration. Tracing how the development of refrigeration systems from 1907 to the 1980s impacted tuna stocks in the Pacific Ocean, including mapping how each new advancement in refrigeration technology impacted harvesting capabilities and stock decline, this paper aims to explore the understudied area of environmental history – namely, the impacts of at-sea processing and refrigeration technological innovation on the marine environment.



**Dr Julie McIntyre, University of Newcastle**

*Decolonising Nik-kin-ba (place of coal): An Awabakal perspective on lower Hunter Valley mining*

Session 2.2.2., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Newcastle and Lake Macquarie in the lower Hunter Valley of New South Wales is unceded Awabakal country. From the 1790s this district hosted colonial experiments with coal extraction. Some thirty years later English missionary Lancelot Threlkeld's linguistic explorations with Awabakal informant Birabhan revealed that Nik-kin-ba at Lake Macquarie meant 'place of coal'. While Aboriginal historian John Maynard has shown that Awabakal dreaming portends danger from burning coal, other historians have glanced past or ignored Indigenous knowledge of fossil deposits. This paper draws anew from the Percy Haslam Collection to trace evidence from Birabhan's teaching of Threlkeld through to local historian Haslam's recording of his Awabakal knowledge and Maynard's recovery of Haslam's legacy. Re-entangling geological evidence of lower Hunter fossil deposits with their Aboriginal meaning contributes to reorienting coal history from economics and technology towards understanding the impact of mining on first peoples and their ancestral landscapes.

**Dr Bri McKenzie, Curtin University**

*Queering History Curricula: Reflections on Pedagogy and Content in Higher Education*

Session 4.4.9., 2 December 2021, 1300pm AEDT

Over the last thirty years, there has been a welcome increase in historical research into LGBTQI+ experiences in Australia. This work should be complimented by the adoption of new disciplinary approaches to how we teach history at all levels of education. The concept of 'queering' the curriculum has been in use in the US for over twenty years and has been applied at secondary and tertiary levels. In Australia, however, 'curriculum queering' is still a developing pedagogical approach with limited uptake within education systems. This paper will explore the evolving and ongoing process of queering the history curriculum as undertaken at Curtin University in Perth, Western Australia. With a focus on both curriculum content and pedagogical approaches, the paper will deal with issues of language, inclusivity, self-reflexive teaching practice and historical content to highlight the ways in which history curricula can become more inclusive of and relevant to LGBTQI+ students.



**Dr Crystal McKinnon, RMIT**  
**(Co-authored by Claire McLisky)**

*Conduct of Lawful Relations 2: De-centring William Buckley*

Session 3.4.1., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

The paper traces the trajectory of historiographical interest in William Buckley, an escaped British convict who spent 32 years with the Wadawurrung people near present-day Geelong. Historians have exhibited sustained disinterest in and discomfort with the Wadawurrung as people of culture and law who acted to protect and sustain Buckley. Here we argue that the ways in which settler historians have narrated, and continue to narrate, Buckley's story have worked to deflect attention away from the discomfort and unsettledness of a story about Wadawurrung leadership, law, and relationships to land towards a story about European strength and vigour, the ability of Europeans to live 'as Indigenous' people on the land. In this way, the transition from the lawfulness of tens of thousands of years of Wadawurrung culture to the lawlessness of settler-colonialism is covered over, presenting instead a story of British adventure, occupation and settler-colonial belonging.

**Dr Scott McKinnon, University of Wollongong**

*The Club 80 Raids: Police, homosex and the campaign for gay law reform in New South Wales*

Session 4.4.5., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

On 29 January and 26 February 1983, police raided the Oxford Street gay bar Club 80, charging a total of fifteen men with 'scandalous conduct' and 'sexual assault on a male'. The raids caused outrage among Sydney's gay community. Although male homosexual sex remained illegal in New South Wales, by 1983 Oxford Street's gay social scene was thriving. For many of the men enjoying that scene, anti-gay laws seemed arcane and irrelevant. The Club 80 raids were a harsh reminder of the continued illegality of homosex and the determination of at least some NSW police to enforce that law. This paper examines the impact of the raids on a somewhat frustrated activist campaign fighting for decriminalisation of homosexuality. By raiding Club 80, police provided the campaign with renewed urgency. Activists turned community outrage into an effective political strategy, forcing NSW politicians into an uncomfortable public discussion about gay sex.



**Ms Fiona McLeod, University of Queensland**

*A nightmare, God forgot us I am certain': Australian Army Nurses in Casualty Clearing Stations, WWI*

Session 2.3.6., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

This is how Minnie Proctor described the first few days of the Battle of Messines at No.2 Australian Casualty Clearing Station (ACCS). She was one of hundreds of Army nurses who served in Casualty Clearing Stations providing hospital and surgical care as close to the front line as possible. The shell-shocked young soldier is emblematic of this conflict, and this paper draws on the diaries and letters of Australian nurses to challenge this paradigm by privileging the experience and emotions of the caregivers. It asserts that nurses were exposed to traumatic events equally capable of rendering them victims of mental and psychological anguish. Nurses were non-combatants but faced danger, disease, horrendous wounds and intolerable working conditions. They experienced almost unbearable personal and professional challenges, and wrestled with the unsolvable conflict between duty and fear, and between their own compassion and the realities of military medicine.

**Dr David Meredith, University of Oxford**

*Unfinished business: Australia's debt to the Aboriginal nations in 1900*

Session 3.2.8., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In 1835 Lieutenant Governor Arthur opined that a 'mere trifle' would have sufficed as a 'fair equivalent' for the lands appropriated by the colonists. The feudal landownership system brought by the British to Australia in 1788 and the concept of 'Shared sovereignty' in the Uluru Statement from the Heart imply that as landlords the Aboriginal nations were entitled to a share, in the form of rent, of the wealth created from their land. Australia's economic history suggests how the value of this rent should be calculated on an annual basis and how by the end of the colonial period it had accumulated to an unpaid debt owed to the Aboriginal nations. The strength of this approach is that it integrates the destruction of the Aboriginal economy with the expansion of the settler economy, the latter being dependent on the former.



**A/Prof Alexander Millmow, Federation University**

*How the Interwar Queensland Economy Captivated Two Prominent English Economists*

Session 3.3.8., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

This paper tells how the British politician and economist Hugh Dalton and his contemporary Colin Clark, who was in Australia on sabbatical during 1937, both found Queensland to be an ideal democratic socialist state with its regulated prices, wage arbitration and extensive public enterprises. The paper explains why both men, committed socialists at the time, felt Queensland represented an enviable form of economic management. Clark was so inspired that he gave up his glittering Cambridge career to become Premier Forgan Smith's primary economic advisor. The paper draws upon Dalton's travel diary and a recent biography of Clark to explain the latter's decision to dedicate the best parts of his career working in Queensland's public service. Dalton, who felt partly responsible for enticing Clark to take up employment as a key economic advisor in Queensland, kept in touch with his protégé until they parted ways in 1953.

**Mr Colin Milner, Australian National University**

*Robert Randolph Garran and Jefferson's Ghost*

Session 3.2.1., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In addressing the 'unfinished business' of Australia's federal constitution regarding Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, insights may be gained by analysing the historical circumstances in which that document was made and implemented. This paper draws from research towards a biographical study of Robert Randolph Garran (1867-1957), a notable figure in the making of the Australian Commonwealth. Garran drew much inspiration from his blood relationship with Thomas Jefferson and other Anglo-Virginians important in the formation of the United States of America. Garran and Jefferson were each shaped in their outlook by the racial pride and prejudice of their times but, significantly, both understood that constitutions require amendment over time. This paper will explore some intersections between United States and Australian constitutional formation through an individual who, uniquely, was connected by kinship with the one, and had a personal and professional commitment to the other.



**Dr Kirra Minton, Independent Academic**

*'With frankness, with knowledge, but most of all, with sincerity': sex education in Dolly magazine*

Session 3.3.5., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The question of how to speak to teenagers about sex has always been controversial. From reproduction and STDs, to 'Safe Schools' and consent, the sex education of Australia's youth is constantly up for debate. While today's teens have access to a wealth of information, before the internet and social media there was Dolly magazine. From its first issue in 1970, Dolly took the sex education of Australian teen girls seriously through articles and the Dolly Doctor segment. Through a critical textual analysis of Dolly and interviews with a past Dolly Doctor and women who were teens in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, I explore how Dolly provided girls with straightforward and accessible sex education that went well beyond what girls were learning in classrooms. This paper sheds light on the history of sex education in Australia and asks what Dolly can teach us about how to approach sex education today.

**Mr Ghamal Satya Mohammad, Murdoch University**

*Flexibility in Volatile Times: The Indonesian Republic's Responses to Merapi Eruptions, 1950 - 1970*

Session 4.2.3., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

When the Indonesian National Revolution ended in 1949, the new Indonesian government had a 'specialised' yet 'immediate' task to monitor and respond to the volcanic unrest of Merapi in Central Java. At the same time, it was a period of new challenges and opportunities for Indonesian society after decolonisation. This paper discusses mitigation efforts of the new government to Merapi volcanic hazards, 1950 - 1970. Merapi eruptions occurred in 1954 (VEI 2), 1961 (VEI 3), and 1967 (VEI 2), each brought significant damages to the villages at the slopes of Merapi. Many lives were saved due to the combined efforts of Dinas Gunung Berapi (Vulcanological Survey of Indonesia) and Komando Pelaksana Merapi (local government's task force for the Merapi disaster). However, in the process, mitigation efforts were tested by a newly formed bureaucracy that still struggled to maintain efficient management and plan an effective mitigation policy.



**A/Prof Clare Monagle, Macquarie University**

*B.A. Santamaria as Culture Warrior*

Session 3.4.9., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

In 1969, under the direction of B.A. Santamaria, the National Civic Council (NCC) altered its constitution to expand the focus of its activism and lobbying. Rather than focusing on party politics, the NCC declared that it would now address counter cultural elements in 'the unions, universities, press, radio and television'. Subsequently, Santamaria and his supporters constituted themselves as culture warriors against what they termed the 'alienated avant-garde', a new class of permissive elites whom they argued were dominating the airwaves and the universities to the detriment of the family, faith, and the nation. This paper will explore the context of Santamaria's articulation of culture as a new theatre of ideological struggle, and suggest its importance to the history of politics of reaction in Australia up until the present day.

**Mr Chris Monnox, Macquarie University**

*Federalism, Personalities, and Rump Steak: The Federal Election of 1919*

Session 4.3.8., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

One hundred years ago, most politicians kept State issues out of federal elections. But in 1919, when Queensland's Labor Premier T. J. Ryan challenged Billy Hughes for the Prime Ministership, that seemed to change. Ryan became a major election issue, as did Queensland. Politicians throughout Australia debated the price of meat in Brisbane, while Queensland MPs toured the country telling conflicting stories about their State. This national preoccupation with Queensland was temporary, but it still holds relevant lessons about elections, personalities, and the fluid boundary between State and Federal politics.



**A/Prof Tony Moore, Monash University**

*When the Pen is Mightier than the Pike: Media activists transported as convicts to Australia*

Session 2.3.8., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The first 'political' convict was Scottish democratic reformer, Thomas Muir, transported in 1794 for the sedition of distributing 'The Rights of Man' by Thomas Paine, and for reading aloud a letter of solidarity from the Society of United Irishmen. Through the exiled political prisoners Paine's concept of liberty was transmitted to the new Australian colonies, and had impact on convict resistance, emerging radical movements and the nineteenth century campaign for Australian democracy. A significant stream of the radicals transported to Australia for political crimes such as sedition and treason were intellectuals and journalists, orators and publishers, who rehearsed as citizens of a new transnational 'republic of letters' the ideas they would seek to make real through reform or revolution. This paper will discuss the impact of the media activism of select political exiles, with a focus on the Scottish Martyrs of the 1790s and the Young Irelanders convicted in 1848.

**Ms Frieda Moran, University of Tasmania**

*Encounters of Food in the Australian Colonial Contact Zone*

Session 4.4.7., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Food was central to the colonisation of Australia. In this unfamiliar, unstable and anxious environment, food both enabled exchange and distanced cultures. What constituted food differed between groups in the Australian colonial contact zone, and these differences were critical to how individuals perceived one another, not only in the instance of encounter, but through discourse, informed and reinforced power and racial hierarchies. As Zane Ma Rhea has argued, 'food has been an under examined and barely theorised central factor in explaining the impact of colonisation into the contemporary era'. Taking up this challenge, this paper seeks to unpack encounters of food, as detailed in the writings of colonists. This paper shows how historical actors have selectively chosen from textual records to further specific agendas, informing power structures for centuries to come. Understanding meanings of food in the Australian colonial contact zone is unfinished business.



**A/Prof Ruth Morgan, Australian National University**

*Camel country and the edges of empire*

Session 3.1.2., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

From the 1860s to the 1930s, camels and their handlers worked over three-quarters of the continent, regularly carrying goods in every mainland colony (and state) except Victoria, where their Australian story began. Just why the camel took so well to the Australian inland, however, warrants further consideration. For all the dromedary's evolutionary qualities that favoured its chances in Australia, its frustrations elsewhere suggest that biophysical characteristics alone are not a sufficient explanation for its flourishing far from home. Nor can its Australian success derive simply from an alliance with human handlers, South Asian or otherwise. Centring the camel and camel knowledge, this paper examines how the making of camel country profited from a very particular set of social and environmental relationships that prevailed in settler Australia and the British Empire from the mid-nineteenth century, which once established, have proven to be remarkably resilient.

**Dr Narrelle Morris, Curtin University**

*Sir William Webb and his 'Unfinished Business' at the IMTFE, 1946-48*

Session 4.2.6., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Sir William Flood Webb, Chief Justice of Queensland, accepted appointment to Tokyo as Australia's judge at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE) in 1946. He was appointed the President and three difficult years of sitting on the bench passed. By late 1948, Webb had drafted a judgment amounting to more than 650 pages. Yet, he submitted only 10 or so pages, observing that his findings were 'in most material matters ... to the same effect' as the majority judgment. Webb's decision has had long-lasting consequences, both on how the IMTFE has been analysed, how the other judgments have been appraised and, more seriously for Webb, on his reputation. If his draft had not languished for decades in his High Court chambers and afterwards in his private papers in the Australian War Memorial, our understanding of the IMTFE would be very different.



**Dr Kristine Moruzi, Deakin University**

*The Politics of Children's Charity*

Session 4.4.8., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

The nineteenth-century periodical press demonstrates children's active roles as supporters of philanthropic enterprises. This paper examines the methods by which child readers were exposed to others in need and encouraged to act. Drawing on a range of examples from British children's periodicals published between 1840 and 1900, including the Wesleyan Juvenile Offering, Aunt Judy's Magazine, the Girl's Own Paper, and the Young Helpers' League, this paper demonstrates how child readers were encouraged to see themselves as charitable agents and how the content evolved over time to reflect shifts in attitudes towards fundraising and charity while remaining explicitly concerned with child engagement and activism. It considers the role of informational articles, fiction, illustrations and photos, subscription lists, fundraising activities, reports on charity recipients, and other paratextual materials – all of which were used to develop an ideal charitable child who understood his or her responsibility to help those in need.

**Dr Tristan Moss, Griffith University**

*Failure to Launch: Australian Rationales for Space Exploration*

Session 4.4.6., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

American historians have identified a number of tropes which nations use to justify space exploration: human destiny and survival of the species, geopolitics and national pride, national security, economic competitiveness, and scientific discovery. While scholars tend to see these as universal, there has been little investigation of rationales for spaceflight in smaller nations such as Australia. This paper will examine the series of proposals for greater Australian engagement in space in the second half of the twentieth century to explore how space exploration has been justified as a national endeavour. In most cases, these proposals were either rejected or seriously weakened. What was proposed, what were the rationales, imagery and rhetoric put forward for an expanded Australian space programme, and why did the Australian government usually reject them?



**Dr Benjamin Mountford, Australian Catholic University**  
**(Co-authored by Professor Robert Fletcher)**

*'An Act of Imperial Parliament could separate us as it unites us': WA Secession and Imperial Affairs*

Session 2.3.11., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

In 1935, a Joint Committee of the House of Lords and the House of Commons reported on 'The Petition from the State of Western Australia in Relation to Secession'. The culmination of the process triggered by the 1933 state referendum, where a majority of West Australians had voted in favour of seceding from the Commonwealth, the Committee famously resolved that WA's petition was 'not proper to be received'. But while the movement for WA Secession foundered in the imperial capital, during the 1930s it nonetheless sparked a series of debates about imperial politics and the future of Anglo-Dominion relations. Drawing on research in Britain and Australia, this paper examines the imperial resonance of the WA Secession movement in the 1930s.

**Mr Angus Murray, University of Newcastle**

*Murungiyalinya-ganha yilimadha Giiland-dyilang: Warrior History and Wiradjuri Memory*

Session 3.3.10., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Wiradjuri warriors fought British forces for more than two decades on the Australian Frontier. While many are familiar with the Bathurst War, this was just the beginning. Hundreds of warriors participated in the Wiradjuri Wars, some even fought in the wars of their allies, but the history of this long conflict has become fragmented across geography and time. This paper presents the initial findings of a project designed to draw together these historical fragments in order to preserve Wiradjuri memory of the Australian Frontier and understand the experience of the Wiradjuri warrior. This paper also explores the Indigenous methodology developed to analyse this evidence and ensure the careful, respectful and central placement of the Wiradjuri warrior within this history.



**Dr Lisa Murray, Public Historian**

*Froth and mirrors: Delving into an incomplete brewery business archive*

Session 3.1.7., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

The history of beer and pubs in New South Wales has been dominated by Tooth & Co, due to their business supremacy and vast archives. Despite the survival of the brand, Tooheys have been sidelined from popular memory and history. Commencing in 1869, Tooheys went on to become the second largest brewer in New South Wales. As part of my Hertzberg research fellowship at the State Library of NSW I am exploring the unprocessed Tooheys Limited collection of 300 ledgers. These business records provide a counterpoint to the extensive Tooth & Co collection and will contribute a fuller understanding of the way the breweries controlled the industry and influenced pub culture in New South Wales. In this paper I will present my findings to date, including digital mapping of Tooheys tied-hotels, which tests the argument around the geographical predominance of Toths and Tooheys in different suburbs and towns.

**Dr Richard Naughton, Monash University**

*History's Unfinished Business – Tennis in the 1930s*

Session 4.4.11., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Questions of 'national identity' and 'history's unfinished business' have considerable impact on sports historians. In 1933, Australian tennis player Jack Crawford had a remarkable impact on the game. Indeed, Crawford's stylish game and gentlemanly manner made him an Australian symbol throughout the 1930s. In 1933 Crawford won three major titles, the Australian Open, the French Open and Wimbledon, and was within a set of winning the Grand Slam. In the 1980s he gave oral accounts of what had happened in the final match, which differ from contemporaneous accounts. This raises questions about the collection of historical sporting evidence, and how this may have changed. Crawford was a national symbol during the depression and the first international player to have a tilt at the Grand Slam. His failure to achieve the Grand Slam is a story of 'unfinished business.'



**Dr Jacqui Newling, Independent Academic**

*Feast or famine: An Appetite for Hunger in the First Fleet Colony of New South Wales*

Session 4.2.7., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

The First Fleet colony of New South Wales famously suffered acute food shortages and severe rationing in 1790, after two years of settlement. First-hand accounts provide rich and evocative descriptions of colonists struggling to feed themselves from as early 1788, providing fertile ground for those with an appetite for describing the colony as a place of paucity and hunger. This appetite is alive and well today, sustaining the notion that colonists were on short rations 'from the outset' and the 'procurement of food [was] an anxious and daily concern' from the moment of arrival in Botany Bay (Hirst, 2008; Singley, 2012). Close and critical gastronomic analysis of the historical record offers a better and quite different understanding of the complex business of food provisioning and supply in the fledgling colony, and helps us answer the question, how hungry was the First Fleet colony in its founding years?

**Dr Ebony Nilsson, Australian Catholic University**

*'We Are Australians': Security Assessments of Soviet Children Applying to Return to Australia*

Session 4.2.8., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Soviet migrants in Australia who decided to return to the Soviet Union could do so if the Soviets granted them entry visas. If they changed their minds and wanted to re-enter Australia, however, their chances were slim. But the question of re-entry became more complex if these migrants took their Australian-born children with them. Did such children, with their Australian birth certificates, have a right to return? And if they did, what kind of security risk did they pose? This paper examines two Soviet families with Australian-born children who applied to return to Australia in the late 1950s: one family was accepted, the other rejected. The Department of Immigration and ASIO approached such cases differently but agreed that the applicants, and potentially their children, posed a threat to Australia's security. This case study highlights the relationship between concepts of national security and the rights and responsibilities conferred by Australian citizenship.



**Dr Kerry Nixon, La Trobe University**

*'the wind is right for Burning': Firestick Farming, White Fella Way*

Session 4.1.2., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

The amendments to the Land Act in 1869 opened up the Crown lands of Gippsland to selection and settlement for the purposes of agriculture. Only one thing stood in the way of the intrepid settlers: the land was covered in primeval forest. Clearing the forest and making the land arable was, to a large degree, dependent on harnessing the power of fire. But, as the settlers soon discovered, fire was difficult to manage, and physical and material loss could eventuate from injudicious application of this blunt-edged tool. Kate Currie kept a diary on behalf of her family which charts their journey from bush block to productive farm over a period of some thirty years. This paper draws on the Currie diary to explore how fire was utilised by settlers around Drouin, the impact of fire on farm development and community harmony, and emotional responses to the use of fire.

**Dr Sybil Nolan, University of Melbourne**

*Robert Menzies, Inside and Outside the Tent*

Session 2.2.9., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

The history of emotions is a valuable tool of Critical Elite Studies, offering novel ways of understanding historical masculine sociality through its key concept of communities of emotion: formal or informal associations that produce, and then reinscribe, shared emotion derived from shared context, belief and custom. This paper uses this concept to explore the politician Robert Menzies's involvements with elites in his home state of Victoria during the latter part of the 1930s, a period when his national political ambitions were both opposed and supported by elites from politics, business, the university and the press. When a clique at the Melbourne Club actively used the pages of the Argus newspaper to try to block Menzies's rise, a network of support for him developed among other elite elements; a community of emotion whose members considered themselves outsiders to the Argus group.



**Prof Heidi Norman, University of Technology Sydney**

*No place else but home' 3*

Session 3.1.10, 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

This paper will map the ideas that informed the collecting of Indigenous bodies and explore the history of the repatriation movement, highlighting the potential of the National Resting Place concept to disrupt the colonial legacy. As Indigenous rights claims developed, the newly emerging Aboriginal forms of government made repatriation of Ancestral Remains a central focus. In asserting Indigenous power, identity reclamation and responsibility to the dead, these claims posed significant provocations to the history, role and purpose of collecting institutions. Ancestral Remains represent a manifest expression of the undeniable existence of Indigenous peoples in Australia, raising profound issues of responsibility and accountability for their initial collection and the resourcing, nation building and limits for communities to manage their safe repatriation to Country. The issue of unprovenanced remains has been particularly difficult to resolve; the National Resting Place provides an important response to the 'unfinished business' of repatriation.

**Ms Pearl Nunn, University of Newcastle**

*Visible or Invisible? Black Women and the Eighteenth Century British Archive*

Session 4.1.10., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

There are several barriers that appear when searching for black women in the eighteenth century British archive. Race or colour is seldom mentioned when discussing an individual, in both official and personal documents. Due to assimilation practices that black people experienced, Afro-Caribbean and African names were seldom maintained within Britain, and 'Christian' names were adopted. The absence of race in the eighteenth century archive makes it more interesting to study, and all the more pertinent to search for. The fact that this work is challenging is why historians of race and gender must continue to do the work to uncover people who would otherwise be unknown to present day readers. The field of Black British history needs to widen and more readily include women, and historians must also work to make this marginalised discipline more mainstream and inclusive.



**Prof Anne O'Brien, UNSW Sydney**

*Homelessness as a Feminist Issue: Revisiting the 1970s and 1980s*

Session 2.4.5., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Opening her 1983 history of the Marrickville women's refuge, *The Last Resort*, Vivien Johnson wrote that 'the homelessness of women' had been 'a catch-cry of the women's refuge movement' since its inception, but that victims of domestic violence needed to be distinguished from 'the chronically homeless'. It was a distinction that reflected feminists' desire to maintain the independence of feminist refuges in a policy terrain dominated by the new Homeless Person's Assistance Act (1974). While these tensions are well known, feminist responses to 'chronically homeless women' remain largely unexamined. This paper explores early feminist responses to 'chronically homeless' women, recovers the voices of some of the women they responded to and explains how, by the mid-1980s, the refuge movement came to be subsumed within the major homelessness program - the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP). It reflects on the long-term implications of this move, including for Indigenous and migrant women.

**Dr Deirdre O'Connell, University of Sydney**

*This Bit of the World Belongs To Us': Billy Hughes, vigilante enforcement and the White Australia Policy.*

Session 4.3.6., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

This paper investigates an overlooked chapter of Billy Hughes's career to explore the legacy of white nationalism in interwar Australia. In 1924, the newly demoted backbencher undertook a US lecture tour, espousing a peculiarly Australian vision of white supremacy to forge rhetorical and social links with Hearst newspapers and the Ku Klux Klan. Back in Australia, Hughes mounted a political comeback, conflating anti-Chinese purges on the goldfields with AIF digger's 'duty' to stem the 'foreign tide.' From threatening to lynch an African American orchestra to appearing in the film *Birth of White Australia*, Hughes upheld the cult of race nationalism while conjuring with the spirit of vigilantism. Soon after, a bombing campaign in Melbourne, Sydney and Queensland killed and injured scores of Southern European migrants. By examining these events through the prism of white nationalism, this paper challenges existing narratives about the scope and implementation of the White Australia policy.



**Dr Deirdre O'Connell, University of Sydney**

*Outlawing Critical Race Theory*

Session 2.3.7., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

In the 1970s, a group of Harvard Law scholars, dissatisfied with existing analytical frameworks, formulated Critical Race Theory to evaluate the disproportional racial impacts of supposedly colour-blind laws. Today, the emotional charge invested in the term Critical Race Theory reaches beyond a debate over methodology to become a proxy for an amorphous range of issues about public memory and the function of history. Conservative commentators deploy the term to trigger panic about the political Left hijacking the national narratives. Legislation in several US states bans any mention of the methodology in school curriculums. Opponents of these laws see an effort to ban discussion of race, racist histories, and racial justice from American schools. This paper traces the changing meaning and understanding of CRT in both academic and public forums. Moreover, it considers the place of CRT in historical practice, comparing it to other methodologies.

**Ms Tamsin O'Connor, University of Sydney**

**(Co-authored by the late Ian Duffield )**

*Death or Liberty!' The Language of Rebellion and a Convict Outbreak at Port Macquarie in 1825.*

Session 2.2.8., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Following the death of historian Ian Duffield I found an unfinished manuscript amongst his papers – first drafted in the early 2000s. It examines a dramatic convict outbreak at Port Macquarie in June 1825– one of the largest and least well documented in Penal Station history. The thirty or so convicts did not bolt for the bush but lingered to launch a series of bush-ranging raids on the settlement. Moreover, the outbreak began with a cry for 'Death or Liberty!', politicising and historicising the event for everyone involved. What interested Ian was the combustible colonial layers of the outbreak and that unifying language of rebellion. Ian was a transnational historian before the term had been coined. He understood how empires worked and how old ideas and ancient angers were ballast on the convict transport ships. I have heavily edited and freely annotated –but his distinctive historical voice remains intact.



**Dr Emily O’Gorman, Macquarie University**  
**(Co-authored by Danielle Carney Flakelar)**

*Interwoven lives: Re-reading colonial archives for Wayilwan women’s knowledge*

Session 3.1.2., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

This paper presents initial research from a collaborative project that aims to closely and critically re-read colonial sources for Wayilwan women’s knowledge of Country. Here, we focus on the Macquarie Marshes and other watercourses in Wayilwan Country, located in north-west New South Wales and the upper reaches of the Darling River system. First, we frame our analysis within contemporary water management issues and ongoing care for Wayilwan Country, and outline our collaborative methodology. We then present an initial analysis of three colonial explorers’ journals: John Oxley, Charles Sturt, and Thomas Mitchell. We examined these in terms of four interlinked Wayilwan women’s knowledges: river knowledge, fire knowledge, grain and yam knowledge, and care of children and the elderly. In undertaking this research we aim to contribute to decolonising methods, address harmful disengagements with Aboriginal women’s practices, and respectfully carry forward Wayilwan women’s knowledge in order to enable healthier Country.

**Dr Betty O’Neill, University of Technology Sydney**

*Stories of Home(lessness): Settled, Unsettled*

Session 4.1.11., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Stories of Home(lessness): Settled, unsettled, explores themes of place and displacement, possession and dispossession, refuge and belonging. The paper tackles an uncomfortable past, rewriting a family history to include the dispossession by my ancestors of the Gumbaynggirr nation and extends to examine the current tragedy of homelessness and displacement. My connection with Gumbaynggirr Aboriginal Elders and the Coffs Harbour Family History Society, library and museum, has enabled the gathering of stories and research exploring the intersections of my white settler colonial forebears and Gumbaynggirr ancestors, and the meaning and consequences of that interaction in the context of decolonisation. It is indeed the unfinished business of family and history.



**Dr Cate O'Neill, University of Melbourne**

*Caring for ageing Care Leavers: the impact of history on Australia's aged care system*

Session 4.1.11., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

The Royal Commission into Aged Care (2021) identified Care Leavers (people who were in institutions as children) as a group who experience problems accessing aged care services that meet their particular needs. For many, the prospect of going into aged care resurfaces traumatic childhood memories and fears, a legacy of having been harmed as children by those who had been entrusted with their care. In aged care, strictures on Care Leavers' choice, control and independence can have a profound impact on their quality of life. This is exacerbated by the prospect of returning to the very same institutions and organisations where childhood trauma occurred.

**John Ogden, Independent Academic**

*Whitewash – The Lost Story of an African Australian*

Session 4.1.10, 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

WHITEWASH – The Lost Story of an African Australian' never set out to be a story about slavery. It developed out of curiosity about a person of color in a 1911 photograph of ten strapping, young Australian men from the Freshwater Surf Lifesaving Club. The photograph was taken just a decade after Federation – the birth of a nation guided by the racist White Australia policy. The Freshwater club would become famous in the summer of 1914–15 when the dark-skinned Olympic gold medallist Duke Kahanamoku stayed at the club, breaking down race barriers in the process. Whitewash became the story of not just one man, but an essay on race and identity. A social history through biography, it tells the story of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the ongoing effects of that trade.



**A/Prof Bobbie Oliver, University of Western Australia**

*The Myth of the abusive anti-war protestor*

Session 4.3.11., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Since the Vietnam War, a belief has arisen that the Australian public spurned returning soldiers and governments refused them welcome home parades. The Vietnam Veterans Counselling Service asserted that 'the reception that veterans received changed dramatically over the years', with returned soldiers often being 'met by hostile countrymen who blamed them for Australia's presence in Vietnam'. Recent research contests this assertion. Extensive searches of newspaper archives have yielded little evidence that anti-war demonstrators 'denigrate[d] and even assault[ed] soldiers returning to Australia'. My own research has found more evidence of violence perpetrated against anti-war demonstrators than by them. Yet the myth persists. My paper aims to test the myth of the abusive demonstrator by researching press accounts of welcome home parades. I posit that, if soldiers returned home covertly, as objects of shame, it was because of government policy, not abusive demonstrators.

**Mr Nikolas Orr, University of Newcastle**

*A Monumental Sculptor's Relation to Power: Margel Hinder and the Civic Park Fountain Plaques*

Session 2.2.7., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

The commemorative landscape of Newcastle, Australia is characterised by patriotic references to war, colonialist celebration and Indigenous absence. Within this setting sits Margel Hinder's (1906–1995) Captain James Cook Memorial Fountain (1966–70). Despite its official title and the public dissent it has attracted, the work's relationship to colonial narratives has been ignored in scholarly accounts. Plaques proclaiming Australia's 'discovery' have recently disappeared from the fountain, the first following a Black Lives Matter rally in 2020. Through archival reconstruction of Hinder's political biography, this article seeks to identify her attitude toward the political use of her art – its instrumentalisation – and argues that, like many monumental sculptors, Hinder was malleable in her ideological position. Contrary to the narrative of a leftist pitted against a culturally conservative and nationalistic Australia, Hinder manifested a latent patriotism and a commitment to professional advance that trumped historical reflection.



**Prof Paul Oslington, Alphacrucis College**

*Economists and Historians: Short History of a Complex Relationship*

Session 3.1.8., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

This paper considers relationships between the history of economics and other humanities disciplines. Reflection on its history began early for political economists, with Du Pont De Nemours *De L'origine et Des Progres D'une Science Nouvelle* 1768, a few years before the mythical birth of the discipline in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* 1776. Always a somewhat insular tribe, economists developed their in-house historical enterprise, the history of economic thought, which peaked in the 1960s before declining to its current crisis. Prophecies of death, moving obituaries, and intimations of sunnier post-death futures by Jacob Viner, Donald Winch, Roy Weintraub and Margaret Schabas are considered. I suggest the paper ends by turning to the current Australian scene and argues that the future lies with re-engagement with wider historical scholarship. But some knowledge of economic theory and the profession is helpful for historians interested in the discipline.

**Dr Samantha Owen, Curtin University**

**(Co-authored by Vanessa Corunna, Tod Jones, Alan Hill, Jo Jones, Robyn Heckenberg, Courtney Babb, Stephen van Leeuwen, Gina Pickering, Cass Lynch & Ranjan Sarukkalige)**

*Reconnecting to Rivers: Creating an Archive at Blackadder Creek*

Session 2.4.1., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

In this talk, we consider the construction of inclusive archives of place by discussing the methodology and process for the 'Reconnecting to Rivers' project. 'Reconnecting' explores how Indigenous and non-Indigenous community members have used, managed and valued Blackadder Creek in the riverine valley east of Perth. The project is Indigenous-led, and an important part of the project is the planned yarning circles with Noongar community members. The project hopes to take the lead from Indigenous deep connection to place to generate an understanding of how these water landscapes have been used, managed and valued over time by Traditional Custodians, complemented by water histories from the wider community. We will explore and articulate First Nations perspectives and engagements with landscape and place, including the effects and implications of settler colonial presence, and community and creative responses to these circumstances, to create an 'archive' of Blackadder Creek.



**Dr Deborah Oxley, The University of Oxford**  
**(Co-authored by Nigel Penn, Michelle Sikes & Lance Van Sittert)**

*The biological consequences of European imperialism in Southern Africa*

Session 2.4.10, 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

This paper uses biometrics to measure the impact of Dutch and then British imperialism on Southern Africa. The duration and intensity of exposure to imperialism varied. Four population groups map on to four economic forms, with different exposure to external influence. The Khoisan peoples were hunters, gatherers and herders exposed to the Dutch East India Company from 1652. Indian and Malay slaves were imported by the DEIC, a group eventually augmented by rescued slaves liberated into the Cape after 1807: they were then known as 'Free Blacks'. Their forced migration severed connection to their own economies and societies. Black Africans (Xhosa, Zulu and others) were agriculturalists not dispossessed until a series of damaging wars conducted mainly over the 19th century. Europeans and their descendants form an ethnically and economically distinct category of their own. Calculating the cost of imperialism on indigenous peoples is a necessary step towards computing restitution.

**Ms Karen Pack, Macquarie University**

*Crisis of Faith: the gendering of Australian religious history and marginalisation of minorities*

Session 3.4.5., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

In contemporary Australian Protestant churches, sincere LGBTQIA+ people of faith frequently find themselves marginalised, patronised or (literally) demonised. An examination of Australian religious histories shows that the same has been true for unmarried Christian women who campaigned on high profile social justice issues, motivated by their faith, yet have been ignored or excised from the historical record. Using case studies of Frances Levy (1831-1924) and Constance Duncan (1896-1970), this paper will explore the ways in which both women resisted and embodied the gendered expectations of their churches in their quest to build a more just Australian society. This paper explores why Australian religious histories have ignored the agency and activism of unmarried women (like Levy and Duncan) outside of the institutional church, and consider what this might teach us about the continuing oppression of women and LGBTQIA+ folk, and what is needed for this to change.



**Mr Joseph Parro, University of Melbourne**

*Unfinished revolutions, unfinished examinations: Australian fascism after the Second World War*

Session 4.3.6., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

In recent decades historians have re-assessed the survival of fascism after 1945. The notion that the interwar period constituted a closed fascist era has been challenged by an understanding that fascist actors continued operating, albeit in ways that reflected the reality of the post-war context. At the same time, Australian fascism has been largely understood as a history of activism alternating with periods of inactivity or hibernation. The post-war decade is seen as one such quiet period. However, actors who still believed in the National Socialist cause carried on their activism in ways that were markedly different from their interwar efforts, reflecting the necessity and ability of fascist actors to respond to their changing context. This paper proposes that viewing the post-war activity of these fascist actors through models that reflect the transnational changes in post-war fascist activism leads to a re-appraisal of the current historiographical model of Australian fascism.

**Dr Naomi Parry, University of Tasmania**

*Looking into Shadows: Musquito and Black Jack, and a Death Mask made of Country*

Session 3.2.10, 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

There have been dramatic changes in scholarship in Aboriginal history since I wrote a short biography of the life of the Gai-mariagal warrior Musquito for the Australian Dictionary of Biography in 2003. His story, of exile from the Colony of Sydney to Norfolk Island in 1805 then to Van Diemen's Land in 1814, and his 1825 execution, remains a foundational narrative of Australian history. But I no longer think a traditional biography, focusing on the story of an individual, conveys the complexity of this history. This paper will talk about encountering the death mask of one of Musquito's companions, a palawa warrior known as Black Jack, and what that taught me about the enactment of particular forms of colonial violence. It presents a challenge to the work of recent biographers who have written about palawa people and Musquito.



**Mr Alexander Parsons, University of Adelaide**

*Government Spain Fights Our Battle!: Australian Anglican Responses to the Spanish Civil War*

Session 2.3.4., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The passionate Australian Roman Catholic response to the Spanish Civil War is well known. In contrast, there has been little study into the responses of the Church of England in Australia. The most radical and outspoken pro-Republican voice on this topic was George Stuart Watts, editor of *The Church Standard*. This was the de facto national weekly newspaper of the Anglican Church, read by educated clergy and the public around Australia. This paper gives an overview of Watts' intense anti-fascist sentiments and support for the Spanish Republic, and situates them within Australian Anglican thought. It compares Watts' views with those published in the monthly Diocesan and parish magazines of South Australia and Victoria. Themes of anti-Communism and anti-fascism abound, but perhaps the most popular Australian Anglican approach for understanding the implications of the Spanish Civil War was anti-Catholicism.

**Ms Carmel Pascale, University of Adelaide**

*Celebrating the Nation: Taking Account of the Imperial Ideal in the Early Federation*

Session 2.3.11., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

While recent histories of Federation tend to emphasise the role of sentiment in the creation of the Australian nation, historians have also noted that these ideals were barely present at the nation's birth, having been overtaken by an assertive imperial nationalism. Yet, the relationship between nationalism and imperialism has received limited attention. Through a study of Foundation/Australia Day and Empire Day in South Australia, this paper traces the development of continental and imperial unity from 1901 to the 1960s. It shows that during its early years, Federation was celebrated as an expression of both these elements. Federation, after all, had made both continental and imperial defence possible by bringing together and ensuring the colonies' community of interest as part of the larger imperial project. This not only highlights the interconnection between nationalism and imperialism at this time, but the important role of self-interest in the development of the Australian nation.



**Dr Stephen Pascoe, UNSW Sydney**

*Finishing the Business of Imperialism: The Suez Crisis and the Decolonisation of the Arab World*

Session 3.3.11., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Among historians of the twentieth century, the Suez Crisis of 1956 is usually invoked as a landmark for British imperial decline, or as one of the first tests of US–Soviet competition in the emergent Cold War. Bypassing such narratives of great power confrontation, this paper revisits the crisis via an alternate geography and methodology. I argue for re-examining this flashpoint as paradigmatic of a type of imperialism that had predominated in the Middle East since the mid-nineteenth century: based on concessionary contracts promoting extra-territorial monopolies, which challenged local territorial sovereignty. Examining the view from Damascus, where divestment from foreign capital remained one of the defining themes of post-independence Syrian politics, the paper provides a focused case study of the Suez Moment. How did Syrians perceive this crisis? To what extent was the anti-imperial struggle in the moment of decolonization articulated around the 'unfinished business' of divesting imperially-protected capital?

**Dr Anne Maree Payne, University of Technology Sydney**

*No place else but home' 1*

Session 3.1.10, 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

This paper will explore the possibilities for truth-telling, commemoration and healing that the proposed National Resting Place outlines. The return of Ancestral Remains provides the opportunity to make redress for past wrongs, and to reflect on the attitudes which informed the dehumanising practices of the past collection and display of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander remains. Ancestral Remains are critical to truth-telling as by their very existence and materiality they disrupt colonial narratives about terra nullius. However, human remains are also a powerful example of the limits of human rights processes. Incorporating aspects of a memorial, a tomb, a repository, an educational facility and a research institute, this paper reflects on the potential of the National Resting Place as a site of truth and memory aiming to disrupts the traditional 'museum' model and to restore the dignity and respect owing to Ancestral Remains which had previously been objectified.



**Dr Anne Maree Payne, University of Technology Sydney**

*Untold Suffering: Motherhood, Truth-Telling and the Bringing Them Home Inquiry*

Session 4.4.1., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

This paper will reflect on the work of the Bringing Them Home Inquiry in the context of current calls for truth-telling in Australia and considers the broader relationship of the Inquiry to international transitional justice processes. Reflecting critically on the Bringing Them Home Inquiry process and its intended and unintended outcomes is of value in considering the design of inclusive truth-telling processes which enable a diversity of opinions and perspectives to be spoken, vital in the context of the recent focus on truth-telling in Australia emerging from the Uluru Statement from the Heart. The unfinished business of the Bringing Them Home Inquiry includes the absence of testimony from Aboriginal parents, particularly mothers. I explore the possibility that the framing of the issue of child removal by the Inquiry itself may in part have contributed to silencing the testimony of mothers who had experienced child removal.

**Dr Johanna Perheentupa, UNSW Sydney**

*Indigenous Self-Determination in Education: Australia and Finland in the 1970s*

Session 3.3.1, 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The Sámi in Finland and Australian First Nations, although both colonised peoples with experience of assimilatory schooling, faced distinctly different contexts in mainstream education in the 1970s. In Australia First Nations struggled with equal access to education, while in Finland the Sámi had been under compulsory education legislation since 1947. Yet, from 1970s onwards both countries saw an increasing government investment in indigenous education, marking a formative shift in indigenous education policy. Furthermore, both indigenous peoples shared a continuing concern over access to education in their own languages and cultures, while pushing for self-determination and a greater role in educational decision making. In this paper I compare the developments in indigenous education policy in the two countries and the way in which they responded to indigenous advocacy in the 1970s. Particularly, I examine the role of self-determination and equity in education policy, focusing on the inclusion of culture and language.



**Mr Jonathan Tehusijarana, University of Melbourne**

*Pandu to Pemuda: Transnational youth culture and its influence on pemuda-ism in colonial Indonesia*

Session 4.1.3., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

The history of the Indonesian independence struggle of 1945-9 remains unfinished business in terms of how this period is understood. The youth (pemuda) who participated are often depicted as the key actors of the struggle. Several scholars such as Anderson (1972) and Frederick (1989) have examined the nationalist obsession with 'youth' in this period, yet few have considered the extent to which the emphasis on youth development was part of wider transnational trends. In this paper I argue that the Indonesian emphasis on youth was informed by the emergence of transnational youth culture in the early 20th century. Building on global studies of youth history this paper analyses a range of transnational youth practices that grew in popularity in Indonesia. This included an emphasis on scouting and its related militaristic practices which, in addition to the Japanese period, strongly influenced pemuda-ism (youth culture) within and beyond the Indonesian revolution.

**Dr Hollie Pich, University of Sydney**

*Jim Crow 2.0? Voter Suppression in the Contemporary US*

Session 2.3.7., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

In March 2021, Georgia Republicans passed a slew of repressive changes to their state's election process. These changes include restrictions to absentee voting, strict new voter ID requirements, and new rules about where you can vote. President Joe Biden declared 'This is Jim Crow in the 21st century.' Politician and organiser Stacey Abrams labelled the law 'nothing less than Jim Crow 2.0.' Jim Crow was the legal, political, and social order that saw whites rule the American South from the late nineteenth-century until the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. One of its defining characteristics was the widespread disenfranchisement of (Black) voters. In this paper, I examine the links between Jim Crow and contemporary voter suppression – arguing that, although these laws do not themselves mark the return of unquestioned white political hegemony, Georgian Republicans are borrowing tactics that enabled white Southerners to hold power for decades.



**Dr Andonis Piperoglou, Griffith University**

*'Dago' Disavowal: the troubled history of a racial slur*

Session 4.4.4., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

As exposing the pervasiveness of racism remains unfinished business in Australian public and scholarly discourse, so too do strategies for bringing about its end. In trying to create a racism-free future, there are those who believe that histories of race can play a central role in disavowing the continued use of racist language. This paper explores the origin, use, and contested meaning of the racial slur 'dago' – a derogatory and prejudicial racial term that mediated how migrants from the Mediterranean region engaged with 'race talk'. By historicising how the racial slur was reworked, rejected, and sometimes retained, it will be argued that that racial language was central to how migrants understood themselves, and each other. In recognising the relationship between race talk and migrant identity formation, my hope is to look in a new way upon race, the power relations it generates, and the social havoc it wreaks.

**Mr Nicholas Pitt, UNSW Sydney**

*The rhetoric and practice of colonisation in 1830s government-assisted emigration to New South Wales*

Session 3.4.10., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Government-assisted migration schemes and the political rhetoric used to justify large-scale settler colonisation have long historiographies. Yet the ways that nineteenth-century government-assisted schemes entangled emigrants in the rhetoric and practices of colonisation have received limited attention. This presentation uses the close study of a localised Gloucestershire migration boom between 1837 and 1839 to consider how rhetoric and practice interplayed in the process of migration. At this small scale, links between emigration promoters, administrative machinery, and individual emigrants begin to emerge. Emigrants actively engaged with aspects of the rhetoric of colonisation while responding to larger economic and social pressures. Understanding these prior entanglements provides background for understanding settler identities assumed after arrival in the Australian colonies.



**Dr Annie Pohlman, University of Queensland**  
**(Co-authored by Dr Jess Melvin)**

*The Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Forestalled History-Writing*

Session 3.4.3., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

A central task of truth and reconciliation commissions is, through a variety of truth-seeking mechanisms, to produce an account of past wrongs. However problematic, this account is meant to provide a history of what injustices were committed, against whom, and by whom, to 'reveal the truth' about those past wrongs. In this paper, we examine the work of the Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission (KKR-Aceh), which began its first term in 2016. The KKR-Aceh is charged with 'revealing the truth, patterns and motives behind the human rights violations' which occurred during the thirty-year conflict between the central Indonesian government and the separatist Free Aceh Movement (GAM). In this paper, we outline the statement-taking and public hearing activities of the KKR-Aceh, but also some of the critical weaknesses of the transitional justice context in Aceh which have undermined the Commission's mandate, such as the provision of blanket amnesties.

**Mr Matt Poll, Maritime Museum**

*On the return of spears taken by Endeavour voyage from Kamay Botany Bay in 1770*

Session 4.1.1., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

In 2021, spears taken by the Endeavour voyage from Kamay Botany Bay in 1770, and now held at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge University, returned to Sydney where they were exhibited at the new Chau Chau Wing Museum. This paper will reflect on the process and experience of exhibiting the spears in Sydney, and community engagements with them.



**Prof Hans Pols, University of Sydney**  
**(Co-authored by Prof Warwick Anderson)**

*Health and Disease: From Epidemic to Lifestyle Diseases*

Session 2.4.3., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

During the past two centuries, Southeast Asia has experienced an extraordinary patchwork of colonial and later national responses to public health threats. Multiple regional forms of European and United States colonialism, all operating in proximity, each generated specific colonial (or semicolonial in the case of Thailand) medical enterprises. These locally adapted European biomedical modes of diagnosis and treatment competed and interacted with persisting vernacular healing styles and still vigorous religious framings of illness, whether Islamic, Buddhist, Hindu, Catholic, syncretic or other. By contrast, there has been a surprising historical indifference to mental illness in the region, aside from intermittent fascination with amok and latah.

**Dr Greg Poulgrain, University of the Sunshine Coast**

*Inside 1965 – The role of Suharto*

Session 4.4.3., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Major-General Suharto blamed the Indonesian communist party (PKI), all twenty million members, when six Indonesian army generals were killed in 1965. Although he accused the PKI of organizing the '30th September Movement', research shows Suharto himself was on the inside. The actual killer of General Yani, whom Suharto replaced as head of the army on 1 October, was a 'preman', a mafia-type contract killer. In Cipinang Prison, 1998, I interviewed Colonel Abdul Latief, one of two leaders of the Movement. 'Killing was not on the agenda', he declared, adding 'Suharto was one of us' (ie. the 30th Sept. Movement). British archives in London show how American and British officials created the 'Council of Generals' and the threat of an army coup against Sukarno provided the motive to kidnap the generals. This paper explains the complexity of events that occurred in Jakarta on 1 October 1965, showing Suharto was the key.



**Dr Rhonda Povey, Western Sydney University**

*Promises and lies: Aboriginal education in the Kimberley, 1910-1955*

Session 3.1.1., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

This presentation is based on interviews with Aboriginal Elders whose stories remain untold. The focus of this presentation is on truth telling, through reporting on a place-based history that exposes government failure to deliver Western education, as promised, to Aboriginal children in remote Western Australia between 1910 and 1955. Interviews with Aboriginal Elders in the East Kimberley reveal it is not only what history has chosen to misrepresent, but also what history failed to notice. Drawn from a polyvocal oral history study and guided by principles of ethical Indigenist research, these stories speak back to historical silences in an effort to resolve unfinished business, raising questions about practices that sanction the endurance of these proper-bad lies.

**A/Prof Susie Protschky, Monash University**

*Military responses to and forms of knowledge about natural disaster in colonial Indonesia, 1865-1930*

Session 4.2.3., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

This paper charts changes in military responses to natural disaster in colonial Indonesia (the Netherlands East Indies). It reveals that, up until the early twentieth century, colonial forces conducting wars of conquest across the archipelago were caught in disasters as they happened, and their responses were localised and reactive. Around 1918, colonial policy shifted towards a more coordinated, interventionist role for the military that attended to the humanitarian needs of Indonesian disaster victims. The groundwork for an integrated, first-responder role for the military in natural disasters was laid during the 1920s, with the establishment of an air force with capabilities in aerial reconnaissance and photography. These new technologies fostered a militarisation of colonial knowledge about natural disasters that reached its fullest expression during the Merapi eruption of 1930 and, notably, exceeded operational purposes by shaping colonial science, as well as disaster- and geo-tourism.



**Dr Louise Prowse, Macquarie University**

*From Pin Money to Side Hustle: A history of Australian rural women in 'invisible' business 1900-2020*

Session 3.4.5., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

While the popularisation of having a 'side hustle' is relatively new, the act of earning money on the side is not, particularly for women. It has been a common practice for decades, albeit under different descriptions (e.g. moonlighting or pin money). However for women earning in side or informal business arrangements, their economic activities and contributions to their families and communities have left little record and have received equally little acknowledgment. This is changing - business use of digital platforms have created extensive records of female entrepreneurship and "side hustle" businesses. This research traces the etymology of the term 'side hustle' and how it has been applied in the international and Australian settings. It then explores earning on the side in the context of rural Australian women, investigating their motivations for earning, how they understood and represented their economic activity and the impacts of their economic contribution within their communities.

**Ms Kylie Pywell, Deakin University**

*The woman abortionist: A case study of Isabella Elizabeth Downey 1880-1912*

Session 3.2.5., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Isabella Downey provided abortions to Melbourne women for around 20 years. From the 1890s to her eventual imprisonment in 1910 she was charged nine times with the crime but convicted only once. This paper takes a biographical approach to Downey's career and examines the history of abortion in Australia by focusing on the working-class woman abortionist. Much of the historical research has understood abortion in this period as either a criminal act or as part of a wider analysis of contraceptive practices and the birth rate decline. This case study of Nurse Downey attempts to untether itself from the constraints of criminal historiography to examine the economic, social and class consequences for women who became abortion providers and to demonstrate the role abortion played in the lives of working-class women, not only in, controlling fertility but also in rejecting marriage, escaping the violence of men, and forging financial independence.



**Dr Laura Rademaker, Australian National University**

*History on the rocks?*

Session 2.2.1., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

North Australia is home to some of the oldest and most visually stunning rock art in the world. These images tell stories of the Ancestors, the formation of Country and of the intrusions of colonisers. Thus far, the academic study of rock art has been the preserve of archaeologists. Historians' preference for written documents, meanwhile, has often limited the scope of our research to Australia's very recent past. Does conceiving of the images on rock as documents and records, and their galleries as archives assist us in finding ways to hear First Nations voices in deeper histories, that is, histories that stretch beyond and before the arrival of European literacies? Or are these archival categories ill-fitted for First Nations' approaches to knowledge? Should historians enter this domain? And more importantly, perhaps, how might historians work with First Nations knowledge-holders to understand what rock art might be saying.

**Dr Keith Rathbone, Macquarie University**

*The Unfinished Business of the Olympics: War and Remembrance at the 1920 Antwerp Olympiad*

Session 4.4.11., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

The International Olympic Movement is publicly associated with peace and international goodwill. At the same time, many scholars, including Allen Guttman, argue that the Games exist in tension between their apoliticism and nationalism. Those tensions have been ably explored in the context of the 1936 Nazi Games. My paper will focus on the 1920 Antwerp Olympics. Through a close examination of official reports, press, and oral histories of participants it will demonstrate a chauvinistic Games hosted by a liberal democratic state. The 7th Olympiad celebrated the militarism and masculine virtues of the First World War, exposed limitations of the interwar Olympic spirit, and presaged the ruptures apparent in Berlin '36. My work thus contributes to a critical analytical discourse of the Olympic Movement that exposes an earlier politicisation of the Games by the liberal democratic victors of the First World War and suggests a transnational biopolitics politics of interwar Europe.



**Dr Henry Reese, University of Melbourne; Australian Catholic University; University of Wollongong**

*Performing African Imperialism: Henry Morton Stanley's Lecture Tour, 1891–92.*

Session 4.1.10., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

In late 1891, the iconic Welsh-American explorer Henry Morton Stanley embarked on a lecture tour of Australia and New Zealand. Stanley delivered over 75 lectures based on his famous exploratory journeys through Central and Eastern Africa. He drew large crowds and followed a well-established theatrical circuit. This paper will reconstruct and contextualise Stanley's lecture tour in light of the other staged entertainments available for a settler public hungry for images and stories of the wider world. I will argue for the importance of the lecture tour as a cultural form in late-colonial Australian life. Stanley's tour provides an opportunity to revisit larger debates around popular investments in imperial culture. I argue that Stanley's appearance provided settler audiences with an opportunity to imaginatively participate in the colonial 'scramble' then unfolding across the African continent, albeit in a hybrid manner informed by the local dynamics of the settler colonial project.

**Dr Nadia Rhook, University of Western Australia**

*Pasts beyond 'discipline'? Reading challenges to 'History' in contemporary First Nations poetry*

Session 2.4.9., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

We are making histories among an upswell of critiques of the coloniality of archives—and relatedly, of scholarly forms of historical knowledge—from both within and outside of academia (Araluen; Khatun). In the last decade, First Nations poets in Australia and North America, notably Harkin ('Archival Poetics'), Layli Long Soldier ('Whereas'), Whittaker ('Blakwork'), and Shiosaki ('Homecoming'), have been developing archival-poetic methods. Poetry and imagination are practices to confront the dark heart of colonial bureaucracies, and to find release from colonial governance for the present-future. This paper reads poetry to consider the unresolved politics of archive use. What might happen when non-Indigenous historians gain a critical view of our relationships with archives from outside the discipline? How might taking seriously the praxes of contemporary Indigenous poets inform the decolonisation of historical practice? And do we need to break the rules of our discipline to break free from settler colonialism?



**Prof Peter Riddell, Australian College of Theology; University of Sydney**

*Christian-Muslim Relations in Southeast Asia in the 20th and 21st Centuries: a work in progress*

Session 4.1.3., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

By the beginning of the 20th century, Christians and Muslims had been interacting in Southeast Asia in substantial ways for at least 500 years. Though that interaction is often typecast as largely negative, in fact the record varied between conflict, co-existence and at times active cooperation. This paper will begin with an overview of Christian-Muslim relations from 1300-1900. It will then proceed by placing a focus on the diverse methods of Christian-Muslim interaction in Southeast Asia during the 20th and early 21st centuries, across varied countries and cultural contexts. The paper will conclude by addressing the question of unfinished business: where to next in the fast-moving digital age of globalisation?

**Prof Noah Riseman, Australian Catholic University**

*(Re)constructing Australia's Transgender History: Building the Personal, Community and Collective*

Session 2.4.7., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

This paper draws on methodological and reflective observations from an ARC-funded project exploring Australia's transgender history. Oral history interviews are a key methodology, and one unanticipated but rich resource has also been the personal archives many transgender activists, allies and health professionals have generously shared. The project is generating a mix of scholarly and public history outputs including a report on Victoria's transgender history, a report to the Australian Professional Association for Trans Health, a documentary short film and smaller contributions for research partners. The project has also represented an ongoing process of negotiating tensions: between academic versus community outcomes; intra-community perspectives over topics like language, health and sport; and finding ways to affirm participants' voices and points of difference within dominant historical narratives. This paper will explore some of the tensions and how the researcher has navigated them, ensuring that trans perspectives and voices are central to the project.



**WITHDRAWN – Adj/Professor Craig Ritchie, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies**

*No place else but home' 2*

Session 3.1.10, 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

The federal government announced its commitment to establishing a National Resting Place for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ancestral remains in Canberra following a recommendation from the Joint Select Committee on Constitutional Recognition relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples. This paper explores the need for a National Resting Place, as a new national cultural institution to perform a vital role in the care of Ancestral Remains. The National Resting Place represents the possibility of a First Peoples-centred approach to thinking about the past, present and future. This paper will discuss the work currently being undertaken by AIATSIS to support the development of the National Resting Place concept and will argue that it will be a vital site to shift the national discourse that centres Aboriginal worlds in relation to dominant ideas.

**Dr Jonathan Ritchie, Deakin University**

*The Unfinished Business of Colonialism: Australia's Uncomfortable Relationship with Papua New Guinea*

Session 4.4.10., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

The theme 'Unfinished Business' is timely and apt where Australia's relationship with Papua New Guinea is concerned. It works at several levels, as I will illustrate. It's timely. Recently I concluded a research project, supported by the Australian Government, on the experiences of Papua New Guineans with World War Two in the Pacific. Note that I write 'concluded', not 'completed': while much was done on this project, much remained undone, with increasing urgency as those alive during the War pass away. So it is definitely 'unfinished business', and my presentation will address both what has been done, and what remains outstanding. It's also apt. Many have seen the ending of the colonial period as 'unfinished business': too much to be done, too late, and when the Australian flag came down in 1975, much remained unfinished. Or did it? My presentation will consider whether the colonial encounter ever can be finished.



**Mr Zac Roberts, Macquarie University**

*A Mystery in Broken Hill and Jewish-Aboriginal Relations in Nineteenth Century Australia*

Session 4.2.4., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In the early 1890s, a Jewish man from the Moreton Bay Settlement named Samuel Isaac Solomon became a captain of the Broken Hill Fire Brigade. Sixty years later, in the early 1950s, his descendants donated a photograph to the Broken Hill Fire Station depicting Solomon standing beside a seated—and currently unidentified—Aboriginal man. The date of the photo, as well as the story behind it, remains unknown. The purpose of this presentation is to unravel some of the unanswered questions that surround the circumstances of the photo. In particular, why did Samuel Isaac Solomon go to Broken Hill? What was his relationship with this Aboriginal man, and how does this photograph link to the broader relationships between Aboriginal and Jewish people in nineteenth century Australia?

**Dr Shirleene Robinson, Macquarie University**

*Unfinished Business, Unrecognised Volunteers? Women and the Volunteer Response to HIV/AIDS 1983-1996*

Session 3.4.5., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Australia's world-leading response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the 1980s and early 1990s drew heavily on the efforts of volunteers, a contribution which has not yet been fully recognised. A number of factors, including race, age, financial status and HIV status, impacted on the particular experience of volunteers. This paper considers the way a further factor—gender—impacted on HIV/AIDS volunteering experiences by focusing on the contribution of women volunteers. The experiences of these volunteers have yet to be interrogated in this way. This paper uses original oral history interviews to consider tensions amongst and between volunteers, the role gender played in decisions to volunteer and volunteering experiences and the strategies women volunteers used to navigate challenges. It explores why the particular contribution of women, as well as the particular challenges they navigated, remains to be fully recognised.



**Prof Mina Roces, UNSW Sydney**

*Families and Clans*

Session 2.4.3., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

This paper, from a chapter in the Cambridge History of Southeast Asia, will focus on the way family dynamics in Southeast Asia changed since 1800. It will demonstrate the way families combine political influence with their economic interests in the project of gaining or maintaining elite status from the colonial period to the present. It will look at the way outside forces such as the state and the economy had an impact in altering the family, but it will also examine the way the family itself responded to attempts to modify it. In addition, it will show how women also participated actively in debates about the family, and how they reacted to the opportunities and challenges that historical changes presented to them.

**Dr Thomas Rogers, Australian War Memorial**

*The New South Wales contingent to Sudan, 1885: Colonial commemoration and commentary*

Session 3.3.11., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The colony of New South Wales sent a contingent of about 750 soldiers to aid the British forces in Sudan in early 1885. This was the first time a self-governing British colony had sent its own troops overseas in aid of an Imperial expedition. Although this small contingent saw very little action in Africa, the significance of its deployment is a continuing topic of debate. This paper examines the commemoration of the few deaths in the New South Wales contingent, none of which occurred at the hands of the enemy. Commemorative services for these soldiers were occasions for reflections on patriotism, Imperial unity, and the future of the Australian colonies. How was the contingent understood by its contemporaries in the colony that sent it? In colonial minds, had the deployment of colonial troops changed the position of New South Wales in the British Empire?



**Dr Alexandra Roginski, Deakin University**

*Suntans on Parade: Physical Culture and Regimented Joy on the Home Front during World War II*

Session 3.3.9., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

During World War II, physical-culture instructor Alice Bostock guided Sydney girls and women in the choreographed grace of a war effort that included beauty pageants, home fitness tips on radio, and classes frequented by female war workers. The face of the Grace Bros School of Physical Culture, Bostock shaped cadres of youthful suntanned bodies, for one display even guiding her girls into a formation that spelled out 'ANZAC'. Scholars have charted how the body, as a national resource, became subject to practices aimed at physical improvement during the early-to-mid-twentieth century. The sister of a leading RAAF commander, Bostock perched close to militaristic nationalism. Yet she also infused regimented frameworks with the blended pleasures of patriotism, play and fundraising. Drawing on Bostock's Mitchell Library archive, this research provides crucial new perspectives on the physical experiences of women on the home front and their harnessing of self-mastery during protracted crisis.

**Ms Natasha Rooney, Deakin University**

*Ayurveda and Biological Plasticity: A Postcolonial Framing of Preconception in the Postgenomic Era*

Session 3.4.11., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Epigenetics and Ayurveda at first seem unlikely counterparts. The former is a budding field of science which explores how environmental influences create changes in gene expression. The latter is an ancient Indian science and traditional medical system with associations to the Hindu religion. However, when it comes to their social and behavioural implications, the two areas are finding common ground particularly around notions and practices of regulation of the maternal body. Although there have been recent attempts to bring together history of science and postcolonialism there is a gap in the literature, particularly in historical epistemology. The ways in which biomedicine and health knowledges of the Global South interact plays an important role in assessing colonial legacies and postcolonial modernity. By focusing on preconception this article discusses how the scientific knowledge of epigenetics is being acted on and challenging discourse in the reproductive arena.



**Prof Tim Rowse, Western Sydney University  
(Co-authored by Prof Em. Murray Goot)**

*Two publics or one? The campaign to recognise Indigenous Australians in the constitution*

Session 2.2.10, 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In the debate about possible forms of Indigenous constitutional recognition there have been two publics to be satisfied: the votersen masseand the Indigenous public that has a choice about whether to accept the form of constitutional recognition. The Indigenous public was actualised in the Uluru Convention (May 2017), whose 'Statement from the Heart' mandated a 'Voice to Parliament' as the form that constitutional recognition should take. The Voicemay not ever be submitted to referendum, but both Labor and the Coalition promise to legislate it, giving the 'Indigenous public' institutional form. This paper will argue that competing designs of the Voice reflect competing underlying conceptions of the 'Indigenous public' - as a 'population' (suffering socio-economic deprivation) and as 'peoples' bearing distinct rights.

**Prof Em. Lyndall Ryan, University of Newcastle  
(Co-authored by Jennifer Debenham, Bill Pascoe, Chris Owen & Robyn Smith)**

*Mass Poisoning of Aboriginal People on the Australian Colonial Frontier*

Session 2.4.10, 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

An unexpected finding of the digital massacre map project, is the way colonists used poisons like arsenic and strychnine to kill significant numbers of Aboriginal people on the Australian colonial frontier. This paper compares instances of mass poisoning in the 1840s with those in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The paper finds that in the 1840s colonial authorities attempted to bring known perpetrators to justice; that in both periods the perpetrator was more likely to act alone rather than as part of a group; and that poisoning of food, tobacco and waterholes, which were a feature of the 19th century, underwent a significant shift in the early 20th century to the poisoning of alcoholic drinks.



**Ms Lauren Samuelsson, University of Wollongong**

*'If anything has suffered in my house, it's dinner': advice for working mothers in the AWW 1960s-70s*

Session 4.3.7., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

During the 1960s and 1970s, the Australian Women's Weekly (the Weekly) published numerous food editorials, supplements and even cookbooks which addressed a rising concern for its middle-class readers: how to juggle the gendered expectations of domestic foodwork with the reality that women were working outside the home. Today, these gendered expectations linger. Australian women still perform 2.5 times more domestic foodwork than men. This is unfinished business. This paper explores the way that the Weekly spoke to working women about food during the 1960s and 1970s. It argues that the food-related messages in the Weekly and its cookbooks were increasingly targeted at working women, despite the magazine's continued adherence to traditional models of domestic womanhood. The tensions arising from this paradox perpetuated the expectation that working mothers would still shoulder the responsibility of domestic foodwork. In exploring these tensions, the paper highlights the ongoing, complex entanglements of food and gender.

**Dr Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan, University of Sydney**

*Living with Disaster in Indonesia over the Longue Durée*

Session 4.2.3., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Disasters have played a major role in shaping the history of the world. Indonesia has hosted some of the most impactful disasters in recorded history, such as the 1815 eruption of Tambora. Throughout their history, Indonesians were remarkably resilient to the effects of natural disaster. Drawing on sources from Java and Bali that span the ninth to nineteenth centuries, I argue that disaster was seen as a sign of the presence of spiritual power in the world. This power had ambivalent effects on society that were both predictable and manageable. Rather than throwing life into chaos, eruptions were normalised as regular events in state chronicles. These chronicles allow us to pinpoint disasters that were not recorded in colonial archives, including a major eruption of Bali's Agung volcano in 1710–11. I thus show how Indonesians developed distinctive forms of knowledge to live resiliently with disaster.



**Dr Karen Schamberger, National Library of Australia**

*Lambing Flat: Riots, Humiliation and Erasure*

Session 3.3.4., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The collective memories that the Lambing Flat riots led to the White Australia Policy developed into a foundation myth around the time of Federation in 1901 – a process I examined in my thesis (2016). This paper extends that analysis. In that myth, First Nations people are described as dying out and the British, as their successors. Chinese people were turned into an enemy that Europeans needed to fight to develop the nation of Australia. More recently, the riots and this Australian foundation myth became a part of the narrative that the People's Republic of China tells about itself through the 'Century of Humiliation' discourse. I argue that both national narratives have had implications for the interpretation of the riots themselves, as well as other aspects of Young's history, evident in artistic representations, popular culture, monuments, interpretive signage, and the material culture preserved in local museums.

**Prof Susanne Schech, Flinders University**

*Navigating the Cold War in the 1960s Cuba Crisis: The Red Cross through an assemblage lens*

Session 2.4.11., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

This paper examines Red Cross interventions in Cuba where the politics of decolonisation and the Cold War became closely entangled in the early 1960s. Cuba became a hotspot of decolonisation when the 1959 Revolution began the dismantlement of a century of United States domination of Cuban politics, economy, and culture. US attempts to overthrow the budding communist regime culminated in the failed invasion at Cuba's Bay of Pigs, and the conflict escalated into the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. Yet that same year, 1113 Bay of Pigs captives were released and returned to the US. While the transnational organisations of the Red Cross took a back seat, national Red Cross societies accomplished the exchange of prisoners for humanitarian supplies. Understanding the Red Cross as a flat assemblage helps to explain this complex and unusual operation in the absence of diplomatic relations, demonstrating the pliability of the Red Cross movement.



**Dr Vera-Simone Schulz, Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut**

Potentially the Pompeii of East Africa': Architectural Heritage Along the Swahili Coast and Beyond

Session 3.2.7., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Referred to as 'potentially the Pompeii of East Africa', the ambition to liken the ruined city of Kua in the Mafia archipelago in today's Tanzania with one of the most famous ruined sites in Europe could hardly have been greater and continues to overshadow the Tanzanian archaeological site. Putting this statement, made by none other than Mortimer Wheeler in the mid-twentieth century, into context, this talk investigates approaches to the architectural heritage of coastal East Africa with regard to archaeological expeditions, the early history of tourism, and the weights of colonialism. The talk will then seek to re-frame Wheeler's statement in the context of more recent approaches to East African architecture, and discuss the possibilities and challenges for re-considerations of East African architectural heritage beyond Eurocentric notions of center and periphery in the horizons of transcultural and global art histories.

**Dr Monika Schwarz, Monash University**

*'We are all alike': The collective visualisation of female convict lives*

Session 2.4.8., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

The convicts that landed in Eastern Australia were documented in extraordinary detail. Yet, the 'big data' generated by nineteenth century systems of surveillance was sufficiently complex to defy attempts to explore the ways in which the lives of the transported intersected. In part this was intentional. The principal bureaucratic tool employed to regulate convict labour, the Conduct Records, was conceived as a means of documenting individual transgressions. Personal offending histories were used to assess the suitability of applicants for receipt of indulgences, or to single out those whose conduct warranted disciplinary action. This paper uses coded transcript of 72,000 court summaries detailed in the female Conduct Records held by the Tasmanian Archives. With the aid of network analysis and other digital techniques it explores the links between individual prosecutions, revealing both the collective nature of many transgressions, and the web of collusion that bound convict women one to another.



**A/Prof Tiffany Shellam, Deakin University**  
**(Co-authored by Shona Coyne)**

*Entangled Knowledges: biocultural collections and interdisciplinary collaborations*

Session 2.3.1, 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Natural History Museums around the world hold collections gathered by European collectors on the edges of empire from the 18th and 19th centuries. Many of these specimens were collected with the assistance of Indigenous peoples, yet these histories remain largely unacknowledged in the museum today. This paper reflects on a new collaborative project, governed by the Albany Heritage Reference Group Aboriginal Corporation, which aims to unsettle the dominant 'western science' framework in a historical fish collection from Albany, WA. This collection was made by Robert Neill in 1841 and holds Menang knowledge, stories and fishing practices. The collection is now dispersed across National Museums Scotland and the Natural History Museum in London and the Menang knowledge remains hidden in scientific discourses and museum databases. This paper discusses the approach and methodology of our project and the opportunities that come from working in a collaborative team.

**Ms Bronwyn Shepherd, Deakin University**

*Seeing Makarrwala: missionaries, anthropologists, and spaces of representation*

Session 2.2.4., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In 1927, a year after arriving at Milingimbi Methodist Mission in Arnhem Land, Rev TT Webb sent a translation of The Lord's Prayer back to his missionary society. Accompanying it was a note describing the process and acknowledging the people involved with the translation. This included a missionary –himself, an anthropologist –Warner, a Gupapunju Birrkili man –Birrinjdjawuy and a Wanguri man –Makarrwala. In both missionary and anthropological accounts, Makarrwala is variously visible and as such has left a significant imprint in the archive. What is obvious in and beyond the archive is that Makarrwala, lived, negotiated, and operated in the relationship between the mission and anthropology, where he was intensely represented. Using this prayer as a device for discussing the complex interactions and entanglements of meaning-making at Milingimbi, during the opening decades of the mission, I show how anthropological knowledge about Yolŋu emerged from an intercultural co-produced space.



**Miss Sucharita Sen**

*Interpersonal Relationships and Non-Sexual Intimacies in British India*

Session 2.3.10., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

British imperial officers ran the administration of colonial India. Historians have studied the public lives of officers and their interracial heterosexual intimacies. There has however been a minimal analysis of the officers' personal relationship with their Indian servants and soldiers. This paper argues that interpersonal relationships between the officers and their subjects were often inconsistent with the rhetoric of colonial difference. By analysing the lived-experiences of the officers across the nineteenth century, this paper breaches the temporal dividing line of the Mutiny of 1857, suggesting that domestic relationships often did not mirror the official antagonisms which the Mutiny had harbingered. The interplay of personal affection and occupational loyalty shaped cross-cultural and cross-racial non-sexual intimacies which existed in tandem with imperial hierarchies.

**Dr Ben Silverstein, Australian National University**

**(Co-authored by Naama Blatman, Rae Dufty-Jones, Phil McManus & Alistair Sisson)**

*Following the rails: Narrating the NSW railways through Aboriginal peoples, Countries, and histories*

Session 2.4.1., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Research that destabilises narratives of 'heroic', 'nation-building' infrastructural expansion into 'empty land', narratives in which First Nations peoples are given passing mention at best, is long overdue. This presentation offers some preliminary lines of inquiry into the interaction and entwinement of Aboriginal peoples and Countries with railway infrastructure in NSW. Specifically, we draw attention to the role of the railways in processes of dispossession and displacement, as well as their significance as sites of Aboriginal labour and rural/urban mobilities. This paper engages railway infrastructure as an instrument of connection and disconnection, location and dislocation, and possession and dispossession. Drawing on Cowan's approach to infrastructure 'as both object and method of enquiry', the paper gestures towards 'following the rails' as a method for surfacing multifaceted encounters between Aboriginal people and colonial infrastructure, stories of infrastructure as a 'colonial beachhead', as well as Aboriginal people's enduring and varied use of this infrastructure.



**Dr Jordy Silverstein, University of Melbourne**

*Statelessness and the State*

Session 4.4.4., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

The settler nation-state is constantly in the process of being produced. What does—or what can—this mean for those who come to Australia as stateless refugees? In this paper I'll trace a history of statelessness in Australia since World War Two, examining how people have articulated their understanding of themselves in relationship to their citizenship status. Drawing on various people's public writings and naturalisation applications, I'll examine the ways in which they have made sense of their relationship to Australia, to settler-colonialism, and to their status as stateless people through the process of naturalisation. In doing so, I'll consider the ways in which the building of Australia's population is an unfinished process, constantly relying on people's participation. I'll ask how we can understand what that participation, and what being part of that settler-colonial history, has meant for some stateless people.

**Dr Alecia Simmonds, University of Technology Sydney**

*Transnational encounters between love and law in fin de siècle breach of promise of marriage cases*

Session 3.3.9., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

This paper will examine the relationship between mobility, race, intimacy and law through the lens of two breach of promise of marriage cases heard in Australian courts between 1890-1910: the first concerned two Syrian hawkers and the second involved a Parsi merchant and a European woman. To date, mobility has either been ignored in studies of breach of promise of marriage or it appears as a threat to intimacy: male mobility meant desertion and female mobility meant unchastity. I wish to clarify this picture through examining cases involving non-European litigants as encounters between multiple sources of law—informal and formal—whose provenance extended beyond national and territorial boundaries. Rather than seeing law as beholden to the nation state, I argue that specific legal and extra-legal cultures governing love travelled with litigants across oceans creating multi-layered normative and legal regimes that often erupted in jurisdictional conflict.



**Ms Caroline Smith, University of Western Australia**

*Holocaust remembrance in the Italian province of Alessandria: the narrative of the 'righteous'.*

Session 3.3.7., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

This paper examines the nature of Holocaust memorial initiatives in the Italian province of Alessandria, looking particularly at the growing popularity of memorial sites and texts dedicated to the 'giusti' (righteous) – people who aided or hid Jews during the years of Nazi occupation from 1943 to 1945. This trend is examined in terms of how it reinforces the 'good Italian' narrative - constructed in the aftermath of the war – which enabled Italy to place responsibility for the deportation of its Jewish population largely at the feet of the Nazi occupying forces. Since the 1990s—and particularly since the institution of a national day of memory in 2001—the province has seen a growth in public awareness of the Holocaust and of local Jewish history, and this paper considers the role of the 'righteous' narrative within this framework.

**Dr Mariko Smith, The Australian Museum**

*Unsettling History Through the Museum*

Session 3.1.7., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

In Australia, we live in the legacy of a settler-colonial history which has privileged many but has left others disadvantaged. This country was never peacefully settled, and to truly achieve (re)conciliation we need to engage with this nation's history truthfully and listen to First Nations perspectives and voices which have been largely overlooked in Australia's foundation narratives. As a First Nations museum curator and public historian who worked on the Australian Museum's Unsettled exhibition, I will critically discuss our historically-informed approach to truth-telling in the museum context, and how the public discourse around Australian history often seems to pit political ideology against historical accuracy – how can museums navigate this potentially fraught situation to facilitate the general public's awareness and understanding about Australian history from First Nations perspectives and lived experiences?



**A/Prof Agnieszka Sobocinska, Monash University**

*A Wolf is Always a Wolf: Resisting Western development intervention in 1960s Indonesia*

Session 4.3.3., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Economic and social development was a priority for the Indonesian government in the nation's early postcolonial years. But even as the nation's leaders courted foreign support, many Indonesians resented and resisted Western development intervention. This paper examines activists and citizens who contested Western development volunteers from the mid-1950s. Indonesian critics protested that Western volunteers put an attractive face on neocolonial power and extended the logic of intervention embedded in the global system of international development. Simmering suspicions and micro-aggressions grew into a wide-ranging and influential campaign targeting the United States Peace Corps in the early 1960s. This paper explores the anti-Peace Corps campaign in Indonesia and connects it to anti-volunteer sentiment and the development of resistance networks that extended across the Global South. In so doing, it begins to plot widespread opposition to Western development intervention, which was actively disregarded at the time and has largely escaped sustained historical attention.

**Ms Michelle Staff, Australian National University**

*Bringing the world home: Australian feminists, local activism and internationalism, 1919–39*

Session 2.2.5., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Many Australian feminists were captivated by internationalism during the interwar years. Throughout these decades, leaders like Bessie Rischbieth and Ruby Rich travelled the world to meet their colleagues overseas, participate in grand international women's conferences, and attend sittings of the League of Nations. But how (and to what extent) did they maintain their internationalist spirit in the often-vast stretches of time between their journeys abroad? How did ideas about international cooperation and global governance influence local efforts (and vice versa)? And what does this reveal about the priorities, goals, and scope of feminist activism in interwar Australia? This paper brings together local and global frames of analysis to consider where and how ideas about internationalism were produced, shared, and contested. Using a group biographical approach, it shows how 'the international' figured in feminists' local activism, ultimately seeking to further our understanding of the nature of interwar Australian feminism.



**Dr David Stahel, UNSW Canberra**

*Nazi Women in Command: Margarete Guderian – the ‘chief of staff’ of General Heinz Guderian*

Session 3.3.6., 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

For decades, the history of the Nazi Germany was a history about men. In more recent years much has been done to correct that idea, but many areas have escaped attention. German historiography has provided a number of works focused on the wives of the party elite, but one area that has so far escaped attention has been the role of wives among the German generals. Colonel-General Heinz Guderian was the best-known of the panzer general on the Eastern Front in 1941 and a great deal has been written about him, but almost nothing in regard to his wife Margarete. Yet Margarete served in two roles. She studiously observed the social and gender restrictions imposed by National Socialism, but viewing her private letters to Heinz it becomes clear that she openly advised him and provided an essential emotional support. This paper explores her influence and complicity in Germany's military history.

**Mr Ryan Stewart, University of Newcastle**

*Henry Kendall - An Outsider Reporting Violence and Massacre on the Australian Frontier*

Session 3.2.10, 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Violent contact between First Nations peoples and settler-colonists on the Australian frontier were seldom reported by European participants. Such is the case concerning the frontier period on the Central Coast of New South Wales. Australian poet Henry Kendall bemoaned in 1875 that the early frontier history of this region had already been largely forgotten. In a two-part Town and Country Journal article in 1875, Kendall endeavoured to recall and recount the early frontier history of the region with a sense of urgency – if he didn't record it at this point, much of it would have been forgotten. This paper explores Kendall's accounts of violence and massacre/s in the region. This paper argues that Kendall was able to, as an 'outsider' to the region, more freely report the episodes of violence. This paper examines the impact his two-part article had on the construction of settler-oriented local histories of the region.



**Mr Freg J Stokes, University of Melbourne**

*The Cooperative Coloniser Society of New Australia': Mapping an Experiment in Guaraní Dispossession.*

Session 4.3.2., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

This paper situates the establishment of the New Australia colony in Paraguay in 1893 within a broader context of settler colonialism and Indigenous dispossession in the Atlantic Rainforest of South America. After mapping out prior Indigenous Guaraní resistance in this biome, the paper compares the socialist New Australia project with other experimental colonies established in Paraguay after the War of the Triple Alliance (1864-1870), such as the proto-fascist Nueva Germania settlement. Ironically, these colonies served a broader, unfinished project of capitalist land acquisition and deforestation within the region, which Indigenous Guaraní groups have continued resisting to the present day.

**Prof Shurlee Swain, Australian Catholic University**

*Where am I in the Story? Reflections on the Writing of Collaborative Welfare History*

Session 2.4.7., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Oral history has served as one of the key methodologies for historians seeking to widen the scope of a field formerly dominated by the stories of managers and benefactors of child welfare institutions. In collecting and using interview material academic historians have had cause to reflect on their practice, and on their understandings of their claims to expertise. The prominence of history in government inquiries into past welfare practices has created opportunities for research to influence policy and practice, but involvement is conditional on historians working collaboratively with people with lived experience, many of whom, through their activism, have become formidable researchers. This paper reflects on the development of this relationship over time. Initially, informants were often left asking where their contribution could be found in the final product. Now, with the emergence of care experienced researchers, academic historians may face a similar question.



**A/Prof Nicki Tarulevicz, University of Tasmania**

*Millions of Flies Hovering: Fear and Food-borne Diseases in Singapore, 1900-1970*

Session 4.4.7., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Insects and rodents cohabit with humans, paying little attention to the definitions of public and private spaces. As Dawn Day Biehler reminds us pests 'have defied attempts at containment.' In twentieth century Singapore, in both the colonial and Independence era, insects and rodents were understood as a threat to public health, but the responsibility for their management was contested. Residents looked to Municipal authorities to clean streets, drains, and waterways. Municipal authorities looked to manage the informal sector, including food Hawkers and other itinerant merchants. Private providers of solutions, especially insecticides, looked to housewives to keep a chemically managed home. Flies were a particular concern, understood to transmit diseases like Polio when they landed on food. Advice such as eating hot cooked food rather than fresh, avoiding hawkers and the foods they prepared, covering food became standard. Food safety advice thus became central to public health messaging about disease control.

**Dr Rebe Taylor, University of Tasmania**

*Indigenising digitisation: Protecting Palawa knowledges in the GA Robinson Collection, SLNSW*

Session 2.3.1., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The George Augustus Robinson papers held in the State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW) comprise one of the most important eyewitness accounts of Indigenous settler relations in the British Empire. They are also one of the most important archival resources on Palawa (Pakana/Tasmanian Aboriginal) cultural practice, language, history, and genealogy from the 19th century. The original records are fragile and remote from Community access. As part of its standard preservation program, the SLNSW seeks to digitise the Robinson collection. From 2017, Greg Lehman, Rebe Taylor and Kirsten Thorpe investigated the Palawa/Pakana Community's concerns and aspirations for digitising the Robinson collection. In this presentation, Taylor outlines this joint research and considers the broader questions it raises: how should archives and libraries support the aspirations of Indigenous communities' revitalisation projects? How can institutional digitisation programs protect Indigenous knowledges?



**Dr Anna Temby, University of Queensland**

*Examining Urban Parks as Social/Cultural Signifiers in Australian Cities*

Session 4.2.2., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Despite the ubiquity of urban and municipal parks in Australian cities, they remain an overlooked and under-researched facet of the Australian urban experience. As nebulous and often ill-defined spaces the purpose and uses of parks could fluctuate wildly across social and cultural lines. Seen as vital, health-giving necessities in the early construction of Australian cities, parks also served as reflections of municipal beneficence, making them acutely susceptible to governmental and authoritative interference. Despite this, parks retain a legacy to this day as ‘democratic’ and accessible spaces—genuinely public types of space—a legacy that struggles under even minimal scrutiny. Using early-twentieth century Meanjin (Brisbane) as a case-study, this confluence of social and political influences in parks will be examined to demonstrate how they serve as incredibly insightful tools in illuminating complex social intersections and delineations of urban spaces.

**Ms Louise Thatcher, University of Potsdam**

*‘What does a policeman know about a ship?’ Stopping Chinese stowaways to ‘White Australia’*

Session 4.1.4., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Despite contemporary interest in so-called illegal migration and the history of immigration exclusion, there is surprisingly little research on clandestine immigration to Australia, especially in the early 20th century. In this paper, I am concerned with stowaways and the measures immigration authorities took against them, including fining shipping companies who brought prohibited immigrants and attempting to perfect techniques of policing and searching ships. Using NAA files, I present two cases in which groups of Chinese stowaways were found: on the ‘Paroo’ from Singapore (1908), and the ‘Almkerk’ and ‘Arendskerck’ from Antwerp (1927). I argue that the control of the border – the enforcement of ‘White Australia’ – was transnational, mobilising legal structures in other ports and companies’ authority over their workforce and their ships. These cases show that the Australian border was geographically dispersed, while also providing glimpses of ways in which it was contested by migrants and maritime workers.



**Mx Amy Thomas, University of Technology Sydney**

*Indigenous futures in the past: the Yipirinya School story and 'self-determination'*

Session 3.3.1, 1 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Schools have been tightly bound to settler colonial attempts to shape the future, and sites of assimilation and erasure. They have also been sites of contest and strategic political action, where Aboriginal groups have exploited and remodelled settler education for their own interests. This paper explores the 1976-1983 struggle to establish the Aboriginal-controlled Yipirinya School for town camp in children in Alice Springs. Centering previously overlooked Aboriginal-authored texts and oral histories, it shows how the Yipirinya visionaries and supporters built an Aboriginal-controlled school, bringing together and sustaining their communities on their terms. This tells us much about the tensions embedded within ideas and practices of self-determination and self-management: on the one hand, it was a limited federal project for Indigenous development within the framework of the settler state. On the other, it was an opportunity Aboriginal communities embraced in reconstructing the future after the end of formal policies of assimilation.

**Prof Alistair Thomson, Monash University**  
**(Co-authored by Kate Murphy)**

*Fathers Missing in Domestic Action: Explaining a 21st-Century Australian Paradox*

Session 4.2.11., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

By the onset of the twenty-first century there was a striking paradox in Australian family life and fathering. The transformations of the second half of the twentieth century had revolutionised women's working lives and generated an expectation that mothers of young children could or should also have paid work. Yet, though Australian fathers were now expected to be more than just a breadwinner, and to be actively and emotionally engaged in the upbringing of their children, in practical terms, men's domestic contribution had barely changed. In this paper we explore the range of factors that influenced Australian millennial parents when they negotiated the 'gender arrangement' of the family home. We explain why men's domestic roles have changed so little, drawing upon two sets of oral history interviews with Australian mothers and fathers recorded in the late 1990s and the early 2010s.



**Prof Paul Turnbull, University of Tasmania**

*Living with the Dead: Reflections on Repatriating Indigenous Ancestral Remains*

Session 4.3.1., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

For thirty years now, I have pursued research to identify the communities of Ancestors whose bodily remains were stolen for Australian and overseas scientific collections. This has often involved working with senior members of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, and their representative organisations, to assist in the difficult business of securing their Ancestors' homecoming and, ideally, their burial in country. Much has changed over three decades. Importantly, it's now relatively uncommon for museums or other scientific institutions with anthropological collections to be unwilling to agree to repatriating the remains of Australian and other Indigenous peoples. Rarely does one now encounter arguments to the effect that repatriation is a dangerous surrender of reason and objectivity to cultural and ethical relativism. However, as I explain in this paper, bringing the Ancestors home could truly be said to be unfinished business in crucial ethical and practical aspects.

**Dr Karen Twigg, La Trobe University**

*'So, we look forward to a better year': Australian farm women and succession*

Session 4.1.2., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Gendered expectations surrounded farm woman in the post war period. The ideal rural woman was married, home-based, and immersed in the domestic and emotional care of her family. Typically entering a farm by marriage rather than inheritance, it was also assumed that the farm woman's allegiance now rested with the larger entity of the family farm. This included fostering the transfer of the farm to the next generation – widely viewed as the ultimate test of a family farm's success. Resting on oral history and a close reading of one farm woman's diary, this paper explores farm succession, and the labour women undertook to navigate these times of transition. It asks: in what ways did women's own connection with the landscape influence how they saw the land and its potential to nourish family? How did periods of environmental stress, such as drought, exacerbate their work? And at what cost?



**Prof Christina Twomey, Monash University**

*Friends or Servants: Amahs in cold war Malaysia and Singapore*

Session 2.3.3., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Between the 1950s-80s, thousands of Australian families lived in military communities in Malaysia and Singapore for postings of 2–3 years. The majority had no experience of employing domestic servants and found themselves transported to a world modelled on British colonial garrisons, living in purpose-built communities, attending racially exclusive social clubs, and sharing their homes with amahs, cooks, and gardeners. One dominant trope in recollections of this experience is that amahs became part of the family and that connections with them were maintained after returning to Australia. Analysing contemporary guidebooks, survey responses, photographs, Facebook posts and drawing on oral history interviews with former amahs and their family members, this paper examines the tensions and contradictions of domestic service in cold war Asia. The central dynamic of the relationship—of colonial-style service arrangements during a period of rapid decolonisation—raises questions of nostalgia, identity, and the difficulty of accessing subaltern perspectives.

**Mr Brad Underhill, Deakin University**

*Australian post-war colonial practice in PNG and Indigenous responses*

Session 4.4.10., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Australian colonial practice in PNG in the post-war period espoused political and economic autonomy but was undermined by a lack of resources on the ground and anxiety over the autonomous actions of local people. This paper will explore how a colonised people find spaces for their own autonomy in circumstances where the colonial planner expected no feedback or input from its subjugated people, and in fact, assumed or had an expectation that local people would be grateful and would respond accordingly. In these circumstances, a close archival reading suggests Papua New Guineans' manipulated Australian development plans in ways that best suited their own interests and communities. Conversely, the Australian government prioritised colonial control in circumstances where subjugated people did not fit within an expected narrative of compliant or Westernised 'native'.



**Ms Jessica Urwin, Australian National University**

*Challenging nuclear colonialism: Maralinga and Indigenous nuclear survivor networks, 1986-8*

Session 2.2.11., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

The Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia (1984-5) dredged up 30 years' worth of information on Britain's nuclear program on Australian soil. The proliferation of this information worked to both publicise and reinforce the experiences of Australian nuclear survivors. But, more importantly, the process of grappling with the 'truth' facilitated the sharing of experiences, forging relationships between survivors of colonialism previously unacknowledged. In this paper, I explore how Aboriginal survivors of Australian nuclear colonialism grappled with some of the legacies of this subjugation. I do so with particular focus on the links forged across borders by members of the Maralinga Tjarutja in search of the stories of other nuclear survivors. This paper grapples with how conversations between affected Indigenous groups about nuclear weapons testing facilitated the centring of displacement and dispossession as legitimate impacts of nuclear colonialism, impacting international scholarship's discussions of the disproportionate impact of toxic industries

**Dr Garritt Van Dyk, University of Newcastle**

*Transplanting the Tropics: Producing Sugar in Colonial New South Wales*

Session 4.2.7., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Before sugar was grown in Queensland there were attempts to produce sugar cane in New South Wales in the early nineteenth century. Sugar cane plants arrived with the First Fleet in 1788 and Norfolk Island was an early testing ground in 1803 for the viability of the tropical crop. The initial motivation to grow sugar in the colony was self-sufficiency and the elimination of high import costs. Despite an awareness that New South Wales was not an optimal environment for growing cane there was considerable effort and money spent on these initiatives which were, at best, inchoate. Building on recent work by Emma Christopher and Nancy Cushing, this paper will consider other motivations to pursue sugar production and the agency of West Indian migrants, both convicts and free settlers, in the circulation of knowledge essential to success.



**Dr Gerry van Klinken, University of Queensland**

*Exemplary violence in East Java, 1949*

Session 4.4.3., 2 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

East Java in 1949 was the most violent place and time of the entire Indonesian revolution (1945–49). Charles Tilly (1978: From mobilization to revolution) defines a revolution as a contest among 'multiple sovereignties' in the same territory. His description fits post-war Indonesia, where the Dutch colonial polity and the Indonesian Republic fought each other for public support, offering very different visions of Indonesia's future. By the end of 1948, the two sides were relatively well matched, making internal war highly likely. East Java has long been a centre of violent revolution. Nationalist feeling was nowhere more intensely felt than in Surabaya in November 1945. During 1949, members of both contending parties were roaming over the same territory, addressing the same population, attempting to win them over to their side. Violence was rampant because, as both sides quickly realised (by February or March 1949), they were about equally matched.

**Prof Adrian Vickers, University of Sydney**

*Indonesian Mohamad Bondan and Australian support for decolonisation*

Session 4.3.3., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Australia's support for Indonesian Independence has long been a convenient trope in Australian-Indonesian diplomacy. During the early stages of the Revolution, Indonesian nationalist Mohamad Bondan was a key figure in creating organisations in Australia to support the struggle for Independence. Very little use has been made in historical accounts of Bondan's own views of Australia and the relationship, however. A re-reading of his memoirs demonstrates his skills as an organiser. More importantly, they give a less positive view of Australia as a whole, showing that the establishment of relationships very much depended on communist links. Bondan's eventual expulsion from Australia, along with that of many of his comrades, under the White Australia policy is consistent with the approach that he encountered in Australia. It is also consistent with Dutch lobbying strategies towards the Australian government, at a time when colonialists and Republicans were competing for Australia attention.



**Dr Bianka Vidonja Balanzategui, James Cook University**

*Addressing exclusive narratives – female invisibility on the tropical northern frontier*

Session 4.3.4., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Primary accounts of life on the tropical northern frontier abound with the exploits of white male protagonists. Those accounts give tantalising hints but scant detail of the women, white or of colour, who battled life on the frontier. There is an invisible narrative running parallel to the well documented one of men's exploits. This is because the primary record can be largely attributed to the penmanship of men. More inclusive narratives are needed to break the silence on the lived experiences of women whose voices are seldom heard in the historical accounts. This paper will address this void through the examination of women, white and of colour, such as the Melanesian indentured housemaid, sugar planter's sister, small sugar farmer's wife and the Chinese child bride living in plantation era Herbert River Valley, north Queensland.

**Dr Alison Vincent, Central Queensland University**

*Convenient and economical but not pleasant to the eye: Selling Australian preserved meat 1860–1880*

Session 4.3.7., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The National Library of Australia holds a small pamphlet entitled 'Recipes for Cooking Australian Meat, with directions for preparing sauces suitable for the same', by an anonymous 'cook', published in London in 1872. The Australian meat in question all came in tins and was the product of an Australian industry which required an export market for its excess production. Rational, scientific thinking recommended tinned meat as a convenient, economical, and nutritious alternative to fresh meat for the working poor, however it proved more popular as a thrifty novelty for the well-to-do. This paper presents a brief history of the early years of canned meat production in Australia along with an evaluation of commentary in support of preserved meat and of cookbooks which include recipes for its use. These sources reveal the obstacles to the acceptance of an industrialised food supply, in particular those related to class and status.



**Ms Hannah Viney, Monash University**

*'World without clouds': The Complex Motivations behind Women's Anti-nuclear Activism, 1945-1965*

Session 4.3.11., 2 December 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Australia won its first Nobel Peace Prize in 2017 for the achievements of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), yet Australia is not a signatory of the UN Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. Though the threat of nuclear annihilation is as real as ever, many in the twenty-first century seem ambivalent about the possibilities. The work that ICAN undertakes was begun in the last months of 1945 by a diverse cross-section of Australian society. At first glance, it seems obvious why: Hiroshima, Maralinga, testing in the Pacific. Yet, the women who campaigned in the mid-twentieth century for nuclear disarmament did so for a variety of reasons. This paper traces the highly nuanced and subjective nature of women's motivations behind campaigning for nuclear disarmament in this period to help understand where the anti-nuclear movement began and how historians can help finish the work started seventy-five years ago.

**Miss Natasha Walker, University of Southern Queensland**

*Agency and Activism: The Transnational Network of the Feminist Press, 1910-1914*

Session 2.3.5., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

The first-wave feminist movement led to the formation of national, international, and transnational women's organisations. These groups have continued to work towards social and political equality, including fundamental human rights, such as education and equality of opportunity for women around the world. Within this history, the feminist press has provided a forum for women's organisations and the public, communicated arguments for equality and citizenship, and aided in the transformation of a transnational network for change. This presentation examines the narratives of women's agency and activism within a selection of feminist newspapers, from the United States of America, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and Australia between 1910 and 1914, through their divergent interconnections and the local, national and transnational struggles for both social and political equality and peace. It compares various newspaper segments, including articles, 'letters to the editor' columns and re-printed articles from other countries.



**Dr Christine Wallace, University of Canberra**

*Entangled Establishment Elites and Bohemian Elites: The Maie Casey, Patrick White Friendship*

Session 2.2.9., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In 1973 Patrick White (1912-1990) won the Nobel Prize for Literature. White's book *The Eye of the Storm*, published the same year and dedicated to writer, artist and aviator Maie Casey (1892-1983), was singled out for particular mention by the Swedish Academy in the Nobel citation. White and Casey were members of dual Australian elites: the establishment elite by birth and the bohemian elite by temperament. To the extent contemporary perceptions of White and Casey linger, they locate White in the bohemian elite and Casey in the establishment elite. This misses important elements in both their lives and conceals the entangled ways establishment and bohemian elites intersected and interacted in 20th century Australia. This paper explores those entanglements through the correspondence of White and Casey during the 1960s and 1970s.

**Prof James Walter, Monash University**

*Housing, cities and disadvantage: failures to learn?*

Session 4.1.8., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Despite notable efforts to address inequity and housing disadvantage in policy debate and experimentation at the national level in the 1940s, the 1970s and the early 1990s, similar challenges, confronting enough to suggest that fundamental faults persist, recur in the 21st century. Architects, planners, academics, welfare agencies and community activists are full of ideas about what needs to be done. There is a historical legacy on which to draw. Yet governments show no appetite for bold reform, and a willful failure to attend either to the advice of contemporary experts, or to the lessons of those earlier phases of policy activism. Housing disadvantage remains a compelling example of unfinished business. This paper discusses the history of policy learning (tracing the way attention to predecessors shaped policy evolution in those earlier periods), compares this with the ill-informed policy misadventures of today, and explores why this might be occurring.



**Prof James Warren, Murdoch University**  
**(Co-authored by Dr Lisa Woodward)**

*A tale of three storm surges, and three towns, under three flags*

Session 3.2.3., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

In the Visayan Islands of Samar and Leyte storm surges associated with typhoons historically make sea-to-land crossings. On 12 October 12 1897, 24–6 November 1912, and 3–11 November 2013, the exposed coastal towns of Hernani and Guiuan on Samar and Tacloban on Leyte were destroyed by storm surges. Recurrent damage and destruction from storm surges and cyclonic storms has increased over time, shifting from thousands to millions of people displaced in recent events. We investigate the historical impact of storm surges across the centuries. We examine how the character of communities changed over time and the ways they responded and adapted to these hazardous events. We suggest that government needs to focus attention on how to mitigate storm surge events by understanding their own culpability in exacerbating disaster potential and by building back resilience in the face of increasing risk and big weather.

**Mr James Watson, Australian National University**

*Inventing Asbestosis: On the Framing of Asbestos-Related Diseases in Early Twentieth-Century England*

Session 3.4.11., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

At the turn of the twentieth century, stories of English asbestos factory workers suffering from asbestos-induced fibrosis began appearing in the reports of factory inspectors and government inquiries. For the first quarter of the century, these cases were dismissed by government regulators as a rare and minor occupational hazard that did not warrant attention. This attitude changed in 1927 when, in a series of presentations and publications, a group of doctors reframed asbestos-induced fibrosis as a significant occupational disease called 'asbestosis'. These studies influenced the UK Government to legislate asbestosis as a compensable injury in 1931, the first country in the world to do so. Tracing the development of asbestos medical knowledge in early twentieth-century England, this paper argues that the 'invention' of asbestosis in 1927 should be understood as a purposeful intervention by a network of doctors to highlight asbestos-related disease in English medical discourse.



**Mr Samuel Watts, University of Melbourne**

*The Lost Cause and the Big Lie: Confederate Legacies in Contemporary America*

Session 2.3.7., 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Lost Cause ideology—which venerates white Southern identity, claims that the Civil War was not fought over slavery and that the Confederacy was both legal and morally righteous—was founded during Reconstruction, but continues to be a popularly held historical interpretation to this day. Despite the historical profession thoroughly debunking and rebuking the (often racist) claims and arguments of Lost Cause ‘historians’, and despite the removal of Confederate monuments and statues across the country, neo-Confederate history continues to be financed, published, disseminated and read. In this paper, I will explain how the Lost Cause interpretation of the Civil War has persisted in the South in (purportedly) scholarly work and in the popular imagination. The persistence of this mythology, this paper argues, granted legitimacy to Trump’s unfounded claims of electoral corruption, significantly influencing the shape of the modern GOP and contemporary culture wars.

**Dr Amy Way, University of New South Wales, Sydney**

*In the Eye of the Beholder: John Walter Gregory and the Manipulation of Aboriginal Antiquity*

Session 3.1.11., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

After the consensus on human antiquity in 1859, anthropology legitimised itself alongside geology as a science uniquely capable of unpacking the origin and development of human civilisation. In Australia, these disciplinary developments had a complicated impact on understandings of Aboriginal antiquity. This paper examines ‘The Antiquity of Man in Victoria,’ a 1904 report by Melbourne-based geologist John Walter Gregory, frequently used to bolster the claim there was no scientific understanding of Australia’s human antiquity before radiocarbon dating in the 1960s. Instead, this paper reveals human antiquity and Aboriginal antiquity became two separate concepts in the early twentieth century. Through a complex entanglement of anthropology and geology, scientists like Gregory manipulated racial typologies to produce a fluid concept of Aboriginal antiquity with an ambiguous application to Aboriginal peoples. This paper argues that scientists used this ambiguity to acknowledge a human antiquity for Australia, but not necessarily an Aboriginal one.



**Dr Imogen Wegman, University of Tasmania**

*Fringe benefits: Van Diemonian common and Crown lands*

Session 3.2.1., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

From 1 March 1828, Van Diemen's Land newspapers ceased advertising the wide Crown acres surrounding properties for sale – Government Order No. 10 decreed that trespassers upon Crown Lands would be prosecuted. This was the end of an era. European settlers had, until now, been choosing their land grants on the fringes of settled districts specifically to access the unclaimed Crown lands. Letters soon asked the government to reserve land as commons, so that the poor might still feed their sheep. In New South Wales commons were created early as a matter of urgency – wandering herds could do great damage to vital crops. But in Van Diemen's Land commons were never created, despite similar damage. This paper compares the British common with colonial commons and Crown land, and asks why the Van Diemonian government considered the need for spare pasturage to be finished business, when it clearly was not.

**A/Prof Richard White, University of Sydney**

*The Unfinished Nation: Contesting Symbols of Australia*

Session 3.1.9., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

National identities, and the symbols through which they are expressed, are never finished. This banal truth was brought home in preparing a new edition of a 2010 collection, *Symbols of Australia*, already in need of considerable updating. In just the last three years, Scott Morrison has decisively rejected the Akubra as an essential prime ministerial accoutrement. The Holden, Australia's Own Car, finally reached the scrap heap. Uluru is no longer climbed but symbolises the nation's heart. The digger, who once represented the innocent citizen warrior, is (again) accused of war crimes. The Aboriginal flag is enmeshed in copyright disputes while the anthem gets another tweak. This paper surveys some of the shifts in Australian national symbolism over the last decade, as some decline in popularity, some consolidate, and others see shifts in their function and the meanings attached to them.



**Mr Patrick White, James Cook University**

*From untamed frontier to prosperous estate: the historic struggle to colonise northern Australia*

Session 3.2.11., 1 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

The push to develop and populate Australia's supposedly empty north was often motivated by two intersecting ideas. Perceptions of untapped potential have excited entrepreneurs and governments, feeding impressions of opportunity and adventure. Alternatively, the north was a problem –its emptiness drew concerns about the nation's grip on the Tropics and stirred fears of invasion. Such views caused northern development to be conceived as a project of securing territory and plundering resources in an effort to force an untamed frontier into becoming a prosperous estate of the settler nation. By drawing on existing historical narratives and using a regional case study from 1960s north Queensland, this paper argues that the politicisation of northern lands as a national resource has contributed to historical silences and strangled future possibilities.

**Dr Marama Whyte, University of Sydney**

*Feminist Media Activism in 1970s Sydney*

Session 4.2.5., 2 December 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Using the case study of the short-lived Media Women's Action Group, this paper examines how women journalists in 1970s Sydney fought for improved working conditions, fairer and expanded news coverage of and by women, and access to professional spaces previously reserved for their male colleagues. It will examine the Action Group's successful campaign to grant women entry into Sydney's Journalists' Club in 1972, and its subsequent lobbying around sex stereotyping in the media, sex segregation of women journalists on the women's pages, and child care policies for working women. Finally, it will examine the Action Group as a specifically 1970s project which allowed women journalists to enact explicitly feminist politics in their professional sphere, without concern that they would be perceived as 'unobjective' feminist advocates in their reporting.



**Ms Anna Wilkinson, Flinders University**

*The League of Red Cross Societies' Development Program and the 1964 Southeast Asian Forum*

Session 2.4.11., 30 November 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

This paper examines the League of Red Cross Societies' (LRCs) Development Programme established in the late 1950s as a way to create self-sustaining humanitarian practices during a period of decolonisation in the Global South. Part of the so called 'Development Decade' of the 1960s, the LRCs' Development Programme sought to support new and emerging national Red Cross and Red Crescent societies in areas of public health, disaster management and the like. The paper focuses on the South East Asian Forum, funded by the LRCs and hosted by the Australian Red Cross at the University of Sydney from 20 May to 3 June 1964. Despite significant regional conflict, the Forum was attended by delegates from 13 Red Cross Societies from across Asia. The analysis reveals a complex narrative of the interplay between humanitarianism and the use of soft power played out against the backdrop of the Cold War.

**Mr Josh Woodward, University of Western Australia**

*Pioneers and Progress in tourist promotion for Mount Buffalo and the Blue Mountains, 1880-1900.*

Session 3.4.2., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Historians have produced valuable insights into the social construction of nature and the history of settler recreation, conservation and possession. However, the story of how tourist promoters packaged and sold scenic destinations as a consumer product remains 'unfinished business.' In this article, I trace the evolution of advertising materials for Mount Buffalo and the Blue Mountains from the 1880s to the beginning of the twentieth century. I argue that promoters sought to grow the commercial tourism industry by presenting the bush as a remedy to contemporary anxieties over health, while constructing a settler attachment to the land through the retelling of myths of progress that relegated Indigenous people to history. These early tourism campaigns are significant for their lasting impact on the social construction of Australian nature, narratives of Indigenous dispossession, settler possession and a consumer dimension that rests at the core of the Australian national park idea.



**Prof Angela Woollacott, Australian National University**

*Decolonisation and the language of human rights in mid-20th century Australia*

Session 2.2.11., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

Internationally, historians have debated the historical relationship between decolonisation and universal human rights. Some have refuted a causal link, while others highlight the rising power of former colonial nations within the UN. In Australia various historians have shown the rise of Indigenous activism from the early 20th century. Jon Piccini, for example, recently argued that while Australia's record on human rights is patchy, Indigenous people and others have used human rights in their quests. This paper will look at the language of human rights in Australia, and its deployment to challenge colonialism. The FCAATSI used Article 1 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights as its letterhead motto. In 1964 its leading advocate for equal wages suggested a human-rights campaign could see the government 'assisting in digging the grave of colonialism' here. Did the language of human rights advance decolonisation in Australia?

**Dr James Worner, University of Technology Sydney**

*Unfinished Men's Business: Diversion and Diversity in Internment Theatre*

Session 4.1.5., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

At the turn of the twentieth century, the performance and politics of gender and sexuality were undergoing reinvention. Many of these early changes came out of Germany. This paper looks at an intriguing intersection of these narratives in Australia's post-colonial past and draws from broader research into the internment of German men in Australian camps during World War I. From 1915–18, 600+ men were interned at Trial Bay, on the mid-north coast of NSW for no other reason than their German origin. Mostly wealthy and educated, the cohort quickly established a German Theatre as both an expression of national pride but also as a site where 'women' could be seen and gender and sexual identities could be simultaneously reinforced and subverted. The paper exposes an under-reported counterpoint to the more enduring narrative of Australian masculinity, represented most forcefully by the hyper-masculine Aussie Bushman/Digger (or 'ANZAC').



**Dr Claire Wright, Macquarie University**

*Above Board?: Interlocking Directorates and Corporate Contagion in 1980s Australia*

Session 3.4.8., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

The 1980s were an outrageous time in Australia's business history. Diversified conglomerates run by celebrity 'corporate raiders', accompanied by greed, competitiveness, opaque reporting and lax prudential standards, led to the collapse of many of Australia's largest firms, and the loss of billions of dollars of shareholder funds. This paper re-examines this era of misconduct, assessing how interlocking directorates (shared board members) impacted on the diffusion of knowledge, flow of resources, and conflicts of interest within business groups. Compared to other periods, where interlocking directorates were reasonably benign, in the 1980s these networks were active in the creation and operation of these groups. Directors were both symbols of the connection between companies, and actively facilitated the movement of knowledge and money within groups. This widens the scope of current understandings, to examine not only corporate raiders but the myriad professionals who enacted conglomerate business culture in 1980s Australia.

**Dr Claire Wright, Macquarie University**

*New Possibilities for Collaboration: Histories of Economics and Histories of Capitalism*

Session 3.1.8., 1 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

This paper examines the progress and contributions of the history of economic thought and the new histories of capitalism. The former has a long intellectual tradition, particularly within economics schools, where discussion of myriad economic theories and approaches is seen as necessary for rigorous training of economics professionals. The latter has had a much shorter story within universities, developing from the history discipline in the early 2000s as scholars trained in cultural history sought to understand the way economic language and concepts have been used to 'naturalise' capitalist structures. Despite these distinct pathways, these areas of scholarship have much to say to one another. In particular, the focus on heterodox economics in the history of economic thought aligns with histories of capitalism that analyse the contingency of economic paradigms. I assess possible points of collaboration, and suggest ways to build productive relationships across disciplines.



**Ms Kirsten Wright, University of Melbourne**  
**(Co-authored by Nicola Laurent)**

*Difficult Records: Archives, Historians and Trauma*

Session 2.3.10, 30 November 2021, 1:00pm AEDT

Dealing with unfinished business involves examining difficult histories. Accessing emotive or traumatic archival records can impact the historian accessing these records, and the archivist providing them. As a result, they can experience vicarious trauma. Archives themselves are always unfinished business. Archives need to acknowledge and reconcile their roles as colonial institutions, be transparent about their silences, and become safe spaces for all. This paper will discuss common themes articulated by researchers and archivists who have experienced vicarious trauma from working with difficult records. These include: the 'right' to feel trauma; the unresolved nature of records; the impact of researching one's own community or experiences; the need for organisational support; and the need to build trauma safeguards into work. We will suggest resources to better understand trauma and its effects, and support that can be provided to everyone, to make the archives, and difficult records and histories, safer and more inclusive.

**Mr Robert Wyse, University of Newcastle**

*Suspicious Minds: Official Australian Attitudes Towards Korean War POWs.*

Session 4.1.6., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

The current understanding of the Australian POW experience in the Korean War is one of physical and mental hardship. It is framed by the supposed Chinese attempt to indoctrinate the captives into communist ideology and the subsequent celebration of the POWs for withstanding the rigours of their confinement. However, this narrative fails to take into account the underlying current of fear in Australia regarding communist intentions both locally and internationally, which fuelled official wariness towards the POWs during and after the war. Recently declassified documents shed new light on the attitudes of Australian authorities towards these men and reveal that not all Australian POWs resisted indoctrination. This paper will draw on new evidence to examine the Australian POW experience and the postwar treatment of the POW cohort through the lens of Cold War communist paranoia to offer a new perspective on the 'unfinished business' of captivity in the Korean War.



**Dr Daozhi Xu, Macquarie University**

*Opium, Aboriginal Protection, and Chinese Migrants in the 1890s*

Session 4.1.4., 2 December 2021, 9:00am AEDT

Anti-opium policies in the 1890s, particularly the Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897 (Qld), connected and separated Aboriginal and Chinese peoples for the first time in Australian legislation. Little scholarship has explored the responses of the Chinese community to this legislation, and their perspectives about the practices of Aboriginal protection. This paper will use Chinese-language newspapers based in Sydney during the late 1890s to uncover the agency of the Chinese community in opium control, and offer the first account of this community's apprehension of, and relation to, the Aboriginal population and their governance prior to federation.

**Mr Luke Yin, University of Melbourne**

*Transnational Bigamy: Marriage, Law, and Identity in Treaty Port Shanghai 1909-1913*

Session 3.4.4., 1 December 2021, 3:00pm AEDT

Dichotomies of race, gender, and colonial power implicit in the paradigm of 'semi-colonialism' suggest the existence of stable social hierarchies in China's Treaty Port cities, and corresponding social identities. Building on Teng (2013) and Larkin (2020), this paper uses a high-profile case of transnational bigamy to explore these tropes of identity and the relationship between them in the particular historical circumstances of Shanghai in the late Qing – early Republican era. It shows that the identities of the three parties to the case involved complex configurations of elements that were partly shaped by the changing social institutions of marriage, divorce, and the law.



**Dr Bart Ziino, Deakin University**

*Recasting the soldiers' vote on conscription: new perspectives on an old issue*

Session 2.2.6., 30 November 2021, 11:00am AEDT

For decades Australian historians have generally been content to list, rather than analyse, a series of reasons for the less-than-emphatic soldiers' votes in the conscription plebiscites of 1916 and 1917. Part of the problem is that they are relying on accounts from observers—especially Keith Murdoch—just to identify the broad patterns of the soldiers' vote, given that the Australian government only ever released the headline figures. Only recently have the tools become available to conduct a wider survey of soldiers' attitudes towards conscription. Soldiers' letters emerging in digitised newspapers complement the searching power afforded by a broad-based community transcription effort in the Mitchell Library's manuscripts collection. The fruits of that effort allow us a much closer appreciation not only of attitudes within the Australian Imperial Force towards conscription, but of how soldiers reflected on the issue as part of their relationship with those remaining at home in Australia.