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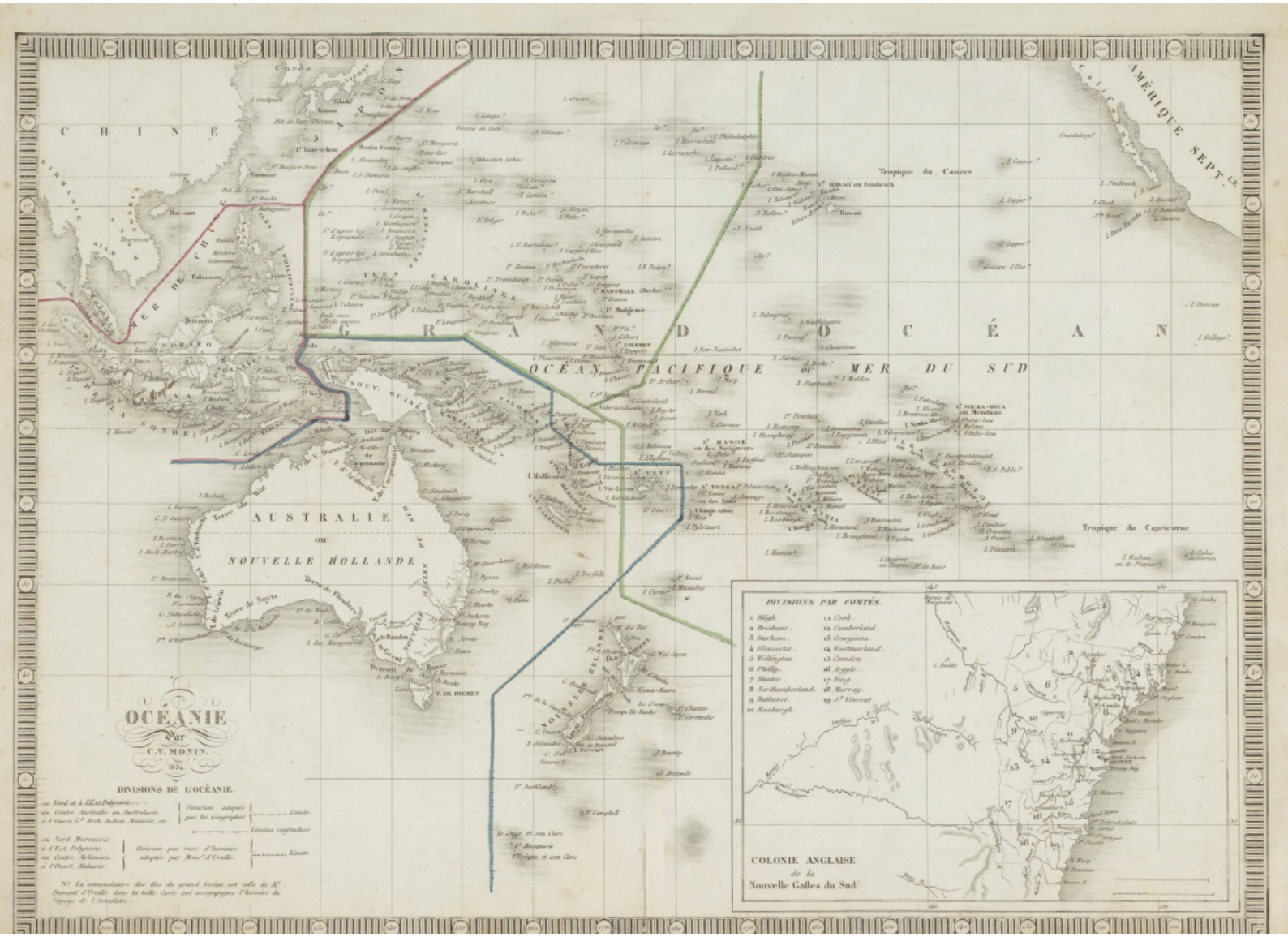

(Dis)junctures

The Melbourne Historical Journal is a refereed journal for the publication of Australian and Aotearoa New Zealand graduate work in history. It publishes all fields and types of history, is open to new approaches, and presents original graduate work to a wide and responsive readership.

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From the Editors

We're back!

Despite the overwhelming feeling that we are living in 'unprecedented times', in which social fracturing and political contests loom large in Australian society, this issue turns our gaze to the past. During paradigm-shifting moments such as these, historians can provide valuable insight into past junctures that have also felt unprecedented. The research articles, essays and reviews in this edition centre on pivotal moments and struggles in Australian history in honour of the prolific Stuart Macintyre, Emeritus Professor in the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies at the University of Melbourne, who passed away in November of 2021. A reflective piece on Macintyre by Joel Barnes fittingly opens the issue. Barnes provides a sincere tribute to his former teacher and supervisor, capturing Macintyre's generous spirit and unparalleled contribution to the study of Australian history.

We are delighted to publish the 2020 Greg Dening lecture given by Professor Bronwen Douglas, historian of Pacific and Asian History at the Australian National University. Douglas uses three case studies or 'episodes of encounter' between Indigenous Oceanians and European voyagers, demonstrating the potence of ethnohistory as a historical method. Douglas shows how ethnographic history can illuminate tensions in the co-construction of 'anthropological' knowledge inherent in such episodes of encounter, shaped by 'scholarly discourses, European experience in Oceania, and Indigenous agency'. Focusing on the significance of local agency, Douglas locates these tensions in sixteenth-century Spanish, eighteenth-century British, and nineteenth-century French expeditions in 'Oceania'.

The research articles in this issue provide insight into the theme of contestation in Australian history and the impulse of different social groups to preserve the memory and dignity of people and places. The interwar period was a time of great upheaval and flux, of innovation and debate, and, as Thea Gardiner argues, a significant moment of change in the national politics of memory. Gardiner's article looks at both the physical and intangible aspects of interwar feminism through the lens of memory, asserting the introduction of a new subject of memorialisation, surfacing during moments of state and national commemoration across the country: the 'pioneer woman citizen'. Through an analysis of both material culture and women's centenary gift books, Gardiner draws attention to the contests over claims to both nation-building and historical remembrance. Joining and de-centring the dominant figure of memorialisation during this period – the 'citizen soldier' – the pioneer woman citizen reflected the emerging discourse of white interwar feminists vying for economic and political rights and fuller participation in public life. Crucially,

the construction of this new symbol of feminised nationhood reinforced the broader settler-colonial project, eclipsing the lives and memories of non-white migrants and First Nations people.

Where white-settler interwar feminists sought recognition and remembrance, members of the green ban movement of 1971-1975 agitated successfully for the preservation of significant heritage sites in Sydney's inner-city. James Hogg charts the green ban movement during this period, which drew together the New South Wales Builders' Labourers' Federation and members of local communities to protest the mass development of Sydney's historic buildings, bush and parkland, as well as diminishing inner-Sydney working-class housing. Using Herman and Chomsky's *Manufacturing Consent* as his theoretical basis, Hogg argues that Sydney's 'green ban' strike movement (1970-75), despite their exalted position in Australian historical memory, were met with considerable and sustained opposition from the organs of the Australian press. In distinction to previous accounts that suggest press representation of green bans were 'neutral at worst', Hogg demonstrates that Sydney's newspapers privileged fiscal damages, police perspectives, and developer interests to reassert the state as the sole legitimate executor of political power. Historicising the movement within contemporary struggles over public housing in Sydney, Hogg also suggests that the 'green bans' of the early 1970s are a historically delimited struggle with implications for contemporary activists that should be kept alive both in print and in practice.

In the following essay, Catherine Fist provides a compelling overview of physical memorials to frontier violence in Australia. Fist characterises three distinct periods of memorialisation corresponding to prevailing social and political discourse: the first, 1865 to 1965, produced white-washed monuments serving to construct a settler identity around 'victimhood and heroism'; the second period discussed, 1966 to 1999, reflecting emerging discourses on Aboriginal resistance and sacrifice, saw the production of counter-monuments representing memories that subverted and unsettled the meta-narrative of white triumph and victimhood inherent within previous monuments. The third period, 2000 to 2021, corresponds with discourses of reconciliation and counter-memories of resistance. Fist distinguishes between monuments that reinforce the reconciliation narrative – leaving the past in the past – with counter-monuments that keep history and contestation alive in the present.

Another space in which diverse accounts of First Nations and white-settler history are anchored in the present are galleries. Jack Norris reviews the National Gallery of Victoria's 2021 exhibition *She-Oak and Sunlight: Australian Impressionism*, reflecting on its exploration of First Nations histories and art. While the exhibition included the works of the Heidelberg School – Tom Roberts, Fredrick McCubbin and so on – it offered a counterpoint to histories that valorise it as 'Australia's first school of art' by pointing to a much longer tradition and history of First Nations art. By juxtaposing white-settler art with several works by Wurundjeri artist, elder and Ngurungaeta (leader) William Barak (c.1824-1903) from the NGV's collection, the exhibition communicated the 'multivocality of the Australian landscape' to its audience. By displaying a commitment to decolonising museum practice, the NGV and other galleries have a crucial role in framing, interpreting, and shifting histories of Australian art.

Several book reviews highlight the latest offerings in Australian history, demonstrating the scope and strength of Australian historiography from 2020 to 2022. Catherine Gay takes us through social historian Janet McCalman's *Vandemonians* (2021), a thrilling portrayal of Victoria's 'Vandemonians' – emancipated convicts from Van Diemen's Land who migrated to the Port Phillip district throughout the nineteenth century. Gay commends McCalman's ability to transform extensive

archival material into nuanced life- narratives, highlighting the historical, familial, gendered and dimensions of the Vandemonians' existence. Simon Farley's review of Sue Silverberg's *A Networked Community: Jewish Melbourne in the Nineteenth Century* (2020) lauds Silberberg's original contributions to the history of Melbourne and of Jews in Australia, while questioning her apparent failure to fully consider the settler-colonial dimensions of the subject matter. Closing the issue, James Hogg's review of Stuart Macintyre's *The Party: The Communist Party of Australia from Heyday to Reckoning* (2022) suggests the historian's final project is a fitting testament to not only the Communist Party of Australia (CPA), but to Macintyre's monolithic contribution to Australian historiography. Arguing that Macintyre successfully reanimates the individuals and ideas at the forefront of Australia's revolutionary vanguard, Hogg suggests 'the party' is no minor feat for Macintyre, whose own passion for the party has offered an exclusive insight into why Australian communism is a worthy object of inquiry - both as an expression of national identity and an incubator for a future that may one day materialise.

The MHJ 2021/22 Collective
Simon Farley
Thea Gardiner
Catherine Gay
James Hogg
Jonathan Tehusijarana

Vale: Stuart Macintyre, 1947-2021

Joel Barnes
Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, University of Queensland

The passing of Stuart Macintyre, Emeritus Professor in the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies at the University of Melbourne and one of Australia's most prominent historians, was a moment of shock and sadness for those—friends and family, students, historians and colleagues—whose lives he touched. I count myself fortunate to have been just one of those many.

Stuart was educated at Scotch College and took his first degree at Melbourne University, before completing a Master of Arts at Monash and his DPhil at Cambridge under the supervision of Henry Pelling. Returning to Australia in 1979, he spent a brief period lecturing at Murdoch University, then came to the Melbourne history department, with which he retained a close association for the rest of his career. In 1991, he was promoted to the Ernest Scott Chair of History, and from 1999 to 2006 he served as Dean of Arts. Stuart sat on many organisational boards and councils, including terms as presidents of the Australian Historical Association (1996–98), and the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia (2006–9). From 2008 he also played a key role in developing the Australian Curriculum. In 2011 he was honoured as an Officer of the Order of Australia.

Although Stuart was sometimes described as a labour historian, no subdisciplinary label was ever capacious enough to contain his interests. His first two monographs, A Proletarian Science and Little Moscows (both 1980), were studies of British Marxism that grew out of his Cambridge DPhil. From there his interests turned mainly to Australian topics. He wrote general histories of Australia, and histories of colonial liberalism, social justice, civil liberties, the Communist Party of Australia, the University of Melbourne, higher education, the social sciences, historians, historiography and the history wars. He frequently co-authored, often with current or former graduate students, collaborations that could make academic careers. He will likely be best remembered for Australia's Boldest Experiment (2015), his masterful account of postwar reconstruction, the work of an experienced historian in full command of the power of synthesis. He once told me, as the manuscript was nearing completion, that it was the project about which he was most passionate. Stuart's final book was The Party (2022), the second volume of his history of the Communist Party, following on from The Reds (1998). Sadly he did not get to see it published, but he worked on it right until the end, finalising the manuscript in his last weeks.

I came to know Stuart in the first years of his retirement, when he was still teaching the history honours subject The Writing of Australian History. The subject was a minor passion of Stuart's that he chose to keep teaching long after retiring from most other academic duties. It was my introduction to the nationalist histories of Brian Fitzpatrick, to the historiographical de-

bates over the memorialisation of Anzac, to questions of historical fictionalisation through the work of novelist Kate Grenville, and to the virtuoso tricksiness of Greg Dening's Performances (at the time something of a personal revelation). Stuart marked my honours thesis in a characteristically generous but probing spirit, and I subsequently published a version of it at his suggestion—a welcome and entirely unexpected encouragement. It was that early vote of confidence that led me to a PhD under Stuart's supervision. No doubt many others were similarly spurred on by his support. Most of my memories of him are in the lounge at University House where—Stuart no longer having an office on campus—we would meet fortnightly and discuss my project over black coffee. We shared more cups of coffee in those years than I could possibly count.

In the many tributes that have flowed for Stuart since his passing in November 2021, others have highlighted traits and qualities that I likewise recognise. He had an eye for the telling detail, and a wry knack for words. He urged students to read widely, beyond their specialisms, insisting that breadth of knowledge would set them in good stead in their careers. I vividly recall him once explaining how his not having been trained in Australian history informed his insights into it—when he read into it, he said, distance from the topic allowed him to see and question assumptions otherwise taken for granted.

Above all, there was Stuart's generosity as a teacher, supervisor, and public intellectual, and the prodigious energy he brought to the work of historical scholarship. Stuart always sought to bring others into the historical conversation, never to gatekeep. For a scholar of his stature, he wore his substantial authority lightly. He always had time to give. Stuart's passion and energy for his work were famous among those who knew him well. Drafts sent to him to read would be returned with comments at dizzying speeds, often first thing the next morning (and often with his notorious 'Ugh!' against a phrase or sentence that deserved it). Far from seeing retirement as a time to slow down, he took it as an opportunity to pursue research interests that had been limited by the administrative commitments of his later academic career. Both Australia's Boldest Experiment and The Party were fruits of these last years of productivity. Much that he still wanted to do was left undone. We are all poorer for Stuart's being gone too soon, but richer for having had the benefit of his optimism, vision, and generosity.

Encounters, Agency, and Race in Oceania

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Abstract

Re-reading Greg Dening's writings provides a sharp reminder of the global significance of Pacific history in the second half of the twentieth century and his centrality in it. In this talk, I discuss three episodes of encounter between European voyagers and Indigenous Oceanians which show the enduring significance to my historical practice of what Greg called ethnohistory or ethnographic history. An ethnohistorical method illuminates the co-formulation of 'anthropological' knowledge in the fertile tension between European discourses on human difference or race, travellers' experience in Oceania, and local agency.

Biographical Details

Bronwen Douglas taught Pacific History for 25 years at La Trobe University, was Senior Fellow in Pacific & Asian History at the Australian National University until 2012, and is now Honorary Professor in the ANU College of Arts & Social Sciences. Her research and writing initially focussed on the ethnographic history of New Caledonia and south Vanuatu but from the mid-1990s has combined the ethnohistory of encounters in Oceania with the history of the human sciences and the sciences of place. She is author of *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania 1511–1850* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) and *Across the Great Divide: Voyages in History and Anthropology* (Harwood, 1998). She co-edited *Collecting in the South Sea: The Voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux 1791–1794* (Sidestone Press, 2018), *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750–1940* (ANU E Press, 2008), and *Tattoo: Bodies, Art and Exchange in the Pacific and the West* (Reaktion Books and Duke University Press, 2005).

I have previously told the story of my first meeting with Greg Dening in 1971, shortly after arriving at La Trobe University as a very green senior tutor in History.[1] Greg asked if I would lecture in an interdisciplinary course on New Guinea. 'I can't possibly,' I replied, 'the History Department has introduced a compulsory segment on reflective history to be taught in every subject and I shall have to read all this theory'. I did not know that Greg, a joint appointee in Sociology and History, was the chief architect of this alarming innovation. It was a while after that before he took me seriously. La Trobe was the original locus of the 'Melbourne Group', a loose collective of innovative ethnographic and social historians who took varied stimulus and reflected glory from the group's illustrious triple pillars, Dening, Inga Clendinnen, and Rhys Isaac.[2] Partly under their influence, I became an ethnohistorian who learned to know the difference between theory and reflection and to complement deep empirical immersion with both reflection (thinking about history-making rather than taking it for granted) and reflexivity (acknowledging authorship, including one's own, as central in history-making). My historical praxis thus parallels Greg Dening's maxim: 'I find theory foreign to my writing, but not reflection… Reflection is the double helix of my story-telling, binding past and present, self and other, author and text'.[3]

'Ethnogging' pasts

The idea of ethnographic history is traced to the eighteenth-century German historian August Ludwig Schlözer, whose adjectival neologism *ethnographisch* (ethnographic) – from ancient Greek *ἔθνος* (éthnos, nation, people) – labels a historical 'method' which makes *Völker* (peoples, language communities) 'the chief subjects of events', rather than period, technology, or geography.[4] Ethnohistory emerged in the United States in the 1950s as a hybrid research method applied by anthropologists testifying in Native American land claims hearings. From the 1980s, many postcolonial and postmodernist critics condemned ethnohistory as rooted in a racist divide between 'our' history and 'their' ethnohistory. Yet by then, it had been productively used to investigate non-Indigenous, as well as Indigenous pasts globally, usually under the rubric ethnographic history.[5] Greg Dening countered critique that ethnohistory is only applied to 'primitive or traditional cultures' with a typical aphorism: '"ethno-" does not mean "primitive" any more than "anthro-" does'. He added: 'I do the history and the anthropology of "primitive" and "civi-

[1] Bronwen Douglas, 'Greg Dening: Way-finder in the Presents of the Past', *Journal of Pacific History* 43.3 (2008), 383–9.

[2] Clifford Geertz, 'History and anthropology', *New Literary History*, 21.2 (1990), 325–9.

[3] 'A personal profile by Greg Dening', Centre for Cross-Cultural Research, ANU College of Arts and Social Sciences, Canberra, updated 11 August 2005, http://web.archive.org/web/20070203072638/www.anu.edu.au/culture/staff/dening_g.php [accessed 27 September 2020].

[4] August Ludwig Schlözer, *Vorstellung seiner Universal-Historie*, 2 vols (Göttingen and Gotha: Johann Christian Dieterich, 1772–3), vol. 1, 96–9. See Han F. Vermeulen, *Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 279–80.

[5] E.g., Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches, Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas 1774-1880* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1980); *Mr Bligh's Bad Langage: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1987); Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); Donna Merwick, *Possessing Albany, 1630–1710: The Dutch and English Experiences* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Richard Price, *First-time: The Historical Vision of an Afro-American People* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1983); Renato Rosaldo, *Ilongot Headhunting 1883-1974: A Study in Society and History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980). See Bronwen Douglas and Dario Di Rosa, 'Ethnohistory and Historical Ethnography', in *Oxford Bibliographies in Anthropology Online*, ed. John Jackson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), HTTPS://WWW.OXFORDBIBLIOGRAPHIES.COM/VIEW/DOCUMENT/OBO-9780199766567/OBO-9780199766567-0240.XML

lized" alike … in the past and in the present'. His students playfully called it 'ethnogging'.[6]

Ethnohistory or ethnographic history is a broad church, but all such approaches seek to decipher the lived realities and mysterious mundanities of particular people in the past. And to do so as far as possible in terms of their own 'present-participled experience' (Greg's delicious phrase[7]) of meaning-making and knowing – which theory substantivizes and stultifies as cosmologies, ontologies, and epistemologies. My ethnohistories use close-grained action descriptions to elucidate encounters in Oceania (Figure 1).

Figure 1. CartoGIS, 'Oceania sub-regions' (Canberra: College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University, 2020), http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/mapsonline/base-maps/oceania-sub-regions. Image withheld.

Encounters and presence

I interpret an 'encounter' not as a general clash of two reified, homogeneous cultures, but as a fluid, embodied episode involving multiple personal relationships between indigenous and foreign agents in a particular spatial and temporal setting, or present. The meanings or knowledges thereby created were sometimes opposed and often mutually ambiguous, but provided stimuli for acting, including representing. Representations of encounters are thus in part products of the encounters they represent.

The term presence has a dual implication: now and being there. In the now sense, 'the present' is fleeting existential moments between pasts and futures. Nowness is critical in all histories: stories about the past which are imagined, spoken, sung, danced, performed, made, drawn, filmed, or written by actors in a present. Presence as now means that authors cannot be wiped from histories, as per the objectivist fallacy which long strait-jacketed the professional discipline by rejecting usage of the pronoun 'I'. Rather, presence means that imagination, creativity, and recognised values contribute reflexively to the histories they help produce.

Presence as being there, glossed as agency, has long been my historical obsession, in contexts of in situ entanglement of mostly European incomers with Indigenous occupants. Until relatively recently, historians took for granted that encounters were dominated or controlled by the Europeans who produced most accessible first-hand accounts. This blinkered perspective stereotyped most Oceanian protagonists as anonymous 'natives' or 'savages', apart from a few named so-called 'kings' or 'chiefs', mainly men. Of course, Indigenous people are central in their own histories and these days are widely acknowledged as potent actors in colonial pasts. My enduring concerns are twofold: the significance of local agency during on-the-ground encounters with European travellers, missionaries, and colonisers from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries; and the critical identification of traces of such agency embedded in writings, pictures, maps, and object collections.

Since the mid-1990s, I have used the lens of encounters between scientific voyagers and Indigenous Oceanians to illuminate dialogic processes of knowing in the human sciences, particularly anthropology and raciology, and in the sciences of place, particularly cartog-

[6] Greg Dening, 'A Poetic for Histories: Transformations that Present the Past', in *Clio in Oceania: Toward a Historical Anthropology*, ed. Aletta Biersack (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 356; *Performances* (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 227; 'Performing on the Beaches of the Mind: An Essay', *History and Theory* 41.1 (2002), 7.

[7] Dening, *Performances*, 17.

raphy. A key node in these inquiries is the fertile tension in the co-formulation of 'anthropological' knowledge between scholarly discourses, European experience in Oceania, and Indigenous agency. This paper navigates that tension in practice in three episodes of encounter during sixteenth-century Spanish, eighteenth-century British, and nineteenth-century French expeditions.

In my usage, the toponym Oceania refers to what Europeans from the early sixteenth century called the 'fifth part of the world': the Pacific Islands, Aotearoa-New Zealand, New Guinea, Australia, the Philippines, and Indonesia. This broad delimitation acknowledges both ancient routes of human settlement and the European naming and delineation of Oceania and its regions after 1750. The first Oceanians were seafarers who, more than 60,000 years ago, crossed from Maluku or Timor to the Pleistocene mega-continent conjoining New Guinea, Australia, and Tasmania, called Sahul by geologists and archaeologists. They settled the forbidding highlands and vast expanses of Sahul in voyages of navigation and colonisation no less epic for being on land than the maritime enterprises of the 'Vikings of the Sunrise' – the ancestors of 'the Polynesians' who began to occupy Remote Oceania around 3,000 years ago (Figure 1).[8] In 1500, when Europeans knew the great ocean only in myth or speculation, Indigenous mariners had for millennia regularly navigated their overlapping 'native seas'.[9]

Magellan in Guam, 1521

The first encounter between Pacific Islanders and Europeans occurred near the end of Magellan's torturous passage of nearly four months across the almost empty sea he named Pacific. On 6 March 1521, these voyagers saw two or three islands in modern Micronesia – probably Guåhån (Guam) and two peaks on Luta (Rota).[10] Records of the subsequent meetings testify to the impact of Indigenous agency. The voyage chronicler Antonio Pigafetta recounted how the Spanish crews, in extremis from deprivation and scurvy, could obtain no fresh supplies because Indigenous Chamorro people came out to the ships on their 'flying' proas and seized everything they could, including a small boat. Magellan, 'enraged', stormed ashore with 40 armed men, 'burned from forty to fifty houses with many canoes and killed seven men and got back the small boat'.[11] Out of all proportion to the insult suffered, the Spanish reaction tellingly signifies not only their arrogance but the extent of their plight and vulnerability.

Ethnographically, Pigafetta typified the inhabitants as ungoverned, naked, and worshipping nothing. In sixteenth-century Spanish terms, these characters equated to paganism and extreme *barbaridad* (barbarity), in antithesis to their own self-ascribed Christian *civilidad* (civility). The relative civility or barbarity attributed to particular people was a matter of behaviour, appearance, dress or its absence, and religion, rather than race in the modern sense.[12] Physically, Pigafetta described these Islanders as tall, well-built, and 'olive' in skin colour, while the women were 'beautiful delicate and whiter than the men'. Their infuriating agency was memorialised in Magellan's

[8] Peter Buck [Te Rangi Hiroa], *Vikings of the Sunrise* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1954 [1938]).

[9] Ben Finney, 'Nautical Cartography and Traditional Navigation in Oceania', in *Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, ed. David Woodward and G.Malcolm Lewis, vol. 2, book 3, *The History of Cartography* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 443–92; Damon Salesa, 'The Pacific in Indigenous Time', in *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People*, ed. David Armitage and Alison Bashford (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), 44–50.

[10] Robert F. Rogers and Dirk Anthony Ballendorf, 'Magellan's Landfall in the Mariana Islands', *Journal of Pacific History* 24.2 (1989), 202–4.

[11] Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World* ..., trans. and ed. James Alexander Robertson, 3 vols (Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark, 1906), vol. 1, 90.

[12] Bronwen Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 39–68.

name for the island group, as Pigafetta made explicit: 'This people is poor but ingenious and very thievish, *for this* we named these three islands the Islands of the Thieves' – *Islas de los Ladrones* in Spanish and *Isles des Larrons* in a map in a French version of Pigafetta's manuscript (Figure 2).[13] *Islas de los Ladrones*, which features in a Spanish planisphere as early as 1525,[14] was the earliest of numerous European place names that deplore or celebrate the conduct and demeanour (i.e., the agency) of populations met in situ, encapsulating in a toponym a total experience of arrival, Indigenous action, and European response.[15] The archipelago was renamed Marianas in 1668, following Spain's formal colonisation of Guam, but the derogatory toponym Ladrones was scarcely challenged in global cartography until the nineteenth century and persisted at least into the 1930s.

There is no contemporary visual representation of Magellan's actual encounter with Chamorro but another Spanish visit to Guam in May 1590 inspired a visual narrative of meeting included in the so-called 'Boxer Codex' (Figure 3) – a richly illustrated ethnographic manuscript prepared in Manila for a Spanish governor of the Philippines. By then, Spanish galleons plied regular return passages across the north Pacific between Acapulco in New Spain (Mexico) and Manila. Guam was claimed by Spain in 1565 as a stopping point on the galleon route. The picture is painted on rice paper, probably by a Chinese artist, and depicts exchanges in progress off Guam between canoe-borne Islanders and a galleon's crew and passengers. The drawing illuminates a four-page written account of *las Islas de los Ladrones*.[16]

[13] Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage*, 92–4, my emphasis; Antonio Pigafetta, 'Isles des Larrons', in 'Navigation et descouuvrement de la Inde superieure et isles de Malucque ou naissent les cloux de girofle', [1525], Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT, http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3438401 [accessed 5 November 2020].

[14] [Diogo Ribeiro], [Carta Castiglioni], 1525, Biblioteca estense universitaria, Modena, https://edl.beniculturali.it/beu/850013656 [accessed 28 September 2020].

[15] Other European toponyms commemorating Indigenous agency include the early seventeenth-century Dutch labels *Dootslagers Rivier* (Slayers River) and *Moordenaars Rivier* (Murderers River), both on New Guinea's southwest coast; Willem Corneliszoon Schouten and Jacob Le Maire's furious *Verraders Eylandt* (Traitors Island) for Niuatoputapu in Tonga in 1616; Abel Janszoon Tasman's traumatized *Moordenaers Baij* (Murderers Bay) for Golden Bay in Aotearoa-New Zealand in 1642; Louis-Antoine de Bougainville's ecstatic *Nouvelle-Cythère* (Island of Venus), for Tahiti in 1768; James Cook's sequential 'Savage Island' for Niue and 'Friendly Archipelago' for Tonga in 1774 (see below); and the Russian Friedrich Benjamin von Lütke's angry 'Port of Hostile Reception' in Pohnpei in 1827, bestowed in counterpoint to his countryman Otto von Kotzebue's grateful labelling of part of Wotje Atoll (Marshall Islands) as 'Islands of Friendly Reception' in 1817.

[16] Anon., [Spanish-Chamorro encounter, Guam], in [Sino-Spanish (Boxer) Codex], [1590], frontispiece, folios 3r–4v, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, LMC 2444. See C.R. Boxer, 'A Late Sixteenth Century Manila MS', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (April 1950), 37–8, 45–8.

Figure 2. Antonio Pigafetta, 'Isles des Larrons', in 'Navigation et descouuvrement de la Inde superieure et isles de Malucque ou naissent les cloux de girofle', [1525], r25, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT, https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2017752.

Figure 3. Anon., [Spanish-Chamorro encounter, Guam], in [Sino-Spanish (Boxer) Codex], [1590], frontispiece, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, LMC 2444. [mage withheld].

These cursory representations of a fleeting encounter lack depth and context but, read together, sketch and words are more evocative than either written or visual medium alone. The protagonists are embodied in the drawing and explicated by the prose to produce a vivid scene of vessels, persons, and objects flowing between them. The galleon is surrounded by 'light' canoes, manoeuvrable like 'very tame and disciplined horses', some tethered to the ship. A local man, 'like fish in water', is diving to retrieve something before it sinks. The Chamorro are bringing local produce and fresh water to exchange for iron, 'because it is their gold', much valued for its utility and power. Drawing and writing convey a contemporary European sense of collective human difference, not between separate races but between *gente* (people) positioned at opposite poles of a universalised continuum between civility and barbarity. Overdressed, light-skinned Spaniards cluster demurely aboard the vessel, with a couple of seamen in the rigging. The ship is encircled by a disorderly crowd of 'very brown'

men of massive stature and great 'strength', with 'wide, flat' faces, 'very long' hair and – a shocking sign of incivility to the Spanish – all unclothed, 'men and women alike', just 'as they were born'.

Among myriad ethnographic sketches in the Boxer Codex are two of armed 'Ladrones', one wearing a strategic figleaf (Figure 4).[17] Though the figures are distorted and unflattering, these drawings and the encounter painting are of great interest since they are among the earliest surviving European visual representations of Pacific Islanders – along with two oddly-garbed persons depicted crewing a canoe in Pigafetta's map of the *Isles des Larrons* (Figure 2).

Figure 4. Anon., 'Ladrones', in [Sino-Spanish (Boxer) Codex], [1590], [folios 1v–2r], Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, LMC 2444. Image witheld].

Cook in Niue, 1774

My second episode of encounter took place in the central Pacific island of Niue, 250 years after Magellan's visit to Guam. During most of this period the great ocean remained a near void in European maps. But after 1764, as more and more lands or islands were charted by scientific voyagers with enhanced technical capacity to determine accurate longitude, encounters with Indigenous people proliferated.

On 21 June 1774, during the second circumnavigation of the globe by the British navigator James Cook, HMS *Resolution* was hove to off a large coral island unknown to Europeans (Figure 5). Deciding that 'landing was Practical', Cook led a small party ashore, including the naturalists Johann Reinhold and Georg Forster, their colleague Anders Sparrman, and the artist William Hodges.[18] Their 'friendly signs' were met with 'menaces' by two men who were 'blackened as far as the waist', wore feathers in their hair, and 'charged forward with warlike shouts, dancing and gesticulating in the usual manner of savages'. A later Niuean oral history describes these actions as the *takalo* (war dance).[19] The modern *takalo* is a ceremonial challenge or welcome like the Māori *haka* or Samoan and Tongan equivalents, but Cook and his companions felt materially threatened. One man flung a large piece of coral which struck Sparrman violently on the arm. To Cook's displeasure, Sparrman 'let fly at his enemy' with small shot and shortly afterwards the men retired. When the ship's party landed at another place, a 'troop of natives' rushed upon

[17] Anon., 'Ladrones', in [Sino-Spanish (Boxer) Codex], [folios 1v–2r].

[18] My synopsis of the landings at Niue draws on contemporary European accounts by James Cook, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Adventure *1772–1775*, ed. J.C. Beaglehole, vol. 2, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery* (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1961), 433–8; Georg Forster, *A Voyage Round the World in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop, Resolution … during the Years 1772, 3, 4, and 5*, 2 vols (London: B. White, J. Robson, P. Elmsly, and G. Robinson), vol. 2, 163–7; Johann Reinhold Forster, *The* Resolution *Journal of Johann Reinhold Forster 1772–1775*, ed. Michael E. Hoare, 4 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1982), vol. 3, 536–40; Anders Sparrman, *A Voyage Round the World with Captain James Cook in H.M.S. Resolution*, trans Huldine Beamish and Averil Mackenzie-Grieve, ed. Owen Rutter (London: Robert Hale Limited, 1953), 129–30; and William Wales, 'Journal on the Resolution, 21 June 1772–17 Oct. 1774', State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, https://collection.sl.nsw.gov.au/record/nGm4lbbY [accessed 29 September 2020]. See also Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 88–93; cf. Sue McLachlan, 'Savage Island or Savage History? An Interpretation of Early European Contact with Niue', *Pacific Studies* 6.1 (1982), 26–51.

[19] Uea, cited in Edwin M. Loeb, *History and Traditions of Niue* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1926), 30, 124. For other descriptions by Europeans of a similarly confronting 'war dance' in Niue, see John Williams, *The Samoan Journals of John Williams 1830 and 1832*, ed. Richard M. Moyle (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1984), 41; John Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands …* (London: John Snow, 1837), 295–6); Basil Thomson, *Savage Island: An Account of a Sojourn in Niué and Tonga* (London: John Murray, 1902), 121–2, 127.

them with 'the ferocity of wild Boars'. Two men, similarly decorated and armed with spears, advanced 'with furious shouts'. Cook and his colleagues discharged their muskets but they misfired, whereupon the men hurled two spears, narrowly missing Cook and Georg Forster. Only a 'regular firing' by the sailors and marines covering the landing convinced the attackers to withdraw.

Figure 5. Anon., 'Savage Island', in R.A. Skelton, ed., Charts & Views Drawn by Cook and his Officers and Reproduced from the Original Manuscripts, in The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1955), plate 34b. National Library of Australia, Canberra, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-588082496/view. Image withheld, under copyright.

Cook claimed: 'we had reason to believe none were hurt'. However, Georg Forster thought that one man must have been wounded, 'by the dismal howl which we heard presently' and the astronomer William Wales, who had remained on the ship, was told by Hodges that someone was 'probably' killed.[20] The Niuean history mentions no injuries or deaths but relates that the warriors fled because 'they were afraid of the sticks that exploded'.[21]

Again, Indigenous demeanour was memorialised in a European toponym: Cook acknowledged that 'The Conduct and aspect of these Islanders occasioned my nameing it *Savage Island*'. The elder Forster called the Niueans 'brave' but 'mistrustfull' and was glad to quit 'this *inhospitable* Shore with it [sic] still more *inhospitable Inhabitants*'. Georg Forster thought their 'almost inaccessible' country made them 'unsociable' and deemed them 'little advanced' in civilization since they were 'savage, and go naked'.[22] Local agency is central in these voyagers' representations of Niueans. The words 'blackened', 'warlike', 'savages', 'enemy', 'ferocity', 'furious', 'Savage', 'mistrustfull', 'inhospitable', 'unsociable', 'savage', 'naked' are verbal fallout from the interplay of intimidating Indigenous conduct with charged European emotions and bigoted standards of relatively civil or savage behaviour, assumed to be environmentally determined. The words do not imply the systematic racial categories or terminology characteristic of nineteenth-century racial science, since at this point the expedition had only encountered people whom raciology would essentialise as 'the Polynesians'. So Georg Forster recognised the Niueans' common 'origin' with the Tongans as 'one race of people'. Yet a few days out of Niue, at Nomuka in Tonga's Ha'apai group (Figure 6), he admired the 'difference between this race, and the savages [the Niueans] whom we had so lately left'. Cook named the Tongan group the Friendly Archipelago as 'their Courtesy to Strangers intitles them to that Name' and Forster endorsed the sentiment: 'the name Friendly was very justly given to them'.[23] This toponym is as much a sign of strategic local actions as is the appellation Savage for Niue.

Figure 6. Henry Roberts, [Savage Island to the New Hebrides], in 'A General Chart: Exhibiting the Discoveries made by Captn. James Cook in this and his two Preceding Voyages …', in James Cook and James King, A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean … in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780. [Atlas]

[20] Cook, *Voyage*, 435; Forster, *Voyage*, vol. 2, 166; Wales, 'Journal'.

[21] Uea in Loeb, *History*, 30.

[22] Cook, *Voyage*, 437, original emphasis; G. Forster, *Voyage*, vol. 2, 166–7; J.R. Forster, Resolution *Journal*, vol. 3, 538, 540, original emphasis.

[23] Cook, *Voyage*, 449; G. Forster, *Voyage*, vol. 2, 167–8, 190.

(London: G. Nicol and T. Cadell, 2nd edition, 1785), plate 1, detail. David Rumsey Map Collection, http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~24142~870156. Image withheld.

Encounters to races

Three weeks after leaving Tonga, the expedition anchored at the island of Malakula in the archipelago Cook named New Hebrides (modern Vanuatu, Figure 6). The shock of meeting 'the Mallicollese' stimulated Georg Forster to differentiate them in his voyage narrative as 'a race totally distinct' in 'form', 'language', and 'manners' from the 'lighter-coloured nation' he had seen in the eastern and central Pacific and in New Zealand, who evidently shared 'one common origin'. He speculatively aligned the inhabitants of the New Hebrides with the 'black race' earlier reported in 'New Guinea and Papua', since 'both nations' shared characteristically 'black colour and woolly hair'.[24] Notwithstanding this embryonic human classification, Forster consistently adhered to a conventional eighteenth-century definition of the term race as a synonym for 'variety', equally 'changeable' and 'accidental'. He insisted that voyagers only applied race to South Sea Islanders to imply 'a crowd of people' of 'idiosyncratic' form and 'unknown origin'. So 'the Papuans and the black Islanders … incidentally related to them' were called a race to differentiate them from nearby 'light-brown people of Malay origin'.[25]

In this indeterminate vein, Forster was far less complimentary about the 'lighter-coloured' Niuans than about 'black' Malakulans. As an enthusiastic savant, he was delighted by their 'quick apprehension' of his 'signs and gestures', their ability to teach him words of their language, and their accurate pronunciation of 'difficult' foreign sounds. He thought them the 'most intelligent people' he had met in the South Seas and 'very open to improvement' into a 'higher state of civilization'.[26] In contrast, Cook the anxious commander, infuriated by their recalcitrant agency – their indifference to his trade goods and refusal to traffic much needed provisions – maligned them as an 'Apish Nation', 'the most Ugly and ill proportioned of any I ever saw'.[27] Forster praised the published engraving of Hodges's attractive red crayon portrait of a Malakulan man as 'very characteristic of the nation', aside from the engraver's anomalous addition of drapery across the subject's shoulders (Figure 7).[28]

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[24] G. Forster, *Voyage*, vol. 1, 598; vol. 2, 205–6, 208–9, 226–8, 231.

[25] Georg Forster, 'Noch etwas über die Menschenrassen', *Teutsche Merkur* (October 1786), 80, 159–61.

[26] G. Forster, *Voyage*, vol. 2, 208, 213–14, 236, 243.

[27] Cook, *Voyage*, 464, 466.

[28] G. Forster, *Voyage*, vol. 2, 209–10; William Hodges, 'Mallicolo', 1774, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, https://viewer.slv.vic.gov.au/?entity=IE1340699&mode=browse; James Caldwall after William Hodges, 'Man of the Island of Mallicolo', engraving, in James Cook, *A Voyage Towards the South Pole and Round the World … in the Years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775* …, 2 vols (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1777), vol. 2, plate 47, facing p. 168, David Rumsey Map Collection, https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~24066~870110 [both accessed 6 November 2020].

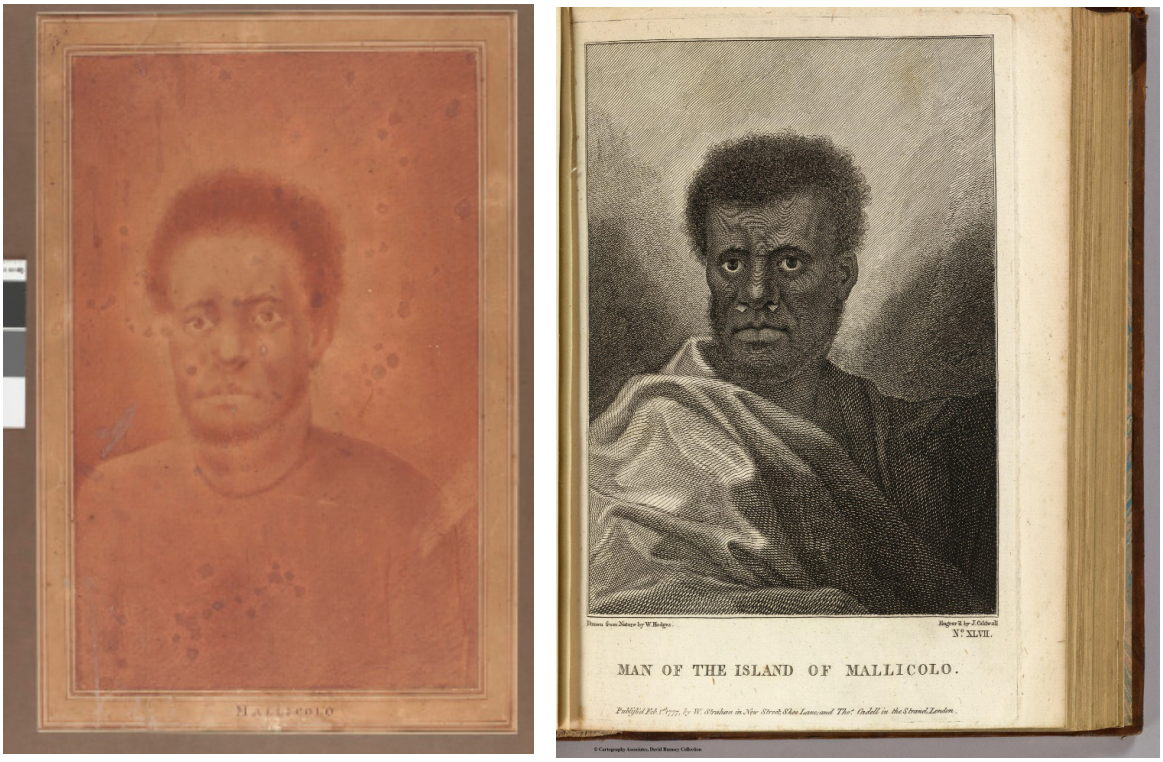

Figure 7. (a) William Hodges, 'Mallicolo', 1774, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, https://viewer.slv.vic.gov.au/?entity=IE1340699&mode=browse; (b) William Hodges, 'Man of the Island of Mallicolo', in James Cook, A Voyage Towards the South Pole and Round the World … in the Years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775 … (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1777), vol. 2, plate 47, facing p. 168. David Rumsey Map Collection, https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~24066~870110.

Georg Forster's speculative comparison was formalised in a scientific treatise by his father Johann Reinhold as a division into 'two great varieties of people in the South Seas', each grading towards the other.[29] To this point, Pacific Islanders had been represented as a medley of diverse skin colours and hair types, largely on the eyewitness authority of the late sixteenth-century Spanish voyager Pedro Fernández de Quirós: 'the people of these lands are many; their colours are white, brown[,] mulattos, and Indians, and mixtures of one and the others, the hair of some is black, thick and loose, of others is twisted and frizzy, and of others very fair and thin'.[30] This kaleidoscopic vision was condensed in 1756 by the French savant Charles de Brosses: 'It is astonishing to find so many races of men of diverse kinds, & different colours, placed in the same climates at such small distances from each other'.[31] In contrast, Johann Reinhold Forster dichotomized 'two different tribes': the 'first race', seen in the eastern and central Pacific Islands and in New Zealand, was 'more fair,… of a fine size, and a kind benevolent temper'; the 'second race', encountered in the New Hebrides and New Caledonia, was 'blacker, the hair just beginning to become woolly and crisp, the body more slender and low, and their temper … more brisk, though somewhat mistrustful'.[32]

[29] Johann Reinhold Forster, *Observations Made during a Voyage Round the World, on Physical Geography, Natural History, and Ethic Philosophy* (London, G. Robinson, 1778), 228.

[30] Carlos Sanz, ed., *Australia su descubrimiento y denominación: con la reproducción facsimil del memorial número 8 de Quirós en español original, y en las diversas traducciones contemporáneas* (Madrid: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1973), 38–9.

[31] [Charles de Brosses], *Histoire des navigations aux terres australes* …, 2 vols (Paris: Durand, 1756), vol. 1, 334; vol. 2, 347–8.

[32] J.R. Forster, *Observations*, 228.

Seeking to explain these 'evident difference' between 'two different tribes', Forster hypothesised their descent 'from two different races of men'. He revived an ancient conjectural history of human migration and displacement that ominously conflates darker skin colour with primordiality, absence of civility, and low station. He reasoned that the 'first aboriginal inhabitants' of the Pacific Islands were 'all cannibals' and must have resembled people he had seen in the New Hebrides. This imagined 'aboriginal black race of people' were displaced or 'subdued' by 'successive' migrations of lighter-coloured, 'more civilized Malay tribes' and became the 'lowest rank' in the highly stratified societies Forster had visited in the eastern and central Pacific. Whereas Georg's narrative identifies Niueans with Tongans as 'one race of people', his father's conjectural history now reconfigures them: '*Savage-island*, whose inhabitants we found very tawny and ferocious, might perhaps be another island, which the Malay tribes have not hitherto been able to subdue'.[33] This striking anomaly is a clear imprint in a voyager's text of the unsettling impact of personal experience of threatening Indigenous agency.

In 1783, Georg Forster published a German translation of his father's treatise. No doubt using race in the vague sense he subsequently professed, Georg rendered the English phrases 'the aboriginal black tribes' and 'the aboriginal black race of people' as the *ursprünglichen* (original) or *ersten* (first) *schwarzen* (black) *Rassen von Menschen* (human races). But he translated 'the aboriginal tribes' as *die schwärzeren Völker* (the blacker peoples).[34] Both versions stress primordiality but I read a somewhat heavier emphasis on blackness in Georg's translation than in the English text.

The German prefix *ur-*, as in *ursprünglichen*, derives from a Proto-Indo-European term meaning 'up' or 'out' and is attributed a dominant 'recent' meaning of 'that which is first', 'original', 'primitive', 'pure'.[35] In a paper on Botany Bay published a few years later, the self-professed empiricist Georg Forster imposed a markedly more essentialist usage of *ur-*. Disparaging Indigenous Australians (whom he had never seen) as the 'most miserable' of human 'races', he complained of the difficulty of tracing 'the origin of these savages'. But he deduced their relationship with the inhabitants of nearby archipelagoes from their shared 'black colour', 'frizzy woolly hair', and 'mistrust, jealousy, and lack of civilization'. He concluded that it would be hard to prove 'which of the two, the New Hollanders or the Islanders, are the *Urvolk* [original people], and which the colonies derived from them'; moreover, both might be 'different offspring of another common stock'. Forster also allowed paternalistically that the 'unformed' New Hollanders were 'not barbarous' and that their 'slight' items of material culture showed 'skill' and 'ability' which might be developed under the influence of European settlers.[36] His imperious, impatient father similarly insisted in principle on a

[33] Ibid., 252, 275–6, 353–60. There was nothing novel about these speculations, since Brosses (*Histoire*, vol. 2, 376–80) had argued similarly and stories of migration and dispersal pepper European literature on Oceanian populations from the sixteenth century, often echoing local tales of small, brutish, dark-skinned inland dwellers driven to remote places by more civilised, lighter-skinned immigrants (Douglas, *Science*, 89–90). See, for example, Pedro Fernández de Quirós, *Descubrimiento de las regiones austriales*, ed. Roberto Ferrando Pérez (Madrid: Dastin, 2000), 89, 175.

[34] J.R. Forster, *Observations*, 358–60; Johann Reinhold Forster, *Bemerkungen* über *Gegenstände der physischen Erdbeschreibung, Naturgeschichte und sittlichen Philosophie auf seiner Reise um die Welt gesammlet …*, tr. Georg Forster (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1783), 312–14. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) derives English 'ab-, prefix', from classical Latin *ab-* (from, away from), and defines 'aboriginal' as meaning 'first or earliest', 'primitive', 'native', 'indigenous' (*OED Online*, https://www.oed.com/) [accessed 16 October 2020].

[35] The *Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (*DWDS*) traces the etymology of German *ur-* to Proto-Indo-European *uds, *hinauf, hinaus* (up, out) (*DWDS*, https://www.dwds.de/wb/dwb/ur-). The *OED* defines 'ur-, prefix', attributed to German, as meaning 'primitive, original, earliest' (*OED Online*, https://www.oed.com/) [both accessed 16 October 2020]. My thanks to Hilary Howes for helping to guide me through the maze of eighteenth-century German etymology, meanings, and syntax.

[36] Georg Forster, 'Neuholland und die Brittische Colonie in Botany-Bay', in *Historisch-Genealogischer Calender oder Jahrbuch*

universal human potential to 'progress' towards 'civilization', conceived in equally Eurocentric fashion, while vilifying particular people whose behaviour did not meet his expectations or demands.[37]

Georg Forster is authoritatively cited as an early user of the term *Urvolk*, defined as a neologism meaning 'original', 'ancestral', 'autochthonous', or 'unmixed' people.[38] If the racial implications of primordiality are ambiguous in Forster's usage, there is no doubt about the categorical racialism of the synonym *Ur-Nation*, which appears in a series of early nineteenth-century German maps of *Australien* (Australia) – German cartography's then preferred toponym for the entire fifth part of the world. Daniel Friedrich Sotzmann's map of 1810 (Figure 8) divides *Australien* along overtly racial lines by draping two novel captions across substantial segments of the 'Great Ocean'. These labels constitute the earliest racial classification of Pacific people I have found inscribed on a map. *West Australien (der Ur-Nation)* (West Australia [the Original nation]) brackets New Holland, New Guinea, and the archipelagoes as far east as the New Hebrides (modern Melanesia). *Ost Australien (der Malaien)* (East Australia [of the Malays]), spans the Caroline Islands in the north (in modern Micronesia), New Zealand in the southeast, and all the central and eastern Pacific Islands (modern Polynesia).[39] Over the next two decades, Sotzmann's racial slogans were replicated by several German cartographers.[40] They include Christian Gottlieb Reichard, who added the captions to a reissued map of *Australien* by recently deceased Friedrich Gottlieb Canzler and revised them in his own map of 1816 (Figure 9). Reichard's maps feature an even more racialist geography. His captions split *Australien* between *Bewohner Neger artigen ursprungs* (Inhabitants of Negro-like origin) and *Bewohner Maleyischen ursprungs* (Inhabitants of Malay origin).[41]

der merkwürdigsten neuen Welt-Begebenheiten für 1787 (Leipzig: Haude und Spener, 1787), 315, 319–20. For Forster's self-positioning as a 'clear-sighted and reliable empiricist', see 'Noch etwas', 62.

[37] J.R. Forster, *Observations*, 285–335. See Michael Dettelbach, '"A Kind of Linnaean Being": Forster and Eighteenth-Century Natural History', in Johann Reinhold Forster, *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World*, ed. Nicholas Thomas, Harriet Guest, and Michael Dettelbach (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), lxxiii-lxxiv.

[38] Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*, 5 vols (Braunschweig: Schulbuchhandlung, 1807–11), vol. 5, 253; *DWDS*, https://www.dwds.de/wb/dwb/urvolk [accessed 19 October 2020].

[39] Daniel Friedrich Sotzmann, 'Karte des Grossen Oceans gewöhnlich das Süd Meer gennant …', in Eberhard August Wilhelm von Zimmermann, *Australien in Hinsicht der Erd-, Menschen- und Produktenkunde …*, 2 vols (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes,1810), vol. 1, endpiece, National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-528411564 [accessed 12 October 2020].

[40] Friedrich Gottlieb Canzler, *Karte vom Fünften Erdteil oder Australien …* (Nürnberg: Christoph Fembo, 1813), National Library of Australia, Canberra, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230591627; Friedrich Wilhelm Streit, *Charte von Australien …* (Nürnberg: Friedrich Campe, 1817), National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm521; Friedrich Wilhelm Streit, 'Charte von Australien ...', in C.G.D. Stein, *Neuer Atlas Der Ganzen Welt …* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1827), plate 7, David Rumsey Map Collection, http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~249500~5516694 [all accessed 12 October 2020].

[41] Christian Gottlieb Reichard, 'Australien Nach Mercators Projection', in Christian Gottlieb Reichard and Adolf Stieler, *Hand-Atlas* über *alle Theile der Erde …* (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1816), plate 50, National Library of Australia, Canberra, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230589240; Christian Gottlieb Reichard, 'Australien', in Christian Gottlieb Reichard and Friedrich Haller von Hallerstein, *Neuer Hand-Atlas* über *alle Theile der Erde …* (Nürnberg: Friedrich Campe, 1822), plate 7, David Rumsey Map Collection, https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~33022~1170385 [both accessed 12 October 2020]. See also Christian Gottlieb Reichard, 'Oceanica (Polinesia) projezione di Mercatore', in Christian Gottlieb Reichard and Adolf Stieler, *Atlante universale del globo compreso …*, ed. Giuseppe Dembsher Veneziano (Venezia: Alvisopoli, 1829), plate 7.

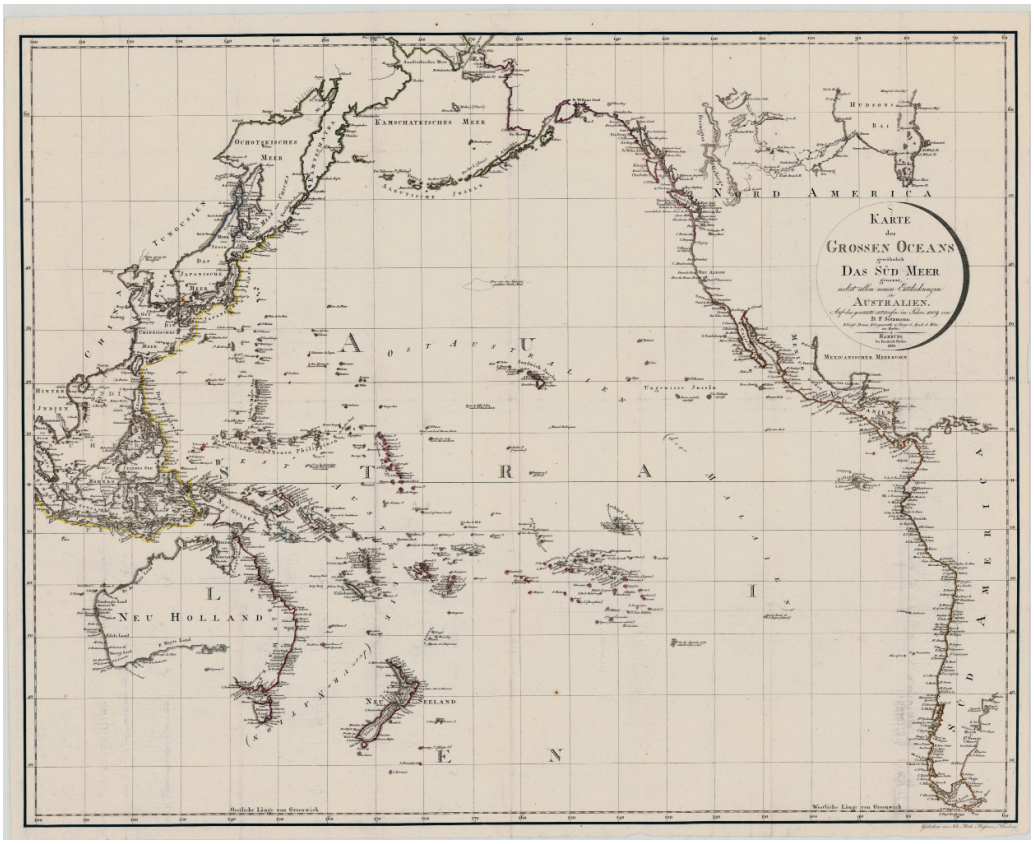

Figure 8. Daniel Friedrich Sotzmann, 'Karte des Grossen Oceans gewöhnlich das Süd Meer gennant …', in Eberhard August Wilhelm von Zimmermann, Australien in Hinsicht der Erd-, Menschen- und Produktenkunde … (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1810), vol. 1, endpiece, detail. National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-528411564. Annotation B. Douglas.

Figure 9. Christian Gottlieb Reichard, 'Australien Nach Mercators Projection', in Christian Gottlieb Reichard and Adolf Stieler, Hand-Atlas über alle Theile der Erde … (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1816), plate 50, detail. National Library of Australia, Canberra, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230589240. Annotation B. Douglas.

The stimulus for this German wording is mysterious to me. Sotzmann's map is the endpiece to Eberhard August Wilhelm von Zimmerman's geography of *Australien*. However, that work is ordered chronologically by voyages, rather than geographically, and lacks systematic classification. Zimmerman casually replicated his sources' categories, including *Neger* (Negro), *Austral-Neger* (Austral Negro), and *Ureinwohner* and *Originalbewohner* (original inhabitants), but did not use Sotzmann's terms.[42] Perhaps the map was simply added to the book for illustrative purposes rather than specifically commissioned. Perhaps Sotzmann meant to map Johann Reinhold Forster's conjectural history of the supplanting of aboriginal blacks by 'more polished and more civilized' Malay 'conquerors' and borrowed Georg's term *Urvolk*.[43] Perhaps Sotzmann or Reichard drew cartographic inspiration from the French geographer Conrad Malte-Brun's recent racial classification of what he called *Océanique* (Oceanica). Malte-Brun paired a sharp spatial opposition with conventional, value-laden physical analogies: the 'very fine' 'Polynesian race' inhabited New Zealand and the eastern Pacific Islands and was 'often whiter than the Spaniards'; the 'Oceanic Negroes' peopled New Holland, New Guinea, and the southwest Pacific Islands and were 'as black as the negroes of Africa, having lips as thick, nose as flat, and wool instead of hair'.[44]

Notwithstanding these uncertainties, it is clear that ethnographic traces of experience, observation, or Indigenous agency, such as those which qualify or disrupt the deductions of both Forsters, are absent from the work of Malte-Brun and the early nineteenth-century German cartographers. Their congealed abstract categories foreshadow the incipient dominance of raciology in European discourses on human difference.

Dumont d'Urville in Tikopia and Vanikoro, 1828

My final exemplary encounters occurred in the small neighbouring islands of Tikopia and Vanikoro (southeast Solomon Islands, Figure 10) during the French expedition of Jules Dumont d'Urville.[45] A very experienced navigator who had circumnavigated the globe as first officer in Louis-Isidore Duperrey's expedition of 1822–5, Dumont d'Urville was also a respected field naturalist with a strong interest in anthropology. On 10 February 1828, he made a daylong stopover in Tikopia, seeking information about recently reported traces of the vanished expedition of Jean-François de Galaup, comte de La Pérouse. The French identified 'the Tikopians' as a unexpected enclave of the 'beautiful *yellow*' or 'Polynesian race' amid the mostly 'black' populations of surrounding islands. The inhabitants were familiar with foreigners, including several resident seamen. Their 'extremely gracious' reception of a small landing party delighted the French: the people were 'so cheerful, so amiable and so trusting'; 'joy and mildness' radiated on every face; they were 'handsome', 'not very dark', 'agile and fit', with 'generally pleasing' features.[46] A lively watercolour by the artist Louis-Antoine de Sainson (Figure 11), personalised

[42] Zimmermann, *Australien*.

[43] J.R. Forster, *Observations*, 359.

[44] Edme Mentelle and Conrad Malte Brun, *Géographie mathématique, physique et politique de toutes les parties du monde* …, 16 vols (Paris: H. Tardieu et Laporte, 1803–5), vol. 1, 540–52; vol. 12, 473–4, 577.

[45] See Douglas, *Science*, 233–43, for detailed consideration of these encounters.

[46] Jules Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté … pendant les années 1826–1827–1828–1829 …*, 5 vols (Paris: J. Tastu, 1830–3), vol. 5, 109–22; Joseph-Paul Gaimard, [Extraits du journal], in Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage*, vol. 5, 305–7; Pierre-Adolphe Lesson, 'Voyage de découvertes de l'Astrolabe', 1826–9, 3 vols, Médiathèque de la Ville de Rochefort, France,

by his own presence (third from left), depicts the Frenchmen being led ashore by attentive helpers.[47]

Figure 10. Jules Dumont d'Urville and Victor-Charles Lottin, 'Carte de la partie de l'Océan Pacifique parcourue par la corvette l'Astrolabe', in Jules Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté pendant les années 1826–1827–1828–1829 … Atlas historique (Paris: J. Tastu), map [2], detail. National Library of Australia, Canberra http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-nk2456-74. Annotation B. Douglas.

Figure 11. Louis-Auguste de Sainson, [Vue de la plage de débarquement à Tikopia], n.d., in Louis-Auguste de Sainson, 'Aquarelles', folio 19, Société de Géographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, SG (Rés), fol. 4. Image withheld.

Eleven days later, Dumont d'Urville anchored at Vanikoro (Figure 12), where La Pérouse's vessels had foundered in 1788. During nearly a month's stay, the voyagers were confused, frustrated, or intimidated by unpredictable Indigenous behaviour, in sharp contrast to their brief, gratifying experience in Tikopia. These encounters hardened general aversion for blacks into categorical opposition: according to Dumont d'Urville, the Vanikorans were '*naturally* fierce and mistrustful, like all the savages of the black Oceanic race'; their mistrust was 'foreign to peoples of the Polynesian race', who were '*naturally* mild, joyful and friendly'.[48]

MLE(PA)8122–4, vol. 3, 13–28; Jean-René Constant Quoy, [Extraits du journal], in Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage*, vol. 5, 304–5; Louis-Auguste de Sainson, [Extraits du journal], in Ibid., 312–15.

[47] Louis-Auguste de Sainson, [Vue de la plage de débarquement à Tikopia], n.d., in Louis-Auguste de Sainson, 'Aquarelles', folio 19, Société de Géographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, SG (Rés), fol. 4.

[48] Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage*, vol. 5, 112, 145, 221, my emphasis.

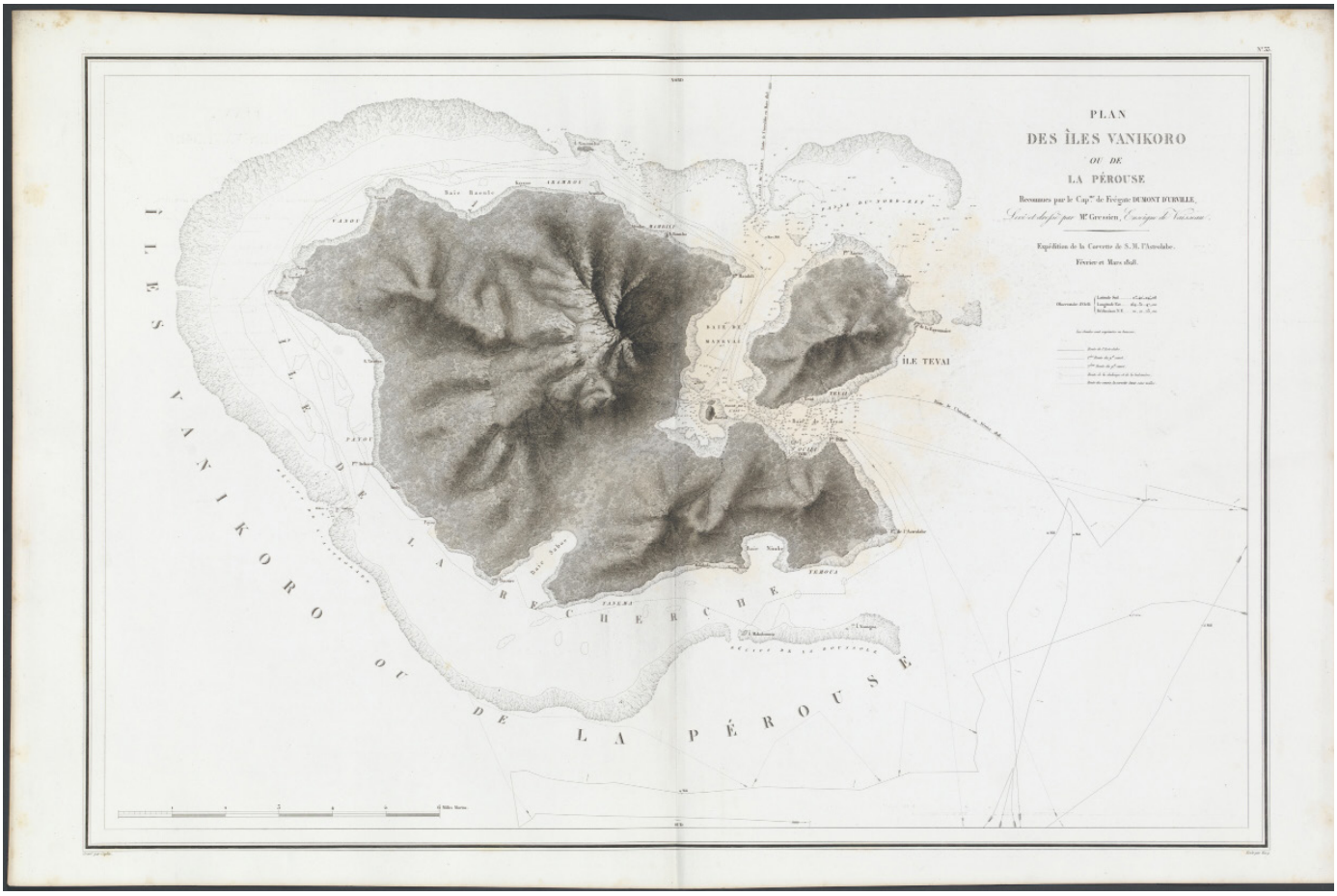

Figure 12. Victor-Amédée Gressien, 'Plan des îles Vanikoro ou de La Pérouse', in Jules Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté pendant les années 1826–1827–1828–1829 … Atlas [hydrographique] (Paris: J. Tastu, 1833), plate 33, detail. National Library of Australia, Canberra, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230843544.

In practice, however, this abstract racial antithesis is repeatedly contraverted in Dumont d'Urville's voyage narrative. The previous year, the expedition had encountered 'a fine type of the yellow or Polynesian' race in Tonga. Yet the 'perfidious' behaviour of Tongans, who attacked and seized a ship's boat and its crew, provoked Dumont d'Urville to fulminate on their 'most opposed qualities': while seemingly 'generous, obliging, hospitable', Tongans were also 'covetous, audacious, and above all profoundly hypocritical'.[49] Even in Vanikoro, his stories of particular encounters show marked empirical variation. At the village of Tevai, Dumont d'Urville was disappointed by the inhabitants' 'indifference'; unhappy about the insistent demands, 'surly air', and 'bad faith' of the 'chief' who astutely negotiated an exchange; and ultimately intimidated by the 'greedy, turbulent dispositions' of these 'alert, resolute, well armed savages', and – as in Tonga – by their 'perfidy'. But his account of his reception at the nearby small island of Manevai is very different in tone and reminiscent of Tikopia: 'the inhabitants ran to meet us, without arms, manifesting an extreme joy to see us'. Dumont d'Urville repeatedly praised them and his 'particular friend', the *ariki* (chief) Moembe, who was supposedly 'very ugly' but also 'mild', 'peaceable', 'decent', 'reserved', 'polite',

[49] Ibid., vol. 4, 129, 221, 231; Quoy, [Extraits], in Ibid., 347. Sainson drew a visual narrative of this assault ([Enlèvement du petit canot de 'l'Astrolabe' sur l'île Panghaï Modou], n.d., in Sainson, 'Aquarelles', folio 13).

and 'honest'.[50]

Sainson's pencil portrait of Moembe (Figure 13), which was lithographed for the historical *Atlas* of the voyage,[51] is in keeping with the generally positive tenor of his artwork in Vanikoro. In another vibrant watercolour (Figure 14), the artist depicted the reception of a French boat off the village of Nama (Figure 12) as a scene of friendly, helpful Indigenous activity. On the left, a man aids a sailor to rig an awning over the officers; on the right, another man exchanges with a sailor; others wade to the boat bearing objects for barter.[52] During a visit to the same place a few days earlier, the French were approached by unarmed villagers who seemed to express 'good' intentions. However, on that occasion – following Dumont d'Urville's order to exercise 'much circumspection' in dealings with 'the savages' – the party 'did not dare to land, having learned at our expense to mistrust all these peoples in general'.[53] This admission presumably alluded to the incident in Tonga while tacitly acknowledging the vulnerability of all voyagers when navigating in poorly known seas amongst independent, warlike people.

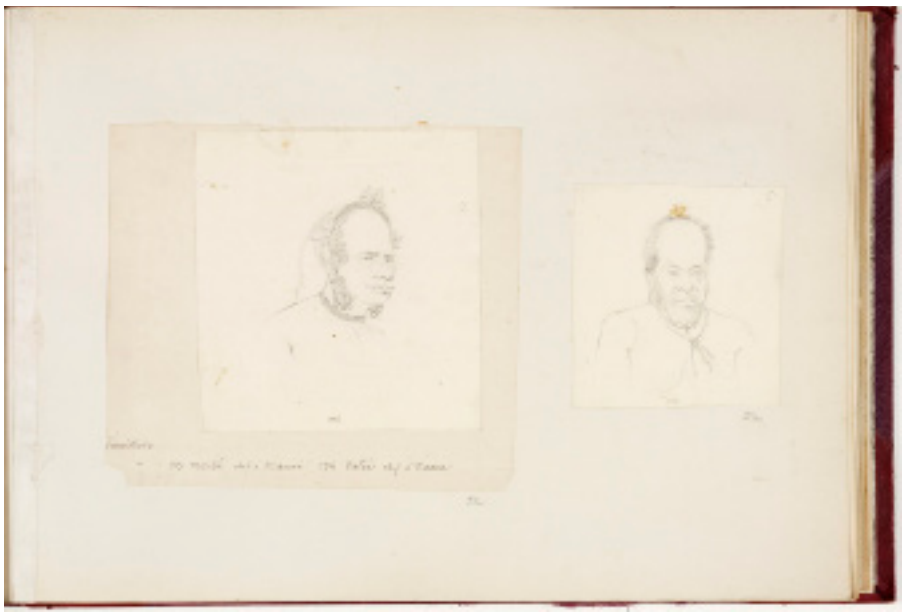

Figure 13. Louis-Auguste de Sainson, 'Monbê chef à Manévé', 1828, in Jacques Arago and Louis-Auguste de Sainson, [Drawings], folio 53b, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=457892.

Figure 14. Louis-Auguste de Sainson, [Vue du village de Nama, île de Vanikoro], n.d., in Louis-Auguste de Sainson, 'Aquarelles', folio 20, Société de Géographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, SG (Rés), fol. 4. Image withheld.

Such pragmatic anecdotal diversity had no echo in Dumont d'Urville's bitter general characterisation of the Vanikorans: 'En masse, like all those of the black Oceanian race, this people is disgusting, lazy,

[50] Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage*, vol. 5, 150–3, 175–83.

[51] Louis-Auguste de Sainson, 'Monbê chef à Manévé', 1828, in Jacques Arago and Louis-Auguste de Sainson, [Drawings], folio 53b, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=457892 [accessed 6 November 2020]; 'Vanikoro: Monbai', in Jules Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage exécuté pendant les années 1826–1827–1828–1829 … Atlas historique* (Paris: J. Tastu, 1833), plate 167 (1).

[52] Louis-Auguste de Sainson, [Vue du village de Nama, île de Vanikoro], n.d., in 'Aquarelles', folio 20.

[53] Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage*, vol. 5, 145; Quoy, [Extraits], in Ibid., 316.

stupid, fierce, greedy… timid, mistrustful, and naturally hostile to Europeans'.[54] These voyagers' aversion to these Islanders seems excessive. But there are numerous signs in Dumont d'Urville's narrative of the dismay, contempt, and fury inspired by the appearance, attitudes, and actions of some Vanikoran men – their omnipresent arms, extravagant body decorations, and especially their determination to dominate exchanges. Complaining that 'the savages' were 'unreasonably demanding' but 'have sold almost nothing', Dumont d'Urville recast local disinclination to trade as proof of a moral fault inherent in race: it 'seems to stem from a kind of *natural* antipathy of the black races against the whites, the dire effects of which have been felt by a crowd of voyagers'.[55] This disingenuous passage rewrites history in racialist terms, since the most notorious acts of violence committed on Europeans in Oceania to that point had been by Polynesians – including the Tongan attack on Dumont d'Urville's own men.

Reifying races

The ugly theme of my final section is bleakly familiar. By the late 1820s, especially in France, raciology dominated the science of man (or anthropology) and reified as real and true its own taxonomic categories (or races). Dumont d'Urville's narrative dichotomises a wide spectrum of Tikopian and Vanikoran tactics for managing strangers as 'natural' characters of 'Polynesian' and 'black' races. In a seminal scientific article of 1832, he reworked that circumstantial logic into a well-known geo-racial classification of Oceanian places and people. Ambroise Tardieu's illustrative map (Figure 15) partitions the Pacific Islands into the now stereotyped regions *Polynésie* (Polynesia, many islands), *Micronésie* (Micronesia, small islands), and the racialist neologism *Mélanésie* (Melanesia, from ancient Greek μέλας-, *mélas*-, black), to name 'the homeland of the black Oceanian race'. Dumont d'Urville's novel racial nomenclature freezes Johann Reinhold Forster's elastic 'two varieties of people in the South Seas' into 'two truly distinct races' embedded in a tripartite global racial hierarchy. The 'primitive race of Melanesians' – which was 'only a branch of the black race of Africa' – were the 'true natives' or 'first occupants' of Oceania. The 'tanned or copper-coloured Polynesian race' – which was 'only a branch of the yellow race' of Asia – were 'conquerors' who had supplanted or interbred with the 'very inferior' 'Melanesians'.[56]

[54] Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage*, vol. 5, 166, 214.

[55] Ibid., 145–6, 166–7, my emphasis.

[56] Jules Dumont d'Urville, 'Sur les îles du grand Océan', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 17.105 (1932), 1–21; Ambroise Tardieu, 'Carte pour l'intelligence du mémoire de M. le capitaine d'Urville sur les îles du grand océan (Océanie)', in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas historique*, map [1], National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230622715 [accessed 27 October 2020].

Figure 15. Ambroise Tardieu, 'Carte pour l'intelligence du mémoire de M. le capitaine d'Urville sur les îles du grand océan (Océanie)', in Jules Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté pendant les années 1826–1827–1828–1829 … Atlas historique (Paris: J. Tastu), map [1]. National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230622715.

Dumont d'Urville's article concludes with a assertion of race pride expressed as a grim biological axiom underpinning resurgent European global colonialism: that fixed 'organic differences' in the 'intellectual faculties' of the three races determined a 'law of nature' whereby the black 'must obey' the yellow 'or disappear', while the white 'must dominate' both the others, even when numerically inferior. He thus disavowed the venerable precept of a universal human potential for progress towards civilisation allowed by the Forsters' ambiguous but more optimistic Enlightenment vision.

The radical significance of Dumont d'Urville's racial geography of Oceania was quickly evident to French savants and made explicit from the mid-1830s in a series of maps by Charles Monin (Figure 16).[57] In France since the 1750s, the 'Division adopted by the Geographers' had standardised regionalisation of Oceania according to the size of land masses, into *Australasie* or *Australie* (Australasia or Australia, from classical Latin *auster*, south wind, south) and *Polynésie*.[58] The 'Division by race of men adopted by M. d'Urville' overthrew that physical logic by adding deep salients to his border between *Polynésie* and *Mélanésie*: one passes west of New Zealand, thereby relocated to Polynesia; the other juts east of Fiji, thereby reassigned to Melanesia. Dumont d'Urville's revisionism is explicitly racialist: 'the New Zealanders' were 'evidently' of the 'same origin' as other 'Polynesians'; whereas the Fijians had only reached the 'top rank' of 'the Melanesian race' thanks to their 'frequent communications with the Polynesian race'.[59]

[57] Charles V. Monin, *Océanie* (Paris: s.n., 1834), National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232617889 [accessed 27 October 2020]. See Bronwen Douglas, 'Geography, Raciology, and the Naming of Oceania, 1750–1900', *Globe* 69 (2011):1–28.

[58] [Brosses], *Histoire*, vol. 1, 80.

[59] Dumont d'Urville, 'Sur les îles', 7, 12–13.

Figure 16. (a) Charles V. Monin, Océanie (Paris: s.n., 1834). National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232617889; .

There nonetheless remains a strong experiential dimension in Dumont d'Urville's revolutionary cartography: his general hydrographic map of the Pacific carefully bends the regional border between Polynesia and Melanesia to place Tikopia and Vanikoro in their respective racial zones (Figure 17). It makes explicit the tacit racialist agenda in Dumont d'Urville's historical *Atlas*, which juxtaposes Sainson's portraits of the inhabitants of Vanikoro and Tikopia as opposed racial exemplars and references them as such in his narrative (Figure 18).[60]

[60] Jules Dumont d'Urville and Victor-Charles Lottin, 'Carte générale de l'Océan Pacifique …', in Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage … Atlas [hydrographique]* (Paris: J. Tastu, 1833), plate 1, National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230838133 [accessed 27 October 2020]; Louis-Auguste de Sainson, 'Tikopia et Vanikoro: Costumes des habitans de Vanikoro; Costumes des habitans de Tikopia', in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas historique*, plate 185, National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an8395367 [accessed 7 November 2020]; see Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage*, vol. 5, 112, 214.

Figure 17. Jules Dumont d'Urville, and Victor-Charles Lottin, 'Carte générale de l'Océan Pacifique … ', in Jules Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté pendant les années 1826–1827–1828–1829 … Atlas [hydrographique] (Paris: J. Tastu, 1833), plate 1, detail. National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230838133.

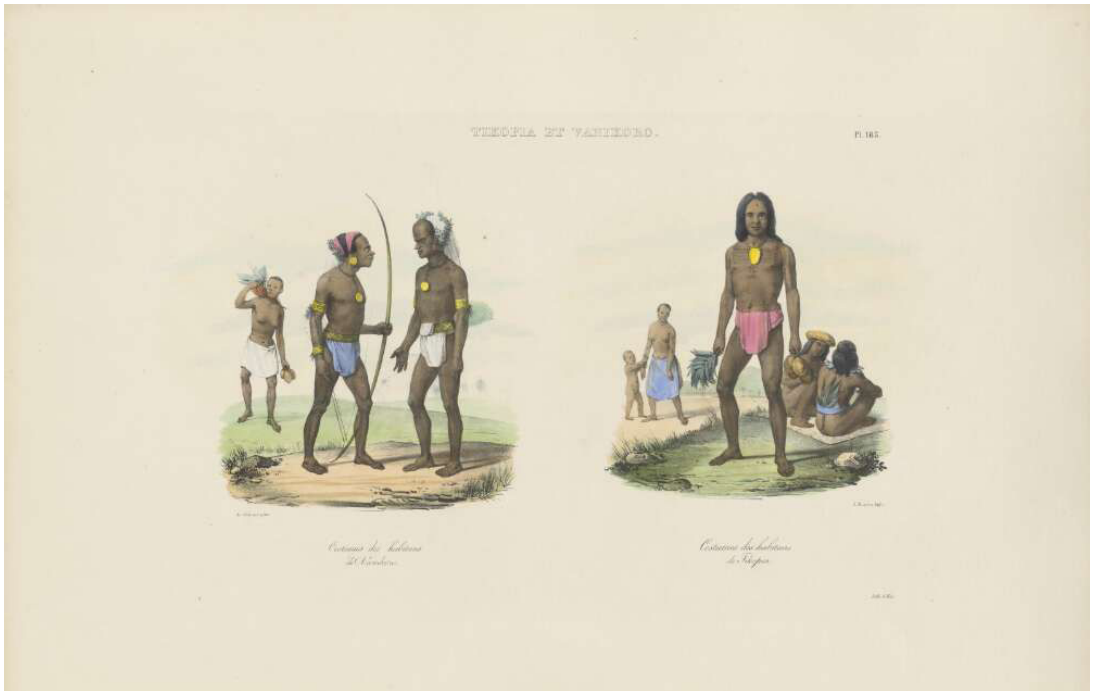

Figure 18. Louis-Auguste de Sainson, 'Tikopia et Vanikoro: Costumes des habitans de Vanikoro; Costumes des habitans de Tikopia', in Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté pendant les années 1826–1827–1828–1829 … Atlas historique (Paris: J. Tastu, 1833), plate 185. National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an8395367.

Conclusion

For twenty-five years, I have read, thought, and written about the intersections of the ethnohistory of Oceanic encounters and the ethnohistory of science. This agenda means following shifting Euro-American ideas about human similarity and difference; their varied genealogies; their generation in action in the emotions of encounters; their feedback into metropolitan science; their cross-fertilisations and transformations across contexts and languages; and their application and further mutation in subsequent encounters. This paper encapsulates that trajectory across three centuries while reflecting on the legacy of Greg Dening's work in mine.

In important respects, I have followed Greg's intellectual footsteps but in at least one way we are very different: he loathed footnotes and supplanted them with brief, elegant bibliographic essays organised in endnotes; I adore footnotes as a roadmap to one's historical thinking, and thus a form of reflexivity, and as vital tools for tracking intellectual genealogies, influences, and metamorphoses, especially in the history of science.

I end as I began, with an anecdote about an ancient encounter with Greg. Around 1990, he kindly agreed to give a lecture to my students based on his marvellous essay 'Possessing Tahiti'.[61] At

[61] Greg Dening, 'Possessing Tahiti', *Archaeology in Oceania* 21.1 (1986), 103–18.

the end of a typically virtuoso performance, I broke the students' long, diffident silence by asking: 'Can you please tell us how you know about the significance of the *maro 'ura* [feathered girdle] in eighteenth-century Tahiti'. I was totally abashed when he replied ascerbically that he really hated such scepticism and went on to talk about something else. I wasn't being sceptical, of course, but wanted the students to share my wonderment at the luminous results of Greg's imaginative knowing and to find out how he did it. I now think that the major difference between our positions was aesthetic, relating to how little or how much of our heuristic scaffolding we liked or needed to leave in place. Whereas Greg preferred to dispense with the formal disciplinary framework entirely and focus on the 'beaches of the mind', I struggled for a long time to stop the scaffolding taking over the building. In maturity, I have largely broken free of this 'inside-out' style of History – I hate in-text references – but my love for footnotes remains, as this paper amply demonstrates.

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

The Changing Commemorative Landscape during the Australian Interwar Period:
The 'Pioneer Woman Citizen' Joins the 'Citizen Soldier'

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Abstract

In the aftermath of the First World War, the Australian commemorative landscape was dominated by remembrance of the sacrifices made predominantly by men during wartime, celebrating a constructed national identity based on 'egalitarian' masculinity through the figure of the 'citizen soldier'. By the end of the succeeding two decades, during which the terms of Australian nationhood underwent significant changes, the citizen soldier's domination of Australia's commemorative culture was challenged by a new historical and cultural subject of memorialisation: the 'pioneer woman citizen'. Embedded in the language asserting the pioneer woman citizen into the public commemorative landscape was the exclusion of Aboriginal women, who were located outside of the boundaries of citizenship.

Biographical Details

Thea Gardiner is a Ph.D. candidate in the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies at the University of Melbourne. Her doctoral research examines the life of the Australian artist and feminist Portia Geach (1873-1959). She uses the study of Geach's life to draw together the fields of Australian feminist history, art history, and family history. She is generally interested in Australian feminist history and exploring the place of women in Australian historical memory.

This article has been peer reviewed.

Ah how I bless the pioneers

The women lost to fame,

Who braved the bush for strenuous years

To make Australia's name.[1]

Louisa Lawson, 1895.

History, as it has mainly been written, is, very literally, the story of man.[2]

Eleanor Dark, *The Peaceful Army,* 1938.

Introduction

In the aftermath of World War I, the Australian commemorative landscape was dominated by remembrance of the sacrifices made predominantly by men during wartime, celebrating a constructed national identity based on 'egalitarian' masculinity through the figure of the 'citizen soldier'.[3] By the end of the succeeding two decades, during which the terms of Australian nationhood underwent significant changes, the citizen soldier's domination of Australia's commemorative culture was challenged by a new historical and cultural subject of memorialisation: the 'pioneer woman citizen'. From the late nineteenth century, Australian feminists have sought to establish white settler women's place in the national historical narrative conceived as an entirely male domain, by emphasising the qualities of 'pioneer woman'.[4] In the 1930s, the National Sesquicentenary and Victoria and South Australia's state Centennials provided the opportunity for Australian feminists to insist on the public acknowledgement of women as citizens, based on their contributions to Australian nationhood.[5] This article will show how interwar feminists, particularly the nationalist National Council of Women, opened the public commemorative landscape in the interwar period to the memorialisation of white settler women through the figure of the pioneer woman citizen. I will investigate the historical circumstances that facilitated the entry of this subject of memorialisation into Australia's commemorative culture, namely developments in Australian society and culture, particularly the changing relationship between gender, citizenship and nationhood. Embedded in the language asserting the pioneer woman citizen into the public commemorative landscape was the exclusion of Aboriginal women, who were located outside of the boundaries of citizenship as formulated by the National Council of Women.[6]

[1] Louisa Lawson, 'The Women of the Bush', Louisa Lawson Scrapbook, vol. 1, Lawson papers, ML MSS A, 1895.

[2] E. Dark, 'Caroline Chisholm and Her Times', in *The Peaceful Army*, ed. Flora Eldershaw (Adelaide: Rigby for the Women's Centenary Council of SA, 1936), 59-84.

[3] Ken Inglis 'Men, Women, and War Memorials: Anzac Australia,' *Daedalus* 116, vol. 4 (1987): 35-54.

4 Marilyn Lake, *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1999), chap. 5, eBook Brissenden collection (EBSCOhost eBooks online), eISBN 9781743439340.

[5] Lake, *Getting Equal,* chap. 5.

[6] Australians did not become 'citizens' in the legal sense until 1949, following the Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1948. The terms 'citizen' and 'citizenship' are used in this article with direct reference to the National Council of

Figure 1. Hugh Linaker and Charles Web Gilbert, The Pioneer Women's Memorial Garden, 1934, Melbourne, Victoria, photograph, image by Author, March 2019.

The Changing Dynamics of Australian Nationhood in the Interwar Period

According to Australian historian Stuart Macintyre, during the thirty years from the beginning of the Great War to the end of the Second World War, 'the circumstances of Australian nationhood changed irrevocably'.[7] The Great War was destructive of the Australian economy, culture and social cohesiveness; in the immediate post-war period, the Australian government struggled to form an economically and culturally independent nation.[8] The establishment of the Nationalist Party during WWI and the conservative domination of politics in Australia for most of the succeeding quarter century meant an enduring loyalty to the British Empire.[9] That sixty thousand Australian men had died in the name of the Motherland allowed imperial loyalty to be aligned with 'conservative, Protestant men as a sacral force', the fallen and returned soldiers thus providing a new sense of a masculine national identity.[10] Pre-war attempts at nation-building were set back by the war's toll on the Australian economy and social cohesion, creating both a stronger need for economic dependence on Britain and faltering confidence in imperial ties.[11] The white settler nationalism in the interwar period is invariably described as a nostalgic one, in which national identity was based on shared mythology of belonging to a distinctive 'Australian' culture and history.[12] According to Australian historians

Women's and other women's organisations formulation of women's citizenship during the interwar period. See: Lake, *Getting Equal,* chap. 4.

[7] Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia* (Cambridge; Melbourne : Cambridge University Press, 1999), 155.

[8] Macintyre, *Concise History*, 155-157.

[9] Macintyre, *Concise History*, 155-157.

[10] Marilyn Lake, 'Giving Birth to a New Nation,' in *Creating a Nation,* Rev. ed., ed. Patricia Grimshaw et al. (Ringwood, Victoria: McPhee Gribble, 1994), 218.

[11] Macintyre, *Concise History,* 166.

[12] Deborah Jordan, 'Palmer's Present: Gender and the National Community in 1934,' *Hecate* 29, vol. 2 (November

Paula Hamilton and Kate Darian-Smith, the dominant national image circulated in public memory during this period expressed a mythological Australian masculinity which collapsed characteristics of colonial bushmen (pioneers) into the Anzac soldier.[13]

'The citizen soldier'

The need to rebuild a cohesive society with a strong sense of national identity in the aftermath of the First World War bolstered commemorative practice.[14] In *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape,* Australian cultural historians Ken Inglis and Jan Brazier traced the formation of the masculinist and heroic culture of commemoration that saturated national public memory practices in the post-war period.[15] The Australian War Memorial in Canberra was authorised by an act of federal parliament in 1925, becoming one of thousands of war memorials dedicated to Anzac soldiers built across Australia, and Anzac Day was established as a national holiday on 25th of April in 1927.[16] Australian feminist historian Marilyn Lake argues that from the first anniversary of the mythologised 'landing at Gallipoli', Anzac soldiers were publicly heralded as 'giving birth to the nation'.[17] Indeed, Inglis notes that the Australian War Memorial depicts the figure of the Australian nation as a giant muscular solider, declaring to any visitor of the capital 'this memorial belongs to men at war.'[18] The 'citizen soldier' thus became the dominant figure of memorialisation and public memory in this period.[19] As Lake emphasises, the powerful myth equating the Anzacs with the birth of the nation rendered invisible the place of women as mothers and carers in society.[20] Indeed, in Melbourne, women were excluded Anzac Day celebrations at the Shrine of Remembrance during the 1930s.[21] Gendered divisions were therefore strengthened in post-war Australia, with the image of the paternalistic male protector and feminine vulnerability puncturing the relative autonomy of white Australian woman during the war. Women were both literally and symbolically excluded from identifying with citizenship and nationhood.

'The golden age of the woman citizen' and the National Council of Women Australia

From the 1920s, after a brief wartime hiatus, Australian feminists mobilised through various organisations, to exercise their power as recently enfranchised citizens.[22] Indeed, the interwar period in Australia has been characterised by Lake as 'the golden age of the woman citizen', which saw older

2003): 99-112.

[13] Paula Hamilton and Kate Darian-Smith, *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 2-3.

[14] Inglis, 'Men, Women, and War Memorials,' 44-49.

[15] K. S. Inglis and Jan Brazier, *Sacred Places : War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, 3rd ed. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2008).

[16] K. S. Inglis and Jan Brazier, 'Capital Monuments,' in *Sacred Places : War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, 3rd ed. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2008), 266-316.

[17] Lake, 'Giving Birth to a New Nation,' 218.

[18] Inglis, 'Men, Women, and War Memorials,' 44-49.

[19] Marilyn Lake, 'Monuments of Manhood and Colonial Dependence: The Cult of Anzac as Compensation,' in *Memory, Monuments and Museums: The Past in the Present,* ed. Marilyn Lake (Carlton, Vic: MUP, 2006), 43-57.

[20] Lake, 'Giving Birth to a New Nation,' 218.

[21] Inglis and Brazier, 'Capital Monuments,' 314.

[22] Lake, *Getting Equal*, chap. 4.

feminist organisations such as the National Council of Women (established in 1896), join newer, more socially progressive feminist organisations to 'promote women's status as citizens' through non-party, grassroots activism.[23] White Australian women got the vote federally in 1902; they were endowed with both rights and responsibilities, and both economic independence and self-determination were essential to the feminists' aims.[24]

The National Council of Women (NCW) was an umbrella organisation for most Australian feminist organisations during the interwar period.[25] According to Judith Smart and Marian Quartly, the NCW provided the 'principal means by which representative women in Australia could come together, exchange views…and often speak publicly with one voice'.[26] The NCW formalised as a national body in 1931 under the presidency of feminist activist and nationalist Alice Francis Mabel (May) Moss (1869-1948), a 'well equipped' choice for president.[27] Moss became a member of the Victorian NCW in 1904 and was president from 1928 to 1938; she was also an active member of the conservative Australian Women's National League (AWNL), yet her unwavering dedication to women's rights and equality set her apart from other league members.[28] Under Moss' leadership, the Victorian NCW became 'the largest, the wealthiest and perhaps the most innovative' state council, boasting one hundred and eight affiliated societies by 1935.[29] The South Australian Council encompassed fifty-three societies in 1936, making them the third largest body in Australia.[30]

The NCW's new federal constitution united each state council (except for WA) under a 'nationwide collective purpose': an agenda for social reform and a commitment to home and family.[31] Whilst the new constitution doubled down on old principles, it was decided that 'the ideals of the National Councils of Women covered citizenship in its broadest sense'.[32] The NCW drew on new post-war nationalist discourse to establish white settler women's unique place within the Australian body politic as 'citizen mothers', deserving of a voice and place in public life based on their capacity for motherhood.[33]

The Council's goals for reform were often conservative, shaped by their views on national characteristics: they emphasised the image of the pioneer woman as part of 'an emerging national tradition', to assert white settler women's place in both the national story and public life.[34] However, promoting the figure of the pioneer woman as representative of white settler women was not limited to conservative organisations and goals; the range of organisations supporting a pioneer women's memorial, particularly in Victoria, spanned different social and political strata.[35]

[23] Lake, *Getting Equal*, chap. 4.
[24] Lake, *Getting Equal*, chap. 1.
[25] Marian Quartly and Judith Smart, *Respectable Radicals: A History of the National Council of Women Australia, 1896-2006* (Clayton, Victoria : Monash University Publishing in conjunction with the National Council of Women of Australia, 2015), 1-2.
[26] Quartly and Smart, *Respectable Radicals*, 1.
[27] Quartly and Smart, *Respectable Radicals*, 132-133.
[28] Quartly and Smart, *Respectable Radicals*, 132-133.
[29] Quartly and Smart, *Respectable Radicals*, 135-136.
[30] Quartly and Smart, *Respectable Radicals*, 135-136.
[31] Quartly and Smart, *Respectable Radicals*, 51-52.
[32] National Council of Women, 'Presidential Address', July 1929, Executive Council minutes, SRG297/1/3, State Library of South Australia, Adelaide.
[33] Marilyn Lake, 'Depression Dreaming,' in *Creating a Nation*, Rev ed., ed Patricia Grimshaw et al., (Ringwood, Victoria: McPhee Gribble, 1994), 229.
[34] P. Grimshaw, 'Gendered Settlements,' in *Creating A Nation*, Rev. ed., ed. Patricia Grimshaw et al. (Ringwood, Victoria: McPhee Gribble, 1994), 182-183.
[35] Deborah Jordan, 'Palmer's Present,' 99-112.

Importantly, this 'golden age' did not extend to the advocacy of citizenship for Aboriginal women.[36] As new understandings of the relationship between First Nations people and their land were beginning to permeate Australian culture, many women's organisations adopted maternalistic policies regarding the health and safety of Aboriginal women, yet their citizenship status was not a concern for conservative organisations such as the NCW.[37] While the campaign within the women's movement for the extension of civic rights based on the specific qualities of women's capacity for motherhood continued as a leading cause for activists throughout the 1930s, the conception of women's citizenship widened as white settler women's place in society expanded.[38]

The 1930s: 'A Critical Defining Moment'

The 1930s witnessed the confluence of enormous change and contestation to established power structures in white settler societies amidst worldwide economic depression.[39] Australian historian Deborah Jordan characterises this period as a 'critical defining moment' in which the dreams of white nationhood in settler-colonial societies faltered.[40] Consequently, both racism and anti-feminist backlash rose in this period, and the need to bolster a cohesive national identity based on an imagined white community became central to the government's nation-building project.[41]

The Great Depression hit Australia in 1931, decimating Australian industry and creating widespread poverty, particularly in rural areas.[42] However, despite the effects of the Depression, Australia moved into modernity with the sense of cultural 'growth and post-war renewal'; the government invested in urban areas, introducing new industry into cities. [43] Urbanisation increased cultural activity such as literature, painting and theatre, adding to a sense of national uniqueness.[44] As modern cultural forms permeated Australian culture, younger generations of Australian women were drawn to urban areas.[45] Women were entering the professionalised workforce at unprecedented rates – as medical professionals, lawyers, artists, authors – bringing new feminist imperatives for establishing strategies for equal pay and anti-discrimination policies.[46] However, women's political representation was minuscule in the 1930s; Australian feminists began to focus on advancing their participation in public life.[47]

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[36] Lake, *Getting Equal*, chap. 5.
[37] Whilst feminist organisations were set up to advocate for the rights of Aboriginal women such as the Aboriginal Protection League, an affiliated member of the NCW, the citizenship rights of Aboriginal women were not a primary cause for the NCW see: Lake, *Getting Equal*, chap. 5.
[38] Lake, 'Depression Dreaming,' 227-231.
[39] Jordan, 'Palmer's Present,' 99–112.
[40] Ibid., 100-101.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia,* 167.
[43] Urbanisation and modernisation concentrated most of the population in Melbourne and Sydney; both cities surpassed two million inhabitants by 1928. See: Macintyre, *A Concise History,* 167 – 169.
[44] Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688-1980* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), 140-145.
[45] These 'New Women' engaged with international popular culture, embracing styles such as 'the flapper', 'the lesbian style', and 'the bachelor girl'. See: Lake, 'Depression Dreaming,' 239.
[46] Lake, *Getting Equal,* chap. 5.
[47] Lake, 'Depression Dreaming,' 240-252.

A Decade of Commemoration

The 1930s were an important period for nationalist commemorative practices. Occurring amidst post-depression reconstruction, the Centennials and Sesquicentennial of the 1930s were integral to the state-sanctioned nation-building project.[48] Australia's Sesquicentenary was celebrated in 1938, with events limited to New South Wales; Victoria and South Australia preferred to focus on their own Centenary celebrations in 1934 and 1936 respectively.

During these periods of heightened national feeling, governments sought to define both state and national identities amidst political and economic turmoil.[49] Pioneer mythology was essential to capturing a shared history, identity, and memory for white settlers during the celebrations.[50] As John Hirst has shown, the pioneer legend promoted a conservative foundation mythology that celebrated progress, individual achievement, a society with a common purpose, and ensured that future generations would carry on their work.[51]

Evoking the pioneer legend represented a rural nostalgia that masked a harsh reality: the poverty of many settlers in rural areas.[52] Indeed, Australia's economic downturn spurred public debate in Victoria and South Australia over government spending on centennial events and how much it would incur.[53] At a meeting held at Melbourne's Town Hall on the 28th of May 1933, Victorian Premier Stanley Argyle announced that the coming Centenary celebrations were dedicated in 'honour to the pioneers, who, by their hardships, have made conditions so easy for us today'.[54] Following Victoria's example, South Australian Premier Richard L. Butler's state government emphasised pioneering as central to their state spirit; the idea of 'progress' in the face of immense hardship shaped the form of events.[55]

Central to the national story of progress evoked during the centennials were frontier histories that highlighted, often through biography, the male pioneers in each state.[56] The Historical Subcommittee of the state Centenary Council produced a volume titled *Victoria: The First Century* to 'place before their fellow citizens a narrative which… will help them to appreciate more fully the honour owing to the pioneers who laid the foundations, political and social, upon which the superstructure of the state has been raised.'[57] Similarly, South Australia's historical anthology included the biographies of three hundred and fifty people who had shaped the state, none of whom were women.[58]

[48] Grimshaw, 'Gendered Settlements,' 182-183.
[49] Hamilton and Darian- Smith, *Memory and History,* 2-3.
[50] Richard Waterhouse, 'The Pioneer Legend and Its Legacy: In Memory of John Hirst,' *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society,* l03.1 (2017): 7-25.
Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, 181-185.
[51] John Hirst, 'The Pioneer Legend', *Historical Studies*, 18 no. 71 (1978): 316-337, doi: 10.1080/10314617808595595
[52] Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, 181-185.
[53] In both states, government officials decided that the events would bring inter-state and international tourism that would help bolster Australian industry and production, create employment and widen export markets throughout the British Empire. See: 'Memorial to Women', *Herald,* May 29, 1933, 4, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article243112909.
[54] The celebrations would begin in Portland, to honour the Henty family, the first white family of 'pioneers' to settle in Victoria, and culminate in the anniversary of John Batman and William Fawkner's 'pioneering' of the Port Phillip district. See: 'Memorial to Women.'
[55] 'South Australia's Centenary Is Taking Shape', *Mail*, July 7, 1934, 16, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article58851230; see also: Arthur C. Goode, 'The Romance of South Australia's First Century,' *Queensland Times,* July 25, 1936, 8, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article117599185.
[56] The Historical Subcommittee of the Centenary Celebrations Council, *Victoria: The First Century* (Melbourne: Robertson and Mullens, 1934); *Who's Who, South Australia Centenary, 1936,* compiled by the Amalgamated Publishing Company (Adelaide: Amalgamated Publishing Company; Shipping Newspapers SA LTD, 1936).
[57] *Victoria: The First Century,* 'Preface', 16.
[58] *Who's Who,* 'Preface,' 6-8.

Sidelined from the central narratives of these histories were women, settlers from non-European backgrounds, and First Nations people. Whilst new understandings of the physical, spiritual and cultural relationship between Aboriginal people and their land were surfacing in Australian literature during this period, they were not reflected in the centenary festivities.[59]

Nevertheless, marginalised groups seeking public recognition during the celebrations challenged the conservative, monolithic white, male Australian identity the events sought to define. During the Sesquicentenary, the trade union movement staged protests seeking basic wages and social reform, and the Aborigines Progressive Association observed a National Day of Mourning, highlighting European destruction of Aboriginal land and cultures.[60] Perhaps the most successful challenge to the events' masculinist underpinnings came from Australian feminists, represented by the NCW, whose representatives demanded to be included in the celebrations in a meaningful way; after decades of trying, and in a political climate that incited anti-feminist feeling, white settler women claimed a public voice.

Figure 2. Elise Cornish, The South Australian Pioneer Women's Memorial, Adelaide, 1936, photograph, image by Author, July 11, 2019.

Women's part in the Centennials: The birth of the 'pioneer woman citizen'

To ensure women a part in the celebrations each state NCW formed a Women's Centenary Council

[59] Jordan, 'Palmer's Present,' 99-110.
[60] Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, 181-185.

acting as a decision making body for all affiliated member groups.[61] Conscious that national commemorations usually occasioned histories ignorant about women, each NCW seized the opportunity to assert the distinct place of women in national history and in public memory by promoting the establishment of a memorial to pioneer women.[62] In accordance with the events' nationalist mythology, the South Australian and Victorian WCC's used the figure of the Australian woman pioneer as an emblem of a distinctive past, present and future for white settler women.

However, this pioneer woman asserting her place in national historical consciousness departed in many ways from her late-nineteenth-century incarnation. The figure of the pioneer woman put forward by the WCCs as a historical and cultural subject and figure of memorialisation was shaped by the discourse on citizenship permeating the interwar feminist movement. In the language used by members of the WCC to promote the pioneer women's memorials, each council inserted into public discourse the figure of the 'pioneer woman citizen'.

To further the inclusion of women in public memory, each women's committee produced a commemorative anthology celebrating Australian pioneer women: *The Centenary Gift Book* (1934) in Victoria*, A Book of South Australia: Women in the First Hundred years* (1936), and *The Peaceful Army* (1938) in NSW.[63] These women's histories demonstrated white settler women as deserving of a place as citizens of the nation based on their contributions to nationhood throughout the first century of colonisation. Each anthology described the 'pioneer woman citizen' as an adaptable, evolving figure.[64] The Victorian WCC chose prominent socialist and writer Nettie Palmer to edit the *Centenary Gift Book,* compiled to 'place on record the story of the part which women have played through the century in the life of the state, not only as its home-makers and home keepers, but….in its social and public life… the story which is told is not confined to the past… it represents the work of Victorian women of today.'[65] In *The Peaceful Army*, author Kylie Tennant noted that the word pioneer 'has a future, it is a young word, it means something proud and daring.'[66] Tennant used the image of the pioneer woman to situate the history of white settler women in the present and the future. As Jordan notes, deploying the pioneer woman as both a past and present figure was a feminist innovation, 'they thus could retain something of the expectancy of labour and social experimentation in Australia.'[67] Through these anthologies, and through the corresponding memorials built to celebrate the pioneer woman citizen, pioneer mythology was given new meaning, and white settler women's status as citizens was given concrete form. Importantly, the colonial pioneer women whose spirit supposedly lived on in all white settler women assumed the land they 'pioneered' was empty and

[61] Smart and Quartly, *Respectable Radicals,* 22-30.

[62] Lake, *Getting Equal,* chap. 5.

[63] Nettie Palmer and Frances Fraser eds., *Centenary Gift Book* (Robertson & Mullens for The Women's Centenary Council, 1934); Louise Brown and Women's Centenary Council of South Australia, eds., *A Book of South Australia: Women in the First Hundred Years* (Adelaide: Rigby for the Women's Centenary Council of SA, 1936); Flora S. Eldershaw, Australia's 150th Anniversary Celebrations Women's Executive Committee, and Australia's 150th Anniversary Celebrations Women's Advisory Council, eds., *The Peaceful Army: A Memorial to the Pioneer Women of Australia, 1788-1938* (Sydney: Arthur McQuitty and Co., 1938).

[64] Palmer and Fraser, *Centenary Gift Book*, 99-112; Brown, *A Book of South Australia*, 1-251; Eldershaw, *The Peaceful Army*, 1-138.

[65] 'Centenary Gift Book,' *Argus*, 6 October 1934, 26, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article10967947.

[66] K. Tennant, 'Some Pioneer Women Writers,' in *The Peaceful Army*, eds. Flora Eldershaw and Australia's 150th Anniversary Celebrations Women's Executive Committee (Adelaide: Rigby Limited for the Women's Centenary Council of SA 1936), 131-137.

[67] Jordan, 'Palmer's Present', 99-112.

there for the taking.[68] Indeed, Tennant framed the experience of pioneer women in such terms: 'a pioneer may be defined as a person who surveys his environment, decides it isn't good enough, sees what is needed, and gets to work to supply the need.'[69] Thus, historicising white women's contribution to colonisation and nationhood implicated them in the dispossession of Aboriginal land.[70]

The texts' authors often held maternalistic views of First Nations people, characterised as part of the harsh bushland the 'pioneers' faced. Vida Lenox's historical pieces reveal occasions of affinity between white settlers and Aboriginal women, most often in terms of childrearing.[71] *The Book of South Australia* has the most marked absence of Aboriginal women, a deliberate exclusion by the NCWSA. The only chapter regarding Aboriginal people titled 'Our Pioneer Women and the Natives' by anthropologist and writer Daisy Bates frames the relationship between Aboriginal women and British emigrant women in terms of maternalism: 'whenever the British woman penetrated the native woman benefitted by her coming in amongst them'.[72] However, similarly to Lenox's pieces, Bates description of these colonial encounters reveals that Aboriginal women and white women formed close relationships based on the exchange of knowledge and materials in SA.[73] In *The Peaceful Army,* Eleanor Dark discusses colonial policy regarding Aboriginal people, highlighting the 'guerrilla warfare' between British colonisers and Aboriginal owners, showing some progressive insight into the destructive nature of colonial policy on Aboriginal land.[74] According to Dark, during colonisation, NSW was called 'a new land, but it was only a new occupation of a very ancient land, a tide of human life, surging recklessly over a land it spared no time to know, or to attempt to know.'[75] In the process of colonisation, 'a nomad race finds its country invaded, its streams polluted, its hunting grounds commandeered, cleared, fenced, sown with crops'; resistance on the part of Aboriginal people was therefore 'understandable, excusable, inevitable.'[76] The critiques of these works as contributing to the processes of settler-colonialism are important, yet the anthologies also reveal the different ways some women conceived of the relationship between themselves and Aboriginal women. There is evidence in these texts that some white- settler women were beginning to understand the devastating effects of colonisation on the country's Aboriginal population.

The varied depictions of Aboriginal women from this memorialisation reflected contemporary tensions within the feminist movement, as an older generation of nationalist feminists clung to their visions of British civilisation and femininity in the face of socially progressive feminists who advocated for the rights of Aboriginal women.[77] Indeed, the assumed white identity of the 'pioneer woman citizen' was challenged by the Aboriginal rights activist and social reformer Constance Cooke (1882-1967), a member of the Aboriginal Protection League (APL), an affiliated organisation of the

[68] Lake, *Getting Equal,* chap. 1.
[69] Tennant, 'Pioneer Women Writers', 131-137.
[70] Mary Spongberg, Ann Curthoys, and Barbara Caine, eds., *Companion to Women's Historical Writing* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 120.
[71] Vida Lenox, *Centenary Gift Book,* 58; 107; 114-115; 121; 130; 133; 142; 149; 153; 158.
[72] D. Bates, 'Our Pioneer Women and the Natives,' in *A Book of South Australia,* ed., Louise Brown (Adelaide: Rigby for the Women's Centenary Council of SA, 1936), 94.
[73] Bates, 'Pioneer Women', 94.
[74] Dark, 'Caroline Chisholm', 67-69.
[75] Dark, 'Chisholm', 67-69.
[76] Dark, 'Chisholm', 67-69.
[77] Lake, *Getting Equal*, chap. 5.

NCWSA and the WCC.[78] At an NCWSA meeting in August of 1936, Cooke attempted to secure 'justice for our original inhabitants' in the Centenary celebrations by expanding the definition of 'pioneer woman' to include Aboriginal women and proposed that 'a portion of the Centenary funds be used to provide a hospital bed for use of aboriginal women.'[79] Cooke's recommendations were rejected by the Council.[80] These tensions occasioned by the commemorative events highlight the inability of some middle-class conservative feminists to recognise their national history was the result of dispossession, exploitation and sexual abuse.[81] Therefore, by redefining the boundaries of citizenship to include the 'pioneer woman citizen', a feminist justification was lent to the dispossession of Indigenous land, strengthening the racial boundaries of citizenship.

Conclusion

The character of Australian nationhood and its culture of commemoration was indeed transformed in the interwar period, increasingly challenged as competing definitions of national identity entered the public arena. In this period, the outward expression of national coherence propagated by the Australian government masked the internal reality of socially fragmented and ultimately conflicted understandings of nationhood. The state-sanctioned idea of nationhood centred on a collective national/ist identity and historical narrative fusing the masculinist tropes of the pioneer and Anzac Legends. The dominant figure of memorialisation in the immediate post-war period – the citizen solider – encapsulated this idea of national identity and represented men as giving birth to the nation. However, in the 1930s, contesting narratives from working-class, Aboriginal, and feminist activists were voiced in the public sphere during state/national commemorations. These commemorations provided an opportunity for white-settler feminists to promote public recognition in the national story through the figure of the 'pioneer woman citizen.' Australia interwar feminists ensured that it was not only men whose contribution to the development of Australian nationhood would be set in stone in the cultural and physical landscape of Australia; the sacrifices made by women in colonial Australia, and the continuation of their strength into all fields of public life, were worthy of celebration and memorialisation. However, the past they sought to define for white settler women as pioneering citizens simultaneously rested on the exclusion of First Nations people from this status and from the national story. While some white-settler feminists demonstrated a newfound understanding of the effects of settler colonialism, ultimately, the recognition of white settler women's pioneering of Australia's 'empty spaces' implicated them in the dispossession, transformation and commodification of Aboriginal country.

[78] National Council of Women South Australia Branch, 'Minutes of council meeting', August 4th 1936, SRG297/1/3 State Library of South Australia Archives, Adelaide, South Australia.
[79] National Council of Women South Australia Branch, 'Minutes'.
[80] National Council of Women South Australia Branch, 'Minutes'.
[81] Lake, *Getting Equal*, chap. 5.

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Green Bans Forever:
The Public and the Press in the 1970s Sydney Green Ban Movement

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Abstract

The green ban movement of 1971-75 prevented an estimated $3 billion worth of development on over forty Sydney building projects. The New South Wales Builders Labourers' Federation (BLF) fought alongside local communities to preserve Sydney's historic buildings, bush and parkland, and the rapidly disappearing working-class housing in inner-Sydney. Although dubbed heroes in retrospect, Jack Mundey (BLF secretary), Bob Pringle (president), and Joe Owens (treasurer) faced consistent and powerful opposition to green bans from the press. Whereas other historians have afforded the press a positive or ambivalent role in the success of green bans, this paper challenges prior historiography with press and archival material that demonstrates the opposition green bans faced in the media. It can be surmised that because the extension of union power into political and social issues was typically conflated with a growth or abuse of that power, politically-conscious bans – whether black, green, or red – were met with mistrust and apprehension.

Biographical Details

James Hogg is a second-year PhD Candidate, reviewer, and volunteer. His passions include transnational research on the Australian Left, with an emphasis on united front campaigns during the 20th century. He has hosted book launches and roundtables with authors like Kath Kenny, Rowan Cahill, and Jeff Sparrow. At the time of publication, James is studying at the Dante Alighieri society in Rome as Melbourne University's 2022 Emma Grollo Scholar.

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Introduction

It was a smog-less, sunny day on Victoria Street, Kings Cross, and morale was high. The old houses were adorned with fresh paint, and songs emanated from their terraces onto the streets below. Communists, squatters, students, and wharfies had boarded themselves inside to protect both the houses and themselves from mobsters, police, and Australia's karate champion, in an event now known as 'The battle for Victoria street'.[1] Through gritted teeth and beaming smiles, they sang: 'Where is me house, me little terrace house, it's all gone for profit and for plunder, for the Wreckers of the town just came up and knocked it down, now across the Western Suburbs we must wander'.[2]

Although not recorded until 1975, the tune – now dubbed 'Green Bans Forever' – was sung in April 1973 when Mick Fowler – musician, seaman, and unionist – returned to Sydney to discover his flat in Potts Point had been boarded up and sold to bigtime developer F. W. Theeman.[3] The event was not an isolated one. 'Green bans' erupted in Sydney in 1971 under the newly elected communist leadership of the New South Wales Builders' Labourers' Federation (BLF). Green bans were a new form of industrial action which entailed workers withholding their labour on developments considered harmful to the urban environment and the communities therein. The Mundey-Pringle-Owens triumvirate oversaw over forty green bans from 1971 to 1975, halting an estimated $3 billion worth of development.[4]

Emerging amongst the politically diversifying 'New Left' in 1970s Australia, historians of the BLF typically attribute the creation of green bans to changes within the union.[5] In their landmark work *Green Bans, Red Union,* Meredith Burgmann and Verity Burgmann attribute green bans to structural changes within the union.[6] That is, the BLF was emboldened to engage in 'green' industrial action by the rise of the communist leadership, rank-and-file solidarity, and the wave of successful black bans at the turn of the decade. Similarly, McQueen and True have separately argued that green bans resulted from 'transformation *within the union'* and were a natural extension of the BLF's political activities in an era of increasing environmental awareness.[7] Because communist leadership, democratic processes and rank-and-file cohesion have historically led unions to strike on political issues, internalist arguments attribute green bans to the development of these tenets within the union itself.[8]

While generally apt, the internalist perspective cannot explain why the BLF overshadowed other politically-active, communist-led, and militant unions that were crucial for enforcing green bans like the Waterside Workers' Federation (WWF) and the Federated Engine Drivers and Fire-

[1] Richard Morris, 'Fowler, Jack Radnald (Mick) (1927-1979)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 14 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 1996), accessed June 25, 2019, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fowler-jack-radnald-mick-10229; *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 4, 1973.
[2] Builders Labourers Federation, 'Across the Western Suburbs', *Australian Building Construction Employers and Builders Laborers Federation NSW Branch: Award and Information Booklet 2nd Edition*, April 1973, Back Matter.; The Green Ban'd, *Green Bans Forever*, Meredith Burgmann, 1973, audio file.
[3] Morris, Fowler, 'Jack Radnald (Mick) (1927-1979)'; *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 4 1973.
[4] Marion Hardman & Peter Manning, *Green Bans: The Story of an Australian Phenomenon* (East Melbourne: Australian Conservation Foundation, 1976), no page number.
[5] Greg Mallory, *Uncharted Waters: Social Responsibility in Australian Trade Unions* (QLD: Annerley, 2005): 81.
[6] Meredith Burgmann and Verity Burgmann, *Green Bans, Red Union: environmental activism and the New South Wales Builders Labourers' Federation* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1998), 12.
[9] Humphrey McQueen, *We Built this Country: builders' labourers & their unions, 1787 to the future* (Port Adelaide: Ginninderra Press, 2011), 289; Paul True, *Tales of the BLF… Rolling the Right!* (Parramatta: Militant International Publications, 1995), 1.
[8] M. J. Saunders, 'The trade unions in Australia and opposition to Vietnam and conscription: 1965-73', *Labour History* 43 (Nov 1982): 66.

men's Association (FEDFA).[9] The FEDFA not only participated in the bans that made the BLF famous but were instrumental in preventing demolition because they controlled Sydney's bulldozers.[10] Furthermore, the BLF's green bans were not necessarily the first of their kind. The WWF, Master Builders Association (MBA), and Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) pursued ecologically focused 'red bans' and 'blue bans' from the late 1960s but attracted significantly less recognition than the BLF.[11] Clearly, something rendered the BLF exceptional, but it was not just the internal makeup of the union. Roddewig, Burgmann and Burgmann have suggested the difference could lie in the BLF's 'manipulation of the news media'.[12] That is, despite the plethora of similarly structured unions that enforced green bans or non-work ecological boycotts, 'it was the BLF [...] which captivated the readers of the Sydney dailies'.[13] However, 'captivation' did not necessarily mean romanticisation. To Mundey, disparaging emphases on violent BLF walk-outs and 'vigilantes' helped intimidate employers and would-be scabs.[14] The relationship between the press and the BLF is thus worthy of consideration, as a means that transmitted their activity to the general public.

In this paper, I will deconstruct the historiographical assertion that the BLF's invention of the symbol of the 'green ban' in 1973 marked a turning point in public reception of the green ban movement. The role of the press in the green bans is poorly understood, which is unusual given the breadth of literature on the relationship between the press and protest movements.[15] When addressed, the press is viewed as having either shaped public opinion to aid the success of green bans, or as having responded to public opinion due to the green bans' success. Burgmann, Milner and Johnstone each argue that the BLF believed that, unlike black bans, environmental and community causes would attract support of the press.[16] On the other hand, Burgmann and Burgmann suggest the press' positive representation of Green Bans emerged gradually as the mounting success of the movement made opposition difficult if not untenable.[17] For all accounts, however, Mundey's invention of the 'green ban' symbol was a 'stroke of genius' that distinguished their ecological activism from strikes over wages and conditions, thereby shielding them from anti-union discourses that emphasised the self-interest of the working class. In contrast to accounts that argue green bans received press representation that was 'neutral at worst', this paper argues green bans faced significant press opposition. Though the symbolic import of the 'green ban' is impossible to ignore, it consolidated, rather than altered press perspectives by providing an object to concretely support or oppose the BLF.

[9] Saunders, 'The trade unions in Australia and opposition to Vietnam and conscription: 1965-73,' 66.; Ashley Lavelle, 'Under Pressure: The Whitlam Labor Opposition and Class Struggle, 1967-72,' *Labour History* 96 (May 2009), 117.
[10] Richard J. Roddewig *Green Bans, the Birth of Australian Environmental politics: A Study in Public Opinion and Participation* (Sydney: Hale and Ironmonger, 1978), 9.
[11] McQueen, *We Built This Country,* 290.; Roddewig, *Green Bans, the Birth of Australian Environmental politics: A Study in Public Opinion and Participation* (Sydney: Hale and Ironmonger, 1978), 8.
[12] Roddewig, *Green Bans, the Birth of Australian Environmental politics*, 12; Burgmann and Burgmann, *Green Bans, Red Union*, 174-5.
[13] Roddewig: *Green Bans, the Birth of Australian Environmental politics,* 11.
[14] Mundey, *Green Bans & Beyond,* 60.
[15] Peter Beharell and Greg Philo, eds., *Trade Unions and the Media*, (Hong Kong: Macmillan Press, 1978); Alan Knight, 'Police, Radicals and the Media in the 1971 Springbok Protests,' *Labour History* no 110 (May 2016), 180.; Sean Scalmer, *Dissent events: Protest, The Media and the Political Gimmick in Australia* (Australia: UNSW Press, 2002), 41.
[16] Verity Burgmann & Andrew Milner, 'Ecotopians in Hardhats: The Australian Green Bans Movement,' *Utopian Studies* Vol. 22, No. 1 (2011), 136.; Quintin Johnstone, 'Australian Green Bans: Trade Union Activism Restricting Urban Development,' *The Urban Lawyer* 10, no. 1, (1978): 118.
[17] Verity Burgmann and Meredith Burgmann, 'A rare shift in public thinking: Jack Mundey and the New South Wales Builders' Labourers' Federation,' *Labour History* 77, (Nov. 1999): 44-63.

The notion of 'the press' that guides this analysis is informed by Herman and Chomsky's *Manufacturing Consent* and Australian historical writing on press coverage of protest movements. For Chomsky and Herman, the press as a subsection of the media serves to integrate individuals 'into the institutional structures of the larger society' by constructing narratives conducive to institutional power through selective 'context, premises, and general agenda'.[18] To cite an Australian example, Alan Knight has suggested press clippings of the 1971 anti-Apartheid demonstrations rendered protestors as 'voiceless objects' oft stereotyped as 'anarchists or hippies', while showing deference to government ministers and the police.[19] Additionally, editorial policy enhanced these distortions by restricting individual journalists and editorial submissions.[20] I thus concentrate on Fairfax and Murdoch dailies like the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Australian,* whose wide circulation fostered greater influence on public opinion, unlike sympathetic left-wing newspapers like *Tribune*, whose agenda made its political potency immediate yet isolated from the public. As we will see, despite publishing occasional statements of support from sympathetic Labor MPs, the press coverage of green bans emphasised confrontations (particularly with police), fiscal damage, and disruption, that tended to sideline local grievances and reassert the state as the sole legitimate executor of political power.

The Greening of Sydney: When black bans became green

Historians such as Richard Roddewig afford a clear role in the shift from black bans to green bans in publicly legitimating the BLF and its political initiatives.[21] Because of the green bans, Mundey became the 'most publicised trade-union official of the year', but this publicity was not always positive.[22] To some commentators, conservation was a thinly veiled excuse for wanton disruption and 'anarchy'.[23] Others criticised the incommensurability of liberal-democratic principles with the 'authoritarian' imposition of the perspective of one group like the BLF or the Resident Action Groups (RAGs) who contacted the BLF on behalf of their communities to preserve historic buildings and parkland.[24] Yet others saw the 'green ban' as a euphemism to trick 'trendies' (young, typically university-educated activists), environmentalists and the 'middle class' into uncritically supporting the BLF.[25] The most cynical of these criticisms, however, was that the BLF was acting in the public interest only incidentally, and was merely using green bans to elevate its public prestige, thus 'supporting a good cause for the wrong motives.'[26] Despite opposition, green bans did find some support, including Gough Whitlam's Minister for the Environment and Conservation Moss Cass. However, the shift from 'black bans' to 'green bans' was not the turning point some have claimed it to be, and merely entrenched the press perspective of the BLF's political activities.

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[18] Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (London: Vintage Books, 1994), xv-1.
[19] Knight, 'Police, Radicals and the Media in the 1971 Springbok Protests', 180.
[20] Roger Stuart, 'History of the Strike', *Semper Floreat,* September 1, 1971, cited in Knight, 'Police, Radicals and the Media in the 1971 Springbok Protests', 180.
[21] Roddewig, *Green Bans, the Birth of Australian Environmental politics,* 12.
[22] Fred Wells, 'This year of industrial strife (a look back at the 1973 union scene)', *Sydney Morning Herald,* December 31, 1973.
[23] 'Parliament to discuss Industrial 'Anarchy'', *Sydney Morning Herald,* November 11, 1972.
[24] F. W. Theeman, 'Mr Mundey and democracy', *Sydney Morning Herald,* August 4, 1973; 'Victim of Anarchy Claim by Developer', *Sydney Morning Herald,* June 16, 1973.
[25] Graeme Davison, *City Dreamers: The Urban Imagination in Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2016), 5.
[26] Brian Hagan, 'Green bans and omphalology', *Sydney Morning Herald,* November 15, 1973.

Unlike Burgmann and Burgmann's assertion that the BLF's aggressive methods were the main point of contention, press opposition to the 'green ban' explicitly criticised the BLF's politics and intentions, particularly regarding Mundey's notion of 'everyday democracy'.[27] To Mundey, democracy was not casting 'a ballot paper once every three or four years', but an active 'every day' process of fighting for 'social justice and environmental issues' whenever they arose.[28] The concept was heavily criticised in the *Sydney Morning Herald* because green bans did not abide by conventional democratic decision-making processes. That is, critics argued the BLF was not entitled to halt approved projects through direct action but should instead voice their concerns 'democratically' by casting their vote electorally.[29] Whether or not the BLF's aims were ideal, 'Mundey [was] using conservation as a cover for authoritarianism.'[30] Green bans were thus devoid of principle: a mere tool for the BLF to overthrow 'all plans of the Government.'[31] Too much construction had been halted for the 'host of blanket bans, whether black, green or red' to constitute discerning and legitimate attempts at conservation.[32] 'Every day democracy' was instead cast as the use of illegal force for the subversion, rather than the reform, of the organs of democracy.

Because 'green bans' covered various issues from ecology to urban planning, critics had the privilege of cherry-picking causes to suggest the BLF was politically inconsistent. For example, a Terrigal resident wrote to the *Herald* to repudiate green bans on doctors that charged above the federal rate because he failed to see their environmental impact.[33] He was not simply claiming green bans should only cover environmental issues but was instead casting doubt on green bans as a whole by implying they were a cheap disguise for the spurious interests of the BLF. Another critic alleged green bans had nothing to do with progressive politics, conservation, or 'everyday democracy' because their 'wrongness or rightness' were decided entirely by Mundey.[34] Similarly, another editorial argued the 'green ban' was a 'euphemism' to deceive conservationists.[35] Writing to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, a Wollstonecraft resident alleged the proposed Federal Government plan for a new airport would expose 'the true political provocations of... environmental and resident's action groups'.[36] Because the area was not 'politically visible', he implied neither conservationists nor the BLF would protest the project if asked to by residents.[37] The BLF's conservationism was again construed not as an end pursued in itself but as a guise for dubious and self-interested political intentions.

Despite being depicted as the dupes of the leadership, the union's rank-and-file supported green bans and were joined in their enthusiasm by RAGs, then-journalist Leo Schofield, and a handful of Labor MPs. The democratic foundation of the leadership's policies was demonstrated when 800 builders' labourers voted to demand 'greater control over the buildings which should be constructed', and to 'continue to engage in community action, supporting resident action groups, conservationists and

[27] Burgmann and Burgmann, *Green Bans, Red Union*, 248.
[28] Jack Mundey, 'Green Bans and Urban Environmentalism' in *Protest! Environmental activism in NSW 1968-1998* (Circular Quay: Historic Houses Trust NSW, 1998), 40.
[29] 'The Greening of Sydney', *Sydney Morning Herald,* August 5, 1973.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Neville Wentworth, 'Green bans and omphalology', *Sydney Morning Herald,* November 15, 1973.
[34] 'Democracy, he calls it', *Sydney Morning Herald,* August 13, 1973.
[35] 'The greening of Sydney', *Sydney Moring Herald,* August 6, 1973.
[36] David Burton, 'Waiting for a reaction', *Sydney Morning Herald,* September 6, 1973.
[37] Ibid.

preservationists'.[38] Leo Schofield responded to press criticism by stating that the citizens of Sydney, 'the middle classes, as you so ingeniously label us', preferred green bans over standing by '(ergo tacitly condoning) the destruction of almost every worthwhile building'.[39] Building industry experts also condoned the $3 billion worth of green bans for easing 'the crucial shortage in building supplies'.[40]

The Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF) also added Mundey to its 46-member policy-making council to 'bring conservation back to the people'.[41] The ACF was established in 1965 and dominated by 'establishment', 'Canberra-based scientists' but had declined in importance as radical independent activist groups proliferated in the early 1970s.[42] To improve its tame-cat, 'establishment' image, the ACF appointed a new council by postal ballot that were to vote on a new executive the following month.[43] 17 of the 35 new councillors were 'new guard' reformers like Mundey, and they voted as a bloc to expel the old guard.[44] Ironically, Moss Cass had bid to cut the ACF's annual funding of $150,000 by $100,000 and redistribute it amongst more impactful environmental groups like the Total Environment Centre (TEC).[45] Whitlam, worried about the influence a deduction would have on Garfield Barwick – founder of the ACF and high court judge set to evaluate key government legislation - instead gave Cass an additional $100,000 to distribute among independent environmentalist groups.[46] As a result, Cass now had an effective $250,000 to distribute amongst independent environmentalists. Critics instead missed or ignored the radical restructuring of the ACF, and alleged Mundey's new peers would restrict his 'enthusiasm for slapping on a ban at the drop of a hat.'[47]

The 'Politically Visible' Green bans: Kings Cross, Woolloomooloo-Darlinghurst, and the Rocks Apartments

A significant factor that informed press representation of the 'green ban' was the projects to which it was applied. Although some prior bans, like the 1972 ban to prevent Centennial Park becoming a sports stadium, were widely accepted as serving the public interest, the 'green bans' of 1973 affected smaller communities and were comparatively violent; they were therefore less agreeable to Sydney's middle and upper classes. Whereas most Sydneysiders agreed that a stadium in Centennial Park was both unnecessary and harmful to the community, less so could they see the merit in squatting, sabotage and protest to retain working-class housing in inner Sydney areas like Kings Cross, Woolloomooloo and Darlinghurst.[48] Because the 'green ban' designation denoted the least 'agreeable' and most vigorously defended bans, the term was again thought to be a guise for wanton and 'anarchic' industrial disruption.[49]

The 'Battle for Victoria Street' was a particularly divisive ban because it emblematised the

[38] 'Mundey wins NSW support', *Sydney Morning Herald,* September 25, 1973.
[39] Leo Schofield, 'The greening of Sydney', *Sydney Morning Herald,* August 14, 1973.
[40] 'Beating the shortage', *Sydney Morning Herald* 7 October 1973.
[41] 'Back to the People', *Sydney Morning Herald*, December 23, 1973.
[42] Cass, Encel, and O'Donnell, *Moss Cass,* 46; Libby Robin, 'Radical Ecology and Conservation Science: An Australian Perspective', *Environmental History* 4, no. 2, Australia special issue (June 1998): 193.
[43] Cass, Encel, and O'Donnell, *Moss Cass,* 49.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid., 48-9.
[46] Ibid., 48-9.
[47] 'Back to the People', *Sydney Morning Herald,* December 23, 1973.
[48] 'Labourers and Demolition', *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 27, 1972.
[49] 'Parliament to discuss Industrial 'Anarchy'', *Sydney Morning Herald,* November 11, 1972; 'Jack the Giant Killer', *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 14, 1972.

perceived contradictions of 'everyday democracy'. Kings Cross was banned in April 1972, originally intended to freeze work until the National Trust could develop a plan that would retain the character of the area.[50] The proposed development by F. W. Theeman involved restoring terraces and building townhouse apartments and a mall in Brougham Street, Woolloomooloo.[51] The ban took on a new character in 1973, when the National Trust supported a $20 million scheme to redevelop part of Victoria Street, Potts Point.[52] However, the Victoria Street RAG continued to oppose the scheme because it lacked low-cost rental housing.[53] The BLF was thus wedged between two groups it usually supported – 'the resident action groups… and the National Trust' – but refused to lift the ban unless the Woolloomooloo, Darlinghurst and Victoria Street RAGs approved.[54] Because the National Trust was seen to represent legitimate conservation, the BLF's decision was construed as the ransom of community progress at the behest of a minority interest group (the Victoria Street RAG).[55] The protection of residents' houses through squatting, occupation and protest fuelled criticisms that a minority interest group was overriding established democratic processes through anarchic means.

In response to the BLF's declaration the ban would continue in spite of the Trust, developer Frank Theeman wrote to the *Sydney Morning Herald* and claimed he was the victim of harassment and 'complete anarchy'.[56] 'Anarchy' was reductively defined here as the squatting that had begun in three of the terrace houses in early June, but conveniently invoked the 'industrial anarchy' trope that dominated discussion of the BLF.[57] The RAGs demanded that no attempt be made to evict Victoria Street tenants, that tenants' rights be respected, that Theeman's men guarding the houses be replaced, and that plans for an alternative housing scheme were sketched by the following Wednesday.[58] Theeman also agreed to make no attempt to evict Mick Fowler, a Victoria Street resident.[59]

As it became evident the RAG's demands would not be readily accepted, the struggle for Victoria Street intensified. To publicise the cascading evictions, the Victoria Street RAG published a newspaper advertisement for the terraces with 'rents in proportion to income' (equal to a quarter), a maximum of $10 per week.[60] Miss Mary Jane Townsend, RAG committee member, invited evicted residents to return, including 'unmarried mothers, pensioners and supporters of the action group'.[61] Theeman claimed the advertisement demonstrated the illegal 'machinations of the people behind the movement', and alleged 'everyday democracy' was therefore the 'right of individuals or organisations to change decisions'.[62] Because 'the community's accepted processes' were being overruled, this was not democracy, but anarchy.[63] Less partial headlines included 'Union ban halts $500m scheme', which gave little attention to the cause of the dispute to instead emphasise the economic consequences.[64]

[50] F. W. Theeman, 'Mr Mundey and democracy', *Sydney Morning Herald,* August 4, 1973.
[51] 'Cheap rents offered in Victoria Street', *Sydney Morning Herald,* June 21, 1973.
[52] 'Trust Supports $20m proposal', *Sydney Morning Herald,* June 6, 1973.
[53] Ibid.
[54] 'Victim of Anarchy Claim by Developer', *Sydney Morning Herald,* June 16, 1973; 'Builder's Union back residents', *Sydney Morning Herald,* April 16, 1973.
[55] F. W. Theeman, 'Mr Mundey and democracy', *Sydney Morning Herald,* August 4, 1973.
[56] 'Victim of Anarchy Claim by Developer', *Sydney Morning Herald,* June 16, 1973.
[57] Ibid.
[58] 'Low-rent Housing for Victoria St.', *Sydney Morning Herald,* May 5, 1973.
[59] Ibid.
[60] 'Cheap rents offered in Victoria Street', *Sydney Morning Herald,* June 21, 1973.
[61] Ibid.
[62] F. W. Theeman, 'Mr Mundey and democracy', *Sydney Morning Herald,* August 4, 1973.
[63] Ibid.
[64] 'Union Ban halts $500m scheme', *The Sydney Morning Herald,* July 4, 1973.

Figure 1. Police arrive at the Battle for Victoria Street. Photograph courtesy of Meredith Burgmann, used with permission.

Despite Theeman's emphasis on the working-class residents of Victoria Street being a tiny minority, the Victoria Street struggle was enmeshed in the inter-community network of RAGs allied with the BLF. RAGs did not consider themselves as fighting for isolated community causes divorced from the social and political context of Sydney writ large. No less than eleven inner city RAGs made a joint appeal to Deputy Premier Sir Charles Cutler to halt evictions in the Woolloomooloo and Leichardt areas.[65] Similarly, communal meetings on the 'Woolloomooloo, Darlinghurst and Victoria Street' bans were called by not one, but several RAGs. [66] The issue, then, was not the protection of isolated community interests against an evolving Sydney, but a wider inter-community challenge to the State Government to rethink 'the whole matter of urban development' in favour of the 'people as a whole.'[67]

Urban development would conjoin the issues of working-class housing with conservation when green-banned Rocks apartments on Playfair street were demolished overnight in October 1973.[68] Banned in November 1971, the Rocks had always been controversial, both for departing from conservation to protect working-class housing and the alleged 'carelessness of [BLF] labourers.'[69] To prevent further demolition and publicise the issue, unionists, RAG members, students and others occupied the site from 5 am on 25 October.[70] The occupation lasted about three hours until sixty police armed with tear gas broke through the barricades and ar-

[65] 'Builders Strike to support residents', *Sydney Morning Herald,* April 3, 1973.
[66] 'Building Bans Stay', *Sydney Morning Herald,* July 16, 1973.
[67] 'Builders Strike to support residents', *Sydney Morning Herald,* April 3, 1973.
[68] '21 arrested in Rocks protest', *Sydney Morning Herald,* October 26, 1973.
[69] 'Labourers and the Pedestrians', *Sydney Morning Herald,* January 25, 1972.
[70] 'Police embroiled at the Rocks – 77 Protesters Arrested', *Sydney Morning Herald,* October 25, 1973.

rested seventy-seven people.[71] Protesters resisted by pouring drums of oil on police and through violent struggle, leading three policemen to be hospitalised for minor injuries.[72] Mundey, Owens, and Pringle were among those arrested, and faced charges including 'being on a building site without reasonable cause, assaulting police, resisting arrest, and offensive behaviour'.[73]

The following rally for the Rocks at Circular Quay was attended by 2,500 unionists, students, RAG members and other members of the public.[74] 1,500 protestors swept from Pitt Street into Hunter Street, led by a large green ban banner, where uniformed police tried to keep them on the footpaths.[75] 'Angry scuffles' ensued, several policemen and demonstrators were trampled, and 'many lost hats, shirts, shorts and watches'.[76] Chanting 'green ban' and 'Askin out' (referring to NSW Premier RObert Askin), heavy traffic jams developed, and radio calls led to the arrival of 200 policemen, as well as scores of police wagons, cars and ambulances.[77] After a small sedan driven by BLF organiser Viri Pires arrived in Macquarie street, the crowd broke through police ranks. Police tried to remove them, which triggered several scuffles and twenty-one arrests, including Pringle.[78] One journalist for the *Canberra Times* argued 'the violent incident' proved the BLF was abusing its industrial muscle to enforce a particular view of 'what the building industry is entitled to do'.[79]

Because the Rocks were also defended though squatting, critics highlighted 'anarchy' as the sole issue. According to the *Sydney Morning Herald's* civic reporter and the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority there were 107 families squatting in the area at the time of the first rally.[80] *The Canberra Times* emphasised fiscal costs and reprinted a statement from Mundey that bans would continue 'without question'.[81] Frederick Hewitt, the State Minister for Labour and Industry, used the oft-wielded theme of 'industrial anarchy'; he stated, 'Neither Mr Mundey nor anyone else is above the law', and applauded the police, who 'behaved magnificently under very great provocation'.'[82] This assertion was supported in the *Canberra Times,* in which one journalist lamented 'the present state of industrial anarchy' overturning 'highly institutionalised society' where issues of conservation should remain in the hands of the State.[83]

Within a few days, the Federal council of the BLF announced its support of the bans on the Rocks area, Kelly's Bush, all buildings with National Trust classifications and any projects which alienated parklands, but subjected other bans to immediate review.[84] Against expectations, the council did not order the NSW BLF to lift any bans, but said failure by any branch to follow directions would lead to intervention in the branch's activities. The council also elected to ban all Silver-

[71] Ibid.
[72] '77 Arrested', *Papaua New Guinea Post-Courier,* 25 October, 1973; 'Police embroiled at the Rocks – 77 Protesters Arrested', *Sydney Morning Herald,* October 25, 1973; 'Police Arrest 77 in Rocks Protest', *The Canberra Times,* 25 October, 1973.
[73] 'Police embroiled at the Rocks – 77 Protesters Arrested', *Sydney Morning Herald,* October 25, 1973.
[74] '21 arrested in Rocks protest', *Sydney Morning Herald,* October 26, 1973.
[75] '1,500 in Rocks Protest March', *The Canberra Times,* 26 October, 1973.
[76] '21 arrested in Rocks protest', *Sydney Morning Herald,* October 26, 1973.
[77] Ibid.
[78] '1,500 in Rocks Protest March', *The Canberra Times,* 26 October, 1973.
[79] 'Use of Union Muscle', *The Canberra Times,* 29 October, 1973.
[80] 'Police embroiled at the Rocks – 77 Protesters Arrested', *Sydney Morning Herald,* October 25, 1973.
[81] 'Builders', *The Canberra Times,* 31 October, 1973.
[82] 'Police embroiled at the Rocks – 77 Protesters Arrested', *Sydney Morning Herald,* October 25, 1973.
[83] 'Use of Union Muscle', *The Canberra Times,* 29 October, 1973.
[84] 'BLF council backs rocks area ban', *Sydney Morning Herald,* October 31, 1973.

ton projects Australia-wide until all labour was withdrawn from the Rocks. Mundey also claimed he would walk out of council meetings where green bans were discussed without local residents present.[85] Outside the Federal Council meeting, over 100 protestors demonstrated in support of green bans.[86] Minister for Urban and Regional Development Tom Uren offered to chair a meeting of all parties involved at the Rocks and lamented that the NSW government 'did not seem interested in achieving a solution to the long-standing dispute over the future of the Rocks area'.[87]

The MBA lockout: Is Ecology a Working-class issue?

The debate over whether green bans were protecting interest groups against the wider community took on the inverse dimension through challenges by the Master Builders Association (MBA). In 1973, the MBA attempted to have all green bans lifted by barring BLF members from worksites under the pretence that unions should not divert resources away from improving the economic conditions of the working class. While the MBA termed the challenge to green bans a move toward 'workers control', the BLF called the manoeuvre 'an attempt to smash the union'.[88] The MBA's claims formed a reversal of standard arguments by other critics that the BLF was advancing the interests of minority groups against the wider Sydney community or using green bans to disguise self-interested intentions. Instead, the MBA argued the BLF was advancing community causes to the detriment of the working class they had a duty to represent and should therefore abandon green bans to commit more resources to improving wages and conditions.

The press heightened tensions between the MBA and BLF, although the reductive emphasis on inter-organisational conflict concealed the panoply of public groups that repudiated the MBA demand to 'drop all green bans'.[89] For example, a headline in the *Australian* emphasised 'inter-union strife' and blamed the 'breakdown of talks between unions and employers' on the 'dispute… between the Master Builders Association and the BLF'.[90] J. D. Martin, the NSW executive director of the MBA, explained the lockout in much simpler terms, stating that 'jobs would be available if the Builders Labourers' Federation dropped its green bans'.[91] Although a multitude of explanations for the MBA's lockout can be surmised (that range from impartial to sinister), the most straightforward is that their interests were best served by having projects to build on.

Executive director of the MBA John Martin accused the BLF of 'cynically' using the building industry 'for political ends that have little to do with the betterment of working conditions'.[92] He defined those ends as 'anarchy and the destruction of democratic processes' tantamount to 'industrial blackmail'.[93] To Martin, green bans were little more than a communist plot 'to destroy the existing political system'.[94] Issues would come and go, but green bans would remain

[85] 'BLF council backs rocks area ban', *Sydney Morning Herald,* October 31, 1973.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Fred Wells, 'This year of industrial strife (a look back at the 1973 union scene)', *Sydney Morning Herald,* December 31, 1973.
[89] 'Builders Ease Terms on Lockout', *Australian*, November 5, 1973.
[90] 'Inter-Union strife over Builders', *Australian,* November 4, 1973.
[91] 'Builders Ease Terms on Lockout', *Australian*, November 5, 1973.
[92] John Martin, 'The Building Industry Wants a fair deal', *Sydney Morning Herald,* November 11, 1973.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.

as a tool to create anarchy. The acting secretary of the state labour council John Ducker also advised the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority that he had proposed a conference 'to solve the problem of the green bans'.[95] He claimed certain green bans were separate to the current dispute, but neglected to say which, besides mentioning a hypothetical discussion of the Rocks ban.[96]

While it is true the conflict resulted from differences on green bans, numerous other parties had voiced their support for the BLF both in public and in private. Groups in favour of the bans included the Student Union, the Gay Liberation Front, Rozelle Lilyfield Anti-Expressway Committee, WWF, the Seamen's Union and Marine Stewards' Union, and a group known as 'Ecology Action'.[97] The reasons for support ranged from being anti-scab, to preserving historic or heritage buildings, or, as some bluntly stated, to oppose the 'psychotic destruction… by Developers and Askin'.[98] Support culminated in a public rally on October 30, 1973 that involved the tenants' union and additional RAGs.[99] Put simply, the press sketch of a 12,000-strong state-wide strike that emphasised inter-union grievances and poor negotiating omitted the cross-section of Sydney's population that had brought the bans to life in the first place.[100] Doing so characterised green bans as a mere industrial dispute undergone to settle differences between bickering unions and employers' organisations.

Two other parties that joined the fray were Tom Uren and Justice Aird, who called a compulsory conference in the Commonwealth Arbitration Commission between the MBA and BLF.[101] Uren's major concern was that lifting green bans on private projects would divert crucial labour and resources from numerous community projects already strained by the lock-out.[102] These fears were exacerbated by a Building Workers' Industrial Union press statement that condemned the BLF's 'go it alone' attitude and demanded they prioritise industrial issues to promote cohesion amongst the union movement.[103] The statement intensified the inter-union demand for 'solidarity' – or more simply, the demand to abandon extra-industrial causes – thereby cementing the government's fears over 'the sudden lifting of all green bans'. [104] Near- unprecedented countermeasures were being conceived to steer negotiations in the other direction, such as the threat that the parties responsible for the lockout 'should pay damages to the Government for work not done'.[105]

The government's proposed measures did not get a chance to be tested. The same day that Uren voiced his concerns, the lock-in was thrown out by Aird at a mandatory arbitration hearing called just two days earlier.[106] Aird's reasoning was simple: 'green bans were not industrial issues because they did not involve the question of employer-employee relations.'[107] The support of the arbitration court

[95] Fred Wells, 'Labour Council enters building dispute', *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 3, 1983.
[96] 'Builders Labourers Threaten 'work-in'',*Sydney Morning Herald*, November 6, 1973.
[97] Australian Building Construction Employees' Builders' Labourers' Federation, 'Jack Mundey – Green Bans, Resident Action Groups etc. 1973', MLMSS 4879, Box MLK4261, Item 7, *Australian Building Construction Employees' and Builders' Labourers' Federation. New South Wales Branch Records, 1938-1987,* State Library of NSW, Sydney
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.
[100] 'Inter-Union strife over Builders', *Australian,* November 4, 1973.
[101] 'Builders Ease Terms on Lockout', *Australian*, November 5, 1973.
[102] 'Builders Labourers Threaten 'work-in'', *Sydney Morning Herald,* November 6, 1973.
[103] 'Builders Labourers to Force Site Open', *Australia*, November 6, 1973.
[104] 'Builders Labourers Threaten 'work-in'', *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 6, 1973.
[105] Ibid.
[106] 'Judge Says, 'Work, Except for Green Bans'', *Telegraph,* November 6, 1973.
[107] Ibid.

not only broke the back of the MBA lockout but bolstered the BLF's legitimacy.[108] The BLF quickly passed a resolution to call on the State Government to re-open and prioritise hospitals, schools, and housing, but reasserted the primacy of RAG demands where lifting green bans were concerned.[109] Developers were quick to object. The *Daily Telegraph* featured a full-page print-out demeaning the decision and 'Anarchy' and loss of 'civil rights' it entailed: 'ANARCY [sic] REIGNS': 'Victoria street, Kings cross, protected by threats of violence from the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF), a so-called "Residents' Action Group" CITIZENS BEWARE!!! You may be next to lose your civil rights!!'[110] However, the institutional precedent made textbook accusations of 'anarchy' significantly less convincing.

Conclusion

Despite their largely adversarial role in the history of the BLF, today the press happily overlooks its role in history and praises green bans as having 'protect[ed] Sydney's heritage' or as having 'saved Sydney'.[111] Rather than police and developers, their sources are now Meredith Burgmann and Bob Brown. They applaud the impression the BLF made on Petra Kelly, the founder of the German Green Party, and highlight contemporary community concerns over unrestrained development.[112]

In part, 'contemporary community concerns' have emerged from an intensification of the conditions that the BLF ardently resisted nearly half a century ago. Significant parts of the Rocks are again set to be demolished. Tenants of seventy-nine public housing apartments recently clashed with developers and the State over the future of Sydney icon the Sirius building.[113] The 'prominent' building hearkens back to the BLF's defence of Sydney's heritage but also their efforts to 'guarantee affordable housing and community spaces for generations of working-class and union families.'[114] The CFMEU green banned the building in September 2016, but the NSW government has held fast, with the last tenant moving out in January 2018.[115] The conditions the BLF responded to have only intensified with the passing of time, with only one percent of Sydney's housing now being classified 'affordable'.[116] Sydney's social housing wait-list sits at over 60,000, yet the Sirius remains empty as a testament to continued planning failures.[117] NSW's then-treasurer, Dominic Perrottet, cynically applauded the demise of the

[108] Ibid.
[109] 'Builders Labourers Threaten 'work-in'', *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 6, 1973.
[110] *Daily Telegraph,* November 8, 1973.
[111] 'Jack Mundey, the BLF and "green bans,"' Australian Broadcasting Corporation, first broadcast November 19, 1981, http://education.abc.net.au/home#!/media/521067/jack-mundey-the-blf-and-green-bans; Tim Barlass, "Sydney remains in his debt': City mourns loss of 'visionary' Jack Mundey', *Sydney Morning Herald,* March 10, 2021, https://www.smh.com.au/national/nsw/sydney-remains-in-his-debt-city-mourns-loss-of-visionary-jack-mundey-20210310-p579gd.html; 'Guardian of Sydney's heritage was a man ahead of his time', *Sydney Morning Herald,* March 10, 2021, https://www.smh.com.au/national/nsw/guardian-of-sydney-s-heritage-was-a-man-ahead-of-his-time-20210310-p579j4.html; Lachlan Moffet Gay, 'Green Bans Leader Jack Mundey Dies Aged 90', *Australian* March 11, 2020.
[112] David Humphries, 'Newsmaker: Green Bans', *Sydney Morning Herald,* March 31, 2012, https://www.smh.com.au/environment/conservation/newsmaker-green-bans-20120330-1w372.html.
[113] Dallas Rogers, 'Speaking with: Nicole Cook on union "green bans", housing affordability and the Sirius building', *The Conversation,* January 25, 2017, https://theconversation.com/speaking-with-nicole-cook-on-union-green-bans-housing-affordability-and-the-sirius-building-71619.
[114] Ibid.
[115] 'Sydney's Sirius building to be refurbished after being sold for $150m', *The Guardian,* June 28, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/jun/28/sydneys-sirius-building-to-be-refurbished-after-being-sold-for-150m.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Megan Gorrey, 'Four years after sale was announced, Sirius building sits empty', *Sydney Morning Herald,* June 11, 2019, https://www.smh.com.au/national/nsw/four-years-after-sale-was-announced-sirius-building-sits-empty-20190603-p51tyu.html.

building and, not unlike the press of the 1970s, polemically targeted progressives as the issue at hand.[118]

Cracks in the Mascot Towers and other related building projects have also reignited doubts about unchecked development. For the past twenty years, an estimated eighty percent of Sydney's residential schemes have been constructed with defects.[119] Regardless, statutory warranties have decreased as has access to home building insurance, as successive NSW governments have emphasised acquiring housing stock at the cost of consumer protection.[120] Additionally, the construction industry has been heavily deregulated, while union membership and density have steadily declined.[121] While green bans and the BLF may be commemorated in plaques, murals and awards, it seems these tokens will soon be the lone reminder of the fight for Sydney's heritage.

The negative coverage the BLF received was not atypical for industrial action. But, contrary to positions that dominate the literature, the shift from 'black' to 'green' did not prompt a re-evaluation of non-work boycotts toward one of positivity and solidarity, but instead intensified criticism in the mainstream press.[122] A recent study by Peretz and Murray suggests public feeling and trust towards unions is inversely proportional to the power they hold.[123] Because the successful extension of union power into political and social issues was typically conflated with a growth or abuse of that power, 'politically-conscious' bans – whether black, green, or red – were met with mistrust and apprehension.

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[118] Dominic Perrottet, 'Sirius building in The Rocks is "as sexy as a car park"', *Sydney Morning Herald,* August 10, 2016, https://www.smh.com.au/opinion/sirius-building-in-the-rocks-is-as-sexy-as-a-car-park-says-nsw-minister-dominic-perrottet-20160810-gqp31n.html.

[119] Stephen Goddard, 'Sydney's dirty strata secrets emerge through cracks in Mascot Towers', *Sydney Morning Herald,* June 18, 2019, https://www.smh.com.au/national/nsw/sydney-s-dirty-strata-secrets-emerge-through-cracks-in-mascot-towers-20190617-p51yg7.html.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Hannah Moore, '"It's the next to go": Apartment block just 150 metres from evacuated Mascot Towers is suffering from "cracks and sinking foundations" – as experts warn thousands of properties across Australia are unsafe', *Daily Mail Australia,* June 26, 2019, https://www.msn.com/en-au/news/australia/exclusive-its-the-next-to-go-apartment-block-just-150-metres-from-evacuated-mascot-towers-is-suffering-from-cracks-and-sinking-foundations-as-experts-warn-thousands-of-properties-across-australia-are-unsafe/ar-AADpfKI;
Geoff Gilfillan and Chris McGann, *Trends in union Membership in Australia* (Canberra, Department of Parliamentary Services, 2018), 2, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1819/UnionMembership.

[122] Burgmann and Burgmann, 'A Rare shift in public thinking,' 44; Burgmann and Milner, 'Ecotopians in Hardhats,' 136; Johnstone, 'Australian Green Bans', 122; Roddewig, *Green Bans, the Birth of Australian Environmental politics*, 12.

[123] David Peretz and Georgia Murray, 'Class, Attitudes, and the Climate Crisis', in *Public Opinion, Campaign Politics, and Media Perspectives,* eds. Bridget Griffen-Foley and Sean Scalmer (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2017), 22.

REVIEW ESSAY

Set in Stone?

Physical memorials to frontier violence in Australia

Catherine Fist

The commemoration of frontier violence in Australia has taken many physical forms. These monuments, plaques and other physical sites have employed different discourses over time and have often been an avenue for settler identity-work and politics. More recently, these sites of memory have been produced by or with Aboriginal people. The discourses produced in the first period discussed (1865-1965) served to produce sites of historical remembrance for settlers in order to form settler identity around white victimhood and heroism. The second period (1966-1999) was a time of evolving contestation where discourses of counter-memory, including a discourse of Aboriginal resistance and sacrifice, emerged. Also emerging were works that James Young would describe as 'counter-monuments', those that unsettle the idea that monuments can do memory work for us, and that memory can ever be singular and uncontested. [1] The third period (2000-2021) has seen a new discourse of reconciliation emerge, alongside the continuing counter-memory of resistance, as well as further counter-monuments. There is a tension between monuments that seek to reconcile—or make one—pasts whilst counter-monuments seek to keep debate open and encourage further questioning of the past. This essay uses physical memorials to frontier violence to demonstrate a framework for exploring evolving discourses around settler identity and how Australia views its own past on local, regional and national dimensions.

Periodisation

There are forty-four monuments to frontier conflict recorded in the Monument Australia database. I identified the first period (1865-1965) as those monuments that solely commemorated white victims. The second (1966-1999) was a period where Aboriginal victims were recognised but not always involved in commemoration, and where monument construction was intermittent in comparison to the consistency of construction throughout the 2000s. In the last period (2000-2021) Aboriginal people have been consistently involved in monument creation, there is a monument built within every three years, and a discourse of reconciliation is the norm. For an extended discussion of the periodisation in this essay, as well as documentation of the undated monuments, see Appendix 1.

[1] James E. Young, At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 118.

Sites of memory, counter-memory and monuments

In 1989 Pierre Nora conceived of *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) as receptacles of memory necessary when *millieux de mémoire* (real environments of memory) had disappeared.[2] History, to Nora, is merely a 'representation of the past'.[3] Whereas memory is 'a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present… affective and magical'.[4] It is only when real memory disappears that 'external props and tangible reminders' are necessary.[5] These physical sites of memory take the burden from memory audiences and accomplish memory-work on their behalf.[6] Nora's view negates that often *lieux de mémoire* have political purpose, especially in states where history is contested.

History and memory cannot be so easily disentangled: people's attachment to particular memories of a collective or society is often rooted in a version of history. Further, people often feel the 'affective and magical' dimension of memory because of their identification with the histories of one group of people and not another. Responding to Nora, Guy Beiner argues collective remembrance of the past always requires collective forgetting, that an equivalent study of *lieux d'oubli* (sites of forgetting) to *lieux de mémoire* is necessary.[7]

James Young and Michael Foucault have theorised counter-monuments and counter- memories in divergent but useful ways. Young views counter-monuments relational to Nora's views on *lieux de mémoire*, as physical sites that place the 'burden of memory' back on the audience and force an active experience of memory.[8] Conversely, Foucault views counter-memories as those of the politically subjugated, as illegitimate knowledges suppressed by hegemonic forces.[9] There are examples that demonstrate both counter- memories and counter-monuments within current memorials to frontier violence. This essay will discuss the capacity of these memorials to reflect contemporary views on frontier conflict.

Stephan Legg, Hanna Smyth, Jay Winter and Dmitri Nikulin all take a Foucauldian view of counter-memory as related to different sets of knowledges. Legg defines counter-memory as instances where people have practiced alternative forms of identity or remembrance.[10] Similarly, Smyth argues that sites of remembrance are concurrently sites of identity where marginalised groups, such as people of colour who participated in World War One, have been excluded.[11] Winter, unlike Nora and Young, argues that history and memory cannot be easily separated as adversarial concepts and often overlap and mutually reinforce one another.[12] Nikulin also blurs the line between history and memory, referring to 'historical memory'.[13] This essay argues that memory is intimately linked with contested views of

[2] Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7.
[3] Nora, 'Memory and History', 8.
[4] Nora, 'Memory and History', 8.
[5] Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, vol. 1, *Conflicts and Traditions*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 8.
[6] Nora, 'Between Memory and History', 13.
[7] Guy Beiner, *Forgetful Remembrance: Social Forgetting and Vernacular Historiography of a Rebellion in Ulster* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 29.
[8] Young, *At Memory's Edge*, 118.
[9] Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon et al. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 83.
[10] Stephan Legg, 'Sites of Counter-Memory: The Refusal to Forget and the Nationalist Struggle in Colonial Delhi', *Historical Geography* 33 (2005): 181.
[11] Hanna Smyth, 'Monuments in Stone and Colour', in *Memory*, ed. Phillipe Tortell, Mark Turin, and Margot Young (Vancouver: Peter Wall Institute for Advanced Studies, 2018), 184.
[12] Winter, 'Sites of Memory', 314.
[13] Dmitri Nikulin, *Memory: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 29.

history in the Australian settler context. Australian historiography has been influenced by the conceptual discussions above, as well as broader historiographical trends and theories of settler colonialism.

Monuments to frontier conflict in historiography

In response to the 'History Wars' there was a proliferation of literature in the 1990s and 2000s concerning sites of memory that represented the violence of settler colonialism. Chilla Bulbeck (1991) responded to Henry Reynolds' suggestion that Aboriginal resistance fighters should be included in Australia's military memorials by analysing how frontier violence had been physically depicted.[14] Alongside Reynolds, both Iain Hay et al. and Clark saw fit to make practical suggestions for making academic historical knowledge of frontier conflict more accessible to the public through physical memorialisation of these events.[15] Bulbeck questioned the utility of white builders of monuments attempting to represent Aboriginal pasts and emphasised the usefulness of monuments that reveal multiple readings.[16]

Later historians such as Tracey Banivanua Mar, have looked at monuments through the lens of Patrick Wolfe's 'settler colonialism,' viewing monuments as attempts to eliminate Aboriginality from the landscape (the logic of elimination) and reinscribe settler metanarratives of history and ownership.[17] Taking a local perspective, Iain Hay et al. analysed how the recognition of Aboriginal people (present and past) was relegated to the outskirts of Adelaide, while the Prince Henry Gardens' monument collection demonstrated the dominant culture's ability to shape who was central to the history of South Australia.[18] Similarly, Joanna Besley's study of monuments in Queensland, with a focus on monuments 'as sites of memory that attempt to negotiate the meaning of 'the national' in the realm of the local'.[19] Thus, memorialisation in Australia has been viewed as a distinctly political process aimed at reinforcing colonial ideology.

While drawing on the methodological approaches and analytical styles of the above works, this essay takes a longer view approach. This will be used to scrutinise the relationship between the evolution of historical debates on frontier conflict and physical memorials to these events. Monuments have attempted to fix particular understandings through stone and mortar, but in many cases create further sites for contestation.

I: *Lieux de mémoire* in the settler context, 1865-1965

Nora's theorisation of *lieux de mémoire* was written with the late nineteenth-century French

[14] Chilla Bulbeck, 'Aborigines, Memorials and the History of the Frontier', *Australian Historical Studies* 24, no. 96 (1991): 173.
[15] Ian Clark, *Scars in the Landscape: Aboriginal Education, Culture and Power* (Canberra, Australia: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1995), 6-8.
[16] Bulbeck, 'Aborigines, Memorials and the History of the Frontier'.
[17] Tracey Banivanua Mar, 'Settler-Colonial Landscapes and Narratives of Possession', *Arena Journal*, no. 37/38 (2012): 176.
[18] Iain Hay, Andrew Hughes, and Mark Tutton, 'Monuments, Memory and Marginalisation in Adelaide's Prince Henry Gardens', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 86, no. 3 (1 October 2004): 201–16, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0435-3684.2004.00162.x.
[19] Joanna Besley, 'At the Intersection of History and Memory: Monuments in Queensland', *Limina* 11 (2005), 38.

context in mind when, he argues, living memory culture declined and historiography emerged.[20] Despite the divergent context, Nora's theory provides fertile ground for understanding the motivations of early Australian settlers albeit with adjustments. Nora describes 'a break with the past… bound up with the sense that memory has been torn- but torn in such a way as to pose the problem of the embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists'.[21] The first part — describing a rupture — relates to the dislocation of settlers in Australia, whereas the last — a place of historical continuity — cannot apply to settlers literally due to their short presence on the land. This leaves room to analyse how settlers constructed a sense of 'historical continuity' by producing *lieux de mémoire* of recent events.

In order to create a false sense of historical continuity, and inscribe the landscape with whiteness, settlers created *lieux de mémoire* to those they viewed as victims or martyrs of settlement. For example, settler Mary Watson died in 1881 of dehydration with her child while hiding from a group of Aboriginal people who had attacked her.[22] The fountain erected in her honour five years later describes her as a 'heroine' of Cooktown alongside an emotive poem about a nursing mother. The inscription omits Watson's two Chinese servants who died alongside her. Cooktown had only been established as a town in 1873. Throughout the 1870s Cooktown was a key port for the goldfields.[23] Its population grew significantly, including an influx of Chinese migration. Growth in the town catalysed further conflict with Aboriginal groups.[24] In his speech at the fountain's opening in 1865, the mayor told the story of the first white woman to be born in Cooktown, who was wholly unrelated to Watson.[25] In the same year, Cooktown settlers searched for the brass guns thrown overboard from Captain Cook's Endeavour, physical emblems of colonial history, to display in the town.[26] Thus, when Cooktown was less than fifteen years established and migration was bringing change to the town's demographics, settlers chose to physically memorialise a white victim to Aboriginal violence. This memorialisation served to celebrate a history of white women's reproduction while undertaking further activities to recover a history of white settlement. Employing Nora's perspective, this can be read as an inscription of the landscape with artificial substitutes for a living memory-culture where settlers had very few ancestral roots. Further, in line with Banivanua Mar's analysis, settlers created a memory for Cooktown that directly spoke to the white, colonialist identity of its European residents. Beiner would also suggest that the absence of the Chinese servants in the memorial is an act of social forgetting crucial to understanding the motivation for the fountain's construction. The purpose of the monument was not just to inscribe whiteness, but also to remove non-whiteness.

Similarly, Port Lincoln in 1910 was part of a broader district officialised by the state government, but not yet recognised as a municipality. Settlers started the Port Lincoln Progress Committee, focussed on updating the jetty, promoting tourism, and petitioning the government for an extra

[20] Nora, 'Memory and History', 10-12.
[21] Nora, 'Between Memory and History', 7.
[22] Kent Watson and Diane Watson, 'Mary Watson', Monument Australia, 2010, http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/conflict/indigenous/display/91193-mary-watson.
[23] Noreen Kirkman, 'From Minority to Majority: Chinese on the Palmer River Gold-Field, 1873-1876', in *Race Relations in North Queensland*, ed. Henry Reynolds (Townsville: James Cook University, 1993), 243-6.
[24] Kirkman, 'Minority to Majority', 350.
[25] Watson and Watson, 'Mary Watson.'
[26] W.J.L Wharton, ed., *Captain Cook's Journal during His First Voyage Round the World Made in H.M. Bark 'Endeavour' 1768-71: A Literal Transcription of the Original MSS. : With Notes and Introduction* (London: Eliot Stock, 1893), 47.

train service.[27] The Committee also collected funds and erected a memorial to Frank Hawson, a child murdered in 1840 by Aboriginal people.[28] Hawson's death took place during a wave of Aboriginal resistance against Port Lincoln's first settlers. By 1842 this violence had escalated to a degree that the South Australian Government intervened militarily, leading to a massacre near Pillaworta station with an unknown number of Battara (Aboriginal) victims.[29] There were two other massacres in the vicinity of Port Lincoln in 1849 (likely Wirangu people), one shooting and one poisoning, leading to at least another eighteen Aboriginal and two settler deaths. The omission of Aboriginal victims is stark, but also meaningful is the choice to commemorate a child of the town rather than adult male settlers who died in warfare with Aboriginal people, such as the two men involved in the shooting in 1849. In the context of 1910, when settlers of Port Lincoln form a body politic and common identity, they reached back to the killing of a white child in the early years of settlement as an innocent yet heroic emblem of settlement: 'although only a lad he died a hero'. [30] In a Foucauldian reading, settlers can be viewed as officialising a dominant form of knowledge, while the memories of Aboriginal victims remain subjugated. This process includes as much erasure as it does specific remembrance.

The other four monuments from 1865-1965 that commemorate white deaths all cite events where there were more Aboriginal than white deaths, and most happen when questions of identity are pronounced such as town-formation, centenaries, or other anniversaries. For example, In 1957 settlers erected a monument to the Fraser family, massacred at Hornet Bank a century earlier. Unmentioned in the memorial are the estimated 150 to 500 victims of the retaliatory massacre executed by settler volunteers and native police, and the rapes of Aboriginal women that led to retaliation on the Frasers. Just as *lieux de mémoire* are vehicles for people to identify with the French nation, settler monuments to white victims served to settle contested histories with a memory of the past based on a subjectivity of white victimhood, framing settlement as a heroic project.

II: Counter-memories, counter-monuments and contestation 1966-1999

Monuments erected in the late twentieth century contested earlier histories of frontier violence through producing both counter-memories and counter-monuments. Monuments of this generation not only contested the narrative of frontier violence as a story of white victimhood, but also contested who created them and therefore whose memories were deserving of public acknowledgment. This constitutes a two-fold expression of counter- memory relating to Legg's definition, of both alternative forms of identity and remembrance. [31]

The first two memorials in this period (1966 and 1973) detail Aboriginal deaths alongside white deaths skewed by a settler perspective, unprecedented in their acknowledgment of Aboriginal people.[32]

[27] Unknown, 'Port Lincoln Progress Committee', *Adelaide Chronicle*, May 14, 1910.
[28] Kent Watson and Diane Watson, 'Frank Hawson', Monument Australia, accessed 14 May 2019, http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/conflict/indigenous/display/51513-frank-hawson.
[29] Lyndall Ryan, 'Colonial Frontier Massacres in Central and Eastern Australia 1788-1930', Centre for 21st Century Humanities, 2017, https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/map.php
[30] Watson and Watson, 'Frank Hawson'.
[31] Legg, 'Sites of Counter-Memory', 181.
[32] Kent Watson and Diane Watson, 'Maria Monument', Monument Australia, 2008, http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/conflict/indigenous/display/51020-maria-monument; Kent Watson and Diane Watson, 'Butterabby Graves', Monument Australia, 2013, http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/conflict/indigenous/display/60850-butterabby-graves.

The debate pre-empting the 1967 referendum on whether Aboriginal people should be counted in the Australian population may have prompted a re-evaluation of who counted in the public memory on the part of monument-constructors. By the 1970s the abolition of the White Australia policy and the momentum of the land rights movement would have made an exclusively settler memorial unfashionable.

Three monuments were constructed in 1984, indicating the ubiquity of historical debate at this time. Public debate about the historical treatment of Aboriginal people was sparked by: successive land rights cases and activism throughout the 1970s and 80s; formal calls for a treaty by the National Aboriginal Conference (1979) and subsequent rejection by the Senate (1983); the Pitjantjatjara people report radioactive contamination from atomic bomb tests in the 1950s (1980); the publishing of The Other Side of the Frontier, the first book to approach the frontier wars from an Aboriginal perspective (1981); and the 150 year anniversary of the founding of Victoria (1984).[33] A monument at Sorrento documents one of the first moments of encounter between Aboriginal and white counterparts in Victoria in 1803, the state celebrations evidently encouraging a re-engagement with its history.[34] Similarly, a memorial to Aboriginal people who were killed by Major Thomas Mitchell in a surveying expedition as part of the first 'explorations' into Victoria was erected in 1984.[35] These monuments did not engage with Aboriginal people in the present, nor make reference to ongoing relations. They merely recorded Aboriginal deaths rather than considering Aboriginal memories of these events in contrast to later monuments. Thus, we see alternate forms of remembrance but not of identification.

Conversely, the Kalkadoon/Kalkatunga memorial presents a counter-memory of '100 years of survival', focussing on resistance and ongoing sovereignty through the Kalkadoon Tribal Council.[36] In a time of fervent national debate, the inscription framed a specific battle in 1884 as 'one of Australia's historical battles of resistance', negotiating the meaning of the national at a local level, as Besley suggests.[37] Charles Perkins, relentless activist and then Secretary of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, erected the monument alongside Kalkadoon elders, indicating the relationship between activism in the 1980s and new discourses of remembrance. A discourse of Aboriginal resistance as military history is also present in a 1994 plaque that ends in 'Lest We Forget. *Mapa Jarriya-Nyalaku*'.[38] As military commemoration in Australia is well-established, linking Aboriginal history with military language served to validate the cause of memorialising frontier violence from an Aboriginal perspective. This was aided by calls from historians for Aboriginal resistors to be included in national war memorials.[39] The Kalkadoon/Kalkatunga memorial is a work of counter- memory in its dual challenges to the remembrance of frontier violence, and who we identify with in the past.

Aspects of counter-monuments were also prominent in the latter part of this period. Young's definition of counter-monuments carries two key aspects. Firstly, that viewers are encouraged to be active in the memory process, and secondly, that counter-monuments should emphasise the 'never-

[33] Jens Korff, 'Aboriginal History Timeline', Creative Spirits, 2019, https://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/timeline.

[34] Kent Watson and Diane Watson, 'Aborigines of Port Phillip', Monument Australia, 2010, http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/conflict/indigenous/display/33435-aborigines-of-port-phillip.

[35] Kent Watson and Diane Watson, 'Mount Dispersion Memorial', Monument Australia, 2018, http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/conflict/indigenous/display/33404-mount-dispersion-memorial.

[36] Kent Watson and Diane Watson, 'Kalkadoon / Kalkatunga Memorial', Monument Australia, 2011, http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/conflict/indigenous/display/91742-kalkadoon---kalkatunga-memorial.

[37] Besley, 'At the Intersection of History and Memory', 38.

[38] Watson and Watson, 'Kalkadoon / Kalkatunga Memorial'.

[39] Bulbeck, 'Aborigines, Memorials and the History of the Frontier', 173.

to-be-resolved debate' about the past.[40] In 1988, the Aboriginal Memorial was installed in the National Gallery of Australia. The Aboriginal Memorial is an artwork that features two hundred hollow coffins produced by Aboriginal artists from Central Arnhem land, one for each year of settlement in the year of the colonial bicentenary.[41] The memorial does not cite a specific event, but instead references the broader violence of colonisation. The symbolism of its place in Australia's official capital, gestures towards the broader history of violence from the nation itself. In its non-specificity; lacking dates, names, numbers or the location of an event; the Aboriginal Memorial encourages viewers to be active in their encounter with the memorial, and to think about violence against Aboriginal peoples beyond specific encounters. Ongoing debate, the second feature of Young's counter-monument, is emphasised by a plaque, fixed on to an older monument in Fremantle in 1994. The plaque to the Injudinah massacre was fixed to the Explorer's Monument 'By people who found the monument before you offensive'.[42] The plaque not only provides an alternate account of Fremantle's settlement from an Aboriginal perspective based on resistance, but also mounts a challenge to those who erected the monument 48 years after the events: 'The monument described the events at La Grange from one perspective only; the viewpoint of the white "settlers".' [43] The plaque's designers promoted a view of memory as selectively choosing events of the past to commemorate, identifying with Aboriginal victims of violence instead of settlers, and making the multiplicity of readings clear to visitors by leaving both memorials visible. Thus, the plaque both encourages an active experience of memory and memorialises not just the events of 1865 in Fremantle, but also historical debates since.

III: Reconciliation as a challenge to counter-monuments, 2000-2021

Throughout the 2000s there has been a continuation of counter-memory produced through language of military memorialisation pertaining to Aboriginal resistance. The phrases 'we will remember them' or 'lest we forget' feature on three monuments in this period.[44] An additional feature of these monuments has been a discourse of reconciliation and joint remembrance of settlers and Aboriginal people with a single view of history. For example, the East Ballina memorial tells the history not just of a massacre at the site, but its own history: 'erected by a group of Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Australians in an act of reconciliation, and in acknowledgement of the truth of our shared history.'[45] The use of the singular pronoun — 'the' truth — and the term 'shared' indicates a desire to converge on a consensus about the past that leaves identification and memory obscured. Similarly, the Pinjarra memorial plaque advocates 'building a united nation for future generations'. [46] Additionally, the Rec-

[40] James Edward Young, The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) 81.
[41] Kent Watson and Diane Watson, 'The Aboriginal Memorial (Poles Memorial)', Monument Australia, 2010, http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/conflict/indigenous/display/90152-the-aboriginal--memorial-poles- memorial-.
[42] Kent Watson and Diane Watson, 'La Grange (Injudinah) Massacre', Monument Australia, 2013, http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/conflict/indigenous/display/60490-la-grange-injudinah-massacre.
[43] Watson and Watson, 'La Grange (Injudinah) Massacre'.
[44] See Kent Watson and Diane Watson, 'East Ballina Massacre Site', Monument Australia, 2018, http://monumentaustralia.org.au/display/21079-east-ballina-massacre-site; Kent Watson and Diane Watson, 'Coniston Massacre', Monument Australia, 2010, http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/conflict/indigenous/display/80059-coniston-massacre-; Kent Watson and Diane Watson, 'Appin Massacre', Monument Australia, 2004, http://monumentaustralia.org.au/display/20069-appin-massacre.
[45] Watson and Watson, 'East Ballina'.
[46] Kent Watson and Diane Watson, 'Pinjarra Massacre Site', Monument Australia, 2013, http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/conflict/indigenous/display/61063-pinjarra-massacre-site. 52 Kent Watson and Diane Watson, 'Rec-

onciliation Memorial in Wollondilly commemorates "both black and white, whose lives were taken." The discourse of reconciliation promotes a view of history that is singular, in order to create a unified sense of Australian identity. The identity-work of early settlers in the first period of monument creation can be seen to be iterating itself with a new political purpose: reconciliation and settler forgiveness. To view a consensus position on the past as a 'natural' end for debate on Australia's past is teleological and assumes the Australian state is somehow organic, and all its people naturally amicable.

The discourse of reconciliation contradicts the view of the past promoted by counter-monuments as multitudinous. There have been two counter-monuments erected this century. The Konongwootong Quiet Place was dedicated in 2014, near the general location of the Fighting Hills massacre.[47] It features no written description of the massacre, but is merely a place for reflection. Additionally, the artwork 'Standing by Tunnerminnerwait and Maulboyheenner' is an abstract art piece that provides little detail of the Aboriginal men's lives but includes abstract objects: 'six brightly coloured newspaper stands, a static solid bluestone swing, indigenous food and medicine plantings and a reproduction suburban Victorian style fence'.[48] The abstract nature of the art encourages a more active experience of remembrance, and also connects the execution of Tunnerminnerwait and Maulboyheenner with the present. Ideas of reconciliation and those promoted in counter-monuments, both present in monuments since 2000, are irreconcilable. Those who try to emphasise how the past remains contested, related to present identities and caught up in continuing inequalities between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, will be countered by a discourse of reconciliation that seeks to present a whole, undisputed picture of the past.

Conclusion

This essay has demonstrated that physical memorials to frontier violence present a window into discourses surrounding frontier violence in the past. Discourses around frontier violence have political ramifications, specifically for settler identity, throughout the three periods discussed. Monuments have been seen to both promote singular and contested views of the past, some attempting to set particular views in stone, and some deliberately emphasising multiple readings or contestation as a key part of remembering frontier violence. This essay has been primarily an exploration of settler remembrance, but increasing participation of Aboriginal people in monument production should not be understated. Material sites of memory represent both a distillation of discourses of historical remembrance and a way to influence the trajectory of these discourses.

Appendix 1

The monuments discussed in this essay are categorized by Monuments Australia under the catego-

onciliation Memorial', Monument Australia, 2010, http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/conflict/indigenous/display/22362-reconciliation-memorial.

[47] Kent Watson and Diane Watson, 'Konongwootong Quiet Place', Monument Australia, 2014, http://monumentaustralia.org.au/display/103088-konongwootong-quiet-place-.

[48] Kent Watson and Diane Watson, 'Standing By Tunnerminnerwait & Maulboyheenner', Monument Australia, 2016, http://monumentaustralia.org.au/display/110474-standing-by-tunnerminnerwait-and-maulboyheenner.

ry of 'Conflict' and the subcategory 'Indigenous'.

1865-1965

None of the monuments in this period commemorate Aboriginal deaths. One of these monuments (constructed 1963) records an exchange between Major Thomas Mitchell and Aboriginal people of the Murray River in 1836, but does not cite any deaths. Records suggest Thomas Mitchell killed 15 to 20 Aboriginal people in this exchange. The other six monuments (1865-1953) record solely settler deaths from events where there were both Aboriginal and settler people died.

1966-1999

From 1966 to 1994, nine monuments were constructed. Monuments constructed in this period were the first to specifically memorialise Aboriginal victims of frontier violence, acknowledge Aboriginal acts of violence as resistance, and directly challenge older monuments. Two of these monuments, from 1966 and 1973, frame Aboriginal people as the instigators of violence while chronicling their deaths. Aboriginal people were involved in organising three monuments in this period, constructed in 1984, 1988 and 1994.

2000-2021

There has been an acceleration in the physical memorialisation of frontier violence since 2000, with fourteen monuments erected between then and the present-day. All of these monuments were organised by or involved Aboriginal people in their creation. They circulate on themes of reconciliation, apology and celebrating Aboriginal acts of resistance. All mention the specific Aboriginal people they describe by nation or name, except for two artworks that do not reference any specific events.

Undated

There are fourteen monuments which are undated in the Monuments Australia database, which I was unable to locate any record of the date of construction.

Review of the NGV's *She-Oak and Sunlight:*
Australian Impressionism and its exploration of 'A Longer History' - First Nations histories and art

She-Oak and Sunlight: Australian Impressionism was an exhibition held at the National Gallery of Victoria Australia (hereafter NGV), 2 April – 22 August 2021. The exhibition, guest curated by Dr Anne Gray AM and the NGV Australian Art Department, brought together over 250 artworks. While the exhibition highlights the work of Australia's most eminent Impressionists, it provides a critical lens to the centring of this work in national mythology, highlighting the work of previously underrepresented painters, including female and First Nations artists.

The Impressionists, otherwise known as the Heidelberg School, are often considered 'Australia's first school of art'.[1] This is due to 'the stylistic innovation associated' with the movement, and the Impressionists ability to accurately capture the Australian landscape on the canvas, unlike previous colonial artists of the European schools. However, the title of 'Australia's first school of art' is a fabrication. Instead, the Impressionists are but one phase in a much longer Australian art history, that stretches back tens of thousands of years with First Nations artists. 'A Longer History' is a themed section within the exhibition that displayed five artworks – paintings and drawings by Wurundjeri Woi Wurrung artist, Elder, and *Ngurungaeta* (leader) William Barak (c.1824-1903), from the NGV's collection. Of Barak's works exhibited, were *Ceremony with rainbow serpent* (c.1880s); *Untitled (Ceremony)* (1900); *Group hunting animals* (c.1890s); *Ceremony* (1898) (fig. 1); and *Figures in possum skin cloaks* (1898). Barak produced these works from the 1880s until the 1900s, at Coranderrk Aboriginal Reserve (1863-1924) near Healesville, east of Melbourne.

Barak's presence within the exhibition combats the idea that the Impressionists were 'Australia's first school of art', facilitating a discussion around the traditional mindset regarding Australian art history. The viewer is poised to reconsider conventional conceptions of Australian art, viewing the Impressionists as a recent addition to a rich and extensive history of Australian First Nations art. The exhibition also highlights that the Australian Impressionists were not working within a vacuum, but instead contemporaneously with First Nations artists, such as Barak. This notion is exemplified by the presence of a portrait of Barak at the beginning of the exhibition by Artur Loureiro, *King Barak, last of the Yarra tribe* (1900). This feature is part of a saloon-style display of portraits of the various artists whose works featured within the exhibition, entitled 'Friends and Rivals: Portraits of the Australian Impressionists'.

[1] National Gallery of Victoria, *A Longer History*, 2021. Information card. NGV Australia.

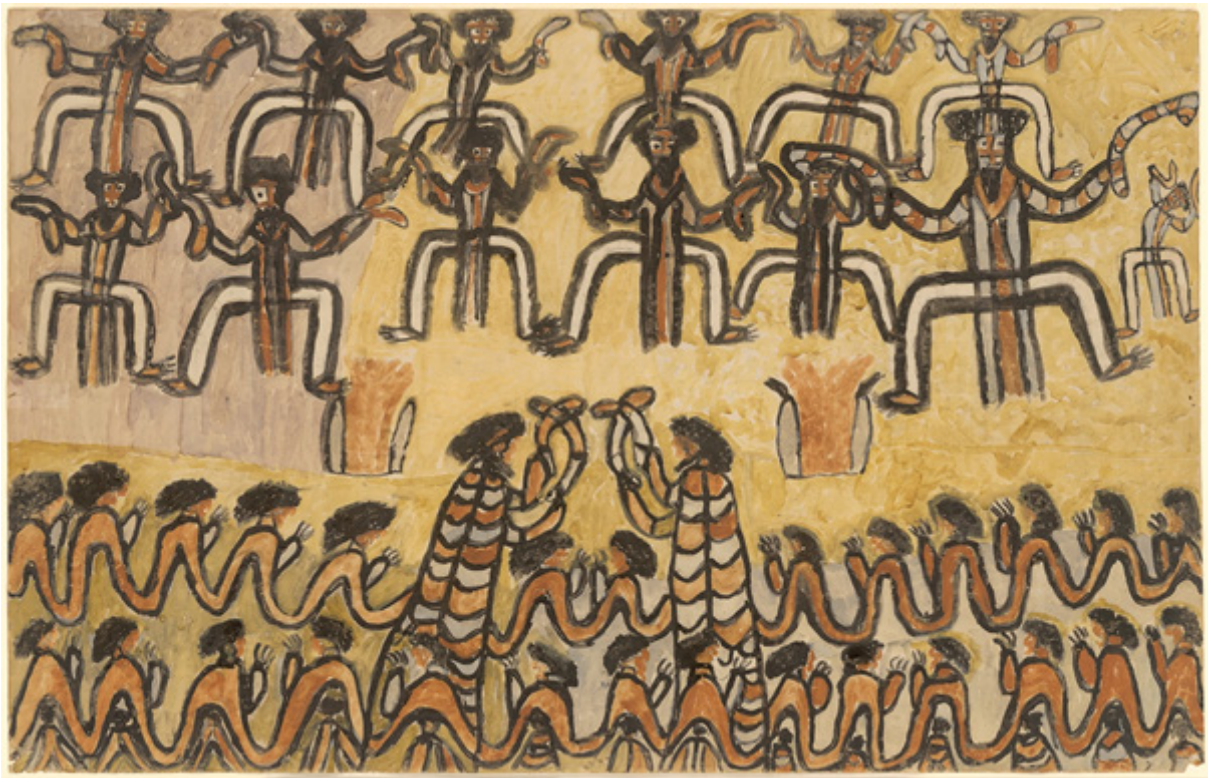

Figure 1. William Barak, *Ceremony* 1898, pencil, wash, ground wash, charcoal solution, gouache and earth pigments on paper, 57.0 x 88.8cm (image and sheet), National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, purchased 1962. Photo: National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.

Barak's artworks within the exhibition hang opposite some of the most iconic Impressionist works, the great Heidelberg School narrative paintings, such as Frederick McCubbin's triptych *The pioneer* (1904) (fig. 2), and Tom Roberts' *Shearing the rams* (1890) (fig. 3). These works loom large in the national imagination, entering the national psyche in the late nineteenth century and becoming key visual iconography of Australian identity and narrative. *The pioneer* is a significant work contributing to traditional outlooks of the Australian settler mythology of *terra nullius*, where European colonists came to an untouched empty landscape, which they 'tamed', settled, and cultivated. First Nations peoples are conspicuously absent from Impressionist paintings and the narratives they project. Much of the visual iconography supplied by the Impressionists contributed to the absence of First Nations peoples in national histories, a deliberate omittance, what the anthropologist William Stanner labelled in 1968 as 'The Great Australian Silence'. Stanner described this silence as 'a structural matter, a view from a window which has been carefully placed to exclude a whole quadrant of the landscape', that became 'a cult of forgetfulness practised on a national scale'.[2]

McCubbin's three panelled work, *The pioneer*, painted at Mount Macedon on Woi Wurrung and Dja Dja Wurrung Country, is a parallel to Stanner's 'window', that is 'carefully placed to exclude a whole quadrant of the landscape.' Additionally, with Robert's *Shearing of the rams*, shifting the picture frame would reveal a scene illustrating the huge presence of First Nations peoples in the nineteenth century pastoral industry. Within the exhibition, Barak's works are juxtaposed with those of McCubbin and Roberts, speaking out against the selective imagery and silencing that Australian Impressionism has imposed on Australian history. When viewing these works together, observing

[2] W.E.H Stanner, *The Dreaming & Other Essays* (Black Inc. Agenda: Melbourne, 2009), 189.

this dialogue unfold, we can almost hear the noise and sounds of a *ngargee* (corroboree) - that Barak's *Ceremony* works depict, drowning the oppressive silence that the Impressionists impose. By pairing these works together, the curators project a more accurate image of Australian history, addressing both sides of the colonial frontier, and speaking to the Australian landscape's multivocality.

Figure 2. Frederick McCubbin, *The pioneer* 1904, oil on canvas, 225.0 x 295.7cm, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Felton Bequest, 1906. Photo: National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.

Figure 3. Tom Roberts, *Shearing the rams* 1890, oil on canvas on composition board, 122.4 × 183.3 cm, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Felton Bequest, 1932. Photo: National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.

The multivocality of the Australian landscape is further explored within the exhibition. The idea of landscape and place is an important theme within *She-Oak and Sunlight*, expressed by grouping many of the paintings together based on where they were painted, such as the works produced at Melbourne's artist camps of Box Hill and Mentone. Throughout the exhibition, the artwork labels list where the artwork was produced, and whose Country it was produced on, e.g., 'Wurundjeri Country', for the Box Hill artworks, 'Boon Wurrung Country' for Mentone, and 'Gadigal Country' for the Sydney works. The NGV, in this act of decolonisation, acknowledges the multivocality of the Australian landscape, and that contemporary Australia resides on the continental patchwork of the unceded lands of First Nations peoples.

The NGV, in its powerful exhibition on Australian Impressionism, reinforces the role galleries and museums can play in facilitating discussion and reflection on Australian history and national identity.

Jack Norris

Biographical details:

Jack Norris, is an archaeologist and historian whose research interests are multidisciplinary and include archaeology, anthropology, history, art history, as well as material culture and museum studies. He recently completed his Masters in Visual, Material and Museum Anthropology at Lincoln College, the University of Oxford. His Masters research examined Wurundjeri Woi Wurrung cultural material in Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum.

Review of *A Networked Community: Jewish Melbourne in the Nineteenth Century* by Sue Silberberg

Sue Silberberg. *A Networked Community: Jewish Melbourne in the Nineteenth Century*. Melbourne University Press, 2020. ISBN: 9780522876345. 456 pp. Paperback $34.99, hardback $69.99, eBook $22.99.

Some years ago, I paid a visit to the Jewish Museum of Australia, where I was struck by a 'folk saying' emblazoned on a wall: 'Jews are just like everyone else – only more so.' This is perhaps the defining sentiment of Sue Silberberg's *A Networked Community*, a history of Melbourne's Jewish community in the nineteenth century. Over and again, Silberberg emphasises how Melbourne's Jews were deeply and seamlessly integrated into the broader settler community; her account suggests that antisemitism was virtually absent from Melbourne before the twentieth century. Yet she also makes it clear that this community took pains to ensure the maintenance of their culture and religion, particularly through strict enforcement of endogamy.

The book is organised thematically. After a brief introduction, the first substantive chapter provides a potted history of Jewish urbanism up to the mid-nineteenth century; subsequent chapters address issues surrounding identity, family, migration, participation in urban development and involvement in public life. For the most part, this thematic approach works. Personally, I have a preference for arranging historical events in chronological order, and there are points in the book where Silberberg may have benefited from putting the horse in front of the cart, as it were. For example, the Chief Rabbi of the United Kingdom is first mentioned on page 43 and intermittently alluded to many times afterwards, but it is not until page 124 that this figure and his significance to the Jews of Melbourne are fully explained. While the structure can feel muddled at times, Silberberg's prose – though far from lyrical – is unfailingly clear.

Silberberg avoids turning her research into a paean for Jewish excellence and achievement. Nevertheless, the successes of the community are astounding. Victoria's Jews relished the opportunity to participate in public life in ways that were prohibited in Britain, Europe or the Caribbean, whence most of them came. *A Networked Community* is replete with stories of Jewish professionals, artists, entrepreneurs and politicians who 'made good'. One particularly impressive example is that of Edward Cohen. The son of a transported convict, Cohen became a highly successful businessman. He was a member of Victoria's Legislative Assembly for most of the 1860s and 1870s, simultaneously serving as Melbourne's mayor in 1862-1863. At one point, Silberberg provides a lengthy quote from a speech Cohen gave in parliament on the topic of education reform, for which he was a passionate advocate:

> I am a descendant from a race that has been persecuted more than any other race under the sun. And for what reason? Because we chose to worship God after our own

> hearts, according to the laws of our fathers. This being a new and free country, let us leave behind us all the superstitious nonsense of the old world. Let us meet here on common ground. (190)

This is inspiring rhetoric – liberalism at its best – and it is easy to admire Cohen. But reading this, I found myself compelled to ask: under what conditions was this country 'new and free'? This is a question lurking beneath the surface throughout Silberberg's book, one that she consistently refuses to acknowledge, much less answer. Silberberg freely uses the words 'settler', 'colony' and 'empire', but she makes no reference to the original human occupants of the land on which Melbourne was built. Even a glance at the book's index reveals no entries for 'Aboriginal', 'Indigenous' or 'Kulin'. It matters little whether or not Aboriginal people were visible in the primary sources – such a significant silence is itself worthy of commentary. Silberberg goes to lengths to emphasise the presence of Jewish people among the very first settlers of Melbourne and, in a section titled 'Establishing Melbourne', she goes into detail about Jewish businessmen who bought huge amounts of land in colonial land sales (142-7). We can suppose – generously – that Silberberg simply took the dispossession these land-grabs entailed for granted, assumed it was something that all readers would be aware of. The trouble is that settler-colonialism thrives on such silences. *A Networked Community* plays into the false and harmful idea that Australia at the time of colonisation was 'new', existing only to provide opportunities and refuge for European colonisers. Can we celebrate Australia as a place where Jews could at last flourish, knowing what the cost of that flourishing was? Jews were able to make a new home for themselves here only through the wreckage of Aboriginal cultures, only through dispossession, ecological havoc and massacre. In this way, too, Jews were 'just like everyone else' – like all settlers, their paradise was built on an apocalypse.

Let me be clear: this is not an attempt to denounce Silberberg or her book. I will be clearer still: this is a book of much merit. Members of Melbourne's Jewish community will appreciate the colourful anecdotes about their forebears. Moreover, historians of Melbourne will profit greatly from Silberberg's research. *A Networked Community* is, among other things, a timely reminder that our city is yet to fully acknowledge 'the Jewish community's contribution to the urban fabric and cultural production' (140); historians have a central role to play in rectifying this. But it is now more than fifty years since WEH Stanner spoke of 'the Great Australian Silence', and still we find people writing works of Australian history, on matters intimately bound up with settler-colonial dispossession, telling stories about those who benefited from that dispossession the most, that do not even mention Indigenous people. That is not simply an oversight or an omission – that is an injustice.

Simon Farley

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On the Side of History: Review of Stuart Macintyre's *The Party: The Communist Party of Australia from Heyday to Reckoning*

Stuart Macintyre. *The Party: The Communist Party of Australia from heyday to reckoning*. Allen & Unwin, 2022. ISBN: 9781760875183. 512 pp. Paperback $49.99.

Stuart Macintyre's long-awaited *The Party* is a masterwork of Australian history that traces the Communist Party of Australia's meteoric rise during the Second World War and its post-war decline. The work is guided by several key questions including: How deep was the Australian Party's support for the Soviet Union? How did members navigate the disjuncture between Soviet Policy and local realities?

Caught between the need to address national grievances and adhere to the internationalist doctrines of the USSR, this meant the resulting gyrations in the mass line produced first fatigue, then cynicism in the party membership, who were expected to imbibe without question these often-contradictory demands.

Macintyre also claims he has not attempted a 'comprehensive account', but if this was truly his goal, he has certainly failed. *The Party* is the most detailed retelling of the CPA ever produced, that synthesises an ocean of primary material with interviews and knowledge afforded only to an insider (he joined the Party in 1971). But despite his own allegiances, *The Party* never descends into nostalgic hagiography: Macintyre's chief purpose is to explain the "breakdown of older certainties" and why Australian Communism failed.

Unlike other post-war histories of the CPA, *The Party* is not a history from above, tracing the twists and turns in the party monolith and the commands that emanated from Moscow. Macintyre strives to capture the lived dimension of Australian Communism: the personal stories of ordinary men and women who, as part of something bigger than themselves, became one with the shifting tides of history. Through discussing various crises like the miners' strike of 1949, Khrushchev's secret speech of 1956, and the Sino-Soviet split, Macintyre suggests 'these narratives are thus personal stories of a journey from innocence to experience that culminates in a decision to choose the "broad left" over the narrow'.

Communism was therefore 'a transformative life experience', a gateway to 'knowledge, confidence and… unshakeable conviction' that had real meaning for its adherents, and enabled them to enact their will to power in the unwavering pursuit of justice. It is this degree of methodological empathy that is the book's greatest success. Pairing scholarly precision and attention to detail with an approachable narrative style, *The Party* should (and hopefully will) captivate students of history, activists, and general readers alike.

The book sombrely concludes with the funerals of the CPA's original leadership during the 1960s. Though varied in scope, these events were regularly punctuated with passages from the Novelist Nikolai Ostrovsky commonly used to commemorate fallen comrades:

> 'Man's dearest possession is his life' and since it is given just once he must use it so he can say at the end that he gave his all to 'the finest cause in the world, the liberation of humani ty'.

The chapter is a melancholic parting gift from a titan of the discipline, a eulogy for the CPA and an injunction to remember its achievements. *The Party* thus also becomes a fitting final testament to Macintyre himself, a reflection on impermanence that asks us to consider how we might carry the emancipatory impulse further into the future.

Vale Stuart Macintyre: gone but never forgotten.

James Hogg

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Review of Janet McCalman's *Vandemonians: The Repressed History of Colonial Victoria*

Janet McCalman. *Vandemonians: The Repressed History of Colonial Victoria*. Melbourne University Press, 2021. ISBN: 9780522877533. 352 pp. Paperback $39.99, eBook $25.99.

In *Vandemonians* (2021), Janet McCalman brings together the shocking and the quotidian to explore the lives of ex- Van Diemen's Land convicts who lived in nineteenth-century Victoria. The renowned social historian, best known for *Struggletown* (1984), shows that Victoria, presumably free of the 'convict stain' which haunted other colonies, was actually home to thousands of former Tasmanian prisoners who led rich and varied lives that were often marred by violence and poverty.

McCalman draws on big data, accumulated from the *Ships' Project* (conducted mostly at the University of Tasmania), and fine grain archival work to render the lives of Tasmanian emancipists in wide ranging and specific detail. A 'cradle to the grave' approach is applied to the vast archive, tracing her subjects from birth to death and delineating broad patterns. Life courses methods are popular in recent criminal historiography, employed by Barry Godfrey et al. in *Young Criminal Lives* (2017) and Emma D. Watkins in *Life Courses of Young Convicts Transported to Van Diemen's Land* (2020). Despite its extensive scope and findings, McCalman does not get lost in the data. She brings nuance to the messiness and silences of lives past, highlighting the struggles of everyday life and the desperation of survival.

The introduction opens on the story of Ellen Miles, a lifelong criminal first convicted at age eleven. Admittedly an outlier, her life of theft, brawling, drunkenness and eventual demise appears throughout the book. McCalman's choice of a female touchstone elucidates the gendered nature of convict experience, with constant reminders as to the additional struggles and violence faced by convict women. The data shows that in the decade after being released women died at a faster rate than men. Ellen, who lived well into her 80s, bucked this trend.

McCalman explores the lives of Vandemonians prior to crime and conviction, charting their voyage to the VDL penal system and experiences under sentence. The true strength of the book is her analysis of life after emancipation. The second half of the book uses the frames of gender and family history to explore both the gendered and intergenerational implications of the penal system and the lives of Vandemonians in Victoria.

The Gold Rushes run through several chapters to show the opportunities it afforded, mostly male, Vandemonians. The implications of gold rush fervour in Melbourne are explored in chapter four, whilst chapter six looks to Vandemonian gold diggers and their fortunes. Chapter seven delves into the lives of ex-convicts who moved beyond the city, focussing on the goldrush town of Kyneton and several men who settled in town or established farms.

Chapter five centres on Romeo Lane, off the top end of Bourke Street in the Melbourne CBD, once the haunt of Vandemonian prostitutes and their offspring. In fascinating and harrowing detail, McCalman outlines the violence faced by women and girls here, devoting a section to young girls who were prostituted by their mothers and other women. Whilst perhaps not indicative of a large group of Victorian girls' experiences, the chapter highlights the reverberating hardship and poverty experienced by generations of Vandemonians and the gendered violence experienced by women.

Chapter eight foregrounds the strength of McCalman's method. It examines intergenerational implications of the penal system. Success of a Vandemonian is measured by whether they married, had children and created a lineage. As McCalman states at the beginning of this chapter 'creating a lineage means more than reproduction. It necessitates a household that can nourish and protect children so that they in turn can produce their own offspring' (page 185). Such a claim shows that demographic and genealogical data can give an indication of a family's material circumstances and highlights the importance of the family unit in the colonies.

Ultimately the author concludes that ex-convicts from VDL were less likely to 'succeed'—to create family and lineage—in Victoria than other population groups. She claims that a lack of familial networks was the deciding factor in the Vandemonian's failure to assimilate.

Vandemonians makes important interventions of value of social historians of crime, the family and gender. McCalman's attention to the lifecycle exemplifies the significance of age categories in history. Often historians see adulthood as the penultimate state of human being, overlooking children and the elderly in their quest for agentive action. In examining all life stages, and drawing on big and small data, *Vandemonians* is history both attuned to the big picture and sensitive to the nuances of everyday life.

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