

In loving memory of
Anne Kingston
(1942–68)

ANU HISTORICAL JOURNAL II

NUMBER 1

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Editorial: A history¹

Emily Gallagher

The Australian National University

We did it to give a voice, there was not a moment in our heads that we thought we had a lion.² (Alastair Davidson, 2017)

In 1964, Alastair Davidson, Ron Fraser and Anne Kingston edited the first issue of the *ANU Historical Journal* (1964–87) (*ANUHJ*). Modelled on the *Melbourne Historical Journal* (1961–), the *ANUHJ* was an academic journal of the ANU Historical Society—a group formed in 1964 by a small number of postgraduate and undergraduate students of the then History Department at The Australian National University (ANU).³ Brought together in the burgeoning culture of Manning Clark's department in the early 1960s, Alastair, Ron and Anne were among the literary gurus on campus, having first met during their undergraduate studies at Canberra University College (CUC). They were now some of the university's first undergraduate students after CUC amalgamated with ANU in 1960. Alastair, Ron and Anne launched the *ANUHJ* on 3 December 1964 in the Haydon-Allen Building and it flourished in the late 1960s and 1970s.⁴

1 I would like to offer my thanks to those who shared their memories and mementoes of the Journal and Society, including Ron Fraser, Alastair Davidson, Ian Britain, Jeremy Madin, Caroline Turner, Doug Munro, Rosemary Auchmuty, Jill Waterhouse, Michael McKernan, Peter Blanchard, Penelope Joy, Michael Thawley, Gordon Bunyan, Barbara Dawson and Campbell Macknight. I am especially grateful to Ron and Ian for going through this editorial with a fine-tooth comb.

2 Alastair Davidson during a phone conversation with Emily Gallagher in February 2017.

3 The Society was formed in mid-1964 with Scott Bennett as president and was active in the late 1960s and 1970s, organising a range of social activities, including sherry parties, film nights, dinners, lectures and seminars (often in Haydon-Allen), staff–student softball, hockey, soccer and cricket matches, and supporting students to attend the Inter-Varsity History Student's Conference. For more information, see *ANU Orientation Handbook* 1965, ed. Tony Hartnell (Canberra: ANU Students' Representative Council, 1965), 34; *ANU 1966 Orientation Handbook*, ed. Clive Scollay (Canberra: ANU Students' Representative Council, 1966), 42; 'Historical Society publishes first issue of new journal', *Australian National University News*, vol. 3, no. 2 (May 1965), 9; 'New source of history', *Woroni*, 23 July 1964, 4; Minutes of History Department Meeting no. 6, 10 September 1976, University Archives, ANUA 50/14/107.

4 'Student-edited Journal Earns Warm Praise', *Canberra Times*, 4 December 1964, 8.

The Journal was envisaged as an annual publication and it was intended to offer recent 'graduates and undergraduates an opportunity to make their work public'.⁵ In fact, it did much more. The influence of the *ANUHI* is signified in the totemic name bestowed on it by its surviving editors and authors: '*the Journal*'. Those involved with the Journal remember it with a remarkable degree of fondness; it was a document that marked their 'first step' into the academy, offering them their earliest taste of editing and publishing. It helped to demystify the practice of history and fostered a strong sense of collegiality among history students and staff.

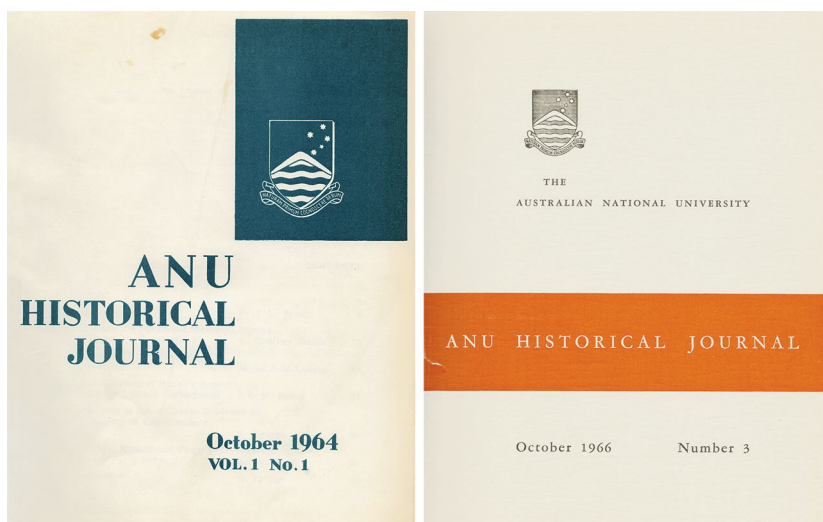


Figure 1: Front covers of the *ANU Historical Journal* in 1964 (left) and 1966 (right).

Collection: National Library of Australia.

While several ANU historians were vital in helping solicit submissions for the Journal, they appear to have remained largely detached from its organisational and editorial processes, allowing the young editors to take charge.⁶ The *ANUHI*'s independence of the department was somewhat unusual for the 1960s and early 1970s, an era when history students and staff were so often socialising and researching together. Yet the Society and Journal were clearly a student initiative. Even in 1976, there was

5 Editorial, *ANU Historical Journal*, no. 1 (1964), 3.

6 Many of the *ANUHI*'s articles were solicited from top-performing students in ANU history courses, but calls for submissions were also regularly distributed to other universities and circulated via campus newspapers and bulletins.

a strong sense that ‘basically the Society belonged to the students, and staff should not intrude with more than support for its activities’.⁷ Giving over the reins could go awry—printing or typing errors occasionally leaving readers wondering where the last pages of an article or book review had disappeared to—but, mishaps aside, the Journal was immensely successful, garnering the support of undergraduates, postgraduates and academics alike. In the late 1960s, a system of mentorship flourished with new authors and committee members subsequently taking up editorial positions.

In 1967, the Journal numbered among at least five other student publications on campus—*Crucible* (Labor Club), *Econoclast* (Economics Society), *Limbec* (Science Society), *Milpera* (Overseas Student’s Association) and *East Wind* (Oriental Studies Society).⁸ Only the *ANUHI* and *East Wind* received financial support from the Students’ Representative Council (SRC), and even so the Journal reportedly had a deficit ‘in the vicinity of \$370’.⁹ In an effort to delegate further the administration of these two initiatives, a Journal Committee formed separately to the Society’s Executive Committee.¹⁰ That same year, and probably on the initiative of the 1966 editor John Iremonger¹¹—later a highly enterprising publisher—the Journal published advertisements, expanded its publicity portfolio and ‘jazzed up’ its formatting. These initiatives appear to have been largely successful in securing the Journal’s financial future,¹² but

7 Report of survey responses circulated by Subcommittee D—Administration and Foreign Affairs in 1976, University Archives, ANUA 50/14/107.

8 According to the *ANU Orientation Handbook*, there were only three departmental publications in 1965: *Econoclast*, *Limbec* and the *ANU Historical Journal*. See *ANU Orientation Handbook 1965*, 25. On ANU student publications in 1968, see letter from Colin G. Plowman, Academic Registrar, to the Vice-Chancellor regarding ‘Request for grant to A.N.U. Historical Journal’, 31 May 1968, in *ANU Historical Journal II* Archives.

9 See Ron Fraser’s memoir chapter in this issue for further information on the financial position of the Journal. According to SRC annual records, the Society received \$190 in 1969 and \$174 in 1970, the second-largest grant by the SRC in both years. See ‘Report of the A.G.M. of the Historical Society’, *Woroni*, 13 April 1967, 3; Students’ Representative Council’s balance sheet as at 28 February 1967, University Archives, ANUA 340/1/3, 93; Australian National University Students’ Association, Details of grants for the year ended 28 February 1971, University Archives, ANUA 340/1/4.

10 By 1970, there was also an official ANU joint staff/student ‘History Liaison Committee’ that resulted from university-wide student pressure for student participation at all levels of the university. This committee included a representative from first-, second-, third- and fourth-year, MA qualifier, and postgraduate-level students. See *Footnote: ANU Historical Society Newsletter*, no. 1 (1970); ‘The [SRC] Submission’, *Woroni*, 7 May 1969, 8.

11 Iremonger was also a member of the editorial committee in 1967.

12 It is worth noting that the 1971 issue (number 8) was typewritten rather than printed, suggesting that the editors might have had some financial difficulties that year. Michael McKernan, then coeditor with Michael Birch, remembers liaising with the ANU Historical Society for financial support.

the shortage of funding in those early years might help explain why the Society positioned itself as a student initiative rather than a departmental one (clubs and societies were eligible to apply for funding from the SRC).

At the same time that the *ANUHIJ* was beset with financial concerns, it was being recognised as one of the most distinguished student history journals in Australia, selling, according to one report, over 600 copies a year and attracting a growing list of overseas subscribers.¹³ These numbers seem unusually high, but the Journal might have gained special attention by publishing articles of eminent historians. In the late 1960s and 1970s, the Journal published the work of Ken Inglis, Manning Clark, Bill Mandle, FB Smith, John Molony and Coral Bell. These were widely recognised scholars. As history student Mark Lyons concluded in his review of the 1966 issue, the Journal ‘contains a lot more of value than the title “A.N.U. Historical Journal” suggests’.¹⁴ Stewart Firth even considered it ‘worth more than an indulgent smile’.¹⁵

The Journal’s success accompanied that of the ANU Historical Society. Film screenings were popular and public lectures by postgraduate students and academics were well attended. In April 1967, about 100 students and staff attended a talk by Henry Mayer, Associate Professor of Government at the University of Sydney, on ‘Australian Intellectuals and Politics’.¹⁶ Only a year earlier, the Society had organised a farewell cocktail party for Ken Inglis, presenting him with a cheque of \$300 for books for the history department at the University of Papua New Guinea—Inglis spent six months (June–December 1966) in the University’s Institute of Advanced Studies before taking up his appointment as the first Professor of History at the University of Papua New Guinea.¹⁷ In 1976, the Society was still attracting crowds. Hundreds gathered for a public talk delivered by Wang Gungwu after the death of Mao Zedong, and one history student of that period, Peter Blanchard, distinctly recalls two lectures organised

13 *ANU Almanac*, ed. John Iremonger and Jon Stephens (Canberra: Students Representative Council, 1968), 37 & 47. See also Faculty of Arts, Department of History, Annual Report 1973, 1974, 3, University Archives, ANUA 50/21/225. Copies of the *ANUHIJ* are held in a number of local, museum and university libraries in Australia, supporting claims that it had a substantial subscription list.

14 Mark Lyons, review of the *ANU Historical Journal*, no. 3 (1966) in *Tharunka*, 26 April 1967, 16.

15 Stewart Firth, review of the *ANU Historical Journal*, no. 3 (1966) in *Woroni*, 7 October 1966, 6.

16 ‘Around Canberra’, *Woroni*, 11 May 1967, 15.

17 ‘Gift for NG University’, *Canberra Times*, 17 June 1966, 3. An event was also organised by the Society in 1975 to mark Manning Clark’s retirement. See ‘Public Notices’, *Canberra Times*, 14 July 1975, 9.

by the Society: one by Barry Jones on how the introduction of bananas influenced birth rates in Britain and another by John Ritchie on *The Wind in the Willows*.¹⁸

While a small number of these lectures appeared in the *Journal* as articles, including Ken Inglis's 'Return to Gallipoli' in 1966, most did not.¹⁹ Even with the regular change of Society office bearers and editors (normally annually or biennially), each generation of student editors maintained a view towards publishing 'the original work of undergraduates and recent graduates'.²⁰ For the 1973–74 double issue, the editors—Doug Munro, Kim Jackson and Phil Carpenter²¹—even decided to safeguard the *Journal*'s 'student' content by rejecting at least two articles 'solely on the grounds that their authors were academics'.²² Incredibly, the decision was made at the same time the *Journal* was struggling to encourage student submissions.²³ In the end, of the 18 contributions to the 1973–74 double issue—including six articles, two review articles and 11 book reviews—only five were attributed to students (one undergraduate and four postgraduates). It is a revealing incident: student editors were granted significant discretionary power over the content of the *Journal* and, even if they were unsuccessful, they sought to uphold the ambitions of the first three editors to *primarily* publish student research.

Until 1981, the *Journal* continued largely uninterrupted. In 1979, one annual report even claimed that the Society was providing a 'very precious contribution to the general harmony prevailing within the Department'.²⁴ Yet, the *Journal* appears to have suddenly lost momentum in 1982.²⁵ Society president and later editor Gordon Bunyan recalls that even in the late 1970s the Committee was having difficulties attracting new history

18 Peter Blanchard during a phone conversation with Emily Gallagher in October 2018. Peter was treasurer of the ANU Historical Society in 1976.

19 KS Inglis, script for a lecture organised by the ANU Historical Society, c. 1965, in the Papers of Ken Inglis, NLA, MS Acc98.147, box 8.

20 Leaflet insert in *ANU Historical Journal*, no. 5 (1968).

21 Phillipa Weeks might have been involved in this decision as it appears to have been made by the 1972 editors (Kim Jackson, Phillipa Weeks and Doug Munro) in anticipation of the 1973–74 double issue.

22 *ANU Historical Journal*, nos 10–11 (1973–74), 2.

23 Michael Thawley recalls that even for the 1968 and 1969 issues, the *Journal* was not deluged with submissions.

24 Faculty of Arts, Department of History, Annual Report 1979, University Archives, ANUA 50/21/225.

25 Doug Munro recalls that, when inquiring about the Society and the *Journal* in 1984, Eric Fry reported that the Society was in a troubling position.

students to join the Society.²⁶ The problem seems to have continued and in a staff meeting in 1985, the department recognised one student's 'valiant' efforts to try and publish the Journal single-handedly but decided that it would produce one final issue to keep faith with subscribers before ceasing publication.²⁷ The last issue was published in 1987.

Despite the success of the Journal throughout the late 1960s and 1970s, it is not widely remembered by Australian historians. For a publication that made such an impression on so many emerging Australian editors, writers and academics, it is remarkable that it proved so ephemeral. Rosemary Auchmuty 'had a trip down memory lane' when she saw the Journal's contents last year, and others have no immediate memory of their involvement in the Society.²⁸ Surviving *ANUJ* editors and contributors from the first series are often surprised to hear of their involvement, and while they remain positive about their experiences, they are mindful of the fallibility of memory. As Michael Thawley—later a distinguished public servant—explained, 'it does indeed feel like a lifetime ago!'²⁹ Archival records of the Journal are especially elusive. All 15 volumes are held by the National Library of Australia and occasional references appear in university records, newspapers and personal collections, but otherwise very little has survived the passage of time.

In the first issue of the revived *ANUJ*, we have tried to 'remember' some of the forgotten history of the Journal by inviting seven surviving editors and contributors of the original journal to offer their reflections. These contributors are careful not to overstate the significance of the *ANUJ* in disciplinary terms, but they emphasise that it was formative for a number of then emerging scholars at ANU. As Ron Fraser observes in his chapter, many 'seized the opportunities offered by the Journal'. Ian Britain credits his experiences with preparing him for his editorship at *Meanjin* and Doug Munro reports on how the *ANUJ* inspired a similar student journal at Flinders University—the *Flinders Journal of History and Politics*

26 Gordon Bunyan during a phone conversation with Emily Gallagher in October 2018.

27 Minutes of staff meeting held on Friday 13 September at 1 pm in the Geoffrey Fairbairn Room, 13 September 1985, University Archives, ANUA 50/15/115. See also Minutes of staff meeting, c. 1964, University Archives, ANUA 50/115. 'Mick' Williams and Campbell Macknight were assigned to organise the publication of the last issue. History student Jack Grundy, who appeared to have been the next editor after Gordon Bunyan in 1980–81, had been suffering from a brain haemorrhage since 1970, which caused him a number of setbacks during his studies and might have impacted on the Journal's momentum.

28 Rosemary Auchmuty in email correspondence with Emily Gallagher in December 2017.

29 Michael Thawley in email correspondence to Emily Gallagher in October 2018.

(1969–2015). Beyond academic and professional careers, the Journal was an initiative that involved great companionship. As Caroline Turner remembers, the Society not only fostered new friendships but also helped first-year history students connect with older students and mentors.

For the history of ANU, the Journal is important. Its editors and contributors were active throughout the university, especially in literary and administrative circles in the 1960s. They were representatives on the SRC, and editors of the student newspaper *Woroni*, the literary magazine *Prometheus* and the annual *Orientation Handbook*.³⁰ They lived in university residences, ‘hung out’ in the Childers Street ‘huts’, played university sport and were sometimes actively involved in campus politics. The Society and the Journal were part of the fabric of social and academic life at ANU and they offer a window onto the student history of ANU at a time when the university was negotiating its role and responsibility as Australia’s ‘national’ university. These were students who, as 1967–68 editor Jeremy Madin recalls, were not just politically ‘alive’, but felt that ‘history really could change the world’.³¹ Such optimism did not always survive the test of time, but it is difficult to imagine that those involved with the Journal did not find themselves better equipped for life after university.

We have dedicated this issue of the *ANUJ II* to Anne Kingston, the driving force behind the first journal, and an inspiration to me and the two other young editors of this issue. As Ron explains in his chapter, Anne discovered her passion for history during her undergraduate study at ANU. Fellow editor Alastair Davidson describes her as a ‘dynamo, full of energy and enthusiasm’.³² Ken Inglis considered her a scholar of ‘clear and intense mind, who had found in herself the determination and the talent to study history’.³³ Anne went on to coedit the second issue of the *ANUJ* in 1965, but after commencing her MA thesis at ANU with American history lecturer Hector Kinloch in 1967, she became unwell. She died in 1968, only 25.

30 Letter from CG Plowman (Academic Registrar) to the Vice-Chancellor, 31 May 1968, *ANU Historical Journal* Archives; Adrian Falk, ‘Prometheus’, *Woroni*, 7 October 1966, 5.

31 Jeremy Madin during a phone conversation with Emily Gallagher in October 2018. Michael McKernan made the same comment during a conversation with Emily Gallagher in November 2018.

32 Alastair Davidson during a phone conversation with Emily Gallagher in February 2017.

33 KS Inglis, ‘Anne Fraser’, *ANU Historical Journal*, no. 5 (1968), 6.

The Journal is a tribute to Anne's memory. For the profession's youngest historians, her story reminds us of the urgency of our work. Indeed, the student authors publishing in this issue have boldly forsaken the comfort and perspective that are afforded by years of scholarly experience and struck out on strange adventures into archives and new fields of knowledge.

In this issue, contributors consider the symbolism of the early Aboriginal Tent Embassy; Louisa Lawson's involvement in Australia's suffrage movement through her magazine *The Dawn*; the changing meanings of barn swallow migration in Europe; how the sexuality of Frederick the Great can shine further light on our understanding of Prussian masculinity; the recent public apologies of two prominent leaders of the Lebanese Civil War: Assad Shaftari and Samir Geagea; evangelical humanitarian discourse in the Australian colonies; and the cultural and religious diversity engraved on one Sicilian tombstone. Elsewhere, they contemplate the place of national history amid the rise of transnational and global history, and review some of the leading Australian titles that were published last year. Finally, we have concluded this inaugural issue in Ken Inglis's own words—a historian whom I never met, but who has remained a larger-than-life personality for many of the contributors.

The revival of the *ANUJ* has been a far bigger project than any of us ever anticipated. At the very least, we hope that this first issue reflects the same 'bold' ambitions of the first Journal: not only to empower students and recent graduates to gain editing and publishing experience, but also to assure them of the worthiness of their research. By tapping into the vast and impressive research being undertaken by some of Australia's youngest historians, many of whom are strangers to the academy, we hope that the Journal will enrich the study of history at ANU and elsewhere.

Acknowledgements

Emily Gallagher, Jessica Urwin and Madalyn Grant
The Australian National University

This issue of the *ANU Historical Journal II* is made possible through the generous support of many scholars in Australia and abroad. It began with a conversation over drinks, about a ‘history journal’ that was sitting on an old bookshelf in the Coombs building. Soon afterwards, in early 2017, Professor Nicholas Brown, then Head of the School of History, offered his support for a project to revive the old *ANU Historical Journal* (1964–87). A student editorial committee was formed and a few months later Professor Rae Frances and Professor Michael Wesley agreed to provide the resources that were needed to make the project a reality.

Two years later, 32 years after the last issue of the *ANU Historical Journal* (*ANUHJ*) was published, the Journal has returned in a second iteration. Such a project has involved more people than we could ever acknowledge here. Many scholars, some having no previous affiliation with ANU or Australian history, gave up their time and expertise to review the articles submitted to the Journal. We are grateful to all 41 of them.

We also wish to extend a special thanks to the editors of the first series, especially Ron Fraser. As in 1964, Ron and Alastair Davidson were the first contributors to the Journal. We are immensely grateful for the continuing support of Professor Nicholas Brown, Professor Frank Bongiorno, Professor Tim Rowse—who, along with Nick, generously reviewed the final manuscript of the Journal—and Professor Martin Thomas, who helped circulate the call for papers among a great number of his students.

To the contributors of the first revived issue of the *ANUHJ II*: it has been a pleasure and a privilege.

MEMOIRS

Special: Remembering the
ANU Historical Journal
(1964–87)

Beginnings—Some reflections on the *ANU Historical Journal*, 1964–70

Ron Fraser

ANU HJ Founding Editor, 1964

Reviving a long-dead academic journal is a bold project which I applaud. Fifty-four years since my partner (and later wife) Anne Kingston, our friend Alastair Davidson and I edited the first issue of the *ANU Historical Journal* (1964–87), it will have another life.¹ Like many a phoenix publication, this one differs from its predecessor—as it must after all this time. Even so, the second series still shares some of the same objectives that inspired us in 1964: encouraging the research of younger historians as well as publishing their work alongside established scholars.

The first series of the *ANU Historical Journal* (*ANU HJ*) emerged out of the confident culture of Manning Clark's History Department at The Australian National University (ANU). Manning had famously built a department out of talented teachers and historians that spanned the political and historical spectrums, and there was a strong sense among many students that this was a great place to study history. The first history honours graduates of ANU completed courses in 1961 (Bob Reece, jointly with English) and 1962 (Alastair Davidson and Keith Campbell). Many more would follow.² The department grew quickly from only three staff in 1949–50—Lecturer Don Baker, a superb teacher and meticulous scholar, Laurie Gardiner, a fine Lecturer in British History and later a Reader

1 Anne also edited the second issue in 1965 with Mother Pauline Kneipp, Zenta Liepa and Robert Moss.

2 See *List of Theses Held in the Department of History Library* (only MA (Qual), BA (Hons) and Litt B), The Faculty of Arts [ANU], January 1993; Michael McKernan and Diane Collins, *Honours theses in history*, compiled for the Australian Historical Association, 1979.

in the Melbourne History Department, and charismatic foundation Professor Manning Clark—to a full-time academic teaching staff of 11 in 1965, and 21 by the mid-1970s.³

It was Manning who provided my initial inspiration to continue studying history after high school when, in 1957, he tutored me in British history (law) with Laurie Gardiner as lecturer. Sadly, I did not study any more history until 1963 when I was completing my Arts/Law course. Manning and Don Baker also influenced Anne in her early years at ANU.

Another impetus for me to study history again came out of a group of early full-time history honours students, and some others, whom I first met in the old Childers Street students' common room, and later saw frequently when some of us were in Bruce Hall in 1961. Although I wasn't studying history that year, I felt I was an honorary member of a group of history and literature students who met together—often in various peoples' rooms—and argued passionately about history, books, politics (especially Marx and revolution), sex, religion and what role we might play in changing the world. Bob Reece, Alastair Davidson, Keith Campbell, Malcolm Harrison, Bob Smith, George Martin and Anne Kingston were key members of this group, along with visiting lecturers from the History Department like Don Baker and Tim Suttor. Most of those friendships lasted a lifetime. They also contributed strongly to my decision to study history again, and to the collaboration with Anne and Alastair on the Journal.

Today, very few archival records survive relating to the *ANUHIJ* and the ANU Historical Society. But while I have forgotten many of the day-to-day details of these two initiatives, the more immediate origins of the Journal are still clear in my memory.

For me and Anne, 1963 was a new academic beginning. We were both part-time students with demanding jobs (I was in ANU administration, and Anne was a Public Service Board cadet). I had finished the law part of my course—most of which I had not enjoyed—and I hoped to do as much history as I could. Manning had indicated that if I did well in American history, I could undertake the MA Qualifying course, very similar to the honours year. Anne had been a talented high school

3 For recollections of Manning Clark as teacher at Melbourne University, Canberra University College and The Australian National University (ANU), see Glen Tomasetti, ed., *Manning Clark by Some of his Students* (Manning Clark House, 2002).

student in Burnie, Tasmania (overall second in the state behind future academic Dennis Altman), but had not done well in her first years of university study. As Ken Inglis observed after her death in early 1968: ‘Until [1963, Anne] had not discovered herself as a student’.⁴ Starting then, our academic results and passion for history (which included the founding of the *ANUHF*) took an upward trajectory, largely due to Ken’s inspiring teaching.



Figure 1: Historians at play in 1967 (left to right: Lucy Kinloch, Jan Gammage, Ron Fraser, Anne Fraser, John Ritchie and Bill Gammage). This photograph was taken at Ron and Anne’s rental house in Carruthers Street, Deakin.

Collection: Private papers of Ron Fraser.

4 KS Inglis, ‘Anne Fraser’, *ANU Historical Journal*, no. 5 (1968), 6.



Figure 2: Historians at play in 1967 (seated: John Ritchie; standing, left to right: Jan Gammage, Hector Kinloch, Ron Fraser, Anne Fraser and Bill Gammage). This photograph was taken at Ron and Anne's rental house in Carruthers Street, Deakin.

Collection: Private papers of Ron Fraser.

Returning from study leave in America, following the tragic death of his first wife Judy in a car accident, Ken had been offered a job by Manning. It was Ken's first year of teaching American history and, like many other students, Anne and I felt that we were engaged with him in an exciting journey of discovery.⁵ It was an intensely stimulating experience. In addition to his teaching, Ken was, like Manning, a great encourager,

5 See the chapter on Ken Inglis by Di Langmore in the forthcoming collection of papers from 'Ken Inglis in History: A Laconic Colloquium'. Ken taught a predominantly nineteenth-century survey course and an honours component in American religious history.

and the establishment of the ANU Historical Society and the Journal were in large part due to his guidance, supported too by Manning (who was in America when the Journal first appeared) and other teaching staff.

Ken had suggested that Anne submit her essay on James Baldwin and the black church—which he later described after Anne's death as 'the best work done by anybody in that class' of 1963—to the *Melbourne Historical Journal* (*MHJ*). A student-run journal coordinated by the Melbourne University Historical Society, the *MHJ* was about to publish its fourth issue in 1964, containing, among other articles, a tribute by Ken to the late Kathleen Fitzpatrick. In the same issue, Bob Connell and the editorial board published an abridged version of Anne's essay.⁶

This experience led Anne, with the support of Ken and a number of other students and staff, to promote the establishment of an ANU Historical Society in 1964, which would also coordinate the publication of a student-run journal. The Journal was intended to give 'recent graduates and undergraduates an opportunity to make their work public' alongside 'some work by well-known scholars', as well as encourage historical research by young historians.⁷ The debt the *ANU HJ* owed to the *MHJ* can be seen especially clearly in the articulation of the relationship between the Society and the Journal editors—both groups together determining general policy while the editors alone were responsible for the content of the Journal (these details were omitted from number 4 onwards).

I know that in Anne's far too short life (she was not quite 26 when she died of leukaemia), working with students and staff to establish and publish the first two issues of the *ANU HJ* was one of her happiest experiences. Her vision and hard work were crucial to those early issues, and I like to think that her example helped sustain the Journal in its later years. The second issue in 1965 was a particular joy for Anne, as the Irish Ambassador Eoin MacWhite, himself a historian, became a strong supporter, launching the issue at the Irish Embassy (Figure 3). MacWhite's lecture to the ANU Historical Society in September 1965, entitled 'Ireland in Russian Eyes under the Tsars', featured as the first article.

6 A Kingston, 'Search for Identity: The Role of the Negro Church', *Melbourne Historical Journal*, no. 4 (1964), 45–51. Sadly, the editors omitted Anne's interesting discussion of James Baldwin's religious experience based on his essays and other writings.

7 ANU Historical Journal flyer: found in National Library of Australia holding of *ANU Historical Journal*, no. 4 (1967).



Figure 3: Anne Kingston and Irish Ambassador Dr Eoin MacWhite at the launch of the second issue of the ANU Historical Journal in 1965.

Source: *The Canberra Times*, 8 December 1965, 8.

As Ken wrote in his tribute to Anne in the *ANUJ* in 1968—the issue commemorated Anne’s life and involvement with the Journal—her initiative was crucial to its launch in 1964. ‘[H]ad it not been for her confidence and perseverance it might not have survived its initial difficulties’, observed Ken.⁸ I think Anne’s desire to establish the Journal was her way of showing gratitude for the happiness and fulfilment she experienced studying history and from the friendship of those who taught it. It was a happiness we shared together, and which I have never forgotten.

In her work as editor, and in her (and my) studies with Ken, and later Manning, Don Baker, Eric Fry, Barbara Penny, Bruce Kent, Daphne Gollan and others for the MA Qualifying course, Anne discovered a love for historical research. She became determined to undertake research in American history, initially in the American Collection of the National Library of Australia. Working with the guidance of her excellent supervisor Hector Kinloch, who had replaced Ken as the resident Americanist, she began work on an MA thesis on the topic of slavery in British colonial New York.⁹ It was a project that, as Ken later wrote, allowed her to explore ‘the operations of justice and injustice, hatred and compassion’.¹⁰ We all believed that she would make a significant contribution to the field and become a fine historian. It was not to be.

In a number of ways, the first issue of the *ANUJ* had wide support within the then ANU community. While it is not entirely clear how the Journal was financed each year, the first issue contains a list of ‘private donors’ who had generously supported the Journal. These included the Vice-Chancellor Sir Leonard Huxley, Registrar/Secretary Ross Hohnen, Registrar of the Institute of Advanced Studies David Hodgkin, University Librarian JJ Graneek and a number of ANU academics and others, as well as the two leading Canberra bookshops: Cheshire’s and Verity Hewitt’s. If there were individual donations in later years, they went undocumented. One of the mementoes that survives the 1960s is an old cigar box that we made into a moneybox to elicit donations (Figure 4).

8 KS Inglis, ‘Anne Fraser’, *ANU Historical Journal*, no. 5 (1968), 5–6; Manning Clark, ‘Anne Fraser’, *ANU Historical Journal*, no. 5 (1968), 6.

9 See the online *Australian Dictionary of Biography* for Lucy Kinloch’s 2017 entry on Hector Kinloch.

10 KS Inglis, ‘Anne Fraser’, *ANU Historical Journal*, no. 5 (1968), 6. For a very preliminary view of her thesis topic, see Anne’s edited lecture, ‘The Negro in Colonial New York, 1664–1776’, *ANU Historical Journal*, no. 5 (1968), 7–15.



Figure 4: ‘Buddy can you spare a dime for the ANU Historical Society?’ Cigar moneybox made by the ANU Historical Society (probably Anne Kingston) in 1964–65.

Collection: Private collection of Ron Fraser, currently on loan to the ANU School of History.

Beyond donations, the university did provide some financial support to the Journal. In a memorandum dated May 1968, Colin Plowman, Academic Registrar and a strong supporter of student ventures, endorsed a suggestion from the Vice-Chancellor that the university might grant \$120 towards the cost of the Journal (it seems safe to assume it was granted).

Table 1: Identified institutional grants to the *ANU Historical Journal*, 1964–70.

| Number | Publication costs | Grants |
|-------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1 (1964) | \$362 | SRC* \$60 Faculty of Arts \$70 |
| 2 (1965–66) | \$460 | SRC \$40 History Department \$50 |
| 3 (1966) | \$720 | SRC \$40 |
| 4 (1967) | \$802.51 | SRC \$60 Other income (excluding sales) \$170 |
| 5 (1968) | No known information available | ANU Vice-Chancellor, \$120 |
| 6 (1969) | No known information available | SRC \$190 |
| 7 (1970) | No known information available | SRC \$174 |

Source: Compiled by author from private papers and university records.

*The SRC was the elected Students’ Representative Council.

In addition to these funds, the SRC guaranteed a bank overdraft of \$200 for the Society in 1967, but it is unknown whether this was ever used. Plowman's memorandum also notes that the increased cost of production was a result of both general cost increases and 'the adoption of an improved format for Numbers 3 and 4'—a format the Journal retained for a number of years. Sales of the *ANUJ* would have helped (for example, in 1967, 570 copies of number 4 were for sale at 80 cents for students and \$1 for others), but might not have reduced the deficit substantially. However, the editors eventually included paid advertising from academic publishers, which must have helped alleviate their financial position. Whatever the financial vicissitudes, the *ANUJ* stayed afloat for another 18 years.

There were of course other student publications at ANU in the 1960s, but only one other had a similar 'academic' character: the Law Faculty's *Federal Law Review*, which coincidentally also began in 1964. While it had a student editor and other student officers and advisers, the majority of the articles in the first edition were by distinguished lawyers, apart from five substantial case notes by students or recent students. It also clearly had greater financial backing.¹¹

Looking back at the contributions to the *ANUJ* up to 1970, the last issue I read at the time (number 7), it seems to me that it succeeded in its first aim to provide a place for publication by aspiring historians and writers, many of whom went on to successful careers in history, politics and other fields, and in doing so saved good work from invisibility. In the period between 1964 and 1970, there were some 26 students (graduate and undergraduate) who wrote pieces but who were not ever involved in editorial work, making a total of 51 students known to have been actively involved with the Journal.

In those early years, a number of people seized the opportunities offered by the Journal, whether as authors or in an editorial capacity, or both.¹² Many of them became friends or at least much admired fellow students of mine and Anne's. One of the most rewarding friendships for us both was with Mother Pauline Kneipp, OSU, who worked closely with Anne on the second issue of the Journal.¹³ Another of the editors of that issue,

11 In later years, this successful academic journal has tended to be edited by members of the College of Law, with assistance from an Editorial Board of students and an Editorial Committee of academics.

12 For a list of editors and editorial committee members 1964–70, see Index.

13 Mother Pauline's Sydney University PhD thesis was on Australian and American Catholic reactions to European diplomatic crises 1935–39 (1974), and she later published a history of the Ursuline Order in Australia (1982). She also lectured at the University of New England from 1975 to 1985.

Zenta Liepa, remained a good friend of ours, although we frequently argued good-naturedly about politics (her political views were shaped by her experience as a refugee from—I think—Latvia). Both have now sadly died. The last of the 1965 editors was Robert Moss, who gained a first in history in 1967, and later wrote an MA thesis on Kwame Nkrumah, becoming a notable author and journalist on the right of the political spectrum in England.

Other history contemporaries not connected with the Journal, at least at that time, included Jill Waterhouse, who gained a first in history in 1966 and went on to study and lecture at Cambridge, later returning to Canberra and ANU. Margaret George was also memorable. In her too-short life—she died of diabetes-related heart disease in 1974—she was to make a real contribution to knowledge with her PhD thesis (1974), and later book, *Australia and the Indonesian Revolution* (1980). Another impressive contemporary was Maya Sapiets (later Tucker), who gained a PhD on women's magazines 1880–1914 and lectured at Melbourne University. Bill and Jan Gammage were important friends, as well as the late John Ritchie, then supervised by Manning. Another good friend was David Solomon, political journalist, lawyer and author, and John Iremonger, later a leading publisher who was a ball of energy for the Journal and many other projects.

As hoped by the first and subsequent editors, a number of established academics generously contributed to the Journal in its first seven years. These pieces, largely from ANU-affiliated historians, were welcome recognition of the Journal's effort to make a serious contribution to scholarship—'Mick' Williams, Tim Suttor, Bill Mandle, AM Healy and FB ('Barry') Smith all contributed valuable pieces in this period. One notable piece was Ken Inglis's 'Return to Gallipoli' in number 3, published shortly after he had become Professor of History at the University of Papua and New Guinea.¹⁴

The ANU Historical Society and its Journal continued to play a lively role in the life of the university for some time. In 1970, *Woroni* considered the Society 'one of the largest and most vigorous societies on campus'. Alongside the publication of the Journal, it was well known for its staff and student functions—including an entertaining annual hockey match

14 Reprinted in John Lack, ed., *ANZAC Remembered: Selected Writings of K. S. Inglis* (Parkville: History Department, University of Melbourne, 1998).

during Orientation Week—and regular film screenings, advertised in *The Canberra Times* with admission of 25 cents—which included *Lawrence of Arabia*, *Major Dundee* and *The Wild One*.¹⁵

My and Anne's experience of the Journal and the History Department in 1963–67 helped inform my own attitude to teaching history at the University of New England (UNE) and Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education (DDIAE) in the 1970s and early 1980s, although I am sorry to say we did not set up a student history journal.¹⁶ I expect that ANU history students and staff will make the new journal even more vibrant than the old.

Ron Fraser. At ANU, Ron studied law, English literature and history (MA Qual), and completed an MLitt in Victorian Studies (Keele). After working in ANU administration, he briefly tutored in history at ANU (1968) and UNE (1974), and lectured in humanities (history and some literature and politics) at DDIAE (now University of Southern Queensland, USQ) (1975–83). Ron ran unsuccessfully as the Australian Labor Party candidate for the state seat of Toowoomba South in 1980. Following admission as a barrister and solicitor, and a Diploma in Public Law (ANU), he worked in the Ombudsman's Office, the Administrative Review Council and the Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department. Current interests are justice for refugees and Manning Clark House.

15 *Woroni*, 25 February 1970, 13.

16 Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education (DDIAE) became the University of Southern Queensland (USQ).

Old and new Australia

Alastair Davidson

ANUHI Founding Editor, 1964

The first issue of the *ANU History Journal* (1964–87), which Ron Fraser, Anne Kingston and I edited, looks quite artisanal with its blue and white cardboard cover and its typed content. Dusting it off, I wonder what I could write about it without claiming too much. Almost certainly, few of the articles in it remain compulsory reading, even for apprentice historians. So what is its significance among the thousands of journals that have seen the light and, like shooting stars, had but an ephemeral life?

Fifty plus years after we set it up, and without the sense of continuity that Ron Fraser has had—I have lived in France for nigh on 20 years and was never a keeper of the archive—I have decided to write, not of the Journal's 'prehistory' per se, but about the historical milieu that accompanied its birth. I am interested in the people and the traditions, old and emerging, that made the *ANUHI* possible, and which might also remind me why I still believe the Journal played a very small but meaningful part in the sea change in the study of history in Australia.

My take, of course, is 'presentist'. When the ruling Australian orthodoxy today includes Tom Griffiths' presentist and literary approach, it is salutary to remember what it meant to be a historian in Australia before the sea change; and perhaps too long after it. The story that follows is how I recall it all in 1958–66 when I was first at the Canberra University College (CUC), and then at The Australian National University (ANU). In that time, Australia and Australian historians were part of a derivative and parochially Anglo-Saxon culture where all roads led to Britain and to Oxbridge, whose standards and canons were those of the imperial world. If you were 'any good', you went to the 'Mother Country' to do further studies; though not necessarily a PhD, which was still often considered some sort of Germanic/American new-fangledness.

Perhaps unjustly, when we, the early products of the PhD programs of ANU, entered the academy, we muttered darkly about professors who had done their PhDs in Britain, then returned straight home to chairs

and never did anything thereafter. As I realised 10 years later, the real story was much more complex. Many of the history professors who were in situ after 1966 had, I believed by 1976, been so tetanised by all the erudition, standards and brilliance ‘over there’ that they developed writers’ block. Andrew Wells, an ANU PhD student writing of the labour historians of that era between 1950 and 1980 in *Labour History*—which was coeval with the *ANUJ*—emphasised how much even they, who were often Marxist, were in thrall to Oxbridge and London (a slightly different kettle of fish, as many of its teachers were Oxbridge rejects).

In sum, when the first issue of the *ANUJ* was published in 1964, Australia was still largely a world in which history writing aped that taught in the ‘Mother Country’, especially their commonsensical methods. Ranke might have been pleased: historians just read the archives, where the law of self-evidence applied. The fact that a historian might make sense of the evidence and craft the story they told was not made central to our concerns as students—we were to be mere conduit pipes for what had happened. Historiography, where the very notion of interpretation and critical inquiry was investigated, did not bulk large. Where it was considered, it was often stodgy. To put it brutally, the study of history could be boringly, Britishly, parochial. It took a brilliant, innovative teacher swimming against the current to bring it to life for their students. I remember reading *How Labour Governs* but not *What Happened in History*, despite Vere Gordon Childe being one of the Australian historians who had been ‘good enough’ to make it into the British academy.¹

Around 1948, however, a ripple began in the imperial pond of Anglo-Irish Australia. The war, and criticism of Britain’s treatment of Australians in it, came home with ex-servicemen who undertook university study under government training schemes. A growing sense of national identity was revealed in the *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948*—later the *Australian Citizenship Act 1948*—which foreshadowed political independence. National pride and a belief in the Australian ability to go at it alone, even in matters of the mind, lay behind the creation of the Australian ‘National’ University in 1946. However, *idées reçues* die hard. All the first directors of its schools were Australians who had followed the imperial path to success and now, as nationalists, wanted to come home and help. Something of the tensions engendered can be gauged from ‘Sir Keith’s’

1 Vere Gordon Childe, *How Labour Governs* (London: Labour Publishing Co., 1923); Vere Gordon Childe, *What Happened in History?* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1942).

(that is what we called him) *Country and Calling*.² The directors all had a deep love for Australia but were often guarded about its ability to meet international standards. This was especially so in the 'social sciences'.

Many benefited from the new Australian confidence. Quiet and modest and therefore quaintly traditional (they greeted each other with appellations like 'Mr Dean'), some found jobs after 1958 in the new universities that were created to meet 'national' needs. The Murray Report in 1957 had spawned these universities: Monash, then Latrobe, Flinders, Macquarie and so on. CUC became the School of General Studies when it amalgamated with ANU in 1960. By 1964, the era of mass education had arrived, but only just.

Canberra itself grew mightily, as Ulrich Ellis remembers in his memoirs: the 'nation for a continent' entailed centralisation and an enlarged federal state that began to supplant the dominance of the states. Most CUC and ANU students in 1958–64 were public servants. Many had recently arrived from the state capitals (to which they returned on weekends) and they were allowed to leave the office at 3.30 pm to crowd into the 4.15 pm lecture at Childers Street Hall. Most were studying economics, but a few did law and a tiny minority, history. I was one of the latter: a law/history student. We went to the Childers Street 'huts', tiny hot rooms, sleeping a dozen or so, identical to those in the migrant hostels. The word 'part-time' summed up our university lives, and in my case an approach to a kaleidoscopic life. In this, we were part of the newly fragmented postwar Australia, a real crucible of novelty and difference that was replacing the orders and certitudes of old Australia.

The prospect of building the nation had brought ex-servicemen not only to Canberra, but also into the universities. They were not the sons and daughters of the squattocracy, and they were sometimes 'on the Left'. The 'reffos' found a place as well. Young immigrants both fleeing Nazism or escaping their complicity with that regime, arrived *en masse* in Canberra (and the mythical Snowy). Some moved from being students in the late 1940s and 1950s to being university teachers. By the 1960s, some were professors. A photo of the graduating class at Trinity College in which Ken Inglis—so important to the *ANUHQ*—found himself, captures something of this new assortment of student and scholars.

2 WK Hancock, *Country and Calling* (London: Faber & Faber, 1954).

The first breach in the ‘traditional’ student body—of course, the sons and daughters of the old rural ruling class were still there—was not as important as the flood into the universities of the progeny of the massive assisted-migration programs of the 1950s and 1960s. On my desk, I have a photo of the first history honours year at ANU, taken in 1961 or 1962 (Figure 1). Except for one woman, all the others (four, including the photographer) were ten-pound fare Poms, and all but one were from working-class families. Our parents had fled the poverty, dullness and lack of opportunity of British life for the ‘happy mediocrity’ of Australia, where it was thought that you could easily find a job. This informed us too: we were not assiduous students intent on success or glittering prizes.



Figure 1: Honours history staff and students at Broulee in 1961.

Standing: Manning Clark, Don Baker, Malcolm Harrison, Alastair Davidson, Daphne Gollan and Dorothy Walker; crouching: Eric Fry, Keith Campbell and Tim Suttor. The photographer was probably Bob Reece or Geoffrey Fairbairn.

Collection: Private papers of Alastair Davidson.

With this motley lot of old and new Australians came a project to 'rediscover' Australian history. An Australian readership does not need to be told that there had already been Australian historians and historians of Australia of some note. It was the way in which Australia's history now became of central importance: the shift from Empire to the nation. At ANU, new frontiers and peoples increasingly became of historical interest, including the USSR and the US, together with the history of Empire and the Pacific.

The centrality of the History Department in this innovation was owed to Professor Manning Clark and his two volumes of *Select Documents of Australian History*.³ He and his colleagues transmitted a love and enthusiasm for Australia and its history to us. We read, learned and digested that history. And we got indigestion from the accompanying Barossa Pearl,⁴ the singing of folk songs newly disinterred by researchers at ANU, as we were led on discoveries of the South Coast. The major player in the 'return to Bungendore' week was one of the first ANU history honours students (Bob Reece)—whose honours studies combined history and the study of literature.⁵

Today we know that Clark had a particular vision of Australian history that many regarded, and still do regard, as idiosyncratic. But we should not forget that he came from the old Australia (he had made the pilgrimage to Oxbridge, which he revered). Nor that his early, still read, now disputed, articles on the convict origins were models of Anglo historical scholarship in their time. His colleagues in the department were exclusively Australian. Two, perhaps three, were scions of squatter families, their own family histories deeply buried in white Australia's past. They were not all Protestant, however. There was a Roman Catholic, a fervent convert, a Jewish communist, and so on. Clark had stuck his neck out making these appointments. His ANU allies in the rediscovery of Australia—

3 CMH Clark, *Select Documents in Australian History, 1788–1850* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1950).

4 First launched in Australia in 1956, the same year as the Melbourne Olympic Games, Barossa Pearl was a popular light and fruity sparkling wine.

5 During Bush Week, ANU students went on a day-long 'pilgrimage to Bungendore', a small historic town only 45 minutes drive from Canberra, as a way of celebrating the bush ethos. As well as kick-starting the local economy at the local pubs, students sometimes listened to a lecture, visited the cemetery, went on tours and picnics, and sung folk songs. In the late 1960s, as the number of students involved in the pilgrimage grew, the trip to Bungendore drew fierce criticism, especially from local residents, who were concerned about the dangerous and disorderly behaviour of hundreds of university students converging on the town.

AD Hope, Bob Brissenden and outsiders like David Campbell, Judah Waten and Barry Humphries—both reduplicated the traditional flavour and hinted at something more.

Alien Son was not on any reading list, but I read it after Manning had us meet Judah at dinner.⁶ For an ‘outsider’ like myself and many of the other immigrant sons, the story of the Jewish communist in Australia or the bizarre critic of everyday life, Barry Humphries, struck a deeply resonating chord. Given our assisted passage experiences—not easy but not racist either—we had usually held down jobs (and not just as holiday jobs) and were sometimes union members. We knew Australia as a place of struggle and conflict—beside ‘God’ professors like Manning, our heroes were people like Ian Turner, a mature-age PhD student, always ready to come down to give a seminar that left us breathless. He embodied some of the change and fragmentation taking place, as did his mate Edgar Waters, pioneer collector of Australian folklore and song. Ian was to-the-manner-born, but also a communist who had cleaned out railway carriages, and who participated in the disordering of the old Australia out of which the new national consciousness was being built.

Old myths were demolished and historians advocated a return to the archive. Noel Ebbels’ collection of labour history documents was set up as a heroic model to follow. This continuity with traditional methods led us to the archives then buried under External Affairs in Canberra, and later to the mythical Mitchell in Sydney. Presence in those places was a sign of seriousness.

On reflection, the real novelty was not this historiographical turn to Australia, or even the idea that we should tread where Thomas Berry had. That might never have given us the temerity, thechutzpah or even the desire to set up the *ANUHI*. Rather, it was Manning’s way of doing history, which he taught us delicately, often almost individually.

The first form this took was an emphasis on historiography, one of the courses that left a permanent impress on my mind. As always, lecturers were encouraged to teach what they thought doing history was. Manning had us read Gibbon, Prescott, Parkman and Motley.⁷ Inglis directed us to

6 Judah Waten, *Alien Son* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1952).

7 For example, Edward Gibbons, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–88); William H Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1943); Francis Parkman Jr, *France and England in North America* (1865–92); John Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1856).

Frederick Jackson Turner and Potter's *People of Plenty*.⁸ The object was that we understood that there is no single, true, incontrovertible story, only interpretations and, indeed, that everyone interprets, even the audience—the reader who completes the sense of any text. The authorit(arianism) of the discipline, with its *d'haut en bas* view of history, was coming to an end. Perhaps, by encouraging us to put ourselves in the place of the American historian of the Aztecs as he blindly galloped around on his horse, Manning was doing no more than encouraging the notion—to which he certainly adhered—that we can recreate an experience of the past.

We were also introduced to a *bête noire* of the British historical establishment, RG Collingwood, and to JB Bury's *Idea of Progress*,⁹ who were presented more favourably to my memory than contemporary British philosophers of history. On a personal level, Manning spent much time with me (or perhaps all of us?) on what it was to write history, making endless corrections along the lines that 'English is a German not a Latin language'. 'Write in the active voice'. 'Tell a story'. His concern with style reinforced—almost unconsciously—the idea that we each had our story to tell about what had, or was, happening. Among the literary figures we were encouraged to read were Furphy (for the birth of the nationally popular idiom), KS Pritchard, Henry Handel Richardson and Kenneth Slessor's *Five Bells*¹⁰—the last author alerting us to the problems of *dépaysement*.

Only when Manning started to publish his *History of Australia* did it become clear where he was going and how he was challenging Australian history written up to that time. His work was savagely criticised by the academy, traditional authorities in the lead. It is notable that they focused on the factual errors, not on the way he made sense of Australian history. Certainly, he departed from the tradition, symbolised by his retreat up the ladder to his eyrie in what is now Manning Clark House. He told his story of Australia, about where he came from, in a style that his critics missed entirely, but which made him internationally up-to-date if not welcome in the British academy. He eschewed mathesis—archival facts—in favour of poetry as the place of truth. He wrote a history of mentalities

8 David M Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

9 JB Bury, *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into its Origin and Growth* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1921).

10 Kenneth Slessor, *Five Bells: XX Poems* (Sydney: FC Johnson, 1939).

without reference to the Annales school's contemporary work. (As an aside, they too were excluded for a generation from the academy by the historians of the '*événementielle*', or the facts: no jobs for fools who try to make sense otherwise.) He hinted that today, to be a historian one must be a philosopher; that, in comparative perspective, was what all those passages about flaws in the clay amounted to. He made Australian history ex-centric or eccentric by looking in a new way. Only one book about his work, John Lechte's, ever acknowledged those mighty leaps.¹¹ But then Lechte would study in Paris and himself defect to French thought as a sociology professor.

You might wonder what Manning Clark's own view of history has to do with the *ANUJ* in 1964. After all, the first volume of Clark's *History* only appeared in 1962. The articles in the *ANUJ* seem quite traditional in their paraphernalia and their style, which has little of the poetic or even the baroque to it. And if a novel focus on the craft and the responsibility of the historian was being fostered in the History Department of that era, there is comparatively little evidence of it in the first issue. There is also little evidence that suggests a concern with any radically new angle or approach. It is written mainly in the limpid style of the time—mostly in good English. The articles are about what happened, without much sense that all that is being told is one person's story, more or less convincingly.

But it could also be argued that seeds were planted there, especially in the notion that to be a historian one had to read more than the archive. Literature and philosophy were valued as essential fields of inquiry for the historian. For me, Manning's teaching had encouraged a taste for experimentation and novelty as well as resistance to intimidation by the History machine. The *ANUJ* emerged at a time when students were expected to do their apprenticeship, sit at the feet of those who knew and, when allowed, finally to write for the recognised journals of the time. No one departed too far from the canon, especially not those wet behind the ears. Summed up, their voice was not heard until they learned to sing to the master discipline's tune.

11 John Lechte, *Politics and the Writing of Australian History: An Introductory Study* (Melbourne: Melbourne University, Political Science Department, 1979).

But we had a window of opportunity. We were being encouraged in a discipline where the lines of separation from philosophy, literature and social theory (anthropology and archaeology) were becoming blurred. Staff members backed us and wrote for the *Journal*, gaining us credibility.

No longer was it cretinism not to believe that all was resolved—truth separated from untruth—by pointing at some conclusive document in the archive, Ranke fashion. (Do not misunderstand me here, Marc Bloch's painstaking work on false documents, the honesty and responsibility of historians for what they write, was something I applauded, but it too was a challenge to the authority of the document. After all, though I did not know it at the time, the theory being restated by the 1960s was that the meaning of any text is completed by the audience.) This death of the author(ity) accompanied the empowerment of hitherto silenced social players. Among them were history students whose role had previously been to be quiet, listen and learn.

The reappearance of the *ANUJ* might again give a voice to students whose views appear too far from those reigning in the discipline. I hope it will remain true to the spirit of 1964: that history has never been finally told until all voices are heard. Today, the imagination has been globalised and our horizons are vast compared with the more limited national vision of 1964. We were perhaps naïve and insufficiently aware of our own lack of preparation. It was perhaps hubris to think that we had much to say. But we had something to say and we said, at least some of it, in the *ANUJ*.

Alastair Davidson (PhD, ANU 1966) is the author of 17 books and over 100 articles and chapters in several different languages. He was Professor of Government at the University of Sydney; Professor of Politics and Director of European Studies at Monash University; Inaugural Professor of Citizenship Studies and Human Rights at Swinburne University of Technology; Fellow of the Human Rights program in the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton; Wallenberg Professor of Human Rights at Rutgers University; and Research Professor of Citizenship and Human Rights in the University of Wollongong. He was also foundation coeditor of *Intervention*, *Thesis Eleven*, *Australian Left Review* and a number of other radical Australian journals.

Memories of the *ANU Historical Journal*

Caroline Turner

ANU HJ Editor, 1966–68

When I started to think about my memories of the *ANU HJ* in the late 1960s, the first people who came to mind were Anne Kingston and Margaret George. Talented and inspiring young historians, Anne and Margaret played leading roles in the formation and early life of the ANU Historical Society and the Journal. Both later pursued postgraduate research at The Australian National University (ANU) in then emerging historical fields: American history and Australian diplomatic history related to Indonesia, respectively. Both also sadly died very young: Anne aged 25 in 1968, and Margaret aged 28 in 1974.

An essay by Anne, titled ‘The Negro in Colonial New York, 1664–1776’, was published posthumously in the *ANU HJ* in 1968. Ken Inglis described Anne’s pivotal role in founding the Journal in the same issue. He also noted that Anne’s MA would have been the first completed thesis in American history at ANU and resulted from her commitment to explore issues of ‘justice and injustice, hatred and compassion’.¹ When I came to ANU as an undergraduate in 1966, I knew Anne as the founder of the Journal (with Ron Fraser and Alastair Davidson) and I remember her speaking at one of the Society meetings. She was, as Manning Clark wrote, someone who drew people to her.²

Margaret George’s PhD, undertaken in the Research School of Pacific Studies at ANU, was awarded posthumously in 1974. It was published by Melbourne University Press in 1980 under the title *Australia and the Indonesian Revolution* and is considered an important contribution to the history of Australia’s relations with one of our nearest neighbours.³

1 KS Inglis, ‘Anne Fraser’, *ANU Historical Journal*, no. 5 (1968), 5–6.

2 Manning Clark, ‘Anne Fraser’, *ANU Historical Journal*, no. 5 (1968), 6.

3 Margaret George, *Australia and the Indonesian Revolution* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press in association with the Australian Institute of International Affairs, 1980).

I remember Margaret as an extremely generous mentor who encouraged me as a 'fresher' undergraduate straight from high school. Margaret was a key member of the Journal's editorial committee from 1966 to 1967. We remained friends and I visited her when I went overseas to undertake postgraduate research. She was then in the Netherlands researching Dutch–Indonesian relations between 1945 and 1949, having learned Dutch to do so.⁴ She was always enthusiastic and optimistic about the significance of history in comprehending the challenging questions of our times.

Although Anne and Margaret came immediately to mind, there are many others I remember in relation to the Journal and the Society—too many to name here, but who included Ron Fraser, Jill Waterhouse (before she went to study at Cambridge), Penny Joy, Rosemary Auchmuty, Iain McCalman (who I later worked with at the ANU Humanities Research Centre when he was Director there and I was Deputy Director), John Darling, Ian Britain, Helen McCallum, John Iremonger, Bill Garnett, Gerald Garnett and Martin Gascoigne (whose mother, Rosalie Gascoigne, was the first female artist to represent Australia at the Venice Biennale in 1982).

I served on the editorial committee for the *ANUJ* for three years from 1966 to 1968, and my first publication was in the 1970 issue. My main memories of the editorial committee—very much a student-run initiative with a strong undergraduate involvement—are of its inclusiveness. I recall meetings of the committee held in Margaret George's room at Bruce Hall and one held outdoors in the warm sunshine of a Canberra spring at John Iremonger's house near the campus, where we all sat on the lawn and discussed the submitted essays. John, a postgraduate student, helped establish Australian National University Press in 1967 and later his own press. Other students brought publishing experience. Penny Joy, an honours student in history, worked on both the student newspaper *Woroni* and *Aboriginal Quarterly*.

The context in which the Journal was created and existed was a period when Australian society and universities were undergoing fundamental change. Demographic change was underpinned by new immigrants in the postwar years, many from Europe rather than Britain. Although many students were the first generation in their family to go to university, this

4 'Dr Margaret Lorraine George (1945–74)', *National Archives of Australia*, accessed at www.naa.gov.au/about-us/grants/margaret-george/bio.aspx.

was becoming an aspiration for the baby boomer generation. While the student population was still small, students in the 1960s came to ANU from all over Australia and the world. For example, my husband, Glen Barclay, came from the New Zealand Treasury to do a PhD in the early 1960s. ANU in the mid-1960s was expanding rapidly. SG Foster and Margaret Varghese note that in 1961, one year after the Canberra University College amalgamated with ANU, there were 948 undergraduates, mostly part-time public servants. The ratio of men to women students was then three to one. By 1965, there were 2,387 undergraduates and those who were full-time (mostly in the 17–21 age group) for the first time outnumbered the generally older part-time students. There were more women, although men were still the majority.⁵

From the mid-1960s the numbers of undergraduates studying history grew substantially. History began to reflect changes in the contemporary world—the popularity of American history, for example, was a direct reflection of the growing significance of the US in Australian politics and culture in the postwar era. Asian history, Indigenous history and later, in the 1970s, women's studies also began to be part of courses. Manning Clark was a major influence in the growing field of Australian history and also open to new histories.⁶ Manning was part of the cultural delegation I led to China in 1984 when I was a member of the Australia-China Council (the Australian Government body devoted to developing cultural relations with China). His short history of Australia had been translated into Chinese and was in use in university classes there and it was fascinating watching Manning lecture to Chinese students who, at the time, wore Mao suits. I mention this later trip to China because it illustrates something of the sense of discovery we felt in pioneering new ways of thinking about Australia and Australian history, including Australia's history and place in the Asia-Pacific region, a concept that became part of our thinking in the era in which the first series of the *ANUHI* was published.

5 SG Foster and Margaret M Varghese, *The Making of The Australian National University* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2009), 197–98.

6 Manning and his wife Dymphna, the latter an impressive linguist, generously invited honours students to their Robin Boyd–designed home in Forrest and house at the coast.

Australian history as a discipline expanded its parameters to take account of demographic and geopolitical changes in the 1960s. Our knowledge of Aboriginal culture and thus of Australian history was also being dramatically reshaped in the late 1960s by archaeological discoveries by Professor John Mulvaney and others.

My main field of study was American history. The early issues of the *ANUHI* published several articles in this area, especially relating to black history in the context of the US civil rights movement, which had inspired many of us. We were also aware of the important role ANU played as a newly founded centre for Asian and Pacific studies with students coming from around Australia to study Asian languages and history. Professor Wang Gungwu, who had been appointed to the Chair of Far Eastern History at ANU in 1968, was a towering scholarly presence. The interest in Asia inspired by such scholars became an important part of my own world view. The *ANUHI* did not immediately reflect this new interest in Asia, but there was an emerging appreciation in the late 1960s that we needed to know more about the histories, cultures and contemporary developments in the region in which Australia is geographically situated. Margaret George's interest in Indonesia was certainly my first exposure to the history of Indonesia—a country that later became very close to my heart in the 1990s when I was a member of the Australian Government's Australia-Indonesia Institute.

Students in the late 1960s at ANU were engaged in passionate debates, especially on current issues including the Vietnam War and Aboriginal rights. Conscription had been reintroduced in Australia in 1964 and in the following year overseas service in Vietnam was introduced for conscripts. Many of the men in our cohort at ANU had to go through conscription ballots.⁷ Demonstrations were held against the war, including on the occasion of President Lyndon Johnson's visit to Canberra in 1966.⁸ Many students, including myself, were also involved with demonstrations for Land Rights for Aboriginal people and in Abschol

7 The Australian War Memorial website states: 'From 1965 to 1972, 15,381 national servicemen served in the Vietnam War, with 200 killed and 1,279 wounded. Nearly 60,000 Australians served in the Vietnam War'. 'National Service Scheme', *Australian War Memorial*, accessed at www.awm.gov.au/articles/encyclopedia/conscription/vietnam.

8 This was the occasion when ANU student Megan Stoyles wore the t-shirt reading 'Make Love not War', which became an international media sensation. See Megan Doherty, 'Fifty Years Since the Make Love Not War T-Shirt caused a stir around the world', *Canberra Times*, 19 October 2016, accessed at www.canberratimes.com.au/national/act/fifty-years-since-the-make-love-not-war-tshirt-caused-a-stir-around-the-world-20161019-gs5jcv.html.

(Aboriginal Scholarships), which had begun in the 1950s as an initiative of the National Union of Australian University Students. In May 1967 over 90 per cent of Australians voted 'yes' in a constitutional referendum that paved the way for further rights for Aboriginal people.⁹ The ANU Chancellor HC Coombs was a major advocate for Indigenous rights and I remember Aboriginal poet Kath Walker (Oodgeroo Noonuccal) telling me of the importance of his work as a supporter of Indigenous organisations and in influencing government.

The years I was an undergraduate at ANU from 1966 also coincided with a move for university reforms—this was particularly so in 1968 and the themes of student revolutions in Europe were much discussed.

When I recently opened the box containing my copies of the *ANUHI*, I also found a plastic badge with the initials 'CCUR', which stood for 'Coordinating Committee for University Reform'. The movement for university reform at ANU in the late 1960s consisted mostly of writing reports and meeting with senior staff including the Vice-Chancellor, Sir John Crawford (1968–73), who was supportive of students being involved in university planning. The more violent sit-ins and occupations, including the famous occupation of the Chancellery in 1974, occurred after Crawford left ANU.

The movement for reforms in terms of gender equality also began to gain momentum in the late 1960s. The presence of women in senior university positions was still a relatively recent phenomenon. Hanna Neumann had been appointed the first female professor at ANU, as Professor of Mathematics, in 1964. One inspiring female lecturer was Daphne Gollan in Russian history. Another was Beryl Rawson in the Classics department. ANU was not alone among universities in having fewer female role models for young women, but there was some improvement in the 1970s with the introduction of women's studies and momentum for societal reforms such as equal pay.¹⁰

9 This result allowed the Commonwealth to make laws for Aboriginal people. See Matthew Thomas, 'The 1967 Referendum', *Parliament of Australia*, accessed at www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/FlagPost/2017/May/The_1967_Referendum.

10 Ann Curthoys (who later held the Manning Clark Chair of History) and Susan Magarey founded the program. Magarey notes Daphne Gollan introduced her to the Canberra Women's Liberation group in 1970. See Ilona Wallace, 'Susan Magarey: Australian Feminism and Dangerous Ideas', *Adelaide Review*, 1 May 2015, accessed at www.adelaidereview.com.au/features/general/susan-magarey-women-studies-dangerous-ideas-profile-australia-feminism/.

I recently discussed why history seemed such a relevant subject to study in the late 1960s with Penny Joy, who served on the editorial committee in 1968. As Penny stated, part of the reason history was deemed significant was because it was a way of making sense of a rapidly changing world, especially in the era of the Cold War. We both agreed that in the twenty-first century, and especially in this current era of 'post-truth', people's historical awareness and knowledge of context and history is diminishing and serious research skills may be declining in the age of the internet. As Penny put it, this makes history journals such as the *ANUHIJ* even more relevant today, especially if they deal with the importance of scholarly research.¹¹

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11 Penny Joy in email correspondence to Caroline Turner on 30 May 2018.

My brilliant apprenticeship

Ian Britain

ANUJ Editor, 1968–69

Bland, clinical spaces, like science labs, can be a hothouse of rich intellectual activity, and the same is true in the humanities: you don't need dreaming spires. It was in one of the seminar rooms of the Haydon-Allen Building, where no ornament could distract you but the heavy glass ashtrays on the pinewood tables, that I had my baptism into the world of the *ANU Historical Journal* (*ANUJ*). The year was 1967, the Journal was in its fourth year of existence, and a meeting of its 'Editorial Committee' was advertised as taking place in that scrupulously unadorned room. Part of the agenda for the meeting was to recruit new members for the committee. I was a nervy, nerdy first-year history honours student, thirsting for companionship outside of regular classes. (I had come up from Melbourne on a scholarship, and had no long-term friends in Canberra.) Joining the team of the Journal might not have offered the challenges to me of, say, the rowing club, but it provided a kind of professional apprenticeship along with easy conviviality, and so I decided to take the plunge.

My only previous experience had been editing a magazine at school, which mainly meant writing the editorial and selecting the essays, stories and poems to be published. The crucial 'technicalities' of copy editing, proofreading and layout had been left to the master-in-charge. As a committee member of the *ANUJ*, I was initiated into the mysteries of these processes under the charismatic guidance of the managing editor for that year, Jeremy Madin, from whom I also learned how to liaise with the printers (then in faraway Geelong) and to go about seeking advertising from other publications or local publishers and bookstores. I was privileged as well to have a coursework essay of mine published in the Journal's pages, by which alchemical means it was suddenly transformed into an 'article'—the first in my academic career. It was on the fairly obscure topic of two early Christian heresies, the Novationists and the Donatists, and it grew out of the marvellous honours seminar on medieval church history

conducted by the young John Molony. That was the remarkable thing about honours courses: the degree of specialisation and adventurousness they encouraged at such an early stage in one's intellectual formation.

Another article of mine, on the slightly less obscure topic of 'Victoria, the Chinese and the Federal Idea, 1887–1888', was to appear in 1969; it grew out of the forensically intense course that Barbara Penny devised for the honours stream in Australian history. In 1968, I had graduated to being coeditor of the *Journal* (with Jeremy) and the year after I was repeating the role with Iain McCalman—who has since gone on to a brilliant academic career and become a lifelong friend of mine. I am afraid we did not always forbear from publishing our own stuff in the *Journal* but, true to our professional aspirations, it had to be vetted by others on the committee or an independent referee. And the committee for 1969 was studded with future stars in academic and non-academic fields, notably Rosemary Auchmuty, who has become a leading law professor and pioneer of feminist legal studies in the UK, and Michael Thawley, who was our ambassador in Washington between 2000 and 2005, and later head of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet under Tony Abbott.

Little did I appreciate it at the time, but five to 10 years down the track, when first studying and then teaching at a 'dreaming spires' university in England, it began to occur to me what an extraordinary document the *ANUJ* was, and what an extraordinary culture it reflected. The undergraduates I taught at my English university were the pick of the crop, and some of them would go on to brilliant academic careers themselves, yet their preliminary training had nothing of the professional rigour, the immersion in original research and its protocols, that were standard characteristics of the Australian history honours degree. They could coast along—and even come out with a first-class degree—without ever having glanced at a primary source or known how to fashion a footnote. The weekly essays they produced for their tutors were often on magisterially broad topics (Irish Home Rule, the Bolshevik Revolution, the evolution of the Welfare State) and gave them an excellent grounding in stylish, compact reporting—all you needed to make an effective civil servant or journalist. But precious few of these exercises would have had any chance of qualifying as a scholarly article.

Sometimes we history honours students in Australia might be at risk of turning into footnote fetishists, but—especially in a department presided over by Manning Clark—there was no danger of our surrendering to jargon and ignoring the role of our discipline as a branch of literature. (Compare

with what some so-called literature departments were inculcating in budding ‘cultural theorists’ just a few years later.) On looking back at my own contributions to the *Journal*, I think I erred on the side of fetishism, but my favourite articles from the 1960s phase—Iain McCalman on Catholic emancipation, Robert Moss on the Indian Mutiny and Mark Downing on the appeasers in Britain in the 1930s—managed to combine wide-ranging scholarship with a high sense of style. I would have to admit that my top favourite, Bill Mandle’s trenchant and sparkling take on WH Auden and the ‘Failure of the Left’, had no footnotes at all and was by a former Oxford undergraduate and currently one of our lecturers. It was our practice to feature at least one article a year by an ‘established academic’—and we indulged Bill’s ‘look, no hands’ approach.

Much further down the track, I had occasion to be grateful in a very practical sense for the training I had received with the *ANUJHJ*. It was the end of 2001 and I was appointed editor of Australia’s longest-running independent literary magazine, *Meanjin*. It was a daunting responsibility, and the position had been keenly contested. I had to prove myself very quickly, as the appointments committee had taken a punt on someone with a solid academic background but very little editorial experience. The little that I had acquired, however, as a result of that stint in Canberra decades before, turned out to be more than enough to equip me instantly for the challenges involved, and I ended up staying in the position for an exhilarating six years.

At a time now when print journals and specialist honours courses at university seem to be threatened by the same fate as ashtrays in our civilisation, we have great reason to be heartened by the revival of the *ANUJHJ*. Long may it prosper in this new incarnation, and be as fertile for its team of readers, writers and editors as the original has proven to be.

Ian Britain completed his honours degree in history at The Australian National University in 1971 and was coeditor of the *ANUJHJ* in 1968 and 1969. He studied for his doctorate at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in the mid to late 1970s, and was subsequently a lecturer in history and politics there. He then lectured in history at the University of Melbourne for several years, and was an Australian Research Council Senior Research Fellow at Monash University before taking up the editorship of *Meanjin*. He is the author of (among other books) *Once An Australian: Journeys with Barry Humphries, Clive James, Germaine Greer and Robert Hughes*, and he is currently completing a biography of the Australian artist Donald Friend.

The past is another truth

Rosemary Auchmuty

ANUHHJ Editor, 1970

The discipline of history was undergoing a revolution when I began my undergraduate studies at The Australian National University (ANU) in the late 1960s. Of course I did not realise it then, nor did I appreciate how different ANU was from more traditional history departments, though I think that some of our teachers were aware they were in the vanguard of change. My father was an old-style historian and for him, as for most historians, history was the story of public events and public figures—politics, war and great men. Social history was in its infancy, and women's history did not exist. But at ANU we studied the civil rights movement in American history, which my father thought was not history at all, but current affairs. We studied Pacific history, which my father thought was anthropology. And in my honours year, I took 'Literature and History' for my special subject, and wrote a long essay on the work of Virginia Woolf, Elizabeth Bowen and Rosamond Lehmann. The women's movement had started, and I never did 'straight' history again—always social, always feminist. A door had opened and ANU swept me through it.

I chose to do a history degree because, like so many people, I had had an inspirational teacher at school. I had no idea about a future career (except that I did not want to teach), so I simply opted for what I loved. I realise now that this was naïve, in that there is very little one can do with a history degree *except* teach (or, in Canberra, join the public service, which in fact I did for the three months between graduating with an undergraduate degree and starting my PhD). But I also see that I was victim of the general lack of career guidance at the time for young women (who were, after all, only going to marry—or teach). My father tried to stop me from going to ANU; he had once reviewed a book by Manning Clark rather critically and Manning fell out with him, and my father was worried that he would also take against me. This did not happen. Manning never taught me, but I evidently got on good terms with him in my undergraduate years as he chose to supervise my PhD, even though it had nothing to do with Australian history.

My long-term memory has always been terrible, moulded by selective suppression of unhappy or discordant experiences. (My short-term memory is excellent, so I did well at exams.) My overwhelming recollection of my years at ANU is one of misery and loneliness as a coastal fish (I came from Newcastle) quite literally out of water (you could not even swim in Lake Burley Griffin). In Newcastle, I had a close circle of schoolfriends and a secure place in the middle class of a largely working-class city. In Canberra, every other student seemed to be the offspring of a diplomat or politician. They were all privately educated and frighteningly articulate. Beside them, I felt like I knew nothing, that I was nothing.

Years later, as a university teacher myself, I came to realise that most young people feel unsure of themselves when they first leave home for higher education. What I had not realised, though, until last year when the editors approached me with evidence of my involvement with the ANU Historical Society and the *ANUHIJ*, was that actually I was not always miserable and alone. I did not spend all my waking hours in the library preparing for classes (a solitary exercise in those days), sitting alone at meals in Bruce Hall, or wandering round the shopping mall by myself on Friday nights. I remember doing all those things, but at the same time, I seem to have been involved in the community of the History Department, putting myself forward for posts, bossily presiding over meetings and helping to edit a journal. I can now put faces to the names on the editorial committee and recall happy experiences: cycling round the lake with Caroline Turner and witty conversations (his wit, not mine) with Dennis Shoemith. I wish I had remembered these experiences and achievements long ago. I would have felt differently about my student years. I did enjoy my studies; and now I see I enjoyed the extracurricular activities too. Pity it is too late to put the editorship on my CV.

The *ANUHIJ* was basically a student journal. The number 6 issue (published in 1969 when I was in my second year) was fronted by an article by Bill Mandle, then a senior lecturer, also the historian who taught the Literature and History option I took in my final year. The second contribution was by a visiting professor from the US. But the other five articles were by students, including a first-year undergraduate. I do not think it occurred to me at the time that my contemporaries—people like Iain McCalman, Ian Britain and Susan Eade (née Magarey), a pioneer of women's studies in Australia—were going to become the scholars and professors of the future.

The following year, 1970, I coedited the Journal with Helen McCallum. This time the leading article was by Helen's future PhD supervisor, FB ('Barry') Smith, then Senior Fellow in the Research School of Social Sciences in the Institute of Advanced Studies. It was followed by a piece by the visiting professor from Canada and three articles by students, including one by Caroline Turner, my friend from Bruce Hall. One of the book reviews was by John Thompson, another friend, who went on to have a long career at the National Library of Australia.

Two things strike me as I turn the pages of these beautifully produced journals. First, the range of contributors is impressive. To be able to include work by students at every level alongside that of senior academics is testimony to the quality of the students and teaching. I do not see this range in journals today. Second, the content of the contributions is revealing of the ANU History Department's interests and approaches to history. Mandle writes on 'Auden and the Failure of the Left' and honours graduate KS Oldmeadow on 'Petrarch and Leavis: A Perspective on Literature and History'. Other articles focused on race issues in the US and Australia, on British social history and on Russian populism. There was comparative work, twentieth-century history and historiography. These were state-of-the-art topics. There was no straight political history, nothing on war.

After I finished my PhD, I took a lecturing post in Wollongong in an Institute of Higher Education, now part of the university, that had formerly been a teacher's college. There I learned to teach, and discovered—surprise, surprise—that this was in fact what I was good at. With colleagues at the university, we ran what must have been one of the first women's studies courses in the country. When my contract was not renewed after three years, I went to London. There I taught various history and women's studies classes in the then burgeoning adult education sector, and later for the Open University. The women's movement was in full swing and it was easier to put together a portfolio of part-time teaching than to try to get a full-time post in history with all the British competition. Or perhaps I just did not try, because I was enjoying myself so much being a feminist. All my life I have had to be encouraged to step up to challenges or, more prosaically, to take my career seriously. I do not think this was just a personal failing; I think I was a woman of my time and class, seduced by the ease of getting work of some sort in the 1970s and 1980s (so unlike the instrumental approach of students of today), but held back by the low expectations of women, discouragement and active opposition to aiming for serious jobs.

I moved into law following a stint on jury service and a yearning for further intellectual challenge. The polytechnic where I did my part-time LLB offered me a job when I completed my degree; law was at a much less advanced stage of development in higher education at the time and I was the only person in my department with a PhD. Now, after 30 years in law schools, I have come back to history as my primary research discipline. With a colleague from Birmingham, Erika Rackley, I have coordinated a project called Women's Legal Landmarks to celebrate the centenary of women's admission into the legal profession in the UK and Ireland. A hundred participants have 'landmarked' important events in women's legal history, so often ignored or misrepresented, to set down an accurate record for the scholars and citizens of tomorrow.

Last year I returned to ANU for the first time in decades. The campus was much changed: there were three times as many buildings; Bruce Hall had been razed to the ground. Seeing the places where I had spent six such formative years of my life forced me to confront my past. It was a moving experience. So was looking at these journals: here it is in print and I cannot deny it.

Part of the appeal of history lies in its capacity to move us: these were real people; these things really happened. We see patterns of behaviour in the past; we find chains of cause and effect, but they are never entirely predictable. So, subjecting my past to the historian's critical scrutiny, can I see how my days as a student historian moulded my future life? Well, they made me a good historian, if I say so myself. From the start of my academic career, I espoused a radical view of the ends and methodologies of history precisely because these were what I was exposed to as an undergraduate. And they helped to make me a teacher, though perhaps that was going to happen anyway, since that is what girls did. The women's liberation movement was also a major influence but, as I approach the end of my academic life, I realise I owe ANU much more than I thought.

Rosemary Auchmuty is a professor of law at the University of Reading. Prior to moving into law she wrote widely in the areas of women's history and children's literature, including a school textbook, *Australia's Daughters* (1978), and two feminist studies of girls' school stories. As well as property law and gender and law, Rosemary's research interests include sexuality and feminist legal history. She is currently joint coordinator of a 100-strong collaboration called the Women's Legal Landmarks Project, a major historical collection in book and website formats, planned to celebrate the centenary in 2019 of women's admission to the legal profession in the UK and Ireland.

An old and agreeable companion, 1972–74

Doug Munro

ANUHHJ Editor, 1972–74

The *ANU Historical Journal* (*ANUHHJ*) entered my life well before I arrived at The Australian National University (ANU) as a Masters Qualifying student in history in 1972. In fact, the Journal was indirectly responsible for the existence of the *Flinders Journal of History and Politics* (1968–2015) (*FJHP*). It was 1968 when, as a second-year undergraduate at Flinders University, I browsed the periodical accessions in the library and stumbled across the latest issue of the *ANUHHJ*. As I read through the elegant journal, a thought crossed my mind: if the ANU students had their own history journal, then what was stopping Flinders from having one too? It was as simple as that; the ANU history students had theirs, we should have ours.

Soon after, I discovered other student journals—the *Melbourne Historical Journal* (*MUJ*) and the *Queensland Historical Review*—but the impetus for *FJHP* came directly from the *ANUHHJ*. Fellow student Jim Cotton became coeditor of *FJHP* and the first issue appeared the following year.¹ We modelled our journal on the *ANUHHJ* in having a lead article by an established academic and the bulk of remaining content by students. Actually there were two articles from senior academics in the first issue of *FJHP*—one from the newly appointed history professor at Flinders (George Rudé) and the other from the recently appointed politics professor at the University of Adelaide (Graeme Duncan).²

My pre-ANU link with *ANUHHJ* goes one step further. In that same year at Flinders I was assigned an essay on Governor Macquarie. I was captivated by the section on ‘The Age of Macquarie’ in volume one of Manning

1 JS Cotton, Emeritus Professor of Politics, University of New South Wales, Canberra.

2 George Rudé, ‘The “Pre-industrial” Crowd’, *Flinders Journal of History and Politics*, no. 1 (1969), 4–18; Graeme Duncan, ‘Marx and Mill and the Fate of Two Theories’, *Flinders Journal of History and Politics*, no. 1 (1969), 30–47.

Clark's *The History of Australia*, and for the first time I experienced an intensity of interest in a topic.³ Inspired, I revised and submitted the article to the *ANUJ*. Months passed and towards the end of the year I received a rejection letter. I was not particularly bothered. It had been a good learning experience and the extra work in preparing it for publication had been enjoyable and instructive. In retrospect, I am glad it was not published, thereafter to haunt me as a piece of juvenilia best consigned to the closet. And what impressed me about Clark as a youngster cuts no ice with the much older version of myself. I recently re-read the section on the Macquarie era in Clark's *History* and could not see what I saw in it all those years ago. David Lowenthal's words immediately spring to mind: 'Old movies seen again after many years seem different not because they have altered but because we have'.⁴

Soon after arriving at ANU in 1972 I was elected as a coeditor of *ANUJ* with KB Jackson and Phillipa Weeks.⁵ As well as waiting for article submissions, we actively sought contributions. The unsolicited manuscripts were a carefully honed study from John Ritchie, a history lecturer in what was then the university's School of General Studies (SGS), on 'Agatha Christie's England, 1918–39: Sickness in the Heart and Sickness in Society as Seen in the Detective Thriller', and a piece on Walter Gropius and Weimar architecture.⁶ The latter was a third-year essay, written the year before, by ANU student Martin Brady. Then there was my own joint-authored article on proposals for Pacific Islands confederation between the wars.⁷ I solicited the remaining four articles and the obituary.

3 CMH Clark, *A History of Australia, Volume One: From Earliest Times to the Age of Macquarie* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1962), 261–379.

4 David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 241.

5 Last I heard, Dr Kim Jackson was working at the Australian Parliamentary Library. Phillipa Weeks became a law professor at ANU. Tragically, she died aged only 53. See Michael Coper, 'Phillipa Weeks, 1953–2006: Eulogy', accessed at law.anu.edu.au/sites/all/files/users/u4755688/phillipa_obituary.pdf.

6 Ritchie's article anticipated such studies as David Cannadine's 'Tradition: Gilbert and Sullivan as a "national institution"', in *In Churchill's Shadow: Confronting the Past in Modern Britain*, ed. David Cannadine (London: Allen Lane, 2000), 205–23, and David Cannadine, 'Fantasy: Ian Fleming and the Realities of Escapism', in *In Churchill's Shadow*, 279–311.

7 Many of the key references were generously provided by the retired historian of the Pacific Islands HE Maude. Much later I discovered that Maude had intended but never got around to writing such an article himself. See Maude to Helen Shiels, 27 February 1958, Papers of HC & HE Maude, MSS 0003, Series J, Special Collections, Barr Smith Library, University of Adelaide.

The reviews were a decidedly mixed bag. Whereas *FJHP* only reviewed books authored or edited by academics at Flinders University and the University of Adelaide, we tended to invite reviewers for as many of the books we received as we could, and more often than not students did the honours. In the 1972 issue, three of the books reviewed concerned Pacific Island history, a fact which reflected the interests of Kim Jackson and myself. In these instances, we had requested review copies.

There was no major crisis with the 1972 issue (number 9). I do not recall difficulties in garnering the articles, but a lack of communication did cause extra work. The articles and reviews were typed as a camera-ready copy, either in the History Department or the Students' Representative Council. Rather than providing a photocopy, we gave John Ritchie the only copy of the proofs of his article for checking, but without saying that any corrections be noted on a separate sheet of paper. His corrections, in his impeccably neat handwriting, were entered on to the camera-ready copy, which then had to be retyped.

More seriously, number 9, although nominally published in December 1972, actually appeared in September 1973. The delay was caused by my decision to finish writing my qualifying thesis unimpeded. Editing *FJHP* had set back my studies in 1969 and I did not want this to happen again. Kim and Phillipa were in their honours year and it was too much to expect them to take time out at the end of the year; indeed, both were awarded First Class Honours degrees. The delays occasioned murmurings of discontent at the AGM of the Historical Society and outright annoyance from John Ritchie, who was never adept at concealing his impatience.⁸ Number 9 did eventually put in an appearance, but not to universal acclaim. Ritchie's feedback was that the Pacific Islands were over-represented and I take his point.

Ever a glutton for punishment, I was appointed a joint editor for the next issue of *ANUHI* along with fellow editors Kim Jackson (again) and Phil Carpenter. Because we were effectively a year behind the calendar, we decided on a double issue covering the years 1973–74. Again I assumed

8 John Ritchie went on to become the General Editor of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* in 1987. His ability to attract external money in all likelihood saved the ADB from going under. See Geoffrey Bolton, 'John Ritchie: Consolidating a Tradition, 1987–2002', in *The ADB's Story*, ed. Melanie Nolan and Christine Fernon (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2013), 153–71: doi.org/10.22459/ADBS.10.2013.05; Ian Hancock, 'John Ritchie, 1941–2006', *History Australia* 3, no. 2 (2006), 52.1–3.

most of the responsibility despite taking up a postgraduate scholarship at Macquarie University. The arrangement was only feasible because I spent several months of 1974 in Canberra, researching in the National Library of Australia.

The double number 1973–74 was a bigger issue (90 pages as against 50) and again there were few problems along the way. The content was far less Pacific Islands-oriented and the book reviews were far more weighted in favour of Australian history. This time there were two articles by academics, both ANU-based. One was a submission on ‘What was “Colonial Independence”?’ by Ged Martin, which was the start of an enduring friendship.⁹ The other was more serendipitous. FB (‘Barry’) Smith suggested that we republish an important book chapter on ‘The Irish in Victoria, 1851–91: A Demographic Essay’ by Oliver MacDonagh, the recently appointed history professor at the then Institute of Advanced Studies at ANU, in order that it might be rescued from the confines of a somewhat obscure Irish publication and given greater visibility in Australia.¹⁰

The article had a faintly amusing sequel. When numbers 10–11 emerged, I was flogging them off in Union Court. It was fortuitous timing because the Australian Historical Association Conference was being held at ANU and academics from other universities were on campus. One of those was Patrick O’Farrell, a specialist on Irish history. We were known to each other and he graciously purchased a copy, saying in the most kindly terms how important it was to support such ventures. But one look at the table of contents provoked a dramatic transformation. He erupted with anger: ‘Oliver, the old bugger, he’s gone and republished that essay!’ ‘Yes’, I stammered, startled by the outburst, ‘Barry Smith suggested we should and we were very glad to have it’, but Pat was not mollified. Such was my first encounter of territoriality, or at least a patrolling of the boundaries, among historians.¹¹

9 Ged Martin is Emeritus Professor Canadian Studies at the University of Edinburgh.

10 Oliver MacDonagh was foundation professor of history at Flinders University when I was a first-year student but had departed before *FJHP* was conceived. See Doug Munro, ‘Oliver MacDonagh at Flinders University, 1964–1968’, *Australian Historical Association Bulletin* 86 (1998), 45–58.

11 Both O’Farrell’s and MacDonagh’s work on the Irish in Australia has been re-examined. See Donald Harman Akenson, *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815–1922: An International Perspective* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988), 59–66.

Another episode concerns my decision to include a listing of all the honours (and MA Qualifying) theses held by SGS's History Department. The idea came from *FJHP* where, in 1969, we listed all the history theses in progress, which in turn was inspired by a similar section in the *New Zealand Journal of History*. So I telephoned Shirley Bradley, the departmental secretary, in order to gain access to the room in which the theses were held. I must have caught her at a bad moment because she was not especially cordial to my request, but I stuck to my guns and she eventually relented. In fairness, she did relax and was her usual friendly self by the time I had finished. It's funny how certain things stick in your mind.

On the other hand, there was a case of lost opportunity. Laurie Fitzhardinge's obituary of Douglas Pike, the General Editor of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, was published in June 1974.¹² I should have sought Laurie's permission to reprint there and then, but the decision to include the obituary was an afterthought. It suddenly occurred to me that the obituary would fit into the inside back cover. I phoned Laurie a couple of times but could not get hold of him. The Journal was almost ready for the printer and without Laurie's explicit approbation I felt unable to include his obituary of Pike. Such are the consequences of delay.

There was also the review of Frank Crowley's two-volume *Modern Australia in Documents*. John Ritchie declined to review them, explaining that his field was the nineteenth century whereas the Crowley volumes covered the years 1900–70. He suggested Humphrey McQueen, whose field was twentieth-century Australia. I was aware that Humphrey dished out bracing reviews; he believed that Australia historians' politeness toward each other's work—'the gentility principle', as he called it—was inimical to '[t]he idea of the university as a clash of ideas', and he was going to put things to rights.¹³ Had I also realised that Crowley was a *bête noire* of Humphrey's, I would probably have looked elsewhere. Let's just say that Humphrey did not disappoint.

The combined numbers 10–11 were definitely superior to their predecessor. The most pleasing contribution would have to be Dennis Shoemith's review article of Geoffrey Serle's book on the creative spirit in Australia (*From Deserts the Prophets Come*). It was the only refereed contribution and Dennis

12 LF Fitzhardinge, 'Professor Pike Obituary', *ANU Reporter*, 28 June 1974, 2, accessed at oa.anu.edu.au/uploads/obituaries/818/pike_douglas_obit_1974.pdf.

13 Frank Bongiorno, 'Two Radical Legends: Russel Ward, Humphrey McQueen and the New Left Challenge in Australian Historiography', *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 10, no. 2 (2008), 214.

felt that the referee had been too interventionist. In retrospect, I should have let Dennis decide which of the recommendations he was prepared to accept rather than foisting them upon him. To his delight, Dennis received a sincere letter of appreciation from the author, stating that his review was by far the best.¹⁴ I am left wondering whether the review article would have been better still had I allowed the original version to stand.

For all that, a mistake towards the end of the production line took the shine off our efforts. The individual pages often had to be cut and pasted to get them camera-ready, and in doing so I made some blunders. Specifically, some lines are repeated on page 31 of the MacDonagh article (and the spacing is awry). Oliver was disappointed, especially as he had offered to proofread his article, but he did not berate me. Rather more serious were a few lines being omitted from a footnote in one of the two review articles. Worst of all—and irony of ironies—was 75 words being omitted from my own book review. This episode demonstrates how much more difficult it was to produce a journal before the advent of word processing, and what this implies for editing and printing. Such a cock-up would not have happened with today's technology.

I can hardly begin to describe how pissed off I was with myself upon discovering the mishaps one evening, *after* the Journal had been printed and bound. In a very dark and despondent frame of mind, I trudged to the ANU Staff Club to drown my sorrows. Once there I poured out my tale of woe to Kevin Fewster, whom I had known two years earlier at Bruce Hall, and who was one of the reviewers for numbers 10–11.¹⁵ In the event an erratum slip was pasted into each copy, a business that was as tedious as it was disheartening.

Looking back, I cannot regret my involvement in student journals, which was the precursor to my connection down the years with several other academic journals.¹⁶ The work I did with the *FJHP* and the *ANUJH* was interesting and rewarding. There was a sense of accomplishment. You felt you were making a contribution, perhaps even a difference.

14 High praise indeed considering the other reviews included Russel Ward, C Hartley Grattan and Bernard Smith in 'High Culture in Australia' [review forum], *Historical Studies* 16, no. 63 (1973), 286–91: doi.org/10.1080/10314617408682890. Dennis Shoesmith is now University Professorial Fellow at Charles Darwin University.

15 Dr Kevin Fewster is currently Director of the National Maritime Museum, United Kingdom.

16 *Journal of Pacific Studies* (guest editor of two special issues); *History Now* (regular interviewer); *Journal of Pacific History* (review editor); *Journal of Historical Biography* (editorial board and co-editor of a special issue); *Journal of Labor and Society* (associate editor) and *Using Lives: Essays in Australian biography and history* (editorial board).

While unwavering in my support for student history journals, I have come to wonder whether these should cater primarily as outlets for undergraduate endeavours. Historians mature later than scientists and mathematicians, thus running the risk of premature publication. Precociousness of the order displayed by Geoffrey Blainey in publishing his first academic article in a mainstream journal at age 20, and in the process critiquing the work of a full professor, is highly exceptional.¹⁷ It is no wonder, then, that *FJHP* and the *Melbourne Historical Journal* transformed into outlets for postgraduate research; and that later student history journals—namely *Limina* (University of Western Australia) and *ERAS Journal* (Monash University)—likewise cater for postgraduates.

The late 1960s and 1970s were a good time to be a university student. As I have written elsewhere, *FJHP* ‘was a reflection of a young and vibrant Flinders [University] where worthwhile things were done sooner or later’.¹⁸ That same vibrancy was evident during my student days at ANU. Speaking strictly for myself, editing student history journals was part of that vibrancy. It was an endeavour worth doing and given the chance I would do it all over again, although I am sure I could do it better the second time around.

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17 Geoffrey Blainey, ‘The Role of Economic Interests in Australian Federation: A reply to Professor Parker’, *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand* 4, no. 15 (1950), 224–37: doi.org/10.1080/10314615008594897.

18 Doug Munro, ‘Those Glorious Days: Flinders in the Late-Sixties’, *Flinders Journal of History and Politics* 13 (1988–89), 3.

The wider significance of the *ANU Historical Journal*

Jill Waterhouse

ANU HJ Contributor, 1977

The *ANU Historical Journal* (*ANU HJ*) was a flag hoisted at an immensely significant time in the development of the university. In the 1960s, undergraduate and Master of Arts courses were added to what had been a research-only institution—until then, student intake had been mainly confined to candidates for the Doctor of Philosophy. Key players who were to establish the *ANU HJ*, together with the first of the modern buildings erected for the new academic departments, arrived with the full cohort of undergraduate and Masters students. The transformation of The Australian National University (ANU) was the result of the amalgamation of the older Canberra University College (CUC), an offshoot of the University of Melbourne, with the newer ANU. The Chairman of the CUC, Dr BT Dickson, put it this way:

The College, conceived in 1928, mothered for 30 years by the University of Melbourne, is expected to consummate a marriage with the Australian National University in the latter part of 1960.¹

In preparation for the marriage, construction began on what was initially called the CUC Arts building. Designed to house several new departments, including the new History Department, the first lectures and tutorials were held there on Monday 4 July 1960. On Wednesday 14 September 1960, the Governor-General, Lord Dunrossil, presided over the official opening, renaming the building the Haydon-Allen Building and testing the seating in the separate circular lecture theatre, popularly known as ‘The Tank’.

¹ ‘Last Degrees Ceremony at University College’, *Canberra Times*, 1 April 1960, 3. Canberra University College (CUC) is sometimes confused with the later University of Canberra (1990), formerly the Canberra College of Advanced Education (1967).

Orientation Week 1961 marked the first full year in which undergraduate teaching in Canberra was undertaken independently of the University of Melbourne. ANU was now firmly established in two sections: the well-established Institute of Advanced Studies and the new School of General Studies.

Two of the founders of the *ANUHI*, Ron Fraser and Alastair Davidson (whose articles appear earlier in this issue), were part of the major transfer from CUC in 1961. Alastair had publicly favoured the amalgamation, drawing attention to the prestige of ANU degrees. Ron had enrolled at the College in 1957. The two, together with Anne Kingston, soon to be married to Ron, were among the movers and shakers of the reconstituted university. In 1961, Ron was elected President of the Students' Representative Council; in the same year Alastair took over from George Martin as editor of *Woroni*.

Manning Clark was another transferee from CUC where he had lectured since 1949, having earlier been a member of the History Department at the University of Melbourne. Since 1940 that university had been well known for the production of the journal *Historical Studies* and for its student-led historical society, which, in 1961, initiated the *Melbourne Historical Journal* (*MHJ*).

In the same year, 1961, when the publication of Clark's *History of Australia* Volume 1 was imminent, the *MHJ* published an extract from an advance copy in its first issue. Students in Canberra, noting the presence of the student journal and Society at the University of Melbourne, contemplated that something similar could be established at ANU. Anne (with the distinction of having had an article published in the *MHJ* in 1963), Ron and Alastair edited the first edition of the *ANUHI*, which appeared in October 1964.

The significance of the Journal should be viewed in the wider context of ANU. Rivalry existed between the well-established History Department in the Institute of Advanced Studies and the new History Department in the School of General Studies. Academics at the Institute were expected to devote themselves to research, writing, publishing, giving professional advice and presenting the occasional guest lecture, whereas for academics in the School of General Studies, teaching came first. Yet, despite the demands of lecturing and tutoring, History Department staff produced a creditable number of publications, including those in the *ANUHI*. For students, having a history journal on site provided a great opportunity to

step forward into the professional world of publication. Albeit in a small way, the Journal helped the History Department of the School of General Studies hold its own in what had earlier been a research-only institution.



Figure 1: ANU Department of History annual photograph, 1978.

Collection: Private papers of Campbell Macknight.

The Journal helped raise the status of the History Department and the School of General Studies by encouraging cooperation among departments within the School, with the Institute, and with diplomats, public servants and other interested individuals in Canberra. It responded to a need for affirmative action to support the Arts in what was often referred to as the Age of Technology. It did not matter overmuch that the early issues of the Journal were home-made in appearance because production later improved. It was important because it announced to the wider university world that, within a very few years of its establishment, the History Department, School of General Studies, had arrived.

Even so, several of my undergraduate contemporaries say that they were unaware of the Journal's existence, being preoccupied with so much else: settling into newly built student residences, Bruce Hall (1961), Burton Hall (1965), Garran Hall (1966); studying for all-important exams; and worrying about the escalating Vietnam War, especially after the introduction of the 'birthday' ballot (1964). Students were still finding their way around the recently built General Studies Library (1964, not

yet called the Chifley Library), and everyone had to adjust to a changing landscape after the inauguration of Lake Burley Griffin in October 1964, the same month as the appearance of the first issue of the Journal.

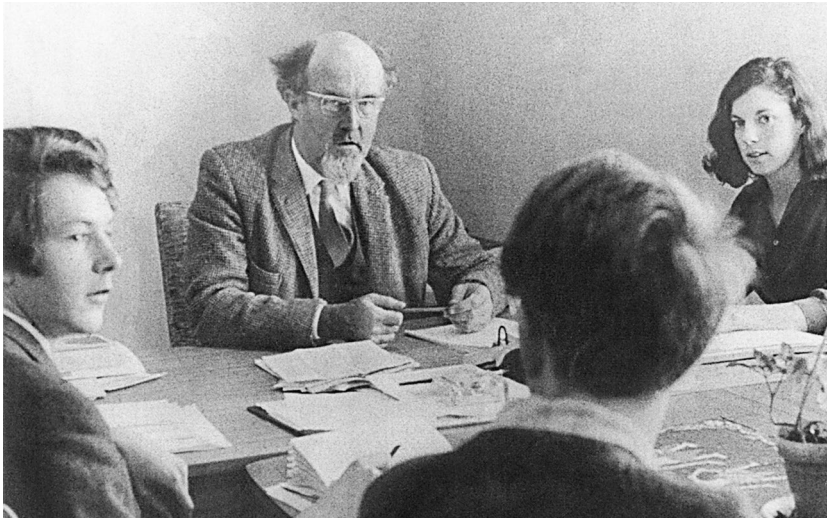


Figure 2: Manning Clark with his students Robert Moss (left) and Jill Waterhouse (right) in 1966.

Collection: Private papers of Jill Waterhouse.



Figure 3: John Ritchie and Bill Mandle delivering a skit for a British History course, c. 1970s.

Collection: Private papers of Jill Waterhouse.

The *ANUHIJ* was published only intermittently in the following decades. Before the advent of photocopiers and computers, printing could be a challenge, the pressures on contributors compounded by study and exams. Even the early editions of *Woroni* struggled to come out on time, and so it is not surprising that the Journal failed to make a regular appearance.

I left for England in 1972 and did not contribute until 1977 when I returned as a Senior Tutor in the History Department. I entitled my review article in number 13 'A Different Jubilee: Local History in Canberra 1927–1977'. How parochial this must have seemed in comparison to Stephen Fitzgerald's review article of Wang Gungwu's book *China and the World Since 1949: The Impact of Independence, Modernity and Revolution*; Susan Jones's article on 'Kenya and the Devonshire White Paper of 1923'; Giles Short's analysis on 'Blood and Treasure: Lagos, 1851'; and Geoffrey Jukes's review article entitled 'Hitler's Generals: Ahead at Half-Time?'

Yet surely, at the national university, a study of the history of the national capital was relevant and important? I argued that on the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of 'old' Parliament House on 9 May 1977, Canberra rose in status as a subject for historical research, with landscape history and the concept of the capital city as a social laboratory being among the subjects requiring further exploration. In Australia, landscape history was an undeveloped discipline in comparison with the work in progress in Europe. Sir Keith Hancock, formerly of the Institute of Advanced Studies, had taken a firm step in the right direction with *Discovering Monaro: A Study of Man's Impact on his Environment* (1972). I argued that a similar study might be made of the Limestone Plains. I was pleased to note that the Australian National University Press, then directed by Brian Clouston, was promoting books about Canberra. In 1977, the Press commissioned the 'Canberra Companion' series, to which I later contributed.

While many articles in number 13 dealt with the history of other countries, Australian history was well to the fore. TB Millar, ANU Professor of International Relations, headed the publication with a study of 'Three Liberal Foreign Ministers: Spender, Casey, Menzies'. Patrick Weller from the Department of Political Science, Institute of Advanced Studies, wrote a review of Alan Powell's *Patrician Democrat: The Political Life of Charles Cowper, 1843–1870*. Research Fellow Robin Gollan, who with colleague Eric Fry was a founding member of the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History (1961), reviewed Blanche d'Alpuget's *Mediator: A Biography of Sir Richard Kirby* (1977).

Drawing on her history honours thesis from 1973, Phillipa Weeks, by this time at the ANU Law School, contributed an article on 'John Dunmore Lang and the *Colonist*, 1835–1840', a subject also dear to the heart of noted lecturer Don Baker. Phillipa was to later earn a reputation as one of Australia's leading labour lawyers. She was appointed professor in 2001 and from 2000 to 2005 was Associate Dean and Head of the ANU Law School. Judith Middlebrook reviewed Geoffrey Dutton's *Edward John Eyre: The Hero as Murderer* (1977) and as a resident of Burgmann College (opened in 1971) she became one of Manning Clark's research assistants, pursuing a distinguished career as a parliamentary officer.

Arts student Marion Roderick (later Lê) contributed her review of *Black, White & Gold: Goldmining in Papua New Guinea, 1878–1930* (1976) by Hank Nelson, one of the foremost historians of the Pacific region. Marion was on the brink of completing two degrees, an Arts degree at ANU and a Bachelor of Theology at Alliance College, Canberra. At the same time, stirred by the plight of boat people, she was active in Canberra's Indo-Chinese Refugee Association. JL (James) Richardson, a prolific author from the Political Science Department, reviewed Coral Bell's *Diplomacy of Détente: The Kissinger Era*. Reading his review again, my thoughts leapt to 2015 and the launch of the Coral Bell School of Asia and Pacific Affairs, a tribute to this distinguished analyst of international politics.

The names of those having oversight of the production of the Journal draw us further into the early history of ANU. In 1977 Gordon Murdoch Bunyan was President of the ANU Historical Society, which, as well as encouraging discussions and social events, had the responsibility for organising and circulating the Journal. PD Hurst edited number 13 and the following year was acting review editor of *Australian Outlook: Journal of the Australian Institute of International Affairs*, a publication advertised on the inside cover of the Journal. Committee members of the ANU Historical Society included Fiona Hamblin, Amanda Russell, HA (Harold) Aspland, Charles Maskell, Robert Lee and Peter Blanchard. Giles Short, younger son of Dr John Short, the first Warden of Garran Hall, and his wife Elizabeth, assistant to Eugene Kamenka in the History of Ideas Unit, was a student committee member.

The ANU History Department is rightly proud of the emphasis it has always placed on the use of contemporary documents and careful footnoting, as distinct from overreliance on secondary sources and slap-dash attributions. Sir Paul Hasluck, a former Reader in History at the University of Western Australia and Governor-General of Australia from

1969 to 1974, contributed an article to number 13 entitled 'Anthologies, Archives and Other Sources'. Dismayed by the careless use of the term 'document' and by footnotes forming a smokescreen instead of confirming judgements, he advocated a much more rigorous approach to evidence. This short quotation gives the flavour of his objections (to research from some unnamed university):

In recent years it has been my melancholy fate to read three theses. [In] one of these, which swarmed with so many footnotes that reading it was like going for a hot walk in the bush-fly season, the writer had found one long and colourful piece of paper containing many unsupported allegations by an interested party. Without ever evaluating the document itself he had used it for at least a dozen separate assertions of historical fact.²

Hasluck provides several detailed examples of the questionable use of so-called evidence—for instance, the curious use made of press briefings when determining the views of prime minister John Curtin on conscription issues.

Since Hasluck's day, access to both archival and published sources has advanced in leaps and bounds, especially through the National Library of Australia's Trove and other online platforms, including the detailed work in progress on the ANU archives. Even so, his article remains relevant to the young scholar and could well be brought to the attention of today's students.

The value of the *ANU Historical Journal* Mark I 1964–87 is much greater than that of an archive to be dusted off only occasionally. The content remains of interest today, forming an excellent foundation for the *ANU Historical Journal* Mark II, 2019–onwards.

Jill Waterhouse's association with ANU has come full circle, beginning in 1963–66 when she was a history honours student. In the 1970s and 1980s she tutored in History Department, and some may remember the staff and student parties held in her grandparents' home, Calthorpes' House. After spending 13 years in Cambridge, supervising and lecturing in Modern British History, she returned to Australia in 1990 to join the staff at the new Canberra Museum and Gallery. In 2006 Jill embarked on an ANU PhD, a biography of Sir John Henry

2 Sir Paul Hasluck, 'Anthologies, Archives and Other Sources', review of *Documents on Australian International Affairs 1901–1918*, ed. Gordon Greenwood and Charles Grimshaw, in *ANU Historical Journal* 13 (1977), 57.

Butters (1884–1969). In 2002 she contributed a chapter to Glenn Tomasetti (ed.), *Manning Clark By Some of his Students* and in 2004 published *University House: As They Experienced It, A History 1954–2004*. She continues to research aspects of ANU.

ARTICLES

‘Ours will be a tent’: The meaning and symbolism of the early Aboriginal Tent Embassy¹

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Abstract: *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy was founded in 1972 to reflect the alienation felt by many Aboriginal people from contemporary political processes and policy in Australia. The establishment of the Embassy also reflected new ideas about how Aboriginal activists viewed their struggle for justice. In the decades following the Second World War, Aboriginal identity became increasingly nationalised. An unprecedented level of pan-Aboriginal identification and solidarity emerged during the 1950s and 1960s that enabled activists to unite at the Embassy. The American Black Power movement was a major influence on those activists who took to the lawns of what was then Australia's Parliament House, and the wise stylistic decisions made while the Embassy was being formed were also crucial to the success of the Embassy as a symbol. These stylistic elements focused on the use of a tent—a ‘brilliant hijacking of the nationally symbolic space’—that was able to capture the deprived living conditions of so many Aboriginal communities. More subtly, the Embassy was an exercise in satire that helped to undermine the Federal Government and win over many supporters. The Embassy was an adventure in ideas for a generation of activists who refused to accept continued alienation. To this day, the Embassy continues its fight for Aboriginal sovereignty and land rights.*

That Aboriginal people were protesting in 1972 is unsurprising. On the other hand, the decision to erect a tent ‘embassy’ on the lawns of Parliament House was astonishing, provocative and confronting. It has since become an enduring symbol and residence for activists fighting for Aboriginal sovereignty and self-determination. For more

1 This article was the result of a research project for the research-intensive ‘Making History’ course at The Australian National University.

than 40 years, the Aboriginal Tent Embassy has personified Aboriginal resilience, reminding Australians that Australia 'always was, always will be, Aboriginal land!'.¹

This article examines the meanings that activists aimed to instil in the Embassy by exploring the ideological influences that inspired them. These included the struggle for land rights and sovereignty dating back to 1788, the arrival of the Black Power movement in Australia during the late 1960s and the emergence of an unprecedented pan-Aboriginal political identity in the decades after the Second World War. It also considers the Embassy site and the stylistic features of what was, and still is, a politically charged symbol. The meaning embedded in the 'Tent Embassy' is one that activists have designed, in the words of Paul Muldoon and Andrew Schaap, to 'strategically exploit the ambiguous status of Aboriginal people as citizens within and without the community presupposed by the Australian state', to contend that Australia must abide by Aboriginal sovereignty rather than the other way around.²

The Embassy was important in many ways. The response it was able to provoke from both the opposition of the day, the Australian Labor Party, and the governing Coalition of the Liberal Party and the Country Party was enormous for Aboriginal activism. As Muldoon and Schaap argue, the Embassy represents a kind of 'constituent power' for Aboriginal people and their supporters.³ This article expands on that interpretation, examining the active construction of the symbol of the tent as activists attempted to realise a true Embassy, legitimised by widespread popular support from the Aboriginal community. To achieve this, activists sought to make the Embassy representative and relatable to everyday Aboriginal people and not only those with relatively extensive amounts of social capital.

2 Paul Muldoon and Andrew Schaap, 'Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Politics of Reconciliation: The Constituent Power of the Aboriginal Embassy in Australia', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30, no. 3 (2012), 534.

3 Muldoon and Schaap, 'Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Politics of Reconciliation', 534.



Figure 1: The Aboriginal Tent Embassy juxtaposed against Old Parliament House during the demonstration in support of the Yirrkala petition on land rights to prime minister Gough Whitlam, 1974.

Collection: National Archives of Australia, A10/7/74/4A.

Occupying the lawn before what was then Parliament House, in the centre of the national capital, was a significant spatial and cultural disruption. For this reason, the satirical irony of a 'tent' Embassy was extremely effective in reaching out to, and generating support among, Aboriginal people. From its foundation, the symbolic power of the Embassy resonated with Aboriginal experiences of dispossession, displacement and, perhaps less appreciated but no less important, spoke to a feeling that their existence was in juxtaposition with the cultural norms and formal institutions of twentieth-century Australia.

The Embassy has been controversial and has often drawn the ire of politicians, particularly within the Liberal Party. This tension returned to the spotlight in January 2012 when protesters, reacting to comments made by Opposition Leader Tony Abbott, crowded around the Old Parliament House restaurant to voice their objections. Abbott had claimed that the Embassy was no longer relevant.⁴ This incident led to Abbott

⁴ Emma Griffiths, 'Abbott Defends Tent Embassy Comments', *ABC*, 27 January 2012, accessed at www.abc.net.au/news/2012-01-27/abbott-praises-gillard-over-protest-response/3796290.

and prime minister Julia Gillard being ‘bundled out’ of the restaurant by bodyguards and police officers.⁵ The limited size of the historiography of the Embassy might reflect its continued political currency. But many of the contributions that have been made to the field are also impressively comprehensive. Heather Goodall’s *Invasion to Embassy: Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales 1770–1972* argues that the Embassy evolved out of the struggle for land rights—a struggle that dates back to before the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788.⁶ Kathy Lothian, writing in the mid-2000s, offers an excellent analysis of the role that the Black Panther movement played in revitalising Aboriginal protest.⁷ More recently, Schaap and Muldoon have turned their attention to the Embassy as a symbol, particularly in relation to Aboriginal sovereignty and the state as created under the Australian Constitution. In 2013, Gary Foley, Andrew Schaap and Edwina Howell edited a comprehensive, insightful overview of the Embassy and its history. This book explores the emergence of the Embassy, the active construction of the tent as a political symbol and how it reflects activists’ objectives.⁸

The Tent Embassy was a potent symbol of Aboriginal resilience amid the political turbulence of the early 1970s. The refusal by prime minister Billy McMahon to recognise Aboriginal land rights inherent in Aboriginal sovereignty helped give meaning to the Embassy as an assertion of sovereignty. On 25 January 1972, McMahon announced that a new government policy would see land leased to Aboriginal people on fixed terms, without any acknowledgement of ownership, guarantee of continued possession or promise of compensation.⁹ The decision to establish an Embassy reflected the fundamental principle at the heart of Aboriginal activism: that Australia is Aboriginal land because sovereignty was never ceded. The Embassy had its own ‘ministers’ and ‘mimicked

5 Ben Packham and Lanai Vasek, ‘Gillard, Abbott Escorted under Guard amid Aboriginal Tent Embassy Protest’, *The Australian*, 27 January 2012, accessed at www.theaustralian.com.au/archive/national-affairs/gillard-abbott-escorted-under-guard-amid-aboriginal-tent-embassy-protest/news-story/1be365d53375af6895c60fc24bed0d3d.

6 Heather Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy: Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales, 1770–1972* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1996).

7 Kathy Lothian, ‘Seizing the Time: Australian Aborigines and the Influence of the Black Panther Party, 1969–1972’, *Journal of Black Studies* 35, no. 4 (March 2005). See also Kathy Lothian, ‘Moving Blackwards’, in *Transgressions: Critical Australian Indigenous Histories*, ed. Ingereth Macfarlane and Mark Hannah (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2007), 19–34.

8 Gary Foley, Andrew Schaap and Edwina Howell, eds, *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy: Sovereignty, Black Power, Land Rights and the State* (Milton Park, Abingdon and Oxon: Routledge, 2013).

9 Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy*, 338.

the state by claiming the features of statehood'.¹⁰ Flags flew above the lawns; first the pan-African flag for its association with Black Power and subsequently the red, black and yellow Aboriginal flag designed by Harold Thomas.¹¹

Many archival sources from the Embassy's early days do not refer to 'sovereignty' but instead use the words 'land rights'.¹² This is puzzling at first because later commentaries by influential Embassy officials and key supporters refer frequently to sovereignty. One example is Isabel Coe's statement during an interview in 2000 where she emphasised the fact that Aboriginal people 'have never ceded [...] sovereignty from one end of the country to the other'.¹³ Michael Anderson described the Embassy as emerging 'to high-light [sic] the fact that this land was taken from our Aboriginal people'.¹⁴ Yet, the Embassy's declaration of sovereignty was not issued until 1992.¹⁵ Anderson later clarified what he meant by the term sovereignty, recalling a suggestion by another prominent activist, Chicka Dixon. Interviewed in 2011 for the National Film and Sound Archive, Anderson described the Embassy as being based on '[l]and rights and sovereignty. Sovereignty was a key issue. Because the two go together, as far as we are concerned'.¹⁶ The statement illustrates the fundamental and enduring relationship between sovereignty and land rights for Aboriginal activists.

The entire basis of the claim for land rights is sovereignty, and activists expressed a desire to fight for sovereignty until it manifested itself in the form of land rights. Chicka Dixon, inspired by a Native American protest on Alcatraz Island in California, had previously proposed that Aboriginal activists occupy Sydney Harbour's Pinchgut Island, declaring sovereignty (Anderson recalls him using the word specifically) over it.¹⁷

10 Edwina Howell, 'Black Power—By Any Means Necessary', in *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy*, 80.

11 Gary Foley, 'A Reflection of the First Thirty Days of the Embassy', in *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy*, 30.

12 Donation form in the name of Sammy Watson Jr on behalf of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 1972, in Embassy Ephemera Material, National Library of Australia (NLA), 1075946.

13 Isabel Coe, 'The Aboriginal Tent Embassy 28 Years After it was Established', interview by Irene Watson, *Indigenous Law Bulletin* 5, no. 1 (2000), 48. The spelling of 'Isabel' as 'Isobell' appears intermittently and the correct spelling is unclear.

14 Michael Anderson, 'Why an Embassy' [unpublished typescript] (1972), Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), PMS 5101.

15 Muldoon and Schaap, 'Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Politics of Reconciliation', 534.

16 Michael Anderson, 'Founding of the Embassy', interview by Brenda Gifford, recorded at the National Film and Sound Archive, 17 June 2011, in *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy*, 120.

17 Anderson, 'Founding of the Embassy', 118.

Anderson says that these sorts of conversations were held frequently in the early 1970s and ultimately inspired the Embassy concept. The Embassy was supposed to represent the alienation of Aboriginal people from the Australian state just as other embassies represented foreign nations and peoples. Gary Foley, speaking in 2011, recounted that the 'government had declared us aliens in our own land [...] we need an Embassy just like all the other aliens'.¹⁸

The failure of the Australian Federal Government to recognise Aboriginal land rights meant that the sovereignty of the Commonwealth competed with that of Aboriginal people. With no mechanism to assert their sovereignty in the way that other states might, the Embassy was designed to alleviate this and to constitute a representative mechanism. The underlying principle was that if Aboriginal sovereignty is excluded from the Australian state, Aboriginal people will continue to live, abide by and assert it, separately from the state. For Anderson and his co-founders, sovereignty was manifested in land ownership. Goodall captures this position in her claim that the cultural significance of land was the 'authority for the Embassy'.¹⁹ It was concerned with the pursuit of an 'independent platform' for Aboriginal people—an objective it maintains today.²⁰

Beyond land rights, the Embassy was also shaped by the Black Power movement and its idea of the 'black nation'. Exposure to images of African-American civil rights advocacy made available by advances in media in the preceding decade helped make Black Power more accessible to Aboriginal activists. Indeed, the Embassy flew a pan-African flag (albeit upside down) in its early days.²¹ There was significant overlap between Black Power membership and involvement in the Embassy, including Michael Anderson, Billy Craigie, Tony Coorey, Bobbi Sykes, Gary Foley, John Newfong, Paul Coe and, of course, Denis Walker. While campaigning on the Embassy's behalf for land rights in 1972, Anderson referred to the 'Black Australian Nation' clearly framing Aboriginal activism in nationalistic terms.²² And

18 Howell, 'Black Power—By Any Means Necessary', 75.

19 Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy*, 348–49.

20 'Role of the Embassy', 19 April 1976, Records of the Aboriginal Embassy, AIATSIS, MS 4013 1/2.

21 John Maynard, 'Tracking Back: Parallels Between the 1920s Aboriginal Political Movements and the 1972 Tent Embassy', in *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy*, 93–94.

22 Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 'Aboriginal Embassy, Canberra', *Newsletter on Aboriginal Affairs*, no. 2 (1972), AIATSIS, RS 21/18, 8–9.

the Embassy reflected key Black Power aspirations: black autonomy²³ and potentially separatism.²⁴ Black Power meant different things to different people in 1972. Sykes was quick to concede this and cautioned the public against misinterpretation. Recognising that for many Black Power connoted violence, she argued instead that its message was one of anti-assimilation and the promotion of black voices.²⁵ The Embassy has been subject to very similar misinterpretation or misapprehension ever since—and this is probably a further indication of the role Black Power activists played in its establishment. The aspirations of the 'black nation' have certainly found unique expression in the Embassy on many occasions. A recent example was the corroboree that welcomed protester Clinton Pryor to Canberra in September 2017 after he had traversed the continent.²⁶ Clearly, the Embassy constitutes a space for expression of Aboriginality and that much of this expression came from Black Power-affiliated activists in 1972.

The Black Power movement was part of a broader shift in Aboriginal politics that was at its peak in 1972. Previously, Aboriginal political agitation had been relatively localised. But in the late 1960s and early 1970s an emerging sense of a shared experience, collective unity and pan-Aboriginal identity was consolidated by activists—often in urban regions.²⁷ Extensive migration of Aboriginal people to urban areas in the 1950s played a significant part in this development.²⁸ Activists remarked on the implications of this change and took note of the way that the Embassy made it visible. Roberta Sykes observed that 'Alice Springs, reserve, urban [were] all connected through investment in the Embassy'.²⁹ More recently, in 2013, Gary Foley said that the 'provocative act' of the Embassy 'seemed to invite a strong response from Aboriginal activists who had for the previous twelve months been staging major land rights

23 Roberta Sykes, 'Black People Want to Control their Own Destiny', *Newsletter on Aboriginal Affairs*, no. 2 (1972), 8–9.

24 Black Panther Party of Australia, 'Black Panther Party of Australia Platform and Program, July 1972', *Newsletter on Aboriginal Affairs*, no. 2 (1972), 10.

25 Sykes, 'Black People Want to Control their Own Destiny', 8–9.

26 Emily Baker, 'Clinton Pryor Arrives in Canberra after Walking from Western Australia', *Canberra Times*, 3 September 2017, accessed at www.canberratimes.com.au/act-news/clinton-pryor-arrives-in-canberra-after-walking-from-western-australia-20170903-gy9ty7.html.

27 Scott Robinson, 'The Aboriginal Embassy: An Account of the Protests of 1972', in *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy*, 4.

28 Ann Curthoys, 'The Freedom Ride and the Tent Embassy', in *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy*, 100.

29 Roberta Sykes, 'Hope's Ragged Symbol', *Nation Review*, 29 July–4 August, 1972, AIATSIS, p 11891, p SYK, 1170.

demonstrations in southern Australian capital cities'.³⁰ The Embassy consolidated the energy of activists from an incredibly wide array of communities to an unprecedented degree.

Prominent Aboriginal activists spoke about Aboriginal protest as more far-reaching than any one local (or even perhaps national) community. Paul Coe even referred to the 'black struggle' and labelled it as struggle of the 'third world'. Aboriginal people were looking beyond their local communities and all while attempting to situate their efforts in the context of a postcolonial society. Goodall adds further weight to this argument by identifying key events leading up to 1972 that helped forge a sense of solidarity among Aboriginal people across Australia. Prominent instances of Aboriginal activism such as the Freedom Rides in New South Wales in 1965, the Gurindji walk-off from Wave Hill station in the Northern Territory in 1966–67, and the decision of Mr Justice Blackburn in *Milirrpum v Nabalco* in 1971 that denied legal recognition to the plaintiffs' (Yolngu) assertion of customary ownership.³¹ Aborigines Advancement League activity, protesting against British nuclear testing at Maralinga in the 1950s and the campaign for Yes in the 1967 Referendum are all poignant examples.³²

While tracing the origins of pan-Aboriginal activism to the 1920s, Aboriginal activist, academic and Elder Gordon Briscoe contends that the Embassy's greatest significance was its impact 'on the psyche of Aboriginal identity', because it 'represented the theoretical as well as the human face of Aboriginal political consciousness'.³³ In other words, the Embassy helped consolidate the development of pan-Aboriginal political identity in the early 1970s. The claim that sovereignty had never been ceded was key to the establishment of the Embassy, but Black Power also provided much of the ideology and inspiration. It is for this reason that the type of Aboriginal activism that converged on the lawns of Parliament House looked very different from anything that had surfaced publicly before the 1960s.

30 Foley, 'A Reflection on the First Thirty Days of the Embassy', in *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy*, 22.

31 Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy*, 323, 325 & 337. See also Muldoon and Schaap, 'Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Politics of Reconciliation', 537.

32 Gordon Briscoe, 'The Origins of Aboriginal Political Consciousness and the Aboriginal Embassy, 1907–1972', in *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy*, 43 & 47–48. For further reading about the 1920s origins of pan-Aboriginal activism see Chapter 6 of the same volume (written by John Maynard).

33 Briscoe, 'The Origins of Aboriginal Political Consciousness and the Aboriginal Embassy', 53.

Of course, the Embassy enabled activists to seize the attention of ministers and senior bureaucrats. Many expressed deep uncertainty about what the Embassy represented. Two ministers were particularly vocal in their criticisms of the Embassy: Interior Minister Ralph Hunt said that activists should desist and be 'sensible';³⁴ and the Minister for the Environment, Arts and Aborigines, Peter Howson, allegedly dissatisfied after receiving the portfolio of 'trees, boongs and poofters', was disparaging.³⁵ While correctly identifying the Embassy to be an assertion of a 'sovereign state', Howson was quick to attack its implicit separatism, which he compared to apartheid.³⁶ Yet, this hostile, contemptuous response vindicated the Embassy's effectiveness as a symbol. McMahon's refusal of land rights in January 1972 had confirmed, for many Aboriginal people, a deep sense of alienation at the hands of the Commonwealth. Moreover, this alienation was realised through the day-to-day mechanics of the Australian political system. While Hunt and Howson advocated the 'sensible' pursuit of political objectives through mainstream political institutions, they also highlighted the McMahon Government's dismissiveness. By highlighting Aboriginal exclusion and asserting Aboriginal difference, activists were refusing to confine agitation to the 'traditions' of Anglo-Australian culture. Instead, they threw down the gauntlet to the Commonwealth. The response of Hunt and Howson merely reinforced the activists' claim that Australia's political system was ill-equipped to respond to any kind of Aboriginal assertiveness.

Having condemned the Embassy for (supposedly) advocating apartheid, the Federal Government proceeded to try and lay the issue to rest, resolving to remove the Embassy. On 17 July 1972, Embassy officials were served with notice of an ordinance (that had been adjusted to apply specifically to the Embassy) forbidding continued occupation of the lawns in front of Parliament House. Approximately 72 hours later, police tore down the Embassy. Goodall reports that around 200 Aboriginal people and supporters re-established the Embassy on 23 July but that this was again dismantled by a particularly large assembly of some 360 police officers.³⁷ The confrontation between demonstrators and police was

34 'Hunt Offers to Meet Aborigines', *Canberra Times*, 29 July 1972, 1.

35 Mungo MacCallum, 'Peter Howson, Minister for "Trees, Boongs and Poofters"', *Crikey*, 5 February 2009, accessed at www.crikey.com.au/2009/02/05/peter-howson-minister-for-trees-boongs-and-poofters/.

36 'Hunt Offers to Meet Aborigines', 1.

37 Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy*, 350–51.

violent. One Embassy spokesperson described it 'as the day when Black brothers and sisters with the solid support of their white brothers stood for human rights. The voices [were] raised against the violence'.³⁸ In his poem 'Breath of Life', poet and activist Kevin Gilbert wrote of 'those men/ and the women and children/ who have put their heads/ against policemen's batons'.³⁹

Following the second police removal, some 2,000 demonstrators returned to raise the Embassy anew. Many of the demonstrators were Aboriginal, but the crowd also included many non-Aboriginal students from The Australian National University. On this occasion, the Embassy stood.⁴⁰ Media coverage of the police using force against the protesters helped garner public support. This was a miscalculation on the part of the Australian Federal Police and the government. The *London Times* correspondent Stewart Harris, a passionate advocate for Aboriginal rights, commented on the spectacle of the Embassy and the nationwide television broadcast increased awareness and public sympathy. Harris further observed:

the experience of the Embassy and especially the brutal way it [the Embassy] was endorsed by government brought many older and perhaps more conservative Aborigines [sic] in behind the young radical leaders, after much initial doubt and suspicion of their motives.⁴¹

This miscalculation meant that the heavy-handedness used to try and silence activists and destroy the Embassy actually helped legitimise it for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.

In contrast to his Coalition adversaries, Labor Opposition Leader Gough Whitlam demonstrated a willingness to engage with the Embassy. He attended the Embassy in early 1972 to speak with activists. At the time, it was widely regarded that the Australian Labor Party was more sympathetic to Aboriginal causes than the Liberal Government.⁴² The fact that the only Aboriginal parliamentarian of the time, Senator Neville

38 'Sunday July 23—The Aboriginal Embassy', *Newsletter on Aboriginal Affairs*, no. 3 (1972), AIATSIS, RS 21/18, 6.

39 'Affinity—Info Compiled @ the Aboriginal Tent Embassy', NLA, 3045606, 1.

40 Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy*, 350–51.

41 Nick McLaren, 'Black Power, ASIO and Media Framing of the 1972 Aboriginal Tent Embassy', AIATSIS, MS 4862, 52.

42 Lorna Lippmann, 'Some Policy Differences Between Aboriginal Organizations the Major Political Parties', *Newsletter on Aboriginal Affairs*, no. 2 (1972), 4.

Bonner, was a Liberal did not alter the government's position. John Newfong wrote excitedly of the strong sense of accomplishment felt by activists after Whitlam's visit. The Embassy had delivered its five-point plan for land rights to Whitlam, which included statehood for the Northern Territory as an Aboriginal state, land and mining rights to reserve lands and capital cities, preservation of sacred sites and compensation for land the Crown continued to possess.

The meeting with Whitlam enabled the Embassy to be heard as a genuine representative organ. Although Whitlam did not commit to all of the demands, the fact that he had dignified the Embassy with his attendance, listened to activists sincerely and promised to recognise land rights inspired tremendous pride at the site.⁴³ Co-founder Michael Anderson was equally positive about the meeting, later describing it as a 'defining moment' and elaborating that '[o]ne of the key things that emerged [...] was [Whitlam's message] [...] you young fellas are doing a wonderful thing taking the fight to the Australian public'.⁴⁴ By the end of 1972, Whitlam was prime minister. Whereas the Coalition Government had been unreceptive to the land rights message, the meeting with Whitlam was an example of the Embassy enabling Aboriginal voices to reach politicians at the highest level.

The activists who had built the Embassy had intended for it to represent *all* Aboriginal people and they worked diligently to ensure that it was a representative institution that many Aboriginal people could relate to. The fact that the Embassy was a tent was incredibly symbolic. Activists quickly grew conscious of the symbolism that emerged from their re-erection of the Embassy after government attempts to destroy it. The use of a tent symbolised the impoverished living conditions of Aboriginal people across the country. The site was both a traditional Ngunnawal–Wiradjuri meeting ground and the ground on which the Australian Parliament stood.⁴⁵ The space was therefore one that illustrated the illegal and unjust authority exercised by the state over Aboriginal life. The Embassy's presence disrupted idealised political ideas of inclusivity and representation and was even satirical in nature. But although the Embassy was an exercise of satire, and even self-deprecation, it was sincere in its

43 John Newfong, 'The Aboriginal Embassy: Its Purpose and Aims', *Identity* 1, no. 5 (July 1972), 4–6.

44 McLaren, 'Black Power', 46.

45 'Register of the National Estate Database Place Report', Embassy Ephemera Material, NLA, 1075946, 20.

attempt to undermine the Commonwealth, to make it look foolish and in doing so highlight what Muldoon and Schaap label its 'defective claim to sovereignty'.⁴⁶

Efforts to violently remove the Embassy from the lawns of Parliament House also meant that it became a symbol of Aboriginal resilience. Nicole Watson has documented the initial discussions between Michael Anderson, Billy Craigie, Tony Coorey and Bertie Williams and the police: when told that the Embassy would remain until land rights were granted the police exclaimed that the Embassy might be there 'forever'.⁴⁷ With many land rights issues still unresolved, the Embassy continues to occupy the same lawn today. To many, the struggle to keep re-erecting the Embassy evoked a deep sense of empathy, as activists demonstrated much resilience and adaptability: two attributes with which Aboriginal communities have become well acquainted as they have fought and endured discrimination, survived genocide and maintained their culture.

The choice of the Embassy's site has been labelled by Iveson as 'a brilliant hijacking of the nationally symbolic space'.⁴⁸ Amid the buildings of the Parliament, High Court, National Library, National Gallery and later Reconciliation Place, and in perfect alignment across the lake with Anzac Parade and the Australian War Memorial, the Embassy throws Aboriginal sovereignty into the spotlight, contesting the narratives that these institutions represented at the time.⁴⁹ In doing so, it realises an 'ontological disturbance' to the Australian War Memorial, issuing what Nicoll calls a 'challenge to a white racial regime'.⁵⁰ Given the failure of the Memorial to commemorate the Frontier Wars—in contrast to its willingness to commemorate Aboriginal soldiers who served the Commonwealth—the assimilation of Aboriginal identity into the citizenry of the Australian state is once again made a precondition to recognition or participation. The Embassy's agitation is therefore well directed, in the words of Muldoon and Schaap, 'frustrating attempts by the constituted power to monopolize

46 Muldoon and Schaap, 'Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Politics of Reconciliation', 534.

47 Nicole Watson, 'What Do We Want? Not Native Title, That's For Bloody Sure', in *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy*, 294.

48 Kurt Iveson, 'The Spatial Politics of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, Canberra', in *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy*, 251.

49 Paul Muldoon and Andrew Schaap, 'The Constitutional Politics of the Aboriginal Embassy', in *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy*, 225 & 228.

50 Fiona Nicoll, 'War by Other Means: The Australian War Memorial and the Aboriginal Tent Embassy in National Space and Time', in *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy*, 267 & 282.

the meaning of public space'.⁵¹ Similarly, the Embassy operates in stark contrast to the narrative of progress depicted by Reconciliation Place.⁵² The fact that the Embassy's occupation was able to continue because of Aboriginal exclusion from laws relating to citizenship has only heightened the ironic currency of its spatial agitation.

As a symbol that represents the political interests of Aboriginal people, the Embassy was also constructed to reflect the deprived living conditions that so many Aboriginal people faced in 1972, deprivation that continues to affect many Aboriginal people today. There were two underlying reasons why this was especially important. First, gunyahs,⁵³ humpies and tents offered commentary on homelessness in the personal sense, particularly in places like Alice Springs. They brought together the 'reserve [and] urban', and the 'poor and shabby'.⁵⁴ Activists felt it was crucial that the Embassy be relatable to Aboriginal people, especially those battling poverty and homelessness. Roberta Sykes said as much to officials at a 1972 meeting with Department of Interior officials where it was suggested that the Embassy might be relocated to an office. Sykes' recollection of her objection is: 'We don't want your deluxe suites that our people can't relate to, we don't want fancy accommodation [...] We just want to put our tents back up'. Her feeling was that 'hopes and aspirations [were] symbolised by the ragged embassy tent'.⁵⁵

The homelessness being symbolised in the Tent Embassy spoke to the widespread cultural and physical displacement of Aboriginal people across the continent. Aboriginal people were displaced by colonisation, and the stance of the McMahon Government offered little hope for improvement. Perhaps these two levels of symbolism are best captured by Gary Foley who remarked in 1972 that:

[t]he government [...] declared us aliens in our own land [...] [W]e need an Embassy just like all the other aliens. But our Embassy won't be a flash one [...] ours will be a tent, to symbolize the material conditions in which Aboriginal people are living.⁵⁶

51 Muldoon and Schaap, 'Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Politics of Reconciliation', 540.

52 Muldoon and Schaap, 'Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Politics of Reconciliation', 539.

53 Muldoon and Schaap, 'Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Politics of Reconciliation', 540.

54 Roberta Sykes, 'Hope's Ragged Symbol'.

55 Roberta Sykes, 'Hope's Ragged Symbol'.

56 Howell, 'Black Power—By Any Means Necessary', 75.

The Tent Embassy was (and is) much more than a tent purporting to be an Embassy. It embodied the struggles overshadowing Aboriginal life and offered a jarring insight into many Aboriginal people's circumstances.

As both a symbol and an event, the Embassy embraced its ironic position for satirical effect. In Foley's words, this 'gentle irony [...] enabled the activists to make pompous government officials look like fools'. Humour, an excellent medium for fostering understanding in Australia, helped contribute to the Embassy's relatability for many Aboriginal people, but also 'appealed to the Australian larrikin sense of humour'.⁵⁷ It was powerful in three distinct but related ways: as a form of amusement, 'making fools out of government'⁵⁸ and communicating with the public. Activists were aware that their agitation was something of 'a wag's act'.⁵⁹ The use of a beach umbrella on 26 January 1972 because a tent had yet to be located was symptomatic of the haphazard but highly amusing style now widely understood to be synonymous with the Embassy.

The Embassy's satire could be conveyed through both juxtaposition and good fortune. Foley, quoted by Muldoon and Schaap, has explained that 'satire and ridicule' were obvious choices to the Embassy's Aboriginal activists because 'Australian society, its political institutions and mythology were laughable [to Aboriginal people]'.⁶⁰ The image on the opening pages of this article illustrates the rawest form of this juxtaposition, with Parliament House in all its grandeur and formality contrasted against a dilapidated-looking tent. Importantly, the aim was not to make light of the way Aboriginal people suffered from their position *within* Australia. The Embassy sought to undermine the Commonwealth to assert that Aboriginal people exist *without* it. This argument borrows from Muldoon and Schaap who observe the Embassy's ongoing 'indifference to the reconciliation process' and 'refusal to recognize the legitimacy of the Australian state which has incorporated [Aboriginal people] as citizens'.⁶¹ Fortune favoured the brave in 1972; special Aboriginal exemption from laws against trespass established in lieu of dispossession and chronic homelessness enabled the protest to survive, endure and grow.⁶² As an event, the establishment of the Embassy became a stunt that 'humiliated'

57 Foley, 'A Reflection on the First Thirty Days of the Embassy', 23.

58 Howell, 'Black Power—By Any Means Necessary', 75.

59 Robinson, 'The Aboriginal Embassy', 7.

60 Muldoon and Schaap, 'The Constitutional Politics of the Aboriginal Embassy', 224.

61 Muldoon and Schaap, 'Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Politics of Reconciliation', 535.

62 Muldoon and Schaap, 'The Constitutional Politics of the Aboriginal Embassy', 231.

government officials such as Minister Ralph Hunt, who Paul Coe alleges confessed his 'embarrassment' at the government's inability to manage the fiasco that the Embassy provoked.⁶³

This article has sought to demonstrate that the Aboriginal Tent Embassy was, and still is, an important symbol that Aboriginal activists created and have continued to sustain since the 1970s—consciously and conscientiously. The Embassy consolidated the belief in the sovereignty of Aboriginal people as rightful custodians of the land, and more contemporaneous influences—including the Black Power movement and the effect of migration to urban areas in the 1950s and 1960s—helped foster an emerging pan-Aboriginal identity that more easily transcended 'national' boundaries. In this way it reflected the activists who created and nurtured it.

The tent as a symbol meant different things to the government of the day, and also to the Opposition, particularly its leader Gough Whitlam. Most importantly, however, the Embassy was a space designed to appeal to the shared experiences of Aboriginal people. By symbolising the resilience and displacement of Aboriginal people, the Embassy shed light on everyday hardship. The site itself was significant, projecting important Aboriginal issues into Canberra, in front of another great symbol, Parliament House. Moreover, the Embassy drew on Australian humour to further its cause. It satirised the Commonwealth and the relationship it had with Aboriginal people. Indeed, it continues to do so today, distinguishing itself from formal (state-sanctioned) symbols such as Reconciliation Place.⁶⁴ The Embassy remains lively today, now juxtaposed against 'Old' Parliament House, fighting for the rights and interests of Aboriginal Australia.

63 Paul Coe speech, 30 July 1972, recorded by Derek Freeman, transcribed in 'Confrontation at the Embassy', in *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy*, 182.

64 Muldoon and Schaap, 'Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Politics of Reconciliation', 539–40.

A new dawn: Rights for women in Louisa Lawson's *The Dawn*

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Abstract: *Published in Australia between 1888 and 1905, Louisa Lawson's monthly journal, The Dawn, proposed a vision of society where women enjoyed increased political and social agency. Women's suffrage was integral to such a vision, and through The Dawn Lawson was able to blend arguments for the enfranchisement of women with discussions about morality, sexual difference, family and marriage. Lawson was central to the production and success of The Dawn, with the journal being her primary public platform. Somewhat surprisingly, however, most of the existing historiography foregrounds Lawson's personal life and her relationship with her son, author and poet, Henry Lawson. Although The Dawn is frequently cited as one of Lawson's most significant achievements, its contents are generally not examined in any depth. This article seeks to explore some of the key issues pursued by the journal in its campaign for women's suffrage, considering the ways in which Lawson entangled suffrage with broader anxieties surrounding social progress and improvement. As Lawson argues, womanhood suffrage was as much about the wellbeing of society as it was about equality for women.*

In 1888, Louisa Lawson imagined a radical vision for the future—a time when men and women would enjoy social and political equality. Lawson believed that securing the enfranchisement of women was of paramount importance. Her perspective was informed by her experiences of growing up in poverty, an unhappy marriage, divorce and her struggle to support her children as a single mother.¹ After moving to Sydney in 1883, Lawson became involved in discussions of womanhood suffrage, which fuelled her desire to improve women's position in society.² Lawson feared that:

1 Susan Magarey, Sue Rowley and Susan Sheridan, *Debutante Nation: Feminism Contests the 1890s* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1993), 55.

2 Olive Lawson, *The First Voice of Australian Feminism: Excerpts from Louisa Lawson's 'The Dawn' 1889–1895* (Sydney: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 11.

A woman's opinions are useless to her, she may suffer unjustly, she may be wronged, but she has no power to weightily petition against man's laws, no representatives to urge her views, her only method to procure release, redress, or change, is to ceaselessly agitate with the hope that after many years the sense of justice in the majority of her rulers may be stirred and some tardy concession be granted, perhaps in time to benefit her grand-daughters.³

As part of her campaign for women's suffrage, Lawson began publishing *The Dawn* in 1888.⁴ From its inception, Lawson wanted the journal to be published and produced entirely by women. While other women were involved, the journal regularly espoused its editor's perspective as many articles were written and edited by Lawson herself. The journal was Lawson's primary platform and mouthpiece throughout the 17 years of its publication. In line with her political ambitions, the journal's contents covered a range of political issues, ranging from voting to temperance. By exploring the arguments and assertions presented in *The Dawn*, this article considers the overarching political ideas presented in the journal and argues that through advocating for women's interests, Lawson sought to herald in a new dawn for women's rights in Australia.

Crucially, Lawson's journal did not argue for women's suffrage in isolation from other political and social issues, but rather positioned the enfranchisement of women within the context of a broader improvement of women's lives. In this respect, *The Dawn* was radical for the period, envisioning women's suffrage as an essential and integral part of society's advancement and intertwining it with broader social debates and anxieties surrounding morality, gender, education, temperance and marriage.⁵ Published monthly, and sold both individually and by subscription, the journal had readers from across Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Europe and the United States of America.⁶

3 'Women's Suffrage', *The Dawn*, 1 July 1889, 14.

4 Susan Magarey, *Passions of the First Wave Feminists* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2001), 58.

5 Brian Matthews, *Louisa* (Melbourne: McPhee Gribble Publishers, 1987), 163.

6 Magarey, *Passions of the First Wave Feminists*, 58.



Figure 1: Front page of *The Dawn*, vol. 1, no. 1 (15 May 1888).

Collection: State Library of New South Wales.

Since the 1970s, the rise of women's history has seen several scholars foreground Lawson and her achievements. Susan Magarey's *The Passions of the First Wave Feminists* weaves Lawson's story into the context of the wider women's movement. Susanna De Vries's *Great Australian Women* provides a concise biography, emphasising Lawson's determination to publish *The Dawn*. Others have offered a more focused approach to Lawson's life. Published in 1987, Brian Matthew's *Louisa* tackles Lawson's life and the limitations of biography. More recently, Richard Handley's *That Mad Louisa* focuses on the editor's sanity, aiming to dispel accusations that she was insane—Lawson had been severely injured in a tram accident in 1902 and died, impoverished, at the Hospital for the Insane in Gladesville in 1920.⁷ While these publications largely focus on Lawson's life more broadly, this article will address how she used *The Dawn* to advocate for women's rights.

Lawson wrote most of *The Dawn*'s editorials, with a style that has been described as 'blunt spirited, evangelising and often abrasive'.⁸ While many historians acknowledge the role Lawson and *The Dawn* played in advocating for women's suffrage, they are less critical about how her concern with gender relations, marriage, temperance and employment contributed to the journal's vision of women's rights. As I argue here, by examining the editorials in several issues of *The Dawn*—generally the longest piece in the journal, similar to the opinion and editorial sections of other contemporary journals and magazines—it becomes clear that *The Dawn* actually presents a utopian vision of the political role that women might play. In *Louisa*, Matthews proposes that Lawson's true radicalism was that she had a vision of women's role in a new world order.⁹ *The Dawn* allowed Lawson to explore the dynamics and practicalities of such a world—one where men and women were equal. A woman of this new society would have the right to vote, divorce, own land, have custody of children and to enjoy economic independence.¹⁰ She would also always put her home first.

7 Richard Handley, *That Mad Louisa* (Melbourne: JoJo Publishing, 2011).

8 Sharyn Pearce, 'From Bush Battler to City Editor: Louisa Lawson and the *Dawn*', *Journal of Australian Studies* 21 (1997), 13: doi.org/10.1080/14443059709387332.

9 Matthews, *Louisa*, 178.

10 Matthews, *Louisa*, 178.

Despite Lawson's emphasis on the domestic, the image of a 'new woman' was perhaps the most radical element of *The Dawn*. Such a woman would occupy a leading position in a society that had been reformed by women's morality.¹¹ *The Dawn* promoted women's moral influence on men, as well as the need for women's voices to be heard:

There has hitherto been no trumpet through which the concentrated voices of womankind could publish their grievances and their opinions. Men legislate on divorce, on hours of labor, and many another question intimately affecting women, but neither ask nor know the wishes of those whose lives and happiness are most concerned.¹²

Popular arguments against the enfranchisement of women posited that women did not know enough about politics to vote sensibly—that it was a danger to democracy if 'immoral' women were allowed to vote.¹³ Critics ignored the fact that 'immoral' men had suffrage, enjoying the same rights as 'moral' men irrespective of their morality. Contrary to the views of many, *The Dawn* argued that women knew as much about politics as men because the home was a site of politics itself, deeply entangled in public life.

Many objections to women's suffrage were based on the belief that men's and women's roles lay in separate spheres. The Victorian period brought increased division between work and home.¹⁴ As a result, women were seen as being confined to the domestic sphere, while the public sphere was dominated by men.¹⁵

Living in rural New South Wales with six children and a husband who was often away working, Lawson had experienced firsthand the helplessness of being confined by the domestic.¹⁶ Her experiences of rural life and marriage compelled her to fight for equality for men *and* women. At the first meeting of her suffrage organisation, the Dawn Club, Lawson appealed:

11 Matthews, *Louisa*, 176.

12 'About Ourselves', *The Dawn*, 15 May 1888, 1.

13 'Women's Suffrage', 12.

14 Magarey, *Passions of the First Wave Feminists*, 64.

15 Magarey, *Passions of the First Wave Feminists*, 64.

16 Susanna De Vries, *The Complete Book of Great Australian Women* (Sydney: Harper Collins, 2003), 21–24.

Who ordained that men only should make the laws to which both men and women have to conform? [...] Pray why should one half of the world govern the other half? Is it just to first ensure the silence of the weaker half by depriving them of a citizen's status, and then inform them that by the laws of the stronger section this is the way they must act and this is the way the world may legally use them.¹⁷

Many women felt that an injustice was being committed against them by their exclusion from federal and state elections. Lawson identified the issues that women were especially concerned with: marriage and divorce, custody of children, age of consent, education and labour rights.¹⁸ These areas of concern—on which men were considered unqualified to provide advice—are central to how *The Dawn* framed and furthered their cause. Those opposed to women's suffrage argued that 'women have no need to vote because justice is always done even though they are silent'.¹⁹ Lawson's conception of femininity and masculinity was embedded in an understanding of the inherent differences between genders. Her ambition was to help erode the separation of spheres that excluded women from political participation and to elevate the political and social position of women.

Lawson firmly rejected arguments against suffrage that were based on women's lack of education or experience. *The Dawn* rebuked those who described women as having *less* knowledge of politics or commercial training than men: 'It is clear that women are at work and that they are fit to work' because of their continual labour in the home as well as their increasing presence in more public positions.²⁰ Beyond remedying women's exclusion from voting, Lawson recognised that if she was to truly combat the presumptions underpinning anti-suffrage campaigners, women needed more than the vote; they needed agency both in the home and outside it. She was conscious of the divisiveness of opinions surrounding women's suffrage, but wanted to reconcile men and women on both sides of the debate for a future of equality:

17 'Women's Suffrage', 12.

18 John Docker, *The Nervous Nineties: Australian Cultural Life in the 1890s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 20.

19 'Women's Suffrage', 12.

20 'Women's Suffrage', 13.

We hope to avoid sectarianism as a false and blighting thing, and recognise our helpers upon the broad basis of human being, of human kindness, of desire to think truly and to act well; we do not hope or expect to think alike, but know that there must be 'diversity in unity', and wish for the freest interchange of thought and expression and the closest criticism of both.²¹

As John Docker argues, *The Dawn* could not really be classified as separatist due to its belief in an open interchange between men and women.²² In Lawson's words, 'politics in reality covers nearly all questions which a thinking man or woman do now consider and form opinions upon'.²³ Therefore, while they might manifest differently, women had just as many political interests as men. Through *The Dawn*, Lawson sought to broaden the conversation surrounding womanhood suffrage by giving it renewed everyday relevance, bringing politics into the home.

By positioning politics as a household issue, *The Dawn* was able to expand its audience. Its success was in part due to its involvement with other social movements, particularly the labour movement. Labour publications throughout the colonies published material to support the suffrage cause. Such newspapers, in conjunction with *The Dawn*, made the womanhood suffrage campaign more accessible to working-class families. In September 1893, the front page of the Queensland edition of *The Worker* featured a pro-suffrage image titled 'What We Want' (see Figure 2). While not directly associated with *The Dawn* per se, the image demonstrates that *The Worker* was concerned with similar issues. The rising sun in the background represents the dawn of a new era, one of 'prosperity' and 'equal opportunities for all' (see Figure 2). Lawson's vision of equality was not constrained to *The Dawn*.

21 'Women's Suffrage', 14.

22 Docker, *The Nervous Nineties*, 20.

23 'That Nonsensical Idea', *The Dawn*, 5 June 1890, 2.



WHAT WE WANT.

Figure 2: Pro-suffrage 'What We Want' image published on the front page of *The Worker*, September 1893.

Collection: State Library of Queensland.

The Dawn's position on women's role in an ideal new world order was, like arguments against the enfranchisement of women, based on assumptions of the inherent differences between the character of men and women. However, the emphasis was on women's positive traits and strengths rather than their perceived weaknesses. Central to many of *The Dawn's* articles was the idea that votes for women would assist in creating a more moral society because politicians—men—would be more accountable if they answered to women voters.²⁴ In an article titled 'That Nonsensical Idea', Lawson argues that women are the 'better behaved sex' because there are more male criminals.²⁵ While this is not the most compelling statistic, its use demonstrates how eager Lawson was to prove the essential morality of women. The journal sought to elevate the moral status of women, arguing that 'the life and work of every woman is just as essential to the good of the community as that of every man'.²⁶ In her editorials, Lawson strategically portrays men who oppose suffrage as weak and frightened of the consequences of womanhood suffrage. As she argues in June 1890:

Probably it is because they know that with women voting the men of bad character would have little chance of future election, that makes men so fearful that women might not use it well.²⁷

Men, according to Lawson, were frightened of the consequences of granting women direct political influence. Lawson also highlighted the 'immoral' behaviours that she saw as prevalent among the male population:

Consideration might also be well spent on the cause which has rendered prevalent among men, though absent as a rule, from women, such vices as bibulousness, gluttony, sensual appetite, and a morbid taste for gambling [...] though custom and inherited opinion have habituated us to judge the actions of men and women by different standards, the inherited squint does not justify perpetual ignorance as to the side where reform is most seriously and urgently needed.²⁸

Lawson saw the worrying state of contemporary society as a result of excluding half the population from political processes. As Matthews suggests, *The Dawn* not only addressed specific political and social issues, but also sought to demonstrate that society could be perfected by

24 'Women's Suffrage', 12.

25 'That Nonsensical Idea', 2.

26 'That Nonsensical Idea', 1.

27 'That Nonsensical Idea', 2.

28 'The Man Question, or the Woman Question Re-stated', *The Dawn*, 2 September 1889, 6.

following the example set by women.²⁹ As such, Lawson believed that granting women the right to vote would encourage both men and women to better care for each other.³⁰

The February 1891 issue of *The Dawn* saw its subtitle change from 'a journal for Australian women' to 'a journal for the household'. The change highlighted what had been present from the start: Lawson was not simply pitching her ideas to Australia's middle class, but to everyone in every home, including husbands and children.

The Dawn even included sections for children, although much of the advertising content was dedicated to products and services for the household, including cleaning products, clothing and medical advice. Like other feminists of the period, Lawson still regarded the household as central to a woman's life. For example, she did not necessarily seek the right for women to stand for Parliament, believing that a woman would always put the home first.³¹ The ideal woman of Lawson's utopian future was multi-tasking: active in political life while also caring for her family and household. One article uses Queen Victoria as an example of a woman who traverses private and public spheres. She is synchronously a good public leader, a good wife and a mother: the perfect woman.³² Here, images of domesticity are positioned as essential to feminine power.

In *The Dawn*'s editorials, women and girls are upheld as more useful to the community because they are central to home life. Lawson describes how daughters help their mothers while sons are idle. She appears to reference her own experiences, writing of a woman who tirelessly runs a boarding house to support her family while her son plays cards and the piano.³³

There are hundreds of young fellows able to work, yet invariably idle: so long as they have parents, they think it the duty of those parents to support them. There are mothers who are almost content to see their sons idle at home, so greatly do they apprehend disgrace and trouble when the boys are abroad and unwatched, and though education has, in many cases, a happily mollifying effect, the balance is against the men in all classes. A city man complained the other day that of his six sons,

29 Matthews, *Louisa*, 178.

30 Marilyn Lake, 'Women and Nation in Australia: The Politics of Representation', *The Australian Journal of Politics and History* 43, no. 1 (1997), 41: doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8497.1997.tb01377.x.

31 'That Nonsensical Idea', 3.

32 'The Man Question, or the Woman Question Re-stated', 6.

33 'The Man Question, or the Woman Question Re-stated', 6.

he had little hope of either; another mourned the ruin of his only son, now a confirmed drunkard. Hundreds of others dare not enquire what is the evening occupation of their sons, being well aware that tippling, gaming, or compassing the ruin of some poor girl, form their customary employments.³⁴

While many boys sat idle, they were able to vote. At the same time, moral women and ladies who could help reform society were unable to do so.³⁵ Intriguingly, although Lawson saw the household and family as of central importance, marriage was not necessarily a beneficial or happy arrangement for women. Thus, *The Dawn* consistently campaigned for women's rights *within* marriage. Without adequate protection under the law, women were vulnerable to the tyranny of abusive partners. For example, in articles relating to the Divorce Extension Bill of 1890, Lawson positioned herself as a staunch supporter:

There is no law to punish a man for deceiving his wife. He may do violence to the best feelings of her nature; outrage the holiest emotions of her heart, and there is none to condemn. If he defrauds his fellow man of a shilling the law will deal with him. If he robs his wife by brutal deceit of all faith in mankind, health, peace, happiness, and of her life by the slow torture of a breaking heart—what of it? All he has to do is to bury her and seek another victim in another woman who believes him.³⁶

Here Lawson highlights the injustice of women's lack of legal protection within the home; a married woman was without legal protection from her husband: the wife was effectively punished for her husband's behaviour because she remained trapped in the marriage.³⁷

In addition to advocating for increased rights through the Divorce Extension Bill, *The Dawn* encouraged women's economic independence. Work was seen as the key to preventing women from being forced into unhappy marriages.³⁸ Economic independence for women was at the centre of the vision of a new world order. Lawson's vision is clear in the leading article of 1 August 1892:

34 'The Man Question, or the Woman Question Re-stated', 6.

35 'The Man Question, or the Woman Question Re-stated', 6.

36 'The Divorce Extension Bill, Or, The Drunkard's Wife', *The Dawn*, 6 March 1890, 7.

37 Marilyn Lake, *Getting Equal* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1999), 8.

38 Docker, *The Nervous Nineties*, 12.

In a hundred years her economic dependence, which is one of the chief causes of trouble in our present marriage law will have given place to recognition and accordance of her proper place in the monetary and social relations of the community.³⁹

This recognition extends beyond an acknowledgement of women's capacity to work, envisioning a 'legal union of equality' where husband and wife are entitled to equal rights within their marriage.⁴⁰ Lawson believed that this equality would provide stronger, more stable and healthier marriages, which would in turn strengthen the state. She called marriage 'an institution [that] has been found necessary to the well-being of the state'.⁴¹ As John Docker argues, *The Dawn* maintained that the family was the foundation of the state.⁴² In many ways, the campaign for equal rights in marriage was part of the broader campaign for women to have their voices heard in the political sphere.

The Dawn demonstrates how various social movements were interrelated during the 1890s. For instance, the temperance movement arose from a general concern that society was degrading morally and women and children were unsafe when their husbands and fathers were drunken.⁴³ Many women who joined temperance organisations sought to protect themselves and their families from the antisocial behaviour that often accompanied men's consumption of alcohol.⁴⁴

Lawson reflects similar views in *The Dawn*, lamenting that idle men often become drunkards because they have nothing else to do with their time due to their domestic idleness.⁴⁵ She believes that temperance would reduce the pressure on the woman to keep the household together and presents solutions to increasing societal degeneracy. In an article from August 1901, Lawson even agitates for the wide availability of fresh water in order to prevent 'our men and boys from being driven to the necessity of entering a public-house when thirsty'.⁴⁶ The attention to the details of this issue, such as adequate provision of fresh water, demonstrates how

39 'Marriage Not A Failure', *The Dawn*, 1 August 1892, 7.

40 'Marriage Not A Failure', 7.

41 'Marriage Not A Failure', 7.

42 Docker, *The Nervous Nineties*, 20.

43 'Adult Suffrage', *The Dawn*, 1 August 1901, 7.

44 Jack Blocker, David Fahey and Ian Tyrrell, *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History* (California: ABC-CLIO, 2003), 76.

45 'The Man Question, or the Woman Question Re-stated', 6.

46 'Adult Suffrage', 7.

Lawson was concerned with the welfare of families across all social classes and the emphasis that she placed on the family as the foundation of the state.⁴⁷ Without cohesive families that provided for and cared for each other, men and women could not enjoy equality.

From the beginning of the journal's publication, Lawson argued that women needed to decide on their own opinions; she wanted her readers to have faith in their independent thoughts and judgements, firmly believing that women should speak for themselves. In an interview for the *Bulletin*, Lawson told the interviewer:

No, I don't run down men, but I do run down their vanity—especially when they're talking and writing about women. A man editing a ladies' paper! Or talking about a woman's question in Parliament! I don't know whether to laugh or cry: they know so little about us. We see it.⁴⁸

Describing the status of the suffrage movement in 1890, Lawson wrote that 'those who have no opinions should begin to lay the foundations on which to build a sane judgement one way or another'.⁴⁹ Here it is clear that Lawson saw *The Dawn* as integral to preparing women for enfranchisement, dispensing knowledge that would aid women in making informed decisions. This appeal continued through the 1890s and into the new century, illustrating how the suffrage question was not easily resolved after Federation. On the front page of the August 1901 edition, every woman was urged 'to seriously consider her duty with respect to the responsibilities to the franchise'.⁵⁰ While there appears to be some concern that women were not united enough in the suffrage movement, Lawson characterised opponents' arguments as overused and outdated:

That we have not cried loud enough and with one voice has been the peg upon which opponents to womanhood suffrage in and out of Parliament have hung their time-worn and threadbare arguments against the granting of the parliamentary vote to women.⁵¹

The Dawn considered women responsible for supporting womanhood suffrage. Lawson's appeals to women demonstrate how she wanted women to be engaged and held accountable in the same way as men. By 1903,

47 Karen Lee, 'The Vote that Shook the Nation', *The Australian Rationalist*, no. 80 (June 2008), 5.

48 AG Stephens, 'A Poet's Mother: Louisa Lawson', in *Colonial Voices*, ed. Elizabeth Webby (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1989), 353.

49 'Suffrage', *The Dawn*, 5 June 1890, 3.

50 'Adult Suffrage', 7.

51 'Adult Suffrage', 7.

The Dawn was able to write about how the enfranchisement of women had changed society. According to Lawson, the position of women in New South Wales had changed materially in 'public as well as private life' following suffrage.⁵²

Louisa Lawson's *The Dawn* envisioned a new world order where men and women would enjoy equal rights. Lawson's views were radical and hopeful, for they not only advocated womanhood suffrage, but imagined the wider-ranging political and social elevation of women. *The Dawn*'s 17-year print run established a wealth of literature that demonstrates how womanhood suffrage was closely interrelated with other social causes. In many respects, Lawson's vision of the role women would play in society's future heralded arguments of modern feminism. *The Dawn* sought to ensure that women's voices were heard in the political sphere by consistently and passionately arguing that women have as much right as men to vote. During the course of its publication, it set the foundations for a future that would welcome a new dawn of women's rights.

52 'Circumstances Alter Cases', *The Dawn*, 1 June 1903, 6.

Cultural responses to the migration of the barn swallow in Europe

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Abstract: *This paper investigates the place of barn swallows in European folklore and science from the Bronze Age to the nineteenth century. It takes the swallow's natural migratory patterns as a starting point, and investigates how different cultural groups across this period have responded to the bird's departure in autumn and its subsequent return every spring. While my analysis is focused on classical European texts, including scientific and theological writings, I have also considered the swallow's representation in art. The aim of this article is to build a longue durée account of how beliefs about the swallow have evolved over time, even as the bird's migratory patterns have remained the same. As I argue, the influence of classical texts on medieval and Renaissance thought in Europe allows us to consider a temporal progression (and sometimes regression) in the way barn swallow migration was explained and understood.*

The barn swallow

The barn swallow (*Hirundo rustica*) has two defining characteristics that have shaped how people living in Europe have responded to its presence over the centuries. The first relates to its movement across continents. The swallow migrates to Africa every autumn and returns to Asia in spring for breeding. Second, it is a bird that is often found in urban environments, typically nesting in or on buildings to rear its young.¹ These two characteristics have meant that the barn swallow has been a feature of European life for centuries and has prompted a myriad of responses in science and folklore—particularly in Greek mythology. Yet, although the

1 Stanley Cramp (ed.), *Handbook of the Birds of Europe, the Middle East and North Africa: The Birds of the Western Palearctic*, vol. 5 (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 263ff.

barn swallow is well known for its appearance in the Greek myth of Procne and Philomela, this article only gives the myth cursory attention, focusing instead on how different European societies have attempted to explain the barn swallow's migration, rather than how they have mythologised it.

Before we continue, it is important to acknowledge that accounts of the barn swallow overlap with several species that are similar in appearance and behaviour. In Greek, the swallow was called *chelidon* (χελιδών), and in Latin, it was *hirundo*. These words generally referred to the barn swallow, but they were also used to refer to the house martin (*Delichon urbica*), red-rumped swallow (*H. daurica*), sand martin (*Riparia riparia*) and crag martin (*Ptyonoprogne rupestris*).² The swift (*Apus apus*), though not a part of the swallow family, is somewhat similar in appearance and might also be confused with the swallow when seen in flight.

Pliny the Elder (25–79 CE) is the only ancient Roman author who makes an attempt to distinguish between different types of *hirundo*, noting the differences between the barn swallow, house martin and sand martin on the basis of the nests they build.³ All these birds have a similar silhouette, typified by streamlined wings and a forked tail, but the barn swallow is distinguished by its bright red chin patch and more deeply forked tail. The house martin is the bird that is most likely to be confused with swallow, being most similar in appearance and also living in close proximity to people. However, at least among the ancients, the barn swallow appears to have been more keenly observed, for while there are many fine examples of the barn swallow in ancient art, there do not appear to be any of the house martin. Nevertheless, since the house martin and other *hirundines* share the swallow's migratory patterns, which are the focus of this study, I want to suggest that confusion between these species among contemporaries does not necessarily pose an insurmountable problem. While it might not always be possible to determine whether a barn swallow is indeed a barn swallow, if migration and cohabitation are attributed to the bird(s) being described, similar conclusions can be drawn.

2 W Geoffrey Arnott, *Birds in the Ancient World from A to Z* (London & New York: Routledge, 2007), 47: doi.org/10.4324/9780203946626.

3 Pliny, *Natural History*, 10.92–94, cited in H Rackham, *Natural History, Volume III: Books 8–11*, Loeb Classical Library 353 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940).

One further point that is important to note is that swallows and martins are insectivores, meaning they are harmless to food stores and therefore generally tolerated when they choose to nest in homes or public buildings. The eighteenth-century naturalist Gilbert White perhaps gives us the best introductory snapshot:

The *Hirundines* are a most inoffensive, harmless, entertaining, social and useful tribe of birds; they touch no fruit in our gardens; delight, all except one species, in attaching themselves to our houses; amuse us with their migrations, songs, and marvellous agility; and clear our outlets from the annoyances of gnats and other troublesome insects.⁴

With this, we can now begin to chart some of the different cultural responses to the barn swallow's behaviour, beginning with the ancient world.

Swallows in the Ancient Mediterranean

In Europe, the swallow has been greeted as spring's herald since time immemorial. Zooarchaeologist Dale Serjeantsen notes that Palaeolithic people would have watched for swallows and martins as a sign of spring and even shared caves with nesting parents.⁵ At the Minoan site of Akrotiri, which was devastated by the Thera eruption in the mid-second millennium BCE, the Minoan 'Spring Fresco' (c. 1600 BCE) features blooming lilies and dancing swallows.⁶ Hesiod (c. 700 BCE) believed that swallows proclaimed spring.⁷ Latin poets spoke of the 'stranger swallow' coming to announce springtime while the agricultural writer Columella (4–70 CE) advises farmers to prepare for spring planting when the

4 Gilbert White, cited in Eric Hosking and Cyril Newberry, *The Swallow* (London: Collins, 1946), 11.

5 Dale Serjeantsen, *Birds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1.

6 Mary B Hollinshead, 'The Swallows and Artists of Room Delta 2 at Akrotiri, Thera', *American Journal of Archaeology* 93, no. 3 (July 1989), 339–54: doi.org/10.2307/505585. It was initially believed the swallows were displaying courtship behaviour, but according to Hollinshead it depicts adults feeding juveniles on the wing. On fighting males, see Karen Polinger Foster, 'A Flight of Swallows', *American Journal of Archaeology* 99, no. 3 (July 1995), 409–25: doi.org/10.2307/506942.

7 Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 568, cited in Glenn W Most, *Theogony. Works and Days. Testimonia*, Loeb Classical Library 57 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007). See also Aristophanes, *Birds*, 714–15, cited in Jeffrey Henderson, *Birds. Lysistrata. Women at the Thesmophoria*, Loeb Classical Library 179 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

swallows return.⁸ The people of Rhodes particularly loved the swallow; you were considered lucky if a swallow nested in your house. Athenaeus of Naucratis, writing in the third century CE and quoting older literary works, records that after the first swallow was spotted the Rhodians would hold a festival and the children would sing:

He comes! He comes! Who loves to hear
Soft sunny hours, and seasons fair:
The swallow hither comes to rest
His sable wing and snowy breast.⁹

The children then ran to different houses and ‘played the *chelidon*’, demanding residents open their doors and give them food—rather like modern trick-or-treaters during Halloween.¹⁰ It is no coincidence that the swallow-loving Rhodians made charming perfume bottles in the shape of swallows (Figures 1 and 2).



Figure 1: Terracotta scent bottle found in Kameiros, Rhodian, c. 610–550 BCE.

Source: British Museum, 1860,0404.32.

8 Horace, *Epistles*, 1.7.12–13, cited in H Rushton Fairclough, *Satires. Epistles. The Art of Poetry*, Loeb Classical Library 194 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926); Ovid, *Fasti*, 1.157–158 & 2.853–856, cited in James G Frazer, *Fasti*, Loeb Classical Library 253 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931); Columella, *On Farming*, 11.2.21 & 10.80; ES Forster and Edward H Heffner, *On Agriculture, Volume III: Books 10–12. On Trees*, Loeb Classical Library 408 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955). See also Aelian, *On the Nature of Animals*, 1.52, cited in AF Scholfield, *On Animals, Volume I: Books 1–5*, Loeb Classical Library 446 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958).

9 Athenaeus, *The Intellectuals' Dinner Party*, 360c–d, translation from Charles Swainson, *Provincial Names and Folk Lore of British Birds* (London: Trübner & Co, 1885), 50.

10 Arnott, *Birds*, 47.

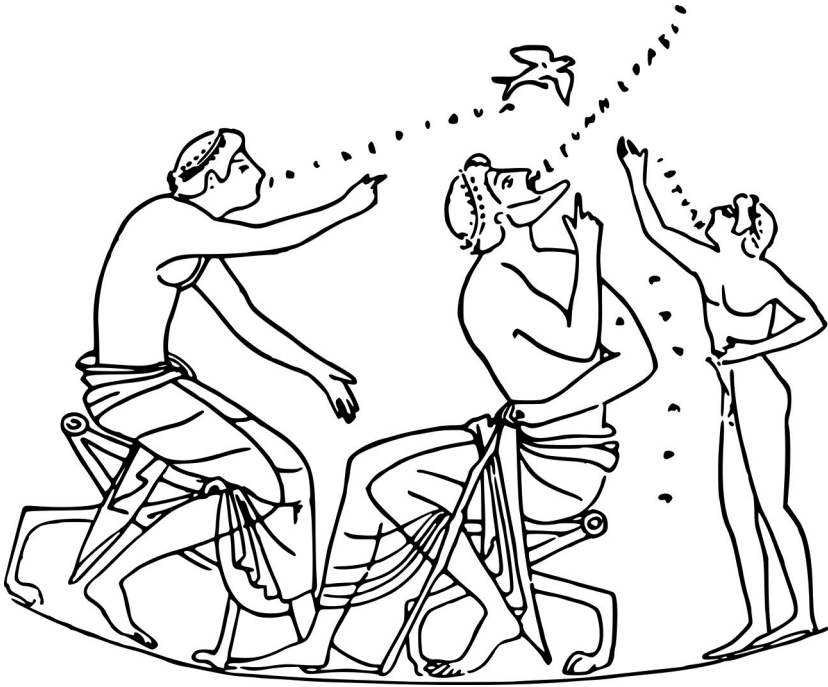


Figure 2: *The First Swallow of Spring.*

Source: Illustration from S Reinach, *Répertoire des vases peints* (Paris, 1899).

Another ancient representation comes from an Attic red figure vase (c. 510 BCE), where three men look at a swallow and cheer, ‘Look, a swallow [...] it must be spring!’ (Figure 3). Aristophanes gives a comedic parody of this sentiment when a character uses the same cheer to distract a cook in order to steal some meat, an account that indicates it was routine to announce the swallow’s return when it was first spotted.¹¹

The Roman writer Varro (116–27 BCE) observes that when the swallow returns he nests *in tecto*—literally, ‘under the roof’.¹² This is an oft-repeated idea, and is usually translated as ‘under the eaves’, a mistaken interpretation as the Roman word for ‘eave’ is *suggrunda*, while *tectum* is roof. There is a very good chance that when the ancients, both Greek and Roman, say the birds nested under their roofs they really do mean inside their houses, and not on the outer walls. As the early Scottish anthropologist

11 Aristophanes, *Knights*, 417–20, cited in Jeffrey Henderson, *Acharnians. Knights*, Loeb Classical Library 178 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

12 Varro, *On Agriculture*, 3.5.7, cited in WD Hooper and Harrison Boyd Ash, *On Agriculture*, Loeb Classical Library 283 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934).

James George Frazer explains, Greek houses would not have had glass in their windows, only shutters that were closed at night and open during the day. The roof beams were usually exposed so swallows and house martins could easily have entered through the windows and nested on the wooden beams. Since the shutters were closed at night, the swallows would have roused the household at first light by twittering impatiently to get out.¹³ Indeed, descriptions of swallows twittering around the heads of slumbering men and women at dawn are symbolic.¹⁴

Such behaviour also explains why the Roman author Aelian (175–235 CE) says that the birds share a house with men, and why men in turn were expected to extend Homer's laws of hospitality to the swallow—that is, befriend the guest who shares your table and send him on his way when he wants to go.¹⁵ In the same vein, Pliny notes that swallows are paradoxically wild and domestic at the same time.¹⁶ Untamed, yet living in homes, they were sacred to household gods and under their protection.¹⁷ The poet Ovid (43 BCE–18 CE) suggests that people generally avoided harming the bird because he is gentle.¹⁸

In Roman art of the early Empire, particularly in the Campanian region from 0–100 CE, there is a movement away from the traditional depiction of a swallow in flight towards a more homely, rustic image where it is perched around the house.¹⁹ On one villa wall painting a swallow is shown perched next to a sparrow in the role of domestic familiar.²⁰ Other descriptions show how closely people watched the swallow: their skill at

13 James Frazer, 'Swallows in the House', *The Classical Review* 5, no. 1/2 (February 1891), 1–3: doi.org/10.1017/S0009840X00992990.

14 *Greek Anthology*, vol. 237, cited in WR Paton and Michael A Tueller, *Greek Anthology, Volume I*, Loeb Classical Library 67 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014). This text was written by Agathius Scholasticus in the mid-sixth century and it complains of swallows waking the poet from a pleasant sex dream at dawn. See also Aelian, *On the Nature of Animals*, 9.17.

15 Aelian, *On the Nature of Animals*, 1.52; Homer, *Odyssey* 15.72–74, cited in AT Murrury, *Odyssey, Volume II: Books 13–24*, Loeb Classical Library 105 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919).

16 Pliny, *Natural History*, 8.82.

17 Aelian, *On the Nature of Animals*, 10.34.

18 Aelian, *On the Nature of Animals*, 1.58; Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, 2.149–150, cited in JH Mozley and GP Goold, *Art of Love. Cosmetics. Remedies for Love. Ibis. Walnut-tree. Sea Fishing. Consolation*, Loeb Classical Library 232 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929). In Latin, *mitis* is translated to mean mild, meek or gentle.

19 Arnott, *Birds*, 48.

20 Jeremy Mynott, *Birds in the Ancient World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), illustration 3.11.

building nests was prodigious.²¹ In one legend, Pliny notes that when men dwelled in caves they learned the art of brick and clay-making from watching swallows.²² The swallow was also said to be a diligent parent, feeding their chicks even after they had flown from the nest—no doubt an observation of parents caring for chicks within the house, and watching them feed their fledged chicks while flying.²³

The role of the swallow as an announcer of spring was central to stories of the bird. In ancient times, people did not rely on calendars or clocks to tell them the time or the passing of the seasons. They watched and listened to birds. Cockcrow heralded sunrise and roused them from sleep; cranes migrating told them it was time to sow; and swallows returning from worlds unknown told them spring had arrived.²⁴ The sailing season was also marked by the swallow's return. Taking the swallow's appearance as their cue, centuries of Greek poets sang to sailors to weigh anchor and unfurl the sails. They repeat the same imagery: the swallows are here and the zephyrs are blowing. Winter storms have passed, and it is time to go to sea.²⁵ The spring wind was even called *chelidonia* after the swallow,²⁶ and Horace suggests that the swallow actually helps to calm the sea.²⁷

The concept of migration—that birds travelled to live in more favourable climates when the weather changed—was not always fully understood. In ancient writings, there is considerable emphasis on greeting the swallow in spring and watching for its departure, but knowledge about where it went and why is less well considered. The Greeks and Romans appear to have understood the swallow's migratory movements to some degree, which might explain why the swallow was often associated with the sea.

21 Aelian, *On the Nature of Animals*, 3.24; Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 612 23b, cited in DM Balme, *History of Animals, Volume III: Books 7–10*, Loeb Classical Library 439 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

22 Pliny, *Natural History*, 7.61.

23 Aelian, *On the Nature of Animals*, 3.25; Pliny, *Natural History*, 10.14 & 10.49.

24 Eugene S McCartney, 'The Folk Calendar of Times and Seasons', *The Classical Weekly* 16, no. 1 (October 1922), 3–7: doi.org/10.2307/4388369.

25 *Greek Anthology*, X.1, 2, 4, 5, 14, cited in WR Paton, *The Greek Anthology, Volume IV: Book 10: The Hortatory and Admonitory Epigrams. Book 11: The Convivial and Satirical Epigrams. Book 12: Strato's Musa Puerilis*, Loeb Classical Library 85 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918). These poems are written by Leonidas, Antipater of Sidon, Marcus Argentarius, Thyillus and Agathias Scholasticus respectively, and although they stretch from the third century BCE to the sixth century CE, they are almost identical in form and substance. Such evidence suggests that swallows truly were linked as closely to sailing as to spring.

26 Mynott, *Birds*, 1ff.

27 Horace, *Odes*, 4.12.1–6.

As land birds, swallows prefer to migrate overland as much as possible, but they are capable of crossing considerable bodies of water such as the English Channel and the Mediterranean Sea.²⁸

In his hugely influential zoological work *History of Animals*, Aristotle (fourth century BCE) explains that some swallows migrate, retiring to nearby warmer environments, while others hibernate during the winter and moult their feathers in their dormant state. Following in Aristotle's footsteps, Pliny notes that only some swallows—not all—migrate, while Varro acknowledges that swallows and a number of other birds migrate across the sea by island hopping.²⁹ Herodotus, hailed as the father of history, recorded in the fifth century BCE that swallows could live year-round in the lands that the Nile passes through.³⁰ The annual disappearance of other birds was explained in less plausible ways (such as transmutation), but, despite the confusion, it was generally agreed that the swallow departed to somewhere. This allowed the bird to be understood as a traveller returning home or a sailor returning from sea, completing his voyage to enjoy a long sojourn with his family. Thus, in the *Odyssey*, when weary Odysseus finally returns home and strings his beloved bow, it sings like a swallow. The bowstring's unusual call here should be understood as heralding the hero's return, for Odysseus, like the swallow, has returned from across the sea to his matrimonial nest.³¹

The swallow's arrival in spring brought joy, but its departure in autumn signalled imminent hardship. Unsurprisingly, omens connected to the swallow could be similarly fortunate or dire.³² Most famously there is the Greek legend of the sisters Philomela and Procne, which depicts Philomela, who is violently raped by her sister's husband, transforming into a swallow, while Procne, who murders her own son to exact revenge on her husband for his cruelty against her sister, transforms into

28 Karen Edwards, 'Milton's Reformed Animals: An Early Modern Bestiary: S', *Milton Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (May 2009), 130; Cramp et al., *Handbook of Birds*, 263.

29 Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 8.16.600A16; Pliny, *Natural History*, 10.70; Varro, *On Farming*, 3.5.7.

30 Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, 2.22, cited in AD Goodley, *The Persian Wars, Volume I: Books 1–2*, Loeb Classical Library 117 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920).

31 Homer, *Odyssey*, 21.410. See also L Losada, 'Odyssey 21.411: The Swallow's Call', *Classical Philology* 80, no. 1 (January 1985), 34: doi.org/10.1086/366895; E Borthwick, 'Odysseus and the Return of the Swallow', *Greece and Rome* 35, no. 1 (April 1988), 14–15: doi.org/10.1017/S0017383500028722. The swallow's twitter was more commonly compared to barbarous, unintelligible speech in Greek literature. See Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1050–51 and Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 678–82.

32 Beryl Rowland, *Birds with Human Souls: A Guide to Bird Symbolism* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1978), 165.

a nightingale. As a result, attitudes towards the birds were often tinged with the myth's sadness.³³ Some tellings of the legends by the Romans made Procne the swallow and Philomela the nightingale, proclaiming the red breast of the swallow as a stain of blood, a symbol of how Procne's sin in murdering her son Itys could never be washed clean.³⁴

Yet, the swallow's status as a bird of ill omen remained ambiguous and the ancients never comfortably reconciled the legend of Philomela and Procne with natural observation. In *Interpretation of Dreams* (second century CE), the diviner Artemidorus writes that the swallow can foreshadow death and great sadness, likely a result of its connection with the tragic myth. He also adds that this is only the case when something bad happens to the swallow—for example, if it changes colour or does something contrary to its nature. He goes on to say that the swallow is hidden and inactive during winter, just like the earth and the sea—but when spring comes, the swallow is the first to rouse men and women to life, love and work. Swallows twitter at dawn, reminding their housemates daily of their duties. As an omen, the swallow is most fortunate for business, music and, above all, marriage.³⁵

Other omens we see are commonly related to journeys and enterprises. Swallows made their nest on the tent of Alexander of Epirus, the son of Pyrrhus (crowned 272 BCE), foretelling that his enterprise would fail. Central to this tale is the fact that the tent was a temporary structure—when Alexander departed, it would have forced him to dislodge the birds, making their misfortune his own. Swallows made their nests in the tent of Antiochus VII, King of Syria, who died trying to restore the realm of his forefathers in 129 BCE. Swallows also foretold the return of Dionysius the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse, from his military base in Ortygia in the

33 The myth has very ancient origins. Hesiod in *Works and Days* (568) and Sappho in 135 LP are the first to call the swallow the daughter of Pandion, though at this point other elements of the myth are not fixed. Aristophanes's *The Birds* features the nightingale Procne as a character, while Book 6 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* presents the enduring Roman account of swallow Procne.

34 The naturalist William Turner (1510–68) relates the idea that the swallow's red bib represents Procne's sin. See Edwards, 'Milton's Reformed Animals', 130. In a similar vein, Christian Scandinavian legends say its breast became stained with blood because it tried to draw the thorns from Christ's head during the crucifixion.

35 Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica*, 2.66, cited in R White, *The Interpretation of Dreams: Oneirocritica by Artemidorus* (New Jersey: Noyes Press, 1975). The ominously-coloured swallow is probably an albino. See Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 519 6A; Aelian, *On the Nature of Animals*, 17.20.

fourth century BCE.³⁶ It was proverbial that swallows would not nest in Theban houses because Thebes was so often captured—they believed it was not safe for them to do so.³⁷

One of the most famous swallow omens appears in Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, which recounts that swallows nesting in the sails of Cleopatra's ship foretold the coming disaster at the Battle of Actium. There are two versions of this story. Cassius Dio records that Cleopatra was disturbed by the sight of swallows nesting on her ship and tent.³⁸ On the other hand, Plutarch reports that they nested beneath the ship's stern and were attacked and driven out by other swallows.³⁹ The latter has had some influence on cultural representations of the swallow and has occasionally been taken to mean that all swallows are ominous, but it should be understood that the *circumstances*, not the birds, boded ill. The Battle of Actium took place on 2 September. It would indeed be an odd and ominous swallow that made its nest around this time, since the departure of the swallows was said to take place just before 12 September.⁴⁰ Only an abnormal bird would begin nesting when all the others had finished breeding and were preparing to migrate.

The swallow's departure in autumn could also symbolise disloyalty in the Roman mind. It is fitting, then, that on an autumn day Cleopatra deserted Antony in the same ship where the swallows had nested.⁴¹ As migratory birds, it makes sense that they were important in auguries related to sea travel and enterprises abroad. Some also believed they were rain birds, foretelling wet weather when they skimmed low over bodies of water and touched the surface with their wings.⁴²

36 Aelian, *On the Nature of Animals*, 10.34.

37 Pliny, *Natural History*, 10.34.

38 Dio, *Roman History*, 50.15.1–2, cited in Earnest Cary and Herbert B Foster, *Roman History, Volume V: Books 46–50*, Loeb Classical Library 82 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917).

39 Plutarch, *Antony*, 60.7, cited in Bernadotte Perrin, *Lives, Volume IX: Demetrius and Antony. Pyrrhus and Gaius Marius*, Loeb Classical Library 101 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920).

40 Pliny, *Natural History*, 18.311; Christopher McDonough, 'Swallows on Cleopatra's Ship', *The Classical Review* 96, no. 3 (2003), 258.

41 McDonough, 'Swallows on Cleopatra's Ship', 258.

42 Theophrastus, *Concerning Weather Signs*, 6.15, cited in Arthur F Hort, *Enquiry into Plants, Volume II: Books 6–9. On Odours. Weather Signs*, Loeb Classical Library 79 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916); Pliny, *Natural History*, 18.87; and Virgil, *Georgics*, 1.377, cited in H Rushton Fairclough and GP Goold, *Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1–6*, Loeb Classical Library 63 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916).

Swallows in Christian Europe

After the fifth century CE, as Christianity emerged as the dominating force in the political and social life of Europe, the swallow's springtime arrival was explained in the Bible in the book of Jerome: 'The Stork in the Heavens knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow observe the time of their coming'.⁴³ The association of the swallow with spring remained a major symbol in Christian Europe, but it was instead attributed to the wisdom of God. Psalm 84:3 reads: 'Yea, the sparrow hath found her a house, and the swallow a nest where she may lay her young'.⁴⁴ Again, references to swallows reported their presence in the household, perhaps also drawing on the ancient Roman belief that the sparrow and swallow are joint domestic familiars.

The Russian peasantry greeted the swallow in a similar manner to the ancient Rhodians, believing the bird brought warmth from paradise. Slavonians and Bohemians thought it was the bird of God, bringing light and joy to the world, and feared to bring it any harm.⁴⁵ In England it was considered unlucky to kill a swallow, and lucky for a swallow to nest in the eaves. Even a cursory examination of English poetry shows the bird often nested on the outside of the house, sheltered by overhanging thatch.⁴⁶

Swallows occasionally even had a positive place in the iconography of the annunciation and the nativity.⁴⁷ Small birds, including the swallow, were associated with Jesus Christ due to the apocryphal gospels and the tale that the Christ Child made birds out of clay. Small birds also popularly represented the soul.⁴⁸

43 Jerome 8:7 in *The Holy Bible, King James Version* (London: Collins, 2004).

44 Psalm 84:3 in *The Holy Bible, King James Version* (London: Collins, 2004).

45 William Jones, *Credulities Past and Present* (Piccadilly: Otto and Windus, 1880), 437.

46 Edward Armstrong, *The Folklore of Birds: An Enquiry into the Origins and Distribution of Some Magico-Religious Traditions* (London: Collins, 1958), 167 & 181; S Roud and J Westwood, *The Penguin Guide to the Superstitions of Britain and Ireland* (London: Penguin, 2003), 445. For poetic examples, see John Clare, 'The Swallow' and 'On Seeing Two Swallows Late in October' in *Selected Poems* (London: Penguin, 2000); Charlotte Smith, 'The Swallow', in *Beachy Head and Other Poems*, ed. Charlotte Smith (London: Sold by J. Johnson, 1807).

47 H Friedmann, 'Giovanni del Biondo and the Iconography of the Annunciation', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 3, no. 1 (1968–1969), 7ff.

48 M Dzon, 'Jesus and the Birds in Medieval Abrahamic Traditions', *Traditio* 66 (2011), 189–230. doi.org/10.1017/S0362152900001148.



Figure 3: Detail of the Christ Child holding a swallow from *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints Catherine of Alexandria, Francis, Zenobius and Mary Magdalene*, tempera on wood panel, c. 1430–40.

Source: From the Santa Maria degli Angiolini conservatory in Florence, Italy, author's own photo.

Gerard Legh, in *Accedence of Armorie*, suggested that swallows nesting on a house meant the occupant would not be made a cuckold.⁴⁹ This could be a continuation of the ancient belief that swallows augured well for marriage. Dryden (1687) considered the swallow 'privileg'd above the rest / Of all the birds, as man's familiar guest'.⁵⁰ In fact, attitudes to the swallow were almost 'universally positive', except in Ireland and Scotland where it was sometimes regarded as the Devil's bird. There, the protective taboo endured, but did not express respect, only fear.⁵¹

Knowledge about the swallow's ability to cross large bodies of water appears to have persisted in medieval Europe. Isidore of Seville, writing in Spain in the seventh century, records that it flies across the sea in definitive terms.⁵² In the early twelfth century, French monastic writer Hugh of Fouillooy made the same conclusion in his work on birds, though he was far more concerned with informing readers of how God had provided the swallow to lead men by example. The swallow, returning after the cold of winter, was compared to the righteous man in whom the cold of temptation has finally thawed.⁵³ German theologian Albertus Magnus (1193–1280) gives a mixed account in his encyclopaedic work *On Animals*. At first, he says frankly that storks depart before the swallows. Later, he reneges on this and derides common folk for believing that all birds that are not seen for a season must migrate, citing the kite and swallow as birds that hibernate. In support of this, he describes how a rotting oak cut open in Germany was found to be full of dormant swallows.⁵⁴

Late medieval and early Renaissance writers tended to support the theory that swallows hibernated rather than migrated.⁵⁵ Swedish writer Olaus Magnus popularised the theory of underwater hibernation in his *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555), which included a woodcut illustration of fishermen drawing fish and sleeping swallows from a frozen river (Figure 4).

49 Gerard Legh, *The Accedence of Armorie* (London: 1597), 85.

50 Dryden, *The Hind and the Panther*, pt. 3, ll. 428–29.

51 Roud and Westwood, *Superstitions*, 446.

52 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, 12.7.1 & 12.7.69, cited in *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. Stephen A Barney, WJ Lewis, JA Beach and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

53 Hugh of Fouillooy, *Aviaryum*, 2.46, cited in W Clark, *The Medieval Book of Birds: Hugh of Fouillooy's Aviaryum* (New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), 210–11.

54 Albertus Magnus, *On Animals*, 7.67–69, 87, cited in Kenneth Kitchell and Irven Michael Resnick, *Albertus Magnus On Animals*, vol. I (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press), 615 & 625.

55 T Harrison, *The Tell of Birds: Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, Drayton* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1956), 57.

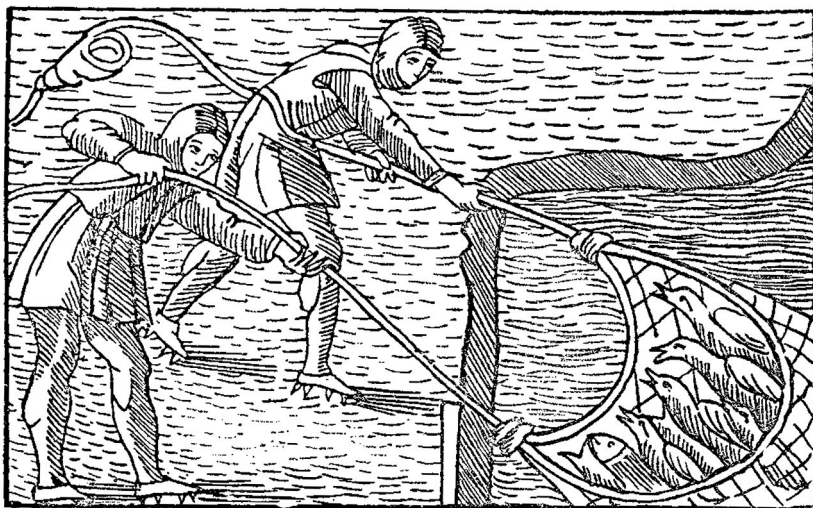


Figure 4: Fishermen drawing swallows from the ice.

Source: Reproduction taken from J. Ashton, *Curious Creatures in Zoology*, London, 1890.

Hibernation in the nest, meanwhile, was espoused by Swiss naturalist Conrad Gesner in *De avium natura* (1555).⁵⁶ In the *Shepherd's Calendar* (1579), the poet Edmund Spenser notes that the swallow heralds spring when she 'peeps out her nest'.⁵⁷ Sixteenth-century naturalist William Turner expressed scepticism for the classical theory of migration to warmer climates and declined to comment on the matter.⁵⁸

The earliest treatise on bird migration in Britain was written by Charles Morton in 1686.⁵⁹ Here Morton laid out the scientific reasoning behind migration, but, unfortunately, instead of pointing to Africa or India, or even somewhere warm, he concluded that swallows must fly to the moon every winter. Morton calculated that the swallow's round trip to the moon would take four months, or 60 days each way. The distance

56 Conrad Gesner, *De avium natura* (Zurich: 1555), 529.

57 Spenser, *The Shepherd's Calendar III: March*, 11.

58 Harrison, *They Tell*, 23.

59 Charles Morton, 'An Enquiry into the Physical and Literal Sense of that Scripture (Jer. 8.7) ... The Stork in the Heavens knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow observe the time of their coming', *Harleian Miscellany*, 12 vols (London, 1808–1811 edition: vol. 5, 498–511). The text was reprinted again in 1694, 1703 and 1739, indicating continuing interest in the idea. For commentary, see Thomas Harrison, 'Birds in the Moon', *Isis* 45, no. 4 (December 1954), 323: doi.org/10.1086/348354.

from the earth to the moon was reportedly 179,712 miles, and so he estimated that swallows flew at 125 miles per hour. Since the moon requires a month to revolve around the earth, birds launching straight upwards would find the moon in the same place as when they began their journey. The inspiration for this was undoubtedly Godwin's fantasy, *The Man in the Moon* (1638), a fantastical story where the protagonist finds swallows and the birds of spring sojourning on the moon. He even flies thither using yoked birds. People in the seventeenth century were enchanted by the possibility of moon voyages, so this strange theory should be taken as a reflection of the new interest in the heavens following the discoveries of Copernicus, Galileo and Kepler.⁶⁰

The idea of swallows undertaking lunar migration survived for a little time. Poet and dramatist John Gay in 1714 named the moon as the place 'where swallows in the winter's season keep'.⁶¹ In 1733, Alexander Pope wrote that the swallow is, 'Now in the moon, perhaps, now underground'.⁶² The poet Dryden mused:

But whether upward to the moon they go,
Or dream the winter out in caves below,
Or hawk at flies elsewhere, concerns us not to know.⁶³

Interestingly enough, Dryden then purported to solve the mystery by arguing that swallows gathered on the south coast of England and flew across the Channel. Francis Willughby's *Ornithology* considered the question of migration vs hibernation undecided, but admitted it is more likely they fly away to warmer climes, not the moon.⁶⁴

60 Harrison, 'Birds in the Moon', 323.

61 Gay, *The Shepherd's Week*, 'Saturday' (1714), 11.61–66.

62 Pope, *Moral Essays*, 'Epistle to Sir Richard Temple' (1733), 11.95–98.

63 Dryden, *The Hind and the Panther*, pt. 3, ll. 450–52.

64 Francis Willughby, *The Ornithology of Francis Willughby* (London: 1678), 212. *Ornithology* was first published in Latin as *Ornithologiae* in 1676.

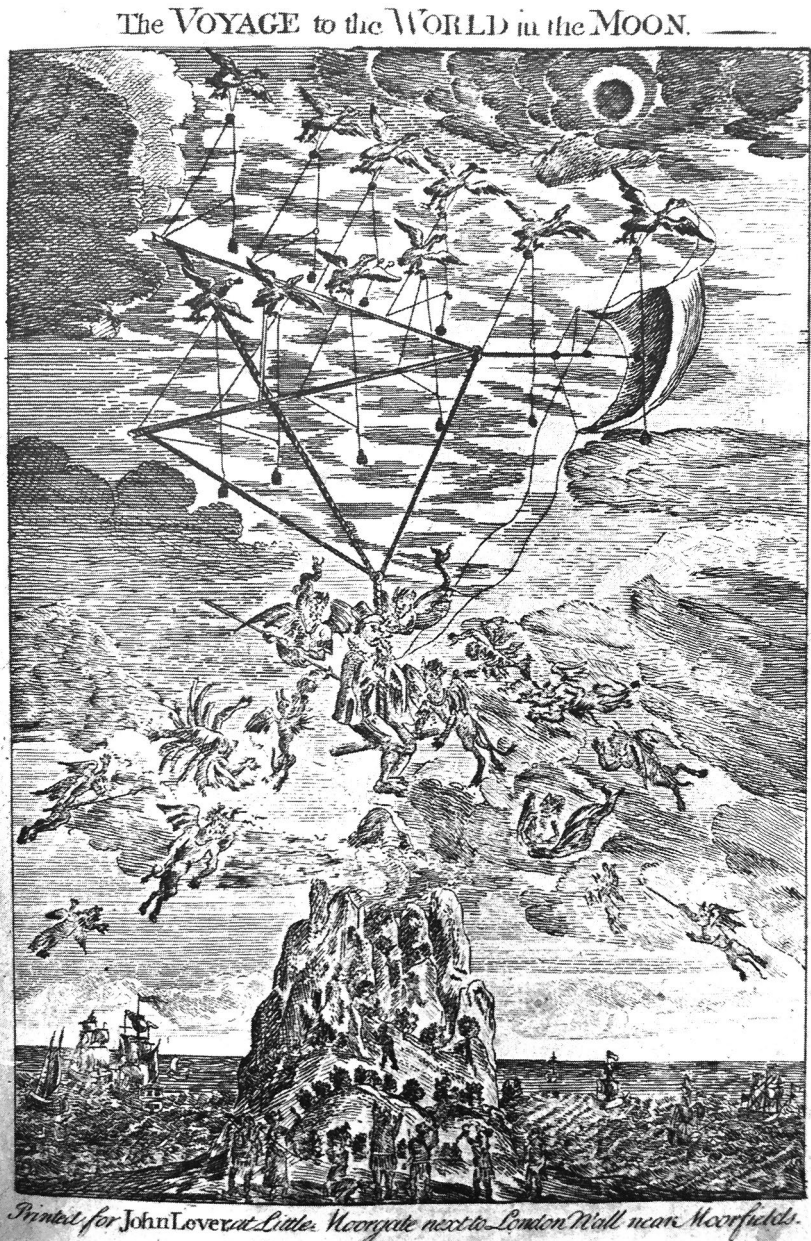


Figure 5: Frontispiece of Francis Godwin, *The Strange Voyage and Adventures of Domingo Gonsales to the World in the Moon By the Several Ganzas or Large Geese*.

Source: Francis Godwin, *The Strange Voyage and Adventures of Domingo Gonsales to the World in the Moon By the Several Ganzas or Large Geese* (London: John Lever, 1768).

At the same time, prominent English writers such as Izaak Walton and Samuel Johnson favoured the Swedish underwater hibernation theory. Even Linnaeus, the father of modern taxonomy, subscribed to the idea. Royal Society Fellow John Hunter (1728–93) fitted an icehouse to test the hypothesis and installed a tub of water where the swallows could sleep. French naturalist George-Louis LeClerc, Comte de Buffon (1707–88), did the same.⁶⁵ Meanwhile, the parson and passionate naturalist Gilbert White built an observatory on the south coast of England so he could solve the mystery of the swallow's seasonal disappearance. But instead of watching to see if they flew away, he spent his time digging up hillsides and investigating abandoned houses in search of dormant swallows. Even in the face of a complete absence of evidence in favour of hibernation, he remained unconvinced that they departed England's shores. In what may be the last letter written before his death in 1793, he wrote, 'I did not write the letter in the Gentleman's Magazine against the torpidity of swallows, nor would it be consistent with what I have sometimes asserted, so to do'.⁶⁶

Yet, opinions were changing. In 1834, an article in *The Dublin Penny Journal* stated that 'their migration is now scarcely disputed by any naturalist'.⁶⁷ Charlotte Smith, the Gothic author and poet, wrote an exhortation to the swallow. She asked it to nest under her thatch, and though the poem shows that scientific migration was accepted by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, she could not help but bring up more romantic ideas of hibernation too.⁶⁸ Only towards the middle and late nineteenth century do poets unequivocally agree the swallow flies to 'the sun and the south'.⁶⁹

65 Elizabeth Heckendorn Cook, 'Charlotte Smith and "The Swallow": Migration and Romantic Authorship', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 72, no. 1 (March 2009), 56: doi.org/10.1525/hlq.2009.72.1.48.

66 The letter is included in *The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne*, 2 vols, vol. 2 (London: 1877), 302.

67 'On the Swallow and Its Habits', *The Dublin Penny Journal* 2, no. 104 (28 June 1834), 413–14: doi.org/10.2307/30004390.

68 Cook, 'Charlotte Smith', 50.

69 Charles Algernon Swinburne, *Itylus* 14 (1864).

Origin of the swallow tattoo

The migratory patterns of the swallow also had an impact on British and, more broadly, Anglo-American sailing culture. Today, swallow tattoos are a well-recognised nautical motif—although it is striking that swallows should have been adopted as a symbol for sailors when they are not seabirds. We cannot know exactly when mariners began to ink the bird on themselves, but we know it was done throughout the nineteenth century, and probably earlier.

Some reports claim that Captain Cook's late eighteenth-century contact with Polynesia brought tattooing back to Britain, but there is ample evidence to suggest that while his discoveries sparked new interest in tattooing, it was already being practised by seamen well before this time.⁷⁰ In support of this, we should note that British sailors did not adorn themselves as Polynesians did, covering swathes of skin with complex patterns. They chose small, significant icons that were derived from their own beliefs and culture instead—a heart, a crucifix, an anchor or a swallow.⁷¹ Most books that write of the swallow tattoo note the following:

For sailors [swallows] were bluebirds, heralds of home; a swallow tattoo would ensure its bearer's safe return to dry land, in the same way that an anchor symbolized hope [...] a tattooed dagger through a swallow's heart symbolizes lost love.⁷²

Another well-known account of the swallow tattoo reports that '[w]hen a sailor had travelled 5,000 miles at sea, he earned a bluebird on the chest; with 10,000 miles, a second bird could be added on the other side'.⁷³

As these sources reveal, swallows and bluebirds were sometimes confused with each other, both having a blue back and red breast. It is likely that although the names were used interchangeably, the bird depicted

70 Juliet Fleming, 'The Renaissance Tattoo', in *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History*, ed. Jane Caplan (London: Reaktion, 2000), 68. The English use of 'tattoo' is first recorded in Cook's journals: 'Both sexes paint their Bodys, *Tattoo* [sic] as it is called in their language. This is done by inlaying the colour of Black under their skins in such a manner as to be indelible'. See 'Captain Cook's First Voyage', July 1769, *Project Gutenberg*, accessed at www.gutenberg.org/files/8106/8106-h/8106-h.htm.

71 Jane Caplan, *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History* (London: Reaktion, 2000), xix.

72 Philip Hoare, *The Sea Inside* (Brooklyn: Melville House Publishing, 2015), 338.

73 Margo DeMello, *Encyclopedia of Body Adornment* (London: Greenwood Press, 2007), 189.

was actually a swallow. One reference book on tattoos calls the tattoo a 'bluebird' while detailing how the bird migrates and heralds spring, behaviour that characterises the swallow and not the bluebird.⁷⁴ The traditional design of the tattoo also depicts a forked tail—again, a sign of the swallow. At the very least, this imagery indicates that it was the swallow's behaviour that invited seamen to identify with it.

Of the several motivations that might underpin the decision to get a tattoo, one is magico-religious; that is, it expresses a desire for talismanic protection.⁷⁵ In addition to indicating a sailor's experience, this appears to be the main function of the swallow tattoo. The common adage that one needed to travel a certain distance safely and return before he 'earned' a swallow was partly attributed to their migratory patterns and suggests the sailor wanted to imitate the bird's ability to depart across the sea and return safely every season. Yet, if we keep in mind that migration only gained currency in the mid-nineteenth century, we might say instead that they aspired towards a connection to a bird that could hibernate under the sea without drowning, or fly to the moon, the celestial body that had the power to control the tides.⁷⁶

Initially, swallow tattoos seem to have been preferred almost exclusively by mariners. Other groups that practised tattooing, including convicts, were not inclined to use the symbol. For example, among Australian convicts, Simon Barnard notes that the swallow is 'noticeably absent' from the records.⁷⁷ It was not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that swallow tattoos had a place in prison culture, and we get anecdotes and records of criminals and gangsters sporting 'bluebirds' on their hands.⁷⁸ Someone who had served time behind bars might tattoo the bird on themselves to signify they were a 'jailbird'. Indeed, spending time in prison is still called 'doing your bird' and swallows on the fists could suggest that 'these fists fly', signalling their bearer's capabilities in a fight.

74 Jack Watkins, *Tattoo Symbols and Meanings* (London: Amber Books, 2010), 52.

75 Nikki Sullivan, *Tattooed Bodies: Subjectivity, Textuality, Ethics and Pleasure* (Connecticut: Praeger, 2001), 15.

76 The moon's effect on the sea was known since ancient times—Virgil and Pliny credit it with influence on the weather, Venerable Bede warns of how it influences the sea, and Shakespeare, in *Hamlet*, calls it '[t]he moist star upon whose influence Neptune's empire stands'. See ICB Dear and Peter Kemp, *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea* (London: Oxford University Press, 2005), 371.

77 Simon Barnard, *Convict Tattoos: Marked Men and Women of Australia* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2016), 63.

78 Marc Mappen, *Prohibition Gangsters: The Rise and Fall of a Bad Generation* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2013), 1.

For prisoners, the bird's migratory patterns were less important compared to their ability to symbolise freedom and swiftness. Birds in general are a potent symbol of freedom. In Victorian prisons, observers commented that prisoners loved birds and especially coveted pigeons as pets.⁷⁹ When we examine the traditional design of the tattoo, it is significant that the swallow (or bluebird) is shown in flight. A flying bird evoked ideas of freedom, travel and swiftness, rather than the domesticity conjured up by the motif of the perched swallow in Roman art. In any case, the swallow's migration had an impact on the imaginations of deep sea sailors. Even if it was not understood in contemporary scientific terms, the springtime appearance of swallows still represented the hope of a safe return from a voyage.

Conclusion

By examining responses to the migration of the barn swallow, we can draw some general conclusions about the changing meanings of the swallow in Europe across the centuries. For the Greeks, it was their status as harbingers of spring, especially since their arrival heralded the start of the sailing season. The Romans showed more of a tendency to value their status as domestic familiars, sacred to household gods and shown in static poses around the house. Medieval Christian belief drew the swallow closer to God and the Christ Child and understood its migration in religious and allegorical terms, and the Renaissance debate over its migratory patterns shows how a scientific explanation for the bird's annual disappearance and reappearance suddenly became more important. The theory of lunar migration reflected how astronomical discoveries caused scientists to reconsider much of what they knew about the natural world in order to account for tantalising new possibilities. Additionally, the belief in hibernation reflected a desire to see the birds as natives rather than visitors. In the case of the Englishman Gilbert White, despite the evidence he collected that strongly supported cross-continent swallow migration, he was reluctant to accept that the swallows left the island. As White's biographer Richard Mabey states, 'he did not *want* them to go'.⁸⁰

79 Philip Priestley, *Victorian Prison Lives: English Prison Biography, 1830–1914* (London: Methuen, 1985), 47.

80 Richard Mabey, ed., *Natural History of Selbourne* (New York: Penguin, 1977), 210.

Lastly, for sailors, observing the swallow's return in spring led them to adopt the bird as a symbol that could express hierarchy or talismanic protection, though the use of the swallow tattoo by prisoners shows that the bird could also be potent as a symbol of freedom and swiftness, with little regard for its migration patterns. These little birds with 'heart[s] [...] full of the spring'⁸¹ have fuelled scientific and imaginative curiosity for thousands of years, and they reveal something of the way just one aspect of an animal's natural behaviour can impact human culture and thought.

81 Charles Algernon Swinburne, *Itylus* 2 (1864).

Kingship, sexuality and courtly masculinity: Frederick the Great and Prussia on the cusp of modernity¹

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Abstract: *The discovery in 2011 of an erotic poem written by Frederick the Great reignited popular interest in the debate concerning Frederick's sexual being. Seemingly depicting a male–male tryst, the poem failed to end this undecided speculation. It did, however, reopen questions about how scholars have remembered and constructed Frederick's gender and sexuality. This article demonstrates that these questions have been predicated upon incorrect assumptions regarding how the early modern Prussian state and society conceived of their monarch. While it is commonly argued that sex was considered a function of gender—thus marking same-sex-desiring men as 'feminine'—the very concept of masculinity was governed by social cues and cultural expectations that extended far beyond sexual desire. As is argued in this analysis, Frederick's assumed homosexuality had no bearing on his kingship; by his behaviour and public conduct he remained the epitome and embodiment of Prussian masculinity.*

The recent discovery in Berlin of a poem briefly reignited a long-running debate as to the sexual identity of the Prussian King Frederick II, better known by his sobriquet 'Frederick the Great'. The poem, apparently describing a male–male tryst involving the king and one of his closest friends, made headlines around the world, declaring that evidence had been found that Frederick was homosexual. The impulsive response, however, masked the deeper complexities of the issue.

1 The author is indebted to his (mostly) willing readers and audiences, particularly Robin Prior, Gareth Pritchard, Matilda Handsley-Davis and Tamika Glouftsis of the University of Adelaide, and Matthew P Fitzpatrick at Flinders University. Finally, thanks must go to the members of the University of Adelaide's informal 'Priory Group' for their considered input.

Using the debate concerning Frederick's sexual identity as its starting point, this article aims to re-evaluate the king's character through the prism of Prussian gender norms and ideals. It argues that Frederick the Great reigned not as an aberration but as a paragon of Prussian masculine virtue, a claim that was not in any significant way impinged on, or impeded by, his assumed same-sex desires. This argument is based on four key premises. First, Frederick either had conspicuous same-sex desires, or else he 'coded' or 'presented' as though he did. This was widely identified by his contemporaries and has since become a preoccupation among Frederick's biographers. Second, Frederick's apparent same-sex desires, while contrary to the letter of the law as well as conceptions of masculinity that developed among the Prussian bourgeoisie of the nineteenth century, were hardly unusual for the time, and fit within the rubric of an Enlightenment sensibility that was particularly—if not uniquely—German. Third, though same-sex acts were ostensibly regulated by law in a draconian fashion, this did not necessarily subvert a man's gender; a man could, in other words, feel and express same-sex desire while still being a man. Finally, the construction of masculinity within the Prussian state in the early modern period was a complex and multifaceted process that relied largely upon social and cultural cues set out in contemporaneous 'manuals of masculinity', known as the *Hausväterliteratur*, rather than biology and sex. In the final analysis, the Prussian king was expected to be the paragon of Prussian masculine virtue who followed the guiding principles of Prussian noble masculinity. Frederick the Great's character as a sensitive romantic with (at the very least) homoerotic artistic tendencies did nothing to disqualify him from this role; in fact, the very characteristics that, from the nineteenth century to today, have marked him as being an outlier who practised 'feminine' caprice, actually confirmed and consolidated his position as a virtuous Prussian man.

La Jouissance and the historiography of Frederick's sexuality

In 2011 a previously unknown poem, written by Frederick the Great, was discovered in a Berlin archive. Frederick was a prolific poet, though the reception of this body of work had been mixed. Voltaire, who enjoyed correspondence with the philosopher-king before going to live with him in Potsdam in 1752, had often chided him on his occasionally clumsy French transitions, while Thomas Babington Macaulay—admittedly

not a sympathetic biographer—had dismissed his verses as vulgar and turgid.² Thomas Carlyle, on the other hand, thought Frederick's attempts had significant artistic merit. Frederick himself, in a letter to the French philosopher Jean-Baptiste d'Alembert, dismissed his own poetry as the work of a 'dilettante' while d'Alembert's work would endure in artistic immortality; his one hope was that his work was lyrical enough to send d'Alembert to sleep.³ In another earlier letter to Voltaire, Frederick wrote:

Do not, at least, suppose that I write in verse purposely to enter the lists with you. I stammering answer in a language which Voltaire and the Gods only are allowed to speak.⁴

Yet it was neither the existence nor quality of the poem that caused excitement, so much as its content. Written shortly after Frederick had ascended to the Prussian throne in 1740, it was addressed to Frederick's friend and courtier, the diplomat and libertine Count Francesco Algarotti (here addressed by the affectionate nickname, 'Swan of Padua'). Entitled *La Jouissance—The Pleasure*, or more accurately, *The Orgasm*—the poem is an exercise in eighteenth-century erotic verse. One of Frederick's biographers, the historian Giles MacDonogh, provided a translation for the *History Today* website shortly after the original text was published in full in the German newspaper *Die Zeit*:

This night, vigorous desire in full measure,
Algarotti wallowed in a sea of pleasure.
A body not even a Praxitiles fashions
Redoubled his senses and imbued his passions
Everything that speaks to eyes and touches hearts,
Was found in the fond object that enflamed his parts.
Transported by love and trembling with excitement
In Cloris' arms he yields himself to contentment
The love that unites them heated their embraces
And tied bodies and arms as tightly as laces.
Divine sensual pleasure! To the world a king!
Mother of their delights, an unstaunchable spring,

Speak through my verses, lend me your voice and tenses

2 Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Life of Frederick the Great* (New York: The Useful Knowledge Publishing Company, 1882), 18–19.

3 George Peabody Gooch, 'Old Age', in *Frederick the Great: A Profile*, ed. Peter Paret (New York: Hill & Wang, 1972), 45: doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-01476-7_3.

4 Frederick II to Voltaire, Remusburg, 30 September 1738, in *Letters between Frederic II. and M. de Voltaire*, ed. Thomas Holcroft (London: G&J and J Johnson, 1789), 412–13.

Tell of their fire, acts, the ecstasy of their senses!
Our fortunate lovers, transported high above
Know only themselves in the fury of love:
Kissing, enjoying, feeling, sighing and dying
Reviving, kissing, then back to pleasure flying.
And in Knidos' grove, breathless and worn out
Was these lovers' happy destiny, without doubt.
But all joy is finite; in the morning ends the bout.
Fortunate the man whose mind was never the prey
To luxury, or grand airs, one who knows how to say
A moment of climax for a fortunate lover
Is worth so many aeons of star-spangled honour.⁵

Upon its translation, the poem caused some excitement. Different versions of the story of its discovery and content appeared in news outlets, both in print and online.⁶ Some of the excitement was stoked by MacDonogh himself, who speculated that the poem may be Frederick's firsthand account of a sexual tryst he had experienced with Algarotti. Indeed, the relationship between the two has been a matter of some debate for centuries and, though MacDonogh's own 1999 biography of Frederick had taken an ambiguous stance on the question of Frederick's sexuality, *La Jouissance* appears to have convinced him that Frederick was gay.⁷

Yet, for all this, the poem did little to alter the terms of the scholarly historical debate. The explicit sexuality of the poem piqued the interest of the public, most of whom were unfamiliar with the extant literature surrounding the king, but Frederick's poems number in the hundreds, and many—including erotic pieces—were addressed to the Swan of Padua, Francesco Algarotti. If Frederick's existing homoerotic poems had not yet convinced the academy as to whether or not the king had same-sex desires, this new discovery—whatever its content—was unlikely to do so.

5 Cited in Kathryn Hadley, 'Frederick the Great's Erotic Poem', *History Today*, 21 September 2011, accessed at www.historytoday.com/blog/2011/09/frederick-greats-erotic-poem.

6 For example, Vanessa de Senarclens, 'Friedrichs Schoßgebet', *Die Zeit*, 18 September 2011, accessed at www.zeit.de/2011/38/Schoßgebet; Matthew Day, 'Frederick the Great—The Erotic Poet', *Telegraph*, 15 September 2011, accessed at www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/8764799/Frederick-the-Great-the-erotic-poet.html; 'Prussian King Frederick the Great's Erotic Poem Found', *BBC News*, 16 September 2011, accessed at www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-14945573; John Lundberg, 'Frederick the Great's Erotic Poem', *Huffington Post*, 18 September 2011, accessed at www.huffingtonpost.com/john-lundberg/frederick-the-great-poems_b_966460.html.

7 Giles MacDonogh, *Frederick the Great: A Life in Deed and Letters* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1999), 221–23.

The *La Jouissance* affair may have been a damp squib, but it also demonstrates that Frederick the Great's sexuality remains a topic of contention more than two centuries after his death. In general, the modern historiography concerning Frederick is either preoccupied with this aspect of his identity, or else (and just as conspicuously) preoccupied with avoiding it, with attention waxing and waning seemingly at random across the decades. Nancy Mitford, for example, was convinced of Frederick's homosexuality but professed not to understand it. The solution, as she saw it, was to ignore it.⁸ David Fraser views the suggestions of homosexuality as little more than 'imputations' that were spread by Frederick's enemies, probably as a result of his childless marriage, and dismisses the numerous reported instances of Frederick's same-sex desire as 'the varied inclinations of a cultivated sophisticate with a taste for bawdiness, or, later, the fumbings of a lonely old man'.⁹ Theodor Schieder takes a similar line, seeing any discussion of Frederick's male-male desires as 'malicious' and ascribing them to the (unsubstantiated) claim that Frederick was sterile.¹⁰

Gerhard Ritter's biography, for many years considered the most complete (if short) modern account of Frederick's life, skirts the issue with self-conscious blushes; in this text, the two men most often identified as Frederick's lovers—Hans Hermann von Katte and Algarotti—are reduced to mere footnotes, mentioned almost as an afterthought as a 'friend' and a 'braggart' respectively.¹¹ MacDonogh's biography, as has been noted, takes a rather ambivalent line on the question, but still contains no fewer than 12 index entries relating to Frederick's sexuality. Frederick's most recent biographer, Tim Blanning, sees Frederick's circle of intimates as 'homosocial and homoerotic and, for Frederick himself, probably homosexual too'. In Blanning's account, Algarotti is credited with reawakening Frederick's 'sexual liberation'.¹²

8 Kate Williams, 'Introduction', in Nancy Mitford, *Frederick the Great* (London: Vintage, 2011), xvii. Mitford's 'ignorance' of Frederick's sexuality notwithstanding, there are a number of veiled references to it. So, for instance, Frederick's youthful friendship with Keith and Katte was 'extremely debauched', and Frederick William I 'had suspicions about the relationship' between Frederick and Katte. Later, Mitford abandons all pretext whatsoever, and declares that Frederick fell in love with Algarotti, who had 'confirmed in him an already latent homosexuality'. Mitford, *Frederick the Great*, 22, 25 & 52.

9 David Fraser, *Frederick the Great: King of Prussia* (London: Penguin, 2000), 39–41.

10 Theodor Schieder, *Frederick the Great* (Harlow: Pearson, 2000), 40–41.

11 Gerhard Ritter, *Frederick the Great: An Historical Profile* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968), 30–31 & 42.

12 Tim Blanning, *Frederick the Great: King of Prussia* (London: Allen Lane, 2015), xxiii & 64.

Even during Frederick's lifetime, his sexual proclivities were subject to rumour. A measure of how widespread such suspicions were can be seen in the reflections written by Frederick's personal physician, Johann Georg Zimmermann, upon Frederick's death in 1786. Zimmermann denied that Frederick's sexual tastes extended to men, but admitted that this was the common belief among the courts and societies of Europe:

innumerable Frenchmen and Germans, almost all the friends and enemies of Frederick, almost all the princes and great men of Europe, even his servants—even the confidants and friends of his later years, were of the opinion that he had loved, as it is pretended, Socrates loved Alcibiades.¹³

Clearly, Frederick's sexuality was (and remains) a topic that arrests popular and academic attention, and is conspicuous even when absent. But this brings its own problems. For one, the Prussian king was not free simply to do as he pleased. The king derived his power from the Junker class of landed gentry. He was, therefore, to some degree answerable to the Junkers. In this instance, the *reality* of Frederick's sexuality is irrelevant because, as Zimmermann attests, his homosexuality was accepted almost universally as an established fact. Consequently, given our existing understanding of early modern gender hierarchies and practices, it is striking that Frederick should have had the opportunity to become 'the Great'. Our established model for Prussian masculinity denies Frederick a place in its pantheon, yet his reign remained unchallenged from within for nearly five decades. To understand why this is, we must reconsider how we see Prussian early modern identities as a construct of gender, and the components entailed within those identities.

Sexuality in early modern Germany

To refer to Frederick as homosexual is fraught with terminological and methodological difficulties. The study of human sexuality has its origins in Germany, but came long after Frederick's death in 1786. Indeed, it was not until the late nineteenth century that the idea of homosexuality, and the terms used to describe it, entered the German parlance.

13 Johann Georg Zimmermann, 'On Frederick's Supposed Grecian Taste in Love', in Johann Georg Zimmermann, *Select Views of the Life, Reign, and Character of Frederick the Great, King of Prussia*, vol. 1 (London: Hookham & Carpenter, and E. Newbery, 1792), 45–46.

The very term ‘homosexuality’ and its implications were first expostulated by the German-Hungarian doctor, Karl-Maria Kertbeny, in an 1868 pamphlet aimed at decriminalising same-sex relations.¹⁴ Kertbeny’s contemporary, the Bavarian lawyer Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, also campaigned for the normalisation of same-sex relationships. Unlike Kertbeny, who saw homosexuality as a biological imperative, Ulrichs saw his own same-sex desires as a deeply ingrained question of identity, significantly more complex than simply, as Kertbeny would understand it in 1868, the act of members of one gender sexually desiring members of the same gender.

According to Ulrichs, a same-sex desiring man was not quite male, but rather was masculine in a superficial sense. The male body was a vehicle for a soul that was female, and the person with a male body but a female soul was neither male nor female, but inhabited a third existence. Ulrichs coined the term ‘Uranian’ (*Urning*) to describe this type of person: a ‘*third sex* coordinated between the genders of the male and female’.¹⁵ Ulrichs’ Uranians were not ‘women trapped in men’s bodies’, since this would imply a defiance of a natural order. Ulrichs instead equated Uranians to hermaphrodites. Uranians, he argued, were born with one set of gendered genitalia but the emotional and sexual desires of the other gender.¹⁶ Kertbeny, who rejected the idea of a female soul but a male body (or vice versa), presented a less complicated concept: men could be born naturally to desire men, and women could be born naturally to desire women. In this sense, both men differed from many of their successors, who viewed homosexuality and same-sex desires as a form of psychosis, adopted either voluntarily or involuntarily.

The scientific and academic study of ‘sexuality’ was in its infancy in the mid and late nineteenth century, but homosexuality and homosexual behaviour existed, and was observed, long prior to this. In part, same-sex desire was understood to be foremost based within the body. Close, same-sex friendships and emotional relationships were not uncommon. Indeed, as Robert Beachy notes, at the end of the nineteenth century the Russian psychologist Marc André Raffalovich argued that homosexual

14 Karl-Maria Kertbeny, ‘§143 des Preussischen Strafgesetzbuches vom 14. April 1851 und seine Aufrechterhaltung als §152 im Entwurfe eines Strafgesetzbuches für den Norddeutschen Bund’ (Leipzig: 1868).

15 Numa Numantius [Karl Heinrich Ulrichs], *Vindex. Sozial-juristische Studien über mannsmännliche Geschlechtsliebe. Erste Schrift über mannsmännliche Liebe* (Leipzig: Heinrich Matthes, 1864), 5 (emphasis in the original).

16 See also Hubert Kennedy, ‘Karl Heinrich Ulrichs: First Theorist of Homosexuality’, in *Science and Homosexualities*, ed. Vernon A Rosario (London: Routledge, 2013), 26–45.

attachment was a specifically 'German friendship', and while Raffalovich, as a Catholic dividing his time between England and France, aimed to cast aspersions on the Germans with this claim, there was some merit to his methodology.¹⁷ His citing of the great German romantic authors, poets and playwrights reflects the closeness of their relationships to and with one another, and the homoerotic themes that underpinned much of their work and correspondence.

W Daniel Wilson notes that Goethe's works are conspicuous in their use of homoerotic imagery and so-called 'Greek love'. Rejecting the arguments of Halperin and others that the use of same-sex desire was merely a 'return of affect', Wilson contends that:

neither 'love' nor 'Greek love' are meant 'platonically' or rather unerotically [...] where Goethe claims to speak 'in all purity' of non-sexual relations between men [there are] subliminal allusions and thus [an] irony that playfully undermines [his] own assertions.¹⁸

Even if Wilson's implications are not conclusive, what is clear is that same-sex desire, platonic or otherwise, was a central, often lighthearted theme in Goethe's *oeuvre*. The works of his great friend and collaborator, Friedrich Schiller, were no less interpretable as homoerotic. In 1903, his poem *Die Freundschaft* (*The Friendship*) was infamously deemed to be homoerotic by the censorship authority of the German Empire, owing to its depiction of kissing between two male friends and the exuberance of a friendship that is 'lovelier than Heaven itself'.¹⁹

In German literary circles of the mid to late eighteenth century, then, homoerotica and 'Greek love' were hardly unknown, and indeed were encouraged among those circles' practitioners. In general, opprobrium only came later. In another study, Wilson demonstrates that erotic (and particularly homoerotic) poetry was excised from Goethe's body of work. This was mostly conducted during the nineteenth century by a series of private and official censors who, at least partly, wished to 'save' the image of the literary genius from the whiff of sexual scandal.²⁰ As noted, Schiller's *Die Freundschaft* also earned the ire of imperial censors at the turn of the twentieth century.

17 Robert Beachy, 'The German Invention of Homosexuality', *The Journal of Modern History* 82, no. 4 (2010), 829: doi.org/10.1086/656077.

18 W Daniel Wilson, *Goethe Männer Knaben: Ansichten zur 'Homosexualität'* (Berlin: Insel, 2012), 35.

19 Robert Beachy, *Gay Berlin: Birthplace of a Modern Identity* (New York: Vintage, 2014), 108–09.

20 W Daniel Wilson, *Goethes Erotica und die Weimarer Zensoren* (Weimar: Wehrhahn, 2015), passim.

This is not to say that same-sex desires were openly condoned prior to the nineteenth century. It is true that they were regulated by law, although generally under the banner of 'sodomy', a charge encompassing sexual acts deemed to be against the natural order, including same-sex liaisons.²¹ In Prussia, the punishment for sodomy was strengthened by Frederick's father, Frederick William I, who made it a capital offence during his reign. This was demonstrated most notably in the 1721 case of Catharina Margarethe Linck, a woman who, presenting as a man, married and had sexual relations with another woman. Upon the personal intervention of the king, Linck was executed.²² However, even though the laws appear uncompromising, their application was not. Isabel Hull, for one, notes that sodomy was rarely addressed in official documentation or in reforms to the law and, given that consensual same-sex acts 'usually left no traces [...] to attract official attention', it sufficed for authorities wanting to regulate sexual behaviour to merely 'promise draconian punishment and its occasional execution', rather than energetically attempt to repress it.²³ Even in the Linck case, learned legal opinion suggested that the defendant should be imprisoned and exiled, overturning the initial decision to have her tortured. It was only with the intervention of Frederick William that capital punishment was enforced.²⁴

With regards to the regulation of sex, then, the situation in early modern Germany was less explicit than the law itself would suggest. Yet sex itself is only one aspect of same-sex desire and the construction of self.

21 The *Allgemeines Gesetzbuch für die Preussischen Staaten* (General State Laws for the Prussian State) (1792), which was ordered by Frederick but completed and enacted after his death, lists 'Sodomiterey' only as an 'unnatural sin'. A more precise definition was offered by the jurist Wiguleus Xaver Alois von Kreittmayr in his codification of Bavarian criminal law, in which the sodomy charge covered 'carnal comingling with an animal, dead bodies, or people of a single sex, as man with man, woman with woman'. Cf Isabel V Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700–1815* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 68; *Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preussischen Staaten, Zweyter Theil* (Berlin: 1794), §1069.

22 Brigitte Eriksson, 'A Lesbian Execution in Germany, 1721: The Trial Records', *Journal of Homosexuality* 6, nos 1–2 (1981), 38–40: doi.org/10.1300/J082v06n01_04; Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilisation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 473–475.

23 Hull, *Sex, Sexuality, and Civil Society in Germany*, 70–1. This should not be taken to mean that authorities did not take sexual 'deviance' seriously, as Hull also cites many efforts by authorities to regulate these affairs. Rather, practical considerations made it difficult or impossible to do.

24 In another study of early modern German justice, Joel F Harrington demonstrates that the Nuremberg travelling executioner, Frantz Schmidt, generally acted with leniency towards those found guilty of sodomy, though the law prescribed their execution. In one particular case, one man—whom Schmidt would have been legally justified in burning at the stake—was instead merely flogged. See Joel F Harrington, *The Faithful Executioner: Life and Death, Honour and Shame in the Turbulent Sixteenth Century* (New York: Farrer, Straus and Giroux, 2013), 159–61.

Gender and the Prussian State

In many ways, homosexuality was initially understood in similar terms to those presented by Ulrichs in 1868. Instead of theorising about Uranians and a third sex, however, those meditating on gender roles chose to situate people who deviated from an established social norm within the grey areas of the defined binary. In other words, gender was not necessarily something that someone was born into and defined by genitalia. Instead, early modern Germans situated themselves within a complex system of honour, virtue and activities—not just sexual—that were considered normative for a certain gender. Ulrich believed that a ‘real man possessed a male body and a male sex-love for women’, which required that someone (like him) who possessed a ‘male body’ but ‘the female’s sex-love for men’ had to occupy a different identity (in Ulrich’s conception, a Uranian).²⁵ By contrast, what German understandings of gender in the century prior to Ulrichs implicitly allowed for was that maleness was neither defined by a penis nor by a sexual desire for women, but was instead defined by a whole collection of behaviours that would cumulatively affect one’s identity.

The defining characteristic of the Prussian identity of the early modern and modern period was to be ‘male’ in a strict sense of the term. In part, this idea of Prussianness was reinforced by the nature of the state itself. Mirabeau was being simplistic—but perhaps not excessively so—when he claimed that ‘Prussia is not a state in possession of an army, rather an army that occupies a state’.

This sense of military honour and duty served to enforce a distinct gender divide in Prussian society. In 1815, the government censor Heinrich Renfner complained that too many of the patriotic pamphlets followed a predictable, monotonous trope, appealing ‘*ad nauseam*’ to the masculine militarism and the duty of men in times of danger.²⁶ Renfner’s artistic sensibilities were wounded by the constant repetition in the works he reviewed, but the fact that he made mention of the trend is significant enough, insofar that it demonstrates the ubiquity of Prussian appeals

25 Jonathan Ned Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 51.

26 Heinrich Renfner, February 1815, cited in Karen Hagemann, *Männlicher Mut und deutsche Ehre: Nation, Militär und Geschlecht zur Zeit der Antinapoleonischen Kriege Preußens* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002), 204.

to manhood, and the relationship between militancy and manliness. Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, the 'father of gymnastics' and national theorist, used his 1810 meditation on the 'German citizenry' to expostulate on the distinction between genders. 'That which emerges from the forces, phenomena and products of nature with strength, power and fertility is male', he told his readers. 'That which is governed by grace, goodness, quiet efficiency and power limited by self-consciousness is of the female sex'.²⁷

These ideas, distinguishing the character traits and therefore the roles of men and women in society, were deeply entrenched in traditional ideals of the household, and Prusso-German society as a whole. Indeed, the German historian Karen Hagemann has pioneered a two-pronged concept of German (and, in particular, Prussian) masculinity:

[F]irst, men's readiness to defend family, 'home' (Heimat), and 'fatherland' by force of arms and to die a 'hero's death' on the 'altar of the fatherland'; and second, with the introduction of universal conscription, the linking of masculine 'valour' and political citizenship rights. Only a 'valiant' man was considered a truly German man.²⁸

Men were to be strong, powerful and answerable to a higher cause. In this framework, it was not only good but also right to die for the cause that, in turn, treasured these ideals. Thus, when Mirabeau referred to Prussia as an army possessing a state, he had (perhaps inadvertently) defined the kingdom as an arena of hypermasculinity. The army was the place of men, not women, and those men were to be dedicated to making war. But defining gender by behaviours and actions, in turn, introduces a clear component of alterity to a rigid, dichotomous system of attributes.

These Prussian historians take their cues from the nineteenth century, and their models are based on the Prussian bourgeoisie. However, each is clear on the fact that Prussian bourgeois masculinity did not emerge from nothing, but rather coopted the strictures of aristocratic or Junker masculine virtue. As they saw it, the aristocratic class had jettisoned these virtues and adopted more effete and feminine characteristics.

27 Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, *Deutsches Volksthum* (Leipzig: 1810), 131.

28 Angelika Schaser, 'The Challenge of Gender: National Historiography, Nationalism, and National Identities', in *Gendering Modern German History: Rewriting Historiography*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Jean H Quataert (New York: Berghahn, 2008), 49. Hagemann's theoretical framework is discussed in depth in Karen Hagemann, 'Tod für das Vaterland: der patriotisch-nationale Heldenkult zur Zeit der Freiheitskriege', *Militär-geschichtliche Zeitschrift* 60, no. 2 (2001), 307–42: doi.org/10.1524/mgzs.2001.60.2.307.

But when had this shift towards ‘effeminate’ aristocracy occurred? Hagemann places the development during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815). This is hardly surprising since the early nineteenth century saw the expansion of the middle classes into weighty forces of political and social action, as a result both of the upheavals of the wars, and also because of the effect that increasing industrialisation had on class demographics.²⁹ Furthermore, in spite of its place in the victors’ circle by 1815, Prussia had experienced defeat and humiliation on a previously unimagined scale, especially during Napoleon’s campaigns in central Europe.

This, to the denizens of the burgeoning Prussian middle class, was to be explained, not by the failures of the army, but by the excesses and frivolity of the upper classes. As Martina Kessel explains, men who enjoyed or displayed artistic talent, or who chose to pursue luxury and comfort (or, indeed, displayed a degree of gregariousness such that they might have been termed ‘socialites’), found themselves alienated by these social constructs, since these qualities were increasingly defined as feminine. The attempts of such men to portray themselves as ‘whole’ or ‘complete’ men was met with limited success within a Prusso-German national model of gender and sex that was so inflexible that it could not accommodate difference.³⁰ At the same time, austere middle-class men, who bore the brunt of the wars’ impact, were soon fêted as patriotic heroes in spite of an aristocratic leadership that had, in its own cowardice, forsaken them.³¹ In contrast to the men celebrated in art, prose and verse, who fought guerrilla-style operations against the invading French, the royal family had fled to Königsberg. It is telling that Arndt’s poem extolling ‘the courageous king of Prussia’ implies that the king’s courage derived, not from his own kingly soul, but rather from the ‘threefold hundred thousand men’—mostly of middle-class or lower birth—at his command.³²

Yet, if these apparently hypermasculine characteristics employed by the bourgeoisie during the wars were a response to an aristocratic shift to what the middle classes viewed as femininity, then it is also clear that they

29 Joyce Appleby, *The Relentless Revolution: A History of Capitalism* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2010), 171.

30 Martina Kessel, ‘The “Whole Man”: The Longing for a Masculine World in Nineteenth-Century Germany’, *Gender & History* 15 (2003), 1–31: doi.org/10.1111/1468-0424.00287.

31 Karen Hagemann, *Revisiting Prussia’s Wars against Napoleon: History, Culture and Memory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 50: doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139030861.

32 Ernst Moritz Arndt, ‘Der tapfere König von Preußen’, 1813.

had been absent in the ruling class for some time. Frederick William III may have been considered sensitive or 'soft', but by these standards his father could have hardly been considered a paragon of masculinity either. Frederick William II, a patron of the arts with an interest in pagan mysticism, had such a predilection for licentiousness that he was nicknamed 'the fat scallywag' by his subjects. Nor, indeed, could the model be applied to Frederick the Great. Frederick's artistic pursuits, as well as his keen interest in horticulture, music and literature, are not easily reconciled with the frugal bourgeois war heroes that came to define Prussian manliness.

Frederick's father, Frederick William I, is a different story. A complex figure, Frederick William embodied the masculinity that, a century later, would be so prized by the middle classes. He was an intensely austere man, who eschewed art in all its forms as dangerous, luxurious distractions that would, if permitted, chip away at a man's moral fortitude. To Frederick William, virtue sprang from piety and strength; as king, his role was to aggrandise Prussia, while at the same time maintaining his rigid morality. That morality could be compromised by cultural pursuits, which he felt opened the soul to temptation. Crucially, the rejection of cultural education was not extended to the women of his household. His wife Sophia Dorothea and daughter Wilhelmina were both warm, gregarious and tender, as well as voracious readers of poetry and prose, and patrons of music and theatre. These, however, were womanly pursuits, and certainly not compatible with the masculine role of the patriarch of the Hohenzollern dynasty. They were also, then, unfit for the crown prince.

And yet, from a very early age, Frederick proved to be contrarian and, alarmingly for his father, far more interested in 'feminine' pursuits. Frederick William's attempts to remove female influences on his son was met with little success. When he returned home from studying at Wüsterhausen, Frederick would often escape his formal lessons, choosing to hide among his mother and sister in their *salon*, reading French poetry with them. He cowered at gunfire, and preferred to spend time practising music, eventually becoming a skilled flautist.³³ In particular, Frederick's father was enraged by his son's interest in French philosophy and literature—none of which he included in the crown prince's curriculum—as he considered France to be a country of debauchery and liberal excesses,

33 Carl Hinrichs, 'The Conflict between Frederick and his Father', in *Frederick the Great: A Profile*, 9.

and everything that it produced to be tainted by immorality.³⁴ As a result, Prussia under Frederick William had a 'special character' within Europe, in which the 'primacy of utilitarian considerations' promoted an 'official ethic of parsimony and frugality',³⁵ much as it would once again return to after (and, to some extent, during) the Napoleonic Wars, under the guidance of the bourgeoisie.

It is implicit in the understanding of this 'return' and 'adoption' principle that Frederick William I's ideal of Prussian masculinity was not completely undermined by his son. Frederick the Great, with his artistic bent and his love of Francophone refinement, is a point of departure from the norm. Indeed, it is tempting to suggest that it is Frederick who began the deviation from utilitarian, pious and dour masculinity towards a more effete aristocracy, thereby creating a gendered vacuum into which the middle classes would step into in the nineteenth century. Seductive as this logic may be, however, it suffers from significant conceptual flaws.

The first is a matter of practicality. Frederick the Great's reign lasted for more than four decades. If, indeed, he characterised a gender shift in which the crown departed from its austere masculine virtue and steered towards the effete, are we then to assume that *all* of the Junkers followed a similar trajectory at the same time? We must remember that Frederick not only derived his power from the Junkers, but he was also expected to exemplify the highest of Junker virtues. In other words, the virtuous mould already existed, as defined by *class* rather than by the *king*. It might certainly have been within the powers of the king to alter that mould according to his own desires, but Frederick's abrupt departure from the example of his father would suggest a complete breaking of the mould, a seismic shift in Junker identity that could not unilaterally be accomplished by the will of the monarch alone. So, how could the Junkers have countenanced a king who presumably did not embody their will and virtue?

34 Frederick William's hatred of the French is attested to by Mitford, who includes an anecdote of condemned prisoners being ordered to dress in French fashion 'in order to give people a horror of such fashions'. Frederick himself was often humiliated by his father's public denouncement of his 'effeminacy'. See Mitford, *Frederick the Great*, 4–5; and Peter Loewenberg, 'Psychohistorical Perspectives on Modern German History', *The Journal of Modern History* 47, no. 2 (1975), 234: doi.org/10.1086/241319.

35 Richard L. Gawthrop, *Pietism and the Making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1.

The second fault arising from the logic supposing that Frederick constituted a break in Prussian masculine continuity engages with this latter presumption. However evident it is that nineteenth-century bourgeois actors looked upon Frederick William I as an exemplar of masculinity, it is equally clear that he was *not* the exemplar for the Junkers of *his* (rather than the later) Prussia. If, indeed, Frederick William I's successors—and, in particular, his son Frederick—deviated from the masculine norm that he embodied, then it must also be recognised that Frederick William I himself deviated from the norms and behaviours of *his* father, Frederick I, the first king in Prussia.

Frederick the Great himself demonstrates this in his collected works. 'The state almost completely changed under Frederick William', he wrote. 'Under Frederick I, Berlin was a northern Athens, [but] under Frederick William she became Sparta'.³⁶ Moreover, Frederick I's character—containing, as it did, tendencies towards artistry, a love of gardening and a consuming passion for music and literature—had more in common with that of his grandson, Frederick the Great, than it did with his son, Frederick William. If there is *any* constant definition of Prussian masculine character, it is that which binds the two Fredericks, rather than that of the interregnum Frederick William.

Masculinity and the *Hausväterliteratur*

It goes without saying that the Prussian king of the eighteenth century was not answerable to the middle class, not least because that class was at best embryonic. The crown's power did not derive from the bourgeoisie, and the king was not expected to embody middle-class values. He was, however, expected to reflect the values of the highest class: the landed gentry, or Junkers.

Values and ethics are rarely static and immutable, and certainly such things were rarely left to chance. Codes of behaviour and morality have existed since ancient times, in the tradition of the *oikos* (or house texts) of the Aristotelian style. In Germany, texts of this sort were printed throughout the early modern period, beginning at least as early as the

36 Frederick II, 'Mémoires pour servir a l'Histoire de la Maison de Brandebourg', in *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand*, vol. 1, ed. R Decker (Berlin: Imprimerie Royale, 1846), 266.

sixteenth century, and continuing through into the eighteenth.³⁷ These texts belonged to the categories of *Hausväterliteratur* (house fathers' literature) and *Jagdliteratur* (hunting literature). The latter, as the name suggests, offered guidelines for the successful hunting of various types of game—invaluable skills for a landsman to possess in times when hunting remained the primary means of sustenance. The former was rather more expansive. In essence, these works provided instructions for the successful governing and operation of the household. If a man were to master the art of the household *Ökonomik* (economy), he would represent the ideal 'house father' (*Hausvater*).

These guidebooks of governing principles were not unique to Prussia and, in general, were published in the great publishing cities of the German region, such as Leipzig, Cologne, Mainz and Nuremberg, rather than exclusively in Berlin or Potsdam. Johann Coler's *Oeconomia ruralis et domestica* was printed in Mainz in 1645, and enjoyed reprints well into the eighteenth century. Coler's work, as suggested by the title, emphasised the importance of governing both rural and domestic affairs, and its advice—spanning close to 1,000 pages—covered such esoterica as the correct ways to serve beer to visitors and the spicing of cabbage to ensure its preservation over winter. Franz Philipp Florin's *Oeconomia prudens et legalis*, published 11 years after Frederick the Great took to the Prussian throne, enjoyed a print run in the largely autonomous city of Nuremberg, the imperial city of Frankfurt am Main, and the Saxon town of Leipzig.³⁸ These works largely covered the practicalities of governing a noble household; Wolf Helmhard von Hohberg's 1682 manual, *Georgica curiosa aucta*, subtitled *Adeliches Land- und Feld-Leben* ('Noble Land- and Field-Life'), built on Coler's example by imbibing the pragmatic rules with spiritual and moralistic elements. Like many of the *Hausväterbücher*, Hohberg's work outlived him—an 'expanded and improved' edition appeared as late as 1716.³⁹

The German term *Ökonomik* itself derived from the Greek *oikos*. Otto Brunner has noted that early modern *Hausväterliteratur* was:

37 Maïke-Franziska van Haag, *Recht in der Hausväterliteratur: Der 'Oeconomus Prudens et Legalis' vom Franz Philipp Florin im Kontext seiner Zeit* (Berlin: Lit-Verlag, 2014), 1.

38 Johann Coler, *Oeconomia ruralis et domestica* (Mainz: Churfürstlich. Mayntzischer Hoff- und Universitet Buchtrucker, 1645); Franz Philipp Florin, *Oeconomia prudens et legalis* (Nuremberg, Frankfurt and Leipzig: Christoph Riegel, 1751).

39 Wolf Helmhard von Hohberg, *Georgica curiosa aucta* (Nuremberg: Martin Endter, 1716).

Ökonomik in the older sense [that is to say, *oikos*] and thus contained an abundance of ethical, sociological, pedagogical, medical, [and] agronomical material, which is not simply a collection of individual pieces of knowledge, but rather is held together through the orderly principle of the household via the decisive leading function of the man of the house.⁴⁰

The characteristic ideals of manhood and masculinity found within the pages of a disparate selection of *Hausväterliteratur* manuals, across borders both physical and temporal, have remarkable consistency. And it is notable that the authors and publishers found audiences elsewhere. The Saxon jurist Julius Bernhard von Rohr, for example, wrote extensively on the issue of masculine honour and education, which he felt was a universally German preoccupation. At least one of his books—*Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der Privat-Personen* (1728)—was published in Berlin, and conspicuously aimed at a readership of ‘young German cavaliers’.⁴¹

It was in these texts that masculinity for the landed gentry was defined, and it is this definition to which the Prussian king was expected to adhere. The very name of the collected works—the ‘house fathers’ literature’—betrays their emphasis on masculinity, though this is often couched in terms of ‘blood’ or hereditary genealogy (which, in any event, were construed as traits and lineages passed down through masculine lines).⁴² To modern eyes, the characteristics that defined masculinity appear somewhat eclectic. Hohberg’s *Georgica curiosa* provides one of the most comprehensive collections of noble guidelines. The work is divided into two parts, which combine the genres of *Hausväter-* and *Jagdliteratur*; the first part covers the role of the house father within the household, as well as his place in society, while the second presents instructions for hunting game and raising livestock. These are, in turn, divided into separate books of themes within these categories. Part one—of most use to us here—provides explicit guidance on the delineated roles of men. Topics covered include good business practices and fiscal responsibility (*Buch I*), wholesome relationships with family and community (*Buch II*), delineating the role of the wife or *Hausmutter* (*Buch III*), the growing of vineyards and orchards (*Buch IV* and *Buch V*), and the aesthetic organisation of horticultural gardens (*Buch VI*).

40 Otto Brunner, ‘Hausväterliteratur’, in *Handwörterbuch der Sozialwissenschaften*, vol. v (Stuttgart: G. Fischer, 1956), 93. Cf van Haag, *Recht in der Hausväterliteratur*, 43ff.

41 Julius Bernhard von Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der Privat-Personen* (Berlin: Johann Andreas Rüdiger, 1728).

42 William D Godsey Jr, ‘Nobles and Modernity’, *German History* 20, no. 4 (2002), 513.

This expansive series gives some indication of the complex roles and characteristics expected of aristocratic men. The responsibilities of noblemen towards women, and their relationships with them, comprises very little of the work, with Hohberg concluding that '[t]he lordship of man over woman is precisely a small reflection of God's lordship over humanity'.⁴³ In his meditation on the role of the *Hausmutter*, however, Hohberg softens his stance. A household without a woman, he laments, would be 'like a day without sunshine, a garden without flowers, or water without fish'. This has little to do with the natural gender order, Hohberg insists, except for the fact that the relief a man would feel upon returning home to a 'faithful and loving woman' would help to keep household affairs in order.⁴⁴

Beyond this the *Georgica curiosa* is largely silent; its aim is to define the role that men and women play within an extant, marital relationship, rather than situating that relationship at the centre of a masculine or feminine character. In fact, of the five books that make up the *Hausväterliteratur* component of the *Georgica curiosa*, it is essentially only the second book that addresses the question of romantic relationships, and then only in passing. Even here, though, women are seen as a contingency. Hohberg sees the role of the *Hausmutter* as being analogous to the *Hausarzt* (house doctor); nevertheless, skills in medicine (including medicinal botany) are among the requirements for the *Hausvater* as well. This reflects Coler's meditations on masculinity from 1645, in which he insists that an accomplished *Hausvater* must be well versed in experimental pharmacology, in order to maintain the health and wellbeing of his household.⁴⁵ The role of the woman, therefore, is ancillary to that of the man. Her duty is to provide care for a situation in which the *Hausvater* could not himself provide it. At no point is it suggested that the *Hausmutter* could demonstrate qualities of house leadership; her role is simply to make sure that the *Hausvater* is capable of fulfilling his. In any event, Hohberg's attention is soon drawn towards matters of how good Junker men should conduct themselves while travelling, or whether or not a *Hausvater* should allow his sons to study abroad.

43 Hohberg, *Georgica curiosa aucta*, 142–43.

44 Hohberg, *Georgica curiosa aucta*, 273.

45 Hohberg, *Georgica curiosa aucta*, 335–454; Coler, *Oeconomia ruralis et domestica*, 72–281.

The role and responsibility of women in this 'manual of masculinity', then, is somewhat elusive, and any discussion of the actual mechanics of sexual relations is absent. Hohberg should not be considered prudish or remiss in this regard, as similar absences are to be noted in other, comparable texts already mentioned. And yet, in conceptualising other aspects of Junker masculinity, Hohberg is loquacious and occasionally employs a thoughtful degree of wit to illustrate his points. The son of a noble house, he insists, can only hope to rise higher in his station through strength of character and intellect, noting that:

he must have a brave, steadfast, but in this also a prudent, patient disposition, must before this be well-versed in studies and in travel, but where these traits are not in evidence, he should at least not be an idiot.⁴⁶

As crown prince, Frederick was often the target of his father's ire, owing largely to his interest in reading and education. These were, to Frederick William, not occupations befitting the man who would eventually succeed him to the Prussian throne. However, intellect was highly prized by the Junkers and the authors of the *Hausväterbücher*, from which they took their social and cultural cues. This can be seen not only in the works themselves—which list, among those good skills that should be possessed by a well-rounded Junker male, a familiarity with poetry, music, literature and the aesthetics of horticulture—but also in the typical education of a Junker.

Jan Peters' account of the everyday life of the Junkers of Plattenburg-Wilsnack provides some insight into the nature and role of education in the 'creation' of an exemplar of Prussian noble life. Here, Peters uses the example of Frederick August von Saldern, who would become a court adviser to Frederick William. Saldern, born in 1694, was educated at home under a 'strict homeschooling regime' until he turned 10. From that point, he attended a 'noble school' (*Adelsschule*) in Berlin, and a year later, he began attending university in Halle an der Saale, from where he graduated in 1711. Throughout these years of education, he followed a typical subject trajectory of a 'Junker and cavalier', studying mathematics, history, geography, law, Latin, Greek, French, drawing, fencing, dancing and piano.⁴⁷ Similar intensive learning regimes had been

46 Hohberg, *Georgica curiosa aucta*, 156. Emphasis in original.

47 Jan Peters, *Märkische Lebenswelten: Gesellschaftsgeschichte der Herrschaft Plattenburg-Wilsnack, Prignitz 1550–1800* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2007), 674.

the norm for the aristocrats of the houses of Plattenburg and Wilsnack, and indeed elsewhere in Brandenburg-Prussia, since at least the sixteenth century.

The origins of this schooling regime hint at why so many lessons were taught in such a short space of time; the eldest son of a noble family had to be prepared to assume his role as the head of the house as soon as possible, especially in an era when mortality rates were higher and life expectancies unpredictable. But the emphasis of this education was fundamentally grounded in the humanistic virtues of wider knowledge and sensibilities. Given the limited time in which a Junker male was expected to be educated, it is significant that considerable effort was devoted not just to 'practical' subjects such as mathematics, but also to more ethereal pursuits, such as art, music and the languages of Sappho, Virgil and Catullus. These expectations had longstanding precedents. In England of the sixteenth century, for example, Henry VII had insisted on expansive education for his sons, Arthur and Henry. Those ideals instilled in the princes by Erasmus, André, Skelton and Mountjoy became integral aspects to the Tudor form of cultural chivalric revival that would, in turn, become guiding principles of English aristocratic masculinity well into the age of Byron.⁴⁸

The ruling class of the Hohenzollern Kingdom of Prussia followed similar behavioural guidance. To be a Junker male, and to epitomise the characteristics of the Junker male, was to be well rounded, educated and well read. Such characteristics were laid out in exquisite detail in the *Hausväterliteratur*. In these strictures, the nature of one's sexuality had a secondary role to that of one's learned character, and one's ability to express cultural and educational refinement. Far from the nineteenth-century middle-class ideals of frugality and pious austerity, the social and cultural environment in which the Hohenzollern dynasty existed not only encouraged, but *required* a man to embody 'sensitive' traits that later generations would come to view as 'effeminate'.

48 David R Carlson, 'Royal Tutors in the Reign of Henry VII', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 22, no. 2 (Summer 1991), 253–79; doi.org/10.2307/2542735.

Frederick the Great as an exemplar of Prussian masculinity

‘The World never perhaps beheld a father and son who less resembled each other than these two Monarchs’, Voltaire wrote of Frederick William and Frederick the Great.⁴⁹ In many ways, it was Voltaire himself who was responsible (at least in part) for many of the differences between father and son. Frederick’s correspondence with the French philosopher and novelist began in 1736, four years before the death of Frederick William, and some 14 years before Voltaire would come to live at Sanssouci. But Frederick’s love of Voltaire’s works reflected the deeper, innate sense of culture and refinement that was an integral part of the Junkers’ sense of masculinity. Frederick praised Voltaire’s ‘treasures of the mind, and pieces of workmanship laboured with so much taste, delicacy, and art, that their beauties appear new every time they are examined’.⁵⁰ It was precisely the qualities of ‘taste, delicacy, and art’, and the identification and appreciation of them, that was central to Junker education, through schooling as well as the *Hausväterliteratur*.

Ironically, this education had been denied to Frederick by his father, who saw no practical use for poetry, music or aesthetics. It was left to the crown prince to educate himself through the works of philosophers like Voltaire. Yet the fact that Frederick had not been formally educated in philosophy, literature and art was the exception rather than the rule; if Frederick William saw these pursuits as ‘effeminate’ and ‘womanly’, then it is a reflection more on the father and his unique mentality, rather than on Prussian society. Frederick seemed to recognise this in his claim that his father’s Prussia was like Sparta to Frederick I’s Prussian Athens. Not only did this suggest a turn towards militarism, but it also suggested a shift away from the enlightened, artistic, ‘Athenian’ values of the earlier Prussia. Voltaire used similar imagery in his memoirs, comparing the shift in governance to Frederick William as akin to the sack of Rome. In one passage, he beseeches his reader to imagine Frederick’s difficult childhood:

We may easily imagine, what would be the astonishment of a Vandal like this, to find he had a son endowed with wit, grace, and good breeding; who delighted to please, was eager in the acquisition of knowledge, and

49 Voltaire, *Memoirs of the Life of Voltaire, Written by Himself* (Dublin: Moncrieffe, Walker, Exshaw, Wilson, Jenkin, Burton, White, Byrne, Marchbank, Cash and Heery, 1784), 11.

50 Frederick II to Voltaire, Berlin, 8 August 1736, in *Letters*, 1.

who made verses, and afterward set them to music. If he [Frederick William] caught him [Frederick II] with a book in his hand, he threw it in the fire; or playing on the flute, he broke his instrument; and sometimes treated his Royal Highness, as he treated the ladies and the preachers when he met with them on the parade.⁵¹

Frederick William's behaviour towards his son was notable in its departure from the norms. This set Frederick William apart from his forebears, from the pattern that would be adopted by his son and successors and, indeed, from the Junker class.

When Frederick William took to the throne upon the death of his father, the chief of the army, Lieutenant-General von Tettau, famously warned the members of the Junkers' privy council: 'Gentlemen! Our good Lord is dead, and the new king will send you all to the devil!'⁵² Frederick William did away with much of the privilege and pomp of court life—even selling 'all the magnificent furniture left by his father', much to Voltaire's anguish—and, in doing so, undermined the traditional Junker masculine ideal by discrediting it. Where once artistry had been encouraged and welcomed in Prussia, it was now repressed.

To some, Frederick William's disdain for sensibility was so strong that they considered it potentially dangerous. When, in 1737, a story appeared in the Parisian newspapers claiming that Voltaire was planning to visit the Prussian crown prince, Voltaire was quick to assure Frederick that, while he did indeed hope to make his acquaintance one day, this could hardly happen while Frederick William was on the throne. To arrive without invitation in Berlin, Voltaire recognised, would be courting danger. Such an invitation was not about to come from the king of Prussia (who clearly would have despised Voltaire and all he represented), nor his son (who knew full well the risks of defying the 'brute', Frederick William).⁵³ Indeed, the king's testament, written in 1722 and intended to be provided to his heir upon his death, demonstrated the degree to which he expected Frederick to follow in his stead. 'My dear Successor', he wrote (in poorly punctuated, phonetic prose):

51 Voltaire, *Memoirs*, 20–21.

52 Linda Brüggemann, *Herrschaft und Tod in der Frühen Neuzeit: Das Sterbe- und Begräbniszeremoniell preussischer Herrscher vom Großen Kurfürsten bis zu Friedrich Wilhelm II. (1688–1797)* (Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2015), 150. See also Heinz Ohff, *Preußens Könige* (Munich: Piper Verlag, 2009), 45.

53 Voltaire to Frederick II, March 1737, in *Letters*, 78.

be well assured that all happy Regents have God before their eyes and have no Mistresses or as is better to call them Whores and who lead a godly life then these regents will be protected by God with all worldly and spiritual blessing as I ask My dear Successor to live a Godly Pure life and to lead a good Transition and to approach his Land and Army with a good example not Drink and gorge from which an obscene life derives, My dear Successor must also not admit any Comedies Operas Ballets Masquerades Balls to be held in his Lands and Provinces and have an abhorrence of them for it is Godless and Devilish for Satan his temple and empire are increased [by them].⁵⁴

Frederick William's antipathy towards the creative arts was made explicit in his description of them as 'Godless and Devilish'. Equally clear was the fact that Frederick would not follow this template. Once the king had died, his son toured the streets of Berlin in an open-top carriage, promising reforms based upon Enlightenment intellectualism even as he had coins strewn along his way for the excited crowds to collect.⁵⁵ But this was a *restorative* transformation, resurrecting older traditions. Within months, Frederick would be working actively to transform his court at Potsdam into a beacon of European Enlightenment. His desire to do so would attract many of the greatest contemporary minds. Musically, Frederick's retinue of court musicians expanded until late into his reign, and included many of the highest-regarded composers and artists of the age, including Karl Heinrich Graun, Johann Frederick Agricola, Johann Joachim Quantz and CPE Bach. He took to his flute with gusto, producing no fewer than 121 concertos.⁵⁶ In 1779, as his health began to fail, he despaired that his inability to play it regularly was akin to losing his 'best friend'.⁵⁷

54 Reproduced in *Die politischen Testamente der Hohenzollern nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken, vol. I: Die Hofordnung Joachims II., die politischen Testamente des Grossen Kurfürsten von 1667 und Friedrich Wilhelms I. von 1722*, ed. Georg Kuntzel and Martin Haas (Leipzig and Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1911), 71.

55 On the remarkable differentiation between Frederick William and Frederick's approach to governance, and their conceptions of virtue in general, Christopher Clark usefully notes that the Hohenzollerns after the Thirty Years War seemed to embody a strange synthesis of leadership, in which the goals and development of the state seemed to follow seamlessly between successors, while their actual individual *approaches* to power demonstrated rupture between father and son. That of Frederick William and Frederick was, by this stage, only the latest in a series of such fraught relationships. See Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia 1600–1947* (London: Penguin, 2007), 101.

56 Ernest Eugene Helm, *Music at the Court of Frederick the Great* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 41–42.

57 Warwick Lister, *Amico: The Life of Giovanni Battista Viotti* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 49: doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195372403.001.0001.

But he also maintained his adolescent love of literature and poetry, and Voltaire's tenure at Potsdam, between 1750 and 1753, demonstrated Frederick's devotion not only to improving his own literary output, but also to benefitting from the profound influence of one of the French Enlightenment's most prominent thinkers, and the author of 'letters and verses, superior in beauty to every thing which has ever appeared'.⁵⁸ When Voltaire finally came to Potsdam in 1750 it seemed that Frederick had successfully repositioned Prussia as a centre of enlightened liberalism. Frederick William's Prussia had disgusted Voltaire—'Turkey, it must be confessed is a Republic, when compared to the despotism exercised by this Frederic-William'⁵⁹—but in Frederick's kingdom he found wonderment. '[Potsdam] is the paradise of philosophers', he wrote to his friend, the marquis de Thibouville, shortly after arriving.

It is beyond all expression. It is Caesar, it is Marcus Aurelius, it is Julian, it is sometimes the abbé of Chaulieu with whom one sups. It is the charm of retirement, the ease of country life, with all the little comforts.⁶⁰

Such a thing would never have been tolerated under Frederick's father, and yet it was vital to Frederick's own sense of self—his remedial education on how to be a Junker male, so to speak—that he did so. And, if the king was to embody the masculine strictures of the *Hausväterliteratur*, then Frederick's Potsdam court of 1750, his 'paradise of philosophers', had been transformed to incorporate the expression of those strictures: mastery of art, music, letters and philosophy.

Just 10 years after the death of 'the Vandal' Frederick William, Voltaire was happy to report that Potsdam was filled with

a hundred and fifty thousand victorious soldiers [but also] opera, comedy, philosophy, poetry [...] grandeur and grace, grenadiers and muses, trumpets and violins, society and freedom! Who would believe it? And yet it is all too true.⁶¹

Voltaire may just as well have been reading from section headings from the various *Oeconomia*, *Georgica curiosa*, or Rohr's *Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft*. In this case, Voltaire's description of Frederick—a 'philosophical hero who is also a poet'—is perhaps one of the most accurate summaries of

58 Frederick II to Voltaire, Remusberg, 9 November 1738, in *Letters*, 417.

59 Voltaire, *Memoirs*, 16.

60 Voltaire to Henri-Lambert d'Herbigny, marquis de Thibouville, Potsdam, 24 October 1750, in *Letters*.

61 Ian Davidson, *Voltaire: A Life* (London: Profile, 2010), 245.

a character most closely adhering to the demands of the *Hausväterliteratur* and, thus, the character most demonstrating the Prussian gentry's sense of masculinity in the eighteenth century.

Conclusion

Ever since his death, Frederick the Great has caused his biographers and historians no small amount of difficulty in defining him, his existence and his place in Prussian society. To some extent this was true even during his reign. Voltaire, who had been so enthused by Prussia's return to and expansion of 'society and freedom', soon became disenchanted by what he saw as irreconcilable contradictions. His modern Athens still contained a core of Sparta, and Frederick's ability to make war, however reluctantly, grated at the Frenchman's sensibilities. But Voltaire was expecting too much from Frederick, for Prussia could never break away from its deeply ingrained militaristic qualities. Indeed, Frederick's reforms, and the transformation of Potsdam and Berlin into jewels of Enlightenment civilisation, merely fuelled the need to defend what the Hohenzollern crown held. That militant ideal had always existed and would continue to exist whether Frederick wrote poems and played his flute or not.

Voltaire's departure under a cloud of ill-will in 1753 had significant implications for the way Frederick has been remembered. Not long after departing, a book entitled *The Private Life of the King of Prussia* appeared, first in Paris and Dresden, and then elsewhere. Purporting to be a tell-all exposé of the king's more unorthodox predilections, *The Private Life* gave graphic descriptions of Frederick indiscreetly picking from a string of male lovers. It was from this text that European readers not only came to believe that Frederick had homosexual desires, but that he was the 'passive partner' in sexual encounters with men. The writing style bore a striking resemblance to that of Voltaire and, whether or not it was indeed the Frenchman who wrote the text, it soon became widely accepted that only Voltaire would have had such detailed knowledge of the king's sex life.⁶² Other rumours followed. Even after Frederick and Voltaire had mended fences, the latter's memoirs still included references to Frederick's sexual tastes. Others followed suit: Goethe's private art collection included, among other pieces, a sketch of Frederick (identifiable by his ubiquitous

62 Voltaire, *Das Privatleben des Königs von Preußen, oder Nachrichten zum Leben des Herrn von Voltaire* (Leipzig: Kummer, 1784), 50–51.

three-cornered hat) engaged in anal intercourse with the Greek fertility god, Priapus (also easily identifiable, in this case due to his oversized erection).⁶³

Zimmermann was justified in 1786 to claim that all of Europe believed that Frederick was a 'socratic lover'. But in spite of this knowledge, Frederick's fitness to govern never appeared to have been threatened. This suggests that the governing principles of the king's masculinity, as dictated through the *Hausväterliteratur* and the adopted cultural gender norms of the Junkers', were not impinged upon by the king engaging in homosexual sex—passively or otherwise. What *could* impinge on that masculinity was an inability to employ the skills expected of a man well versed in humanistic education and qualities. In this, Frederick might have been at a disadvantage due to his limited formal education, but he overcome any gaps in his education with his own curiosity and drive.

Nine years after taking the throne and writing *La Jouissance*, Frederick wrote another poem. This one, also addressed to the Swan of Padua, bares striking familiarity to that which MacDonogh and others identified in the 1740 verse:

Devoted courtier of the beautiful god of Cythera,
Of taste, of grace and of wit:
Algarotti, who knows to please
The beautiful, the learned, all kinds of spirits:
From where does this illness come that the doctor,
By flattery, somehow causes?
I, who am not so learned, I think the disease
Makes you restless and dreamy,

Instead of attacking your life,
Only attaches to your heart.
Yes, this fever which burns
During the night, during the day,
Appears to my incredulous eye
To be some evil called love.
I am more inflamed by this evil than you!
Where would your talents, so clever and so able,
take you to find the remedy?⁶⁴

63 Wilson, *Goethe Männer Knaben*, 101. A reproduction of the sketch is shown in fig. 4 of the same.

64 Frederick II, 'Au Comte Algarotti', Potsdam, 25 September 1749, in *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand*, volume 18, ed. R Decker (Berlin: Imprimerie Royale, 1851), 79.

What is remarkable about this poem, as well as *La Jouissance* and others like them, is not necessarily their content. Frederick's love for men (presumed or real) had no bearing on his leadership, because it was not considered to have a decisive impact on his manliness. Instead, the very fact that he committed these feelings to paper, in verse, demonstrated his *accomplishment* as an intelligent, educated and urbane man of the ruling class. Whatever Macaulay may have thought of Frederick's poetry, it remains one of many aspects of a personality that would mark him, in the eyes of his subjects, as a great man.

Lebanon's 'age of apology' for Civil War atrocities: A look at Assad Shaftari and Samir Geagea¹

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Abstract: *From 1975 to 1990, Lebanon experienced a civil war that devastated the country. Approximately 100,000 people died during the 15-year conflict, and thousands of others were left displaced, injured or missing. The end of the war did not lead to reconciliation between grieving parties, especially among the rival sectarian groups that had tormented one another. But in 2000, Lebanon entered into its own 'age of apology', a movement that had been widespread around the world in the 1990s but less prevalent in Lebanon until the new millennium. This article examines two of these apologies in detail, those of Assad Shaftari and Samir Geagea. Both men were prominent members of Lebanon's Christian community and their apologies led to a considerable amount of debate and controversy. By exploring Shaftari's and Geagea's prewar lives as well as the public response to their apologies, this article considers some of the ways Lebanon has sought to confront the violent legacy of the Civil War in the immediate postwar period.*

Both Assad Shaftari and Samir Geagea were leaders of Lebanon's Christian militias during the Lebanese Civil War (1975–90). They were also the highest-ranking members of the community to publicly apologise for their actions during the conflict. The context of their apologies, the events that led to them and the responses they garnered will form the basis of this article.

The Lebanese Civil War was much more than an interconfessional conflict for political domination. Along with Lebanon's main sectarian groups (which, put simply, were divided among the Muslim left and Christian

¹ This article originally formed part of my MA thesis in History at the University of Melbourne (2016). The thesis was titled 'Feeling Sorry? An Examination of Apologies Given for Civil War Atrocities in Lebanon (1975–2014)'.

right), it involved various geopolitical players in the region and ‘a large number of internal and external state and non-state actors, notably the PLO [Palestinian Liberation Organisation], Lebanon’s Palestinian population, Syria, Israel and, Iran’.² Foreign interference aside, the willingness and zeal with which many Lebanese citizens killed one another during the conflict reveals the deep ideological beliefs that were felt to be at stake.

The 1990 Taif Accord effectively ended the Lebanese Civil War and helped reconcile issues of Lebanon’s identity. Militias were to be disbanded and Lebanon was to be classified and viewed as Arab in identity—that is, more ideologically and culturally familiar to its Arab neighbours than the West. Additionally, any claims (predominately made by the Maronite Christian community) that the *true* Lebanese were descendants of Phoenicians were to be discredited. The 1991 General Amnesty Laws also prevented former militia members and leaders from being prosecuted for violent acts committed during the war. The amnesties were given without any preconditions: there was no information for an amnesty swap, which left questions regarding mass graves and missing persons unanswered. Instead, policies were created to allow former militia members to reintegrate into Lebanese society.³ This allowed for a collective ‘state-sanctioned amnesia’ to occur in postwar Lebanon. Discussions concerning the war were to be avoided at all costs and became a taboo subject among Lebanon’s citizens.⁴

At the same time that Lebanon sought to forget the violence and trauma of the war, a new movement known as the ‘age of apology’, whereby governments and leaders from around the world began making efforts to atone for past atrocities, was in full swing. Karen Grainer, Louise Mullany and Sandra Harris have identified a number of significant apologies in the late twentieth century, including Bill Clinton’s apology for the US’s

2 David C Gordon, *Lebanon: The Fragmented Nation* (London: Hoover Institution Press, 1980), 234; Farid El Khazen, ‘Ending Conflict in Wartime Lebanon: Sovereignty and Power, 1976–1988’, *Middle Eastern Studies* 40 (2004), 65: doi.org/10.1080/00263200412331301897; Itamar Rabinovich, *The War for Lebanon, 1970–1985*, 2nd edition (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 9–10.

3 Dima de Clerck, ‘Ex-Militia Fighters in Post-War Lebanon’, *Accord Magazine* 24 (2012), 24–26, accessed at www.c-r.org/downloads/Accord24_ExMilitiaFighters.pdf; Lynn Maalouf, Habib Nassar and Marieke Wierda, ‘Early Reflections on Local Perceptions, Legitimacy and Legacy of the Special Tribunal for Lebanon’, *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 5 (2007), 1070.

4 Oren Barak, “‘Don’t Mention the War?’ The Politics of Remembrance and Forgetfulness in Postwar Lebanon’, *Middle East Journal* 61 (2007), 50–53: doi.org/10.3751/61.1.13; Sune Haugbolle, *War and Memory in Lebanon* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 71: doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511676598.

involvement in the slave trade, the British Queen's apology for the seizure of Maori land by the British Government and Tony Blair's apology for the British role in the Irish potato famine.⁵ Australia's apology to the Stolen Generation is another recent example.

Between 2000 and 2008 several public apologies also occurred in Lebanon. Two came from former militia members and leaders—Assad Shaftari and Samir Geagea—and sought to make amends for the crimes they had committed during the Civil War. As discussed below, the apologies were not only deeply remorseful, but also politically strategic, bound up in contemporary Lebanese politics.

Shaftari's and Geagea's apologies provoked a wide range of responses in Lebanon, from debate and analysis to applause and condemnation. The debate and commentary that the apologies ignited also reveal an important change in the way many Lebanese were relating to their country's past: gone were the days of amnesia and silence—people were now remembering and publicly acknowledging the war and its aftermath. The fact that these men were (and in Geagea's case remain) members of Lebanon's Christian political elite is also significant: it demonstrates how powerful individuals were using public apologies to help maintain their status and legitimacy in postwar Lebanon.

Before examining the public responses to the two apologies, I will first provide an overview of Shaftari's and Geagea's prewar lives, as well as the actions undertaken by the pair during the Civil War period. I will then explore the two apologies in detail, along with the responses they ignited in the press. Thus, this article aims to trace *who* these men were, *what* they felt they had to apologise for and *how* their apologies were received by the media. It will also consider how the discourse surrounding the Civil War changed in Lebanon during the early 2000s.

5 Karen Grainer, Louise Mullany and Sandra Harris, 'The Pragmatics of Political Apologies', *Discourse & Society* 17 (2006), 716.

Assad Shaftari: The first to apologise

Assad Shaftari apologised to the Lebanese public on 10 August 2000. He released his apology as an open letter via *An-Nahar*—a newspaper sometimes regarded as Lebanon’s version of *The New York Times*.⁶ It was, and still is, Lebanon’s best-selling newspaper. The paper is also known for its controversial commentary, especially concerning Syrian involvement in Lebanese politics. For these reasons, it is little wonder why *An-Nahar* was chosen by Shaftari to circulate his statement of remorse.⁷ Concise and straightforward, the apology outlined Shaftari’s regrets of having caused, either directly or indirectly, the deaths of Lebanese citizens and for the hatred he had expressed towards Lebanon’s Muslim population:

This is something I have wanted to do for a long time, for more than ten years in fact. I couldn’t pluck up enough courage, as I was afraid of being treated as mad or naïve. Now I’d like to apologise to all those people I executed or who were my victims, whether they were aware of it or not, or whether I knew or didn’t know them. No matter whether these acts were committed personally or by proxy.⁸

Shaftari acknowledged the tense political climate Lebanon had experienced after the Civil War years and, in explaining his long hesitation over apologising, recognised the continuing struggle that was occurring in Lebanon—a struggle between remembering and forgetting. Moreover, although the apology was designed to highlight Shaftari’s regret, it also included a statement of forgiveness to his former enemies who had also committed crimes during the Civil War period:

I’d like to say that I’ve long since forgiven those who personally harmed me or my family and friends, directly or indirectly, during the ‘dirty’ civil war.⁹

The apology ended with the hope that ‘souls will be cleansed of hatred, grudges, and past sorrows, thus bringing about a genuine reconciliation of ourselves before we seek reconciliation with others’.¹⁰

6 Michael Young, ‘The Politics of Saying “I’m Sorry”’, *Daily Star*, 21 February 2000, accessed at www.dailystar.com.lb/Opinion/Commentary/2000/Feb-21/104715-the-politics-of-saying-im-sorry.ashx.

7 Charles Glass, ‘The Lord of No Man’s Land: A Guided Tour through Lebanon’s Ceaseless War’, *Harper’s Magazine*, 1 March 2007, accessed at www.charlesglass.net/the-lord-of-no-mans-land-a-guided-tour-through-lebanons-cessless-war/.

8 Rachel McCarthy, ‘After the Lebanese Civil War, An Apology’, *The Story*, 26 September 2013, accessed at www.thestory.org/stories/2013-09/after-lebanese-civil-war-apology.

9 McCarthy, ‘After the Lebanese Civil War, An Apology’.

10 McCarthy, ‘After the Lebanese Civil War, An Apology’.

In many ways, it is remarkable that such a man should have been responsible for this letter of apology. Born into a French-speaking home in Beirut's Christian suburb of Gemmayze, Shaftari's recollections of his upbringing reveal a sheltered childhood. He lived in a 'sterilised virtual reality' where his experiences and acquaintances were moulded by what was considered acceptable for a young Christian man of the time.¹¹ Interaction with Lebanon's Muslim population was limited and anti-Islam sentiments were widespread.¹² In one interview, Shaftari commented on his family's racism towards Lebanon's Muslim population, recalling that they discussed 'bad things in general and the fact that we [Christians] were better than them [Muslims]'.¹³

In an interview with Australian radio presenter Rachel Kohn, Shaftari spoke further about the circumstances of his childhood:

I was brought up in the Christian suburbs, and I got my education in a Christian school, then at the Jesuit University, also Christian. This is where I started meeting some Muslims, but these Muslims were Christianised. They were nice people, they had our culture, of course, and they were quite different from those I didn't know, which were on the other side, meaning those Muslims we didn't know. I only knew the Muslims who were with me at school or at the University, who were more Christianised, if you like, and more acceptable by my society or my environment.¹⁴

The idea that conversion constituted civilisation, that Muslims needed to behave like Christians before they could be considered pleasant and civilised, was a prevailing view held by many Christian Lebanese at this time. In order for Muslims to be 'acceptable', they had to possess traits that Christians could relate to. The historian Jumana Bayeh has observed that the reluctance of Lebanese Christians to embrace their Muslim counterparts stemmed from a perpetual fear that Muslims 'pose a threat to their existence'.¹⁵ Lebanon had to exist as a Christian safe haven in order

11 Ryan Lucas, 'In Lebanon, a War Apology Remains a Rare Light', *Times of Israel*, 7 November 2013, accessed at www.timesofisrael.com/in-lebanon-a-war-apology-remains-a-rare-light/; Rachel Kohn, 'What Does It Take to Be Friends?' *ABC News*, 27 April 2013, accessed at www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/spiritofthings/what-does-it-take-to-be-friends/3540710#transcript.

12 Lucas, 'In Lebanon, a War Apology Remains a Rare Light'; Kohn, 'What Does It Take to Be Friends?'

13 Lucas, 'In Lebanon, a War Apology Remains a Rare Light'.

14 Kohn, 'What Does It Take to Be Friends?'

15 Jumana Bayeh, *The Literature of the Lebanese Diaspora* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 82.

to ensure Christian survival in the region; it was not beneficial for them to align themselves with Muslims—to do so would risk being marginalised from their own communities.¹⁶

It is from this upbringing that Shafatari developed his patriotic and conservative political affiliations. He was educated to believe that Lebanon should be a Christian and pro-Western state.¹⁷ Lebanon's political troubles were his chance to display his patriotism and defend his homeland. Shafatari joined the Phalange Party (Lebanon's key Christian-right party) in 1974, a year before the Lebanese Civil War began.¹⁸ He was a fourth-year engineering student at the time. After receiving artillery and infantry training, he joined the Phalange telecommunications unit and would eventually work his way to second-in-command of the Christian intelligence unit, serving as a deputy to Elie Hobeika, later known for his role in the 1982 Sabra and Shatila massacre.¹⁹ 'My task was to decide the fate of all those rounded up at checkpoints', remembered Shafatari, 'whether someone should be spared, exchanged, or killed. By now a human being was little more than a product to me'.²⁰

Shafatari completed these tasks ruthlessly and saw it as his Christian duty to do so. But he did not only commit acts of violence towards others, he also became a target himself. In December 1986, Shafatari narrowly escaped an assassination attempt when his car came under attack by rocket fire. Fifty gunmen were thought to have taken part in the attack.²¹ Although the perpetrators were not found, many assumed that Shafatari was attacked by his fellow Christians due to his advocacy of the 1985 Tripartite Accord, an agreement that called for a greater Syrian presence in Lebanon in order to help curb further sectarian violence. Shafatari became a target due to his promotion of the agreement and eventually had to relocate from Beirut to the Christian suburb of Zahle to escape the intra-Christian squabbles.²²

16 Bayeh, *The Literature of the Lebanese Diaspora*, 83.

17 Bayeh, *The Literature of the Lebanese Diaspora*, 83.

18 Lucas, 'In Lebanon, a War Apology Remains a Rare Light'.

19 Lucas, 'In Lebanon, a War Apology Remains a Rare Light'.

20 McCarthy, 'After the Lebanese Civil War, An Apology'.

21 'A Christian Leader Survives Ambush in Lebanon', *New York Times*, 1 January 1986, accessed at www.nytimes.com/1986/01/01/world/a-christian-leader-survives-ambush-in-lebanon.html.

22 Lucas, 'In Lebanon, a War Apology Remains a Rare Light'; Taku Osoegawa, *Syria and Lebanon: International Relations and Diplomacy in the Middle East* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 84.

It was during Shaftari's time in Zahle (1985 to the mid-1990s)—a predominantly Christian town located in Lebanon's Bekka Valley—that he transformed from warlord to advocate.²³ Shaftari experienced major opposition when he moved with his family as the town inhabitants, like many other Maronite Christians, disapproved of his participation in the Tripartite Agreement.²⁴

Shaftari went on to chronicle his experiences during a discussion about the Civil War in Beirut. The discussion was organised by Nada Sehnaoui, an artist who, in 2008, installed 600 toilet seats in downtown Beirut in memory of the 15-year-long conflict. The toilet seats symbolised a time when people used to hide in their bathrooms in order to escape bombings and snipers.²⁵

At the opening of the installation, Shaftari was invited to discuss his Civil War experiences. In his words: 'We were rejected by the community and my wife said she felt what it was like to be Palestinian for the first time in her life'.²⁶ Shaftari went on to describe how his wife, Mary, felt the gaze of hatred on her, similar to that which Palestinians (and other Muslims) felt from Christian militias. Looking for a way to escape from the hatred, Shaftari's wife stumbled upon a group named Moral Rearmament (now called Initiatives of Change). Initiatives of Change is a non-government organisation (NGO) that aims to foster moral change through spiritual growth.²⁷ Members state that 'an honest look at one's own motives and behavior is often the start of personal transformation'.²⁸ Mary eventually began attending meetings and went on to encourage her husband to attend.

23 Osoegawa, *Syria and Lebanon*, 84.

24 Osoegawa, *Syria and Lebanon*, 84.

25 See Nada Sehnaoui's website for details regarding her exhibition: Nada Sehnaoui, 'Haven't 15 Years of Hiding in the Toilets Been Enough?', *Nada Sehnaoui*, accessed at www.nadasehnaoui.com/installations7.html.

26 Sehnaoui, 'Haven't 15 Years of Hiding in the Toilets Been Enough?'

27 Sehnaoui has also included a link to Shaftari's testimony on her YouTube page. See 'Haven't Fifteen Years of Hiding under Toilet Seats Been Enough?', YouTube video, 34:44, posted by 'Nada Sehnaoui', 10 April 2013, accessed at www.youtube.com/watch?v=KuB9hXl3zFo.

28 This statement was located under the 'Approach' section of the organisation's website: 'Approach', *Initiatives of Change*, accessed at au.iofc.org/approach.

My wife went to a few meetings and she was the one who encouraged me to go with her, saying these are good people. When I asked her what they talk about she said they talk about peace and change. I felt there must be a catch to it. I asked her to see who was their leader and who they were getting funding from.²⁹

Shaftari was suspicious of the group's motives. In his eyes, the idea of promoting peace in Lebanon was impossible due to the brutal civil conflict. He began attending meetings to try and grasp the organisation's ideas. Gradually, members started asking Shaftari questions regarding his reflections on the past and, in a moment akin to an epiphany, he had a sudden realisation that he was 'killing in the name of a religion that preached love and only love. Christianity does not preach anything else'.³⁰ Shaftari expanded on the role religion played in his transformation when he spoke with Rachel Kohn. When asked what made him apologise for his actions during the Civil War, Shaftari replied: 'Mainly putting God back again, the real God, my real Christianity back again into practice'.³¹

According to Shaftari, it was his reformed faith that helped him apologise. His apology was a form of atonement for his sins, a way of absolving himself from his past. It was also a way to make him become a true Christian. If Christianity was a religion of love, what kind of love had he preached? What kind of tolerance had he shown?

Shaftari's apology would provoke a wide range of responses from the public. On the one hand there were threats against Shaftari and his family from Christians (predominantly Maronite) who did not appreciate him apologising for his role in the conflict. To apologise was not only equivalent to stating that the Christians' actions were wrong, but it suggested that they were in some way to *blame* for the conflict. Indeed, a vast majority of the Maronite community still sees Shaftari as a traitor, a paranoid and weak man who 'turned against his own people'.³² The threats that have continued since Shaftari's apology have been so serious that his son has repeatedly requested that his father stop his work due to the torment he receives from his peers. Shaftari has not given specific details about the threats made against him and his family so it is not exactly clear what form they have taken or who has made them.

29 Sehnaoui, [Video] 'Haven't 15 Years of Toilet Seats Been Enough?'; Sonja Hegasy, 'Boukhari and Shaftari: Memory Confessions of two Arab Perpetrators', *Working Papers* 12 (2014), 11.

30 Kohn, 'What Does It Take to Be Friends?'.
31 Kohn, 'What Does It Take to Be Friends?'.
32 Hegasy, 'Boukhari and Shaftari', 9.

Shaftari's wife (who first introduced him to the Initiatives of Change organisation) has also criticised her husband for continually apologising for, and discussing, the past. In fact, Shaftari has become a *persona non grata*, and his son is facing the consequences of his father's actions by being ostracised from his friends and community.³³ Notably, Shaftari's son appears to be concerned about how his *Christian* friends perceive him, rather than standing alongside his father in promoting interreligious tolerance.

Shaftari's apology has also been discussed on Lebanese television programs with commentators such as Charles Jabbour criticising him for his actions. Jabbour was disappointed with Shaftari for not using his apology to attract people towards what he felt are important political causes.

You give an apology once, not twice. If you give an apology, the other side must accept it. It is an injustice to the people you are representing if you keep apologising and people do not accept it. You cannot apologise without looking to the future. If Shaftari wants to prevent another war from occurring, then he should align himself with people that seek to rid Lebanon of armed militias and that are seeking to unite against Hezbollah.³⁴

Beyond criticising Shaftari for his lack of involvement in modern Lebanese politics, Jabbour condemned him for suggesting that Christian militias acted with brute force rather than in self-defence.

Michael Young, a *Daily Star* columnist, praised Shaftari for his apology, but warned that 'a legion of Shaftaris could drag Lebanon down irreparably'.³⁵ Digging deep into Lebanon's old wounds could unleash feelings and beliefs that would be irreconcilable and only lead to further conflict in the future; some things are best left alone.

33 Shaftari and his wife chronicled their experiences at a press conference for the Film Layali Bala Noom in 2012. It was at the conference where Shaftari's wife would defend her husband's actions. The film's YouTube page includes a video of the conference in two parts. For part 1, see 'Conference Press Part 1', YouTube video, 21:33, posted by 'Layalibalanoom', 24 October 2013, accessed at www.youtube.com/watch?v=RFk0uKtXvM; for part 2, see 'Conference Press Part 2', YouTube video, 27:05, posted by 'Layalibalanoom', 24 October 2013, accessed at www.youtube.com/watch?v=NxR2qoztlyY.

34 From a performance televised by MTV News Lebanon on Bi Mawdouiyeh.

35 Young, 'The Politics of Saying "I'm Sorry"'.

Families and friends seeking to locate Lebanon's missing persons have also criticised Shafтари. Still an active member of the Maronite community, Shafтари has not provided substantial information regarding the whereabouts of suspected mass graves and he has been accused of protecting his fellow Christian militia leaders.³⁶ Shafтари has stated that he does not wish to disclose any information until a witness protection program is established to ensure his safety. 'Personally, I have a lot of information that I won't disclose before such a mechanism is created', said Shafтари in 2010.³⁷ These are all issues that have fuelled criticism.

Yet there has also been support for the apology. Shafтари claims that several of his fellow Christians (whom he does not name) have approached him stating that they too regret the things they did during the war, claiming that 'We cannot say them [apologies] the way you did. And you are speaking something that we would like to say, but we cannot'.³⁸ Shafтари also claims that many in Lebanon's Muslim community have been supportive of his apology:

I felt that they were eager a long time ago to have a good Christian fellow citizen. And they were not able to have him because we were too fanatic.³⁹

Once again, Shafтари does not provide specific names of those members of the Muslim community who have praised him, making it difficult to decipher the actual impact of his words in Lebanon. There are outspoken Lebanese citizens who vocally support Shafтари, but they are mainly members of Lebanon's intelligentsia.

Some have seen Shafтари as a source of inspiration and he has been invited by artists, NGOs and filmmakers to take part in their exhibitions and discussions. His participation in Nada Sehnaoui's 2008 exhibition is an example of this, as is his participation in a film *Layali Bala Nom* (which translates to *Sleepless Nights* from Arabic). The film chronicles the interaction between Shafтари and a woman named Maryam Saiidi, the mother of a missing communist fighter who disappeared in 1982, and explores whether forgiveness and redemption are possible in Lebanon

36 Sophie Chamas, 'The Other "Other": Reflections on Intra-Arab Cinema', *Al Jazeera*, 29 January 2013, accessed at www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/01/2013128144515648702.html.

37 Wassim Mroueh, 'Families of War-Time Missing Urge Action', *Daily Star*, 13 April 2010, accessed at www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2010/Apr-13/58101-families-of-war-time-missing-urge-action.ashx.

38 Kohn, 'What Does It Take to Be Friends?'.
39 Lucas, 'In Lebanon, a War Apology Remains a Rare Light'.

after the war.⁴⁰ Shafatari's participation in these public events and forums has allowed him to establish new platforms to voice his regret and seek atonement for his sins.

Hence, Shafatari's apology has allowed him transform his faith, once the justification for his violence, into the force behind his advocacy for reconciliation and interreligious peace. Shafatari's seemingly unending requiem for the lives he destroyed even suggests a need to reformulate his identity from ruthless killer to a 'true' Christian who preaches love and tolerance. Although he cannot change the past, Shafatari can compose a narrative of his experience that allows him to be at peace with himself and his God, inspiring others along the way. In his words: 'We really feel that we can help at least one soul to change, and this might be enough to create a chain of change'.⁴¹ This desire for personal growth is something that resonated with another well-known Lebanese politician, Samir Geagea.

Samir Geagea: The unlikely apologist

Like Shafatari, Samir Geagea inspires both admiration and contempt. For some, Geagea is a Christian hero, a man whose ruthlessness during the war was a demonstration of his deep desire to cleanse Lebanon of evil. To others, Geagea is a war criminal, a symbol of Lebanon's dark and troubled past, as well as its inability to move forward as a unified nation. Notably, Geagea was the only principal warlord to be jailed for his crimes and the only key politician to apologise for his role in the Civil War. Other notable militia leaders (such as Amin Gemayal, Michel Aoun and Walid Jumblatt) have refrained from apologising, and have not been subjected to such intense scrutiny as Geagea. Controversy seems to stalk the notorious politician, who has continued to be a prevalent figure in Lebanon's political scene for over 30 years.

Like Shafatari, Samir Geagea was raised in a Christian suburb of Beirut called Ain el-Rummanah, his family originating from Bsharri (a town located in Northern Lebanon). Geagea eventually went on to study

40 Maryam Saiidi is a representative of the large number of families who are yet to discover the whereabouts of their missing loved ones. She confronts Shafatari in the film. The film was released in 2012 and was written and produced by Nizar Hassan.

41 Kohn, 'What Does It Take to Be Friends?'.

medicine at the University of Beirut, but his studies were cut short when he joined the Phalange Party in 1975, the year the Lebanese Civil War began.⁴²

During the 1970s and 1980s, Geagea rose through the ranks of the Christian forces and became a trusted lieutenant to its commander, Bashir Gemayel (the notoriously violent leader of the Phalange militia).⁴³ By the mid-1980s, Geagea had been anointed as leader of the Lebanese Forces militia, an offshoot of the Phalange.⁴⁴ Over the 15-year period of the Civil War, Geagea garnered a reputation for his 'no-holds-barred killing'.⁴⁵ For example, it was Geagea who was responsible for commanding the brutal Ehden Massacre where Tony Frangieh (the son of Christian rival, Suleiman Frangieh) and his family were executed at the hands of the Lebanese Forces.⁴⁶ Geagea also orchestrated a coup against his once ally, Elie Hobeika (Assad Shafarani's superior), after the Tripartite Agreement of 1986, and fought a gruesome battle with Michel Aoun after the latter refused to accept the terms of Lebanon's Taif Agreement.⁴⁷ Geagea has also been associated with some of Lebanon's most notorious Civil War-era atrocities, including the 1987 bombing of a military helicopter that killed the pro-Syrian prime minister Rashid Karami and the slaying of Danny Chamoun, a prominent Christian politician and militia leader. Geagea's past was tumultuous and violent, and unlike the other militia leaders, he would not escape it so easily.

Although Lebanon's amnesty laws protected warlords and militia leaders from prosecution for crimes committed during the Civil War, Geagea was held accountable for his crimes during the conflict. Postwar Lebanon saw a strong Syrian presence in the country and Geagea consequently became a target because of his anti-Syrian sentiments. The political scientist Joseph A Kechichian reports on how Syrian operatives, who had been 'under

42 This information is provided by Samir Geagea's website, see www.samirgeagea.info.

43 Joseph A Kechichian, 'Is Samir Geagea the Next President of Lebanon?', *Gulfnews*, 4 April 2014, accessed at gulfnews.com/news/mena/lebanon/is-samir-geagea-the-next-president-of-lebanon-1.1314397; Borzou Daragahi, 'An Ex-Warlord's Act of Contrition', *Los Angeles Times*, 15 December 2008, accessed at articles.latimes.com/2008/dec/15/world/fg-warlord15.

44 Hussain Abdul-Hussain, 'Lebanon's Samir Geagea: A Maverick', *Huffington Post*, 6 September 2010, accessed at www.huffingtonpost.com/hussain-abdulhussain/lebanons-samir-geagea-a-m_b_530976.html.

45 Daragahi, 'An Ex-Warlord's Act of Contrition'.

46 Kechichian, 'Is Samir Geagea the Next President of Lebanon?'.

47 Mordechai Nisan, *Politics and War in Lebanon: Unravelling the Enigma* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2015), 81.

Geagea's attack during the Civil War years' would eventually 'accuse Geagea of authorizing the February 27, 1994 bombing at the Church of Sayyidet Al Najat (Our Lady of Deliverance)'.⁴⁸ Nine worshippers were killed and dozens were left injured after the attack. Facing pressure from Syria, Lebanese authorities arrested Geagea on 21 April 1994.

Although he was later acquitted for the bombing of Sayyidet Al Najat, Geagea received four life sentences for murder. Geagea's involvement in the suspected murders of Rashid Karami and Dany Chamoun were used as examples of his brutality during his trial. Geagea was imprisoned in solitary confinement for 11 years. His cell was located at the Lebanese Ministry of Defence in Yarze and only family members were permitted to visit him. No political discussions were permitted during their meetings.⁴⁹

Following the death of former Lebanese prime minister Rafik Hariri, thousands marched in the streets of Beirut to protest against the Syrian presence in Lebanon. These protests arose because of the suspicion that Syria had orchestrated the murder of Hariri, who had been a vocal opponent of Syrian interference in Lebanon's affairs. The Syrian army eventually withdrew from Lebanon in 2005—the entire anti-Syrian movement is known as the Cedar Revolution and is the political event that preceded Geagea's re-entry into Lebanese society.⁵⁰

Alongside calling for Syria to leave Lebanon, protesters began demanding Geagea's release. The protests were also supported and attended by Geagea's former enemies. For example, speaking on behalf of the left-wing Progressive Socialist Party, Akram Chehayeb called for the release of Geagea, describing it as a national necessity. 'Releasing Geagea is important for the whole country because it will complete national reconciliation, and reassert the Lebanese people's will to hold on to their freedom and coexistence'.⁵¹ These calls were heard and the Lebanese Parliament pardoned Geagea and released him from prison in July 2005.⁵² Upon his release, Geagea's wife, Strida Geagea, made the following statement:

48 Kechichian, 'Is Samir Geagea the Next President of Lebanon?'.

49 Kechichian, 'Is Samir Geagea the Next President of Lebanon?'.

50 Rory McCarthy, 'Lebanon's Cedar Revolution Withers', *Guardian*, 22 October 2005, accessed at www.theguardian.com/world/2005/oct/22/syria.lebanon.

51 Majdoline Hatoum, 'Thousands Call for Geagea's Release', *Daily Star*, 5 May 2005, accessed at www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2005/May-05/5275-thousands-call-for-geageas-release.ashx.

52 Kechichian, 'Is Samir Geagea the Next President of Lebanon?'.

‘This national unanimity that happened today indicates the Lebanese people’s will to turn the page of the war once and for all and to head toward the future’.⁵³

Geagea’s release was viewed by his supporters, and some of his former enemies, as being a crucial step in Lebanon’s path towards reconciliation. His supporters described him as a ‘Nelson Mandela–like character’, a man who had been *wrongfully* imprisoned and deserved justice.⁵⁴

Shortly after his release from prison, Geagea returned to Lebanese politics and joined Lebanon’s March 14 Alliance, so named after those who instigated the Cedar Revolution, and demanded the end of Syrian political interference in Lebanon in 2005.⁵⁵ This political faction has united former Civil War enemies, namely former left-leaning members of the Phalange Party and the right-wing Kataeb party. The Alliance has grown to become Lebanon’s leading opposition against Hezbollah, and Geagea has become a key spokesperson and even a candidate for the country’s presidency.⁵⁶

The former warlord also proclaims to be a leading advocate of peace and democracy, a position that has not been easy for many Lebanese to accept.⁵⁷ In 2005, members of Lebanon’s Shia and Maronite communities threw rocks and sticks at one another when the former decided to protest against Geagea’s release.⁵⁸ Many in the Shia community continually protested against the amnesty. For them, Geagea was a war criminal whose militia had killed thousands.⁵⁹ While some saw his release as a sign that Lebanon was moving on from its past, others refused to accept Geagea’s return into Lebanese society and have maintained a level of scepticism

53 ‘Beirut Clashes Follow Geagea Amnesty’, *Al Jazeera*, 18 July 2005, accessed at www.aljazeera.com/archive/2005/07/2008410134835681483.html.

54 Daragahi, ‘An Ex-Warlord’s Act of Contrition’.

55 Hussein Dakroub, ‘Rival Camps Blamed for Political, Sectarian Rifts’, *Daily Star*, 13 March 2015, accessed at www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2015/Mar-13/290617-rival-camps-blamed-for-political-sectarian-rifts.ashx.

56 Laila Bassam and Tom Perry, ‘Even without a President, Lebanon Seen Surviving Turmoil for Now’, *Yahoo News*, 2 November 2014, accessed at news.yahoo.com/even-without-president-lebanon-seen-surviving-turmoil-now-122005503.html; ‘Mideast Conflicts Target Freedom Seekers, Not Christians: Geagea’, *Daily Star*, 30 May 2015, accessed at www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2015/Mar-30/292645-mideast-conflicts-target-freedom-seekers-not-christians-geagea.ashx.

57 Mohammad I Aslam, ‘Samir Geagea, the Last Relic of a Dirty War’, *International Policy Digest*, 29 September 2011, accessed at www.internationalpolicydigest.org/2011/08/29/samir-geagea-the-last-relic-of-a-dirty-war/.

58 ‘Beirut Clashes Follow Geagea Amnesty’.

59 Nada Bakri, ‘Christians Struggle to Preserve Balance of Power’, *New York Times*, 9 November 2006, accessed at www.nytimes.com/2006/11/09/world/middleeast/09lebanon.html.

and mistrust. It is worth noting that Geagea has chosen to remain as head of the Lebanese Forces—one of the most violent of Lebanon's militias during the Civil War period.⁶⁰

Geagea eventually acknowledged the suspicion that surrounded him. In September 2008, Geagea attended a memorial ceremony for Lebanese Forces members who died in the conflict. It was here, before an audience of thousands, that he apologised for the role his militia had played in the Lebanese Civil War:

I fully apologise for all the mistakes that we committed when we were carrying out our national duties during past civil war years [...] I ask God to forgive, and so I ask the people whom we hurt in the past. I want to tell those who are exploiting our past mistakes to stop doing so because only God can judge us.⁶¹

He went on to recognise the importance of Christian unity:

I call on the Christians who are against the Lebanese Forces or against me personally, to put Lebanon's interests ahead of personal interests [...] We can only save Lebanon when the people of Lebanon as a whole, and Christians in particular, unite over the historic principles of Christians in Lebanon.⁶²

Although Geagea refers to the Lebanese Forces in his apology, it was presented as a personal statement of regret. And considering Geagea's former actions as a militia leader, his apology is significant.

Geagea attributes his transformation to a process of 'auto-psychoanalysis' that he undertook while in prison. During his 11 years in solitary confinement, Geagea 'devoured philosophy, psychology and religion, twice rereading the Koran and devouring translated works of mystic theologians'.⁶³ 'It's not as easy as it seems', said Geagea. 'This needs fasting all the time. It needs concentration. It needs meditation. Of course, it needs silence, and I had the silence because I was solitary'.⁶⁴ Geagea's new

60 Daragahi, 'An Ex-Warlord's Act of Contrition'.

61 Hussein Abdullah, 'Geagea Apologises for LF's Wartime "Mistakes"', *Daily Star*, 22 September 2008, accessed at www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2008/Sep-22/50570-geagea-apologizes-for-lfs-wartime-mistakes.ashx.

62 Abdullah, 'Geagea Apologises for LF's Wartime "Mistakes"'.

63 Daragahi, 'An Ex-Warlord's Act of Contrition'.

64 Daragahi, 'An Ex-Warlord's Act of Contrition'.

knowledge was apparently the catalyst for his transition from warlord to peacemaker. In an interview with *Asharq al-Awsat*, Geagea expanded on why he felt that apologising was important:

Because we want to lay the foundations for a sincere, serious, and responsible policy toward the people. During the war there were decisions that were taken along the days—my days and the days of others—which were not correct; in fact, they were wrong [...] We ought to apologise for the negligence, mistakes, and things we committed, which were not proper, regardless of the behavior of others.⁶⁵

Geagea recognised that mistakes had been made and that he had approved decisions that were ‘not correct’. Furthermore, when asked why he chose to apologise at the particular time he did, he gave the following response:

On a number of occasions, I talked about this issue, whether in media interviews or press interviews. However, I have noticed that not many people have ‘picked up’ the idea that was in the midst of other issues on which the light was more focused. Therefore, after four or five months of thinking, I decided to take this initiative within the context of a public occasion when all eyes would be focused on this speech, and in the presence of all media organs. I did not find any better occasion that [sic] the memorial mass of the martyrs of the Lebanese Forces, which is an annual occasion we have never stopped except under difficult and overwhelming circumstances. Thus, I set aside a special part for this.⁶⁶

Geagea recognised the importance of making his apology heard which is why, as he claims, he waited for a public platform to express his remorse. But the decision to deliver his apology on the day he did raises several questions: Why did he choose to apologise on a day dedicated to martyrs of his militia? Surely if he were apologising to those touched by his violence, he would not have chosen such a controversial day?

The timing of Geagea’s apology and his subsequent comments raise suspicions regarding his motives. Like Shaftari, he has remained reluctant to offer details regarding the specific activities he orchestrated during the Civil War. Instead, he has tried to emphasise how *some* of his actions were necessary to save civilian lives. When asked again to list his crimes by *Daily Star* journalist Michael Young, he merely stated, ‘I will leave

65 ‘Q and A with Lebanese Forces Chief, Samir Geagea’, *Asharq al-Awsat*, 8 October 2008, accessed at eng-archive.aawsat.com/theaawsat/features/q-a-with-lebanese-forces-chief-samir-geagea.

66 ‘Q and A with Lebanese Forces Chief, Samir Geagea’.

that to history'.⁶⁷ Geagea has also claimed that he was simply carrying out his 'duties' in defence of Christianity and portrays himself as being a 'martyr of sorts', even going so far as to build a replica of his prison cell in his home.⁶⁸ In Young's view, 'he has sought to exploit his experiences for political reasons, to create a permanent exhibition highlighting his ordeal'.⁶⁹

Geagea's apology and reassimilation into Lebanon's political life has been compared to Shafarani. But there have been some who refuse to allow Geagea to forget his crimes and who reject his apology. *New York Times* journalist Borzou Daragahi argues that while Muslim rivals acknowledge Geagea's apology as an important speech, they are frustrated by the way Geagea continues to practice divisive politics, 'emphasizing Christian grievances and suffering, that could drag the country back into war'.⁷⁰ Indeed, Geagea has made a concerted effort to preach for *Christian* causes and grievances. Unlike Shafarani, Geagea has not sought, at least not in public, to imagine himself in the position of his former Muslim foes.⁷¹

Geagea's efforts to highlight Christian grievances has not protected him entirely from criticisms within his own community. Former prime minister Omar Karami, whose brother died at the hands of a bomb supposedly planted by Geagea, described him as a 'murderer and criminal'.⁷² 'Geagea's apology would do us no good as it will not bring back my slain brother', he said. 'We did not ask Geagea to apologise [...] We have always raised the slogan: we will not forgive and we will not forget'.⁷³ Karami also went on to say that the apology 'proved that Geagea is a killer, criminal and liar because he previously announced that the Syrian regime was responsible for all the crimes'.⁷⁴ Geagea has never confessed to killing Karami's brother; hence, Karami views the apology as an admission of guilt rather than

67 Daragahi, 'An Ex-Warlord's Act of Contrition'.

68 Daragahi, 'An Ex-Warlord's Act of Contrition'.

69 Michael Young, 'Samir Geagea and Guilt by Manipulation', *Daily Star*, 1 May 2014, accessed at www.dailystar.com.lb/Opinion/Columnist/2014/May-01/254994-samir-geagea-and-guilt-by-manipulation.ashx.

70 Daragahi, 'An Ex-Warlord's Act of Contrition'.

71 Young, 'Samir Geagea and Guilt by Manipulation'.

72 Young, 'Samir Geagea and Guilt by Manipulation'.

73 Young, 'Samir Geagea and Guilt by Manipulation'.

74 'Karami: Geagea's Apology Means Nothing, He Remains a Murderer and Criminal', *NOW Media*, 10 October 2008, accessed at now.mmedia.me/lb/en/archive/karami_geageas_apology_means_nothing_he_remains_a_murderer_and_criminal.

a statement of regret. Karami would go on to accuse Geagea for using the apology to manipulate public opinion for electoral purposes—the ‘honorable’ people of Lebanon would not believe Geagea and his lies.⁷⁵

Samir Frangieh offered a similar response, stating: ‘I am not in a hurry to offer him [Geagea] gifts or clear his slate’.⁷⁶ Due to the hatred still felt towards Geagea by many of his former foes, his political ambitions have also continuously been questioned and criticised.⁷⁷ Despite his unflinching commentary on Geagea’s actions, Young refutes these criticisms:

No one in the post-war political class is entitled to rebuke Geagea on the basis of high national principle. The postwar system was and is many things, but it certainly is not in even the remotest way principled.⁷⁸

A frustrated Young also puts the question as to why ‘the single former militia leader who has actually spent time in prison, who has apologised for his actions’ is being ‘held up as a distillation of all the evils of the civil war?’⁷⁹ Why has Geagea come to be known as the personification of evil when his former colleagues and opposition have been exempt from such fierce criticism?

These criticisms and explanations regarding Geagea’s motives show just how complicated the issue of Civil War remembrance remains in Lebanon, especially when trying to understand the motives behind a significant act such as a public apology. Both apologies continue to be entangled in deeply personal and political realities.

Compared to Shafitari, the political motivations underpinning Geagea’s apology can be a little more easily identified. Geagea is a former warlord looking for political credibility in Lebanon.⁸⁰ His identity must be reconfigured in order for his current political objectives to flourish.⁸¹ Yet, the wording and timing of Geagea’s apology helped foster a sense of doubt and illegitimacy. The decision to apologise on a day of remembrance for Lebanese Forces’ soldiers and his failure to offer specific details regarding the crimes he committed have not helped his cause. Yet Geagea publicly

75 ‘Karami: Geagea’s Apology Means Nothing, He Remains a Murderer and Criminal’.

76 Karami Frangieh, ‘Question Value of Geagea’s Apology’, *Daily Star*, 22 October 2008.

77 ‘Rebuking Samir Geagea’, *NOW Media*, 25 October 2008, accessed at now.mmedia.me/lb/en/commentary/rebuking_samir_geagea1 (site discontinued).

78 Young, ‘Samir Geagea and Guilt by Manipulation’.

79 Young, ‘Samir Geagea and Guilt by Manipulation’.

80 Young, ‘Samir Geagea and Guilt by Manipulation’; ‘Rebuking Samir Geagea’.

81 ‘Rebuking Samir Geagea’.

acknowledging his past wrongdoings is remarkable, revealing a powerful disruption of the silence that has otherwise surrounded the postwar lives of former Civil War leaders. The debate and discussions this apology ignited were considerable in amnesia-prone Lebanon.

Conclusion

Both Assad Shaftari's and Samir Geagea's apologies ignited debate concerning Lebanon's Civil War era. They were not cast aside by Lebanese society, but acknowledged by the public, media outlets and government officials. Moreover, alongside Shaftari and Geagea, the PLO has also subsequently apologised for their participation in the Lebanese Civil War. Indeed, throughout the 2000s there were several instances where the war was discussed and public expressions of regret were offered by organisations and individuals.

Such instances reveal how Lebanon has begun moving away from the Civil War amnesia of the 1990s. But while these apologies are significant, many questions concerning the war remain unanswered, including the status of the country's 17,000 missing persons. Indeed, the Civil War period still remains a taboo topic among many Lebanese communities and the divisions that spurred the conflict have not been wholly reconciled.⁸² Therefore, while these apologies do not demonstrate a complete transformation of Lebanon's views of the past, they are nonetheless significant in understanding the changing legacy and memorialisation of the Civil War.

82 Changiz M Varzi, 'A Legacy of War in Beirut's Unknown Mass Graves', *Al Jazeera*, 31 December 2016, accessed at www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2016/11/legacy-war-lebanon-unknown-mass-graves-161102121218559.html.

‘O Sin, Sin, what hast thou done!’: Aboriginal people and convicts in evangelical humanitarian discourse in the Australian colonies, 1830–50¹

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Abstract: *Much of the existing scholarship that compares attitudes towards Aboriginal people and convicts insufficiently discusses the significant discursive connections that linked these groups in early colonial Australia. This article is a sustained account of the many ways convicts and Aboriginal people were seen to be similar within the framework of evangelical humanitarianism between 1830 and 1850. This overlay was particularly significant considering the prominence of evangelicalism in the nineteenth-century British Empire and the substantial influence that humanitarians exercised over British colonial policy in this period. In particular, this article discusses three significant discursive connections. First, Aboriginal people and convicts were each viewed as both victims of sinful processes—colonisation and transportation respectively—and as sinners themselves, denounced for their perceived indolence, intemperance and sexual transgression. Second, believing that all belonged to a common humanity, evangelicals were fervently dedicated to the moral reformation and salvation of both groups. Third, in evangelical humanitarian discourse there were moments of explicit comparison in which the degradation of the convict was used to suggest the potential for Aboriginal redemption, and the trope of the ‘savage’ Aboriginal was used to excoriate European behaviour. Exploring the extensive connections between Aboriginal people and convicts thus complicates our understanding of the hierarchies of ‘respectability’ and ‘civilisation’ that were so important to early colonial Australian discourse.*

1 This research was the result of an investigation carried out as part of his degree program, the research-intensive Bachelor of Philosophy (Honours)—Arts and Social Science. It was completed under the supervision of Professor Frank Bongiorno.

On 22 August 1832, the Church Missionary Society's (CMS) Reverend William Watson lamented the sight of convicts in chains by exclaiming, 'O Sin, Sin, what has thou done!'² Watson, who had been sent to the Wellington Valley Mission in New South Wales (NSW), was in the Australian colonies primarily to promote the civilisation and conversion of Aboriginal people, not convicts. Yet his concurrent interest in convict welfare reflected the close discursive connections that united these groups within evangelical thought.

The existing historiography has already explored a number of synoptic links between Aboriginal people and convicts. Scholars have examined the relationship between Aboriginal and convict 'stains',³ compared European views towards Aboriginal people and convicts (as well as working-class people),⁴ and noted the interest of evangelicals in preaching to and reforming both groups.⁵ Yet, despite this acknowledgement of similarity, there has been a lack of sustained investigation into the multitudinous ways those similarities manifested. This article aims to address this problem by examining how evangelical humanitarian discourse represented Aboriginal people and convicts as intertwined within a framework of sin and salvation. Both groups were represented first as sinners who belonged to broader processes manifesting sin; second, as individuals capable of moral improvement and salvation; and third, as groups who had characteristics that could be compared and contrasted for rhetorical purposes. For Australia's early evangelicals, Aboriginal people

2 William Watson, 'Reverend Watson's Journals', 1832–1835, Journal 1, 5, cited in *The Wellington Valley Project. Letters and Journals Relating to the Church Missionary Society Mission to Wellington Valley, NSW, 1830–45: A Critical Electronic Edition*, ed. Hilary Carey and David Roberts (2002), accessed at downloads.newcastle.edu.au/library/cultural%20collections/the-wellington-valley-project/ (accessed 30 March 2018).

3 Tom Griffiths, 'Past Silences: Aborigines and Convicts in Our History-Making', in *Pastiche I: Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Australia*, ed. Penny Russell and Richard White, (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1994); David A Roberts, 'Beyond "the Stain": Rethinking the Nature and Impact of Anti-Transportation Movement', *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 14 (2012), 214.

4 For example, Christina Twomey, 'Vagrancy, Indolence and Ignorance: Race, Class and the Idea of Civilization in the Era of Aboriginal "Protection", Port Phillip 1835–49', in *Writing Colonial Histories: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Tracey Banivanua Mar and Julie Evans, (Carlton, Victoria: University of Melbourne, Department of History, 2002); Anna Johnston, 'Antipodean Heathens: The London Missionary Society in Polynesia and Australia, 1800–50', in *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies*, ed. Lynette Russell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 75–76; Anne O'Brien, "'Kitchen Fragments and Garden Stuff': Poor Law Discourse and Indigenous People in Early Colonial New South Wales', *Australian Historical Studies* 39, no. 2 (2008): doi.org/10.1080/10314610802033148.

5 Stuart Piggin and Robert D Linder, *The Fountain of Public Prosperity: Evangelical Christians in Australian History, 1740–1914* (Clayton, Victoria: Monash University Press, 2018), 9; Alan Lester, 'British Settler Discourse and the Circuits of Empire', *History Workshop Journal* 54 (2002), esp. 28 & 33.

and convicts were not two distant, unrelated groups, but rather together constituted a core part of the depraved world that they sought to reform and rectify.

This article focuses on evangelical discourse because of the prominent place that it occupied in the social and cultural life of the nineteenth-century British Empire. Early colonial Australia was plagued by anxieties about the status and respectability of its members, and the focus on public morality promoted by evangelicalism was, no doubt, a significant impetus.⁶ Yet, caution should be exercised: the label 'evangelical' was used by multiple denominations and, as a movement, evangelicalism was riven with internal conflict and debate.⁷ Boyd Hilton argues that evangelicalism was so 'frayed at the edges', so diffuse, that it was unclear who exactly was 'evangelical'.⁸ Stuart Piggin and Robert Linder draw a similar conclusion, arguing that the difficulty of defining and isolating evangelicalism has even contributed to its under-recognition in Australian historiography.⁹ The sources analysed here reflect this ambiguity. This analysis does not merely include those who might *strictly* be considered 'Evangelicals',¹⁰ but rather it examines a broader corpus of Protestant writings that reflect the infusion of evangelical influence in British religious thought and ultimately Australian colonial society.

6 On status and respectability, see Kirsten McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies: Sydney and Cape Town, 1820–1850* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004); Kirsty Reid, *Gender, Crime and Empire: Convicts, Settlers and the State in Early Colonial Australia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), esp. 75 & 77. On public morality and evangelicalism, see Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1976), 97.

7 John Wolfe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers, and Finney* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2007), 236; Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795–1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 9 & 10; David W Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London, Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 9.

8 Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, 26.

9 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 1; Piggin and Linder, *Fountain of Public Prosperity*, 18.

10 Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, 26 & 30.

Nature of evangelicalism

Although evangelicalism was not internally homogeneous, it was sufficiently distinguishable to contribute to the delineation of an early nineteenth-century zeitgeist.¹¹ David Bebbington's influential definition pinpoints four characteristic elements: biblicism, crucicentrism, conversionism and activism.¹² Thus, evangelicals were Protestants, who, believing in the natural depravity of 'man',¹³ upheld the primacy of the Bible's teachings (biblicism). Only through belief in Christ's death (crucicentrism) could 'man' be saved.¹⁴ Conversion to Christianity was essential and this conception of conversion made evangelicalism the 'vital religion'. To 'convert' involved *experiencing* the power of the Holy Spirit; to 'profess' religion, by contrast, was not sufficient.¹⁵ Once converted, an individual's behaviour would be radically altered, motivated by the gratitude of their salvation: 'A converted character would work hard, save money and assist his neighbour. The line between those who had undergone the experience and those who had not was the sharpest in the world'.¹⁶

Activism was to follow—the dedicated, patient and laborious mission to spread the gospel.¹⁷ This last element is particularly important to emphasise as it was part of the evangelicals' active engagement with the external world. The gospel was instrumental not only for the individual soul, 'but also for the renovation of society and culture'. In other words, it was not only evangelism, but also worldly reform that constituted 'their twin aims for the world'.¹⁸ Indeed, in Watson's missionary instructions, he was told that, 'In connection with the preaching of the Gospel, you will not overlook its intimate bearing on the moral habits of a people'.¹⁹

11 Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, 33; Hilary Carey, *Believing in Australia: A Cultural History of Religions* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1996), xv.

12 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 2–3.

13 Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, 20 & 22.

14 Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, 8.

15 Pigginn and Linder, *Fountain of Public Prosperity*, 24; Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, 21. For an example of contemporary use, see James Günther, 'Reverend Günther's Journals', 1837–40, Journal 3, 7, cited in *The Wellington Valley Project*.

16 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 5 & 6.

17 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 11.

18 Stuart Pigginn, *Spirit, Word and World: Evangelical Christianity in Australia* (Brunswick East, Victoria: Acorn Press, 2012), xi & 4. See also Pigginn and Linder, *Fountain of Public Prosperity*, 31; Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 69 & 133.

19 William Watson, 'Watson's Instructions', 1831, cited in *The Wellington Valley Project*.

In turn, the evangelical project was bolstered by the belief that sin was widespread,²⁰ that individuals could engage in constant improvement towards greater Christian perfection,²¹ and that this was true for *all* people—even 'criminals' and 'savages' shared 'one blood' and had souls that could be saved.²² Through such fervent commitment to spreading the gospel and counteracting sin, evangelicals actively shaped their world.

By the period of 1830 to 1850, evangelicalism abounded in the British Empire. Its prominence reflected the growth of the numerous evangelical missionary organisations that were founded in the late eighteenth century.²³ Bebbington estimates this growth was so swift that by the 1850s well over one-third of Anglican clergymen were evangelical.²⁴ Thus, evangelicalism became the 'most influential current within organized religion in Victorian Britain' and the most common expression of Protestantism in Australia.²⁵ Moreover, as Hilary Carey argues, its influence extended far beyond a quantifiable number of adherents or clergymen—as preaching was such a core part of evangelicalism, many lay members carried out the role only the clergy would in non-evangelical churches, thus magnifying their impact.²⁶

With this influence, evangelicals invigorated British humanitarianism and often dominated such causes.²⁷ This strength was epitomised by the evangelical William Wilberforce, who spearheaded the movement

20 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 69.

21 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 60 & 64; Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, 22.

22 Henry Reynolds, *This Whispering in Our Hearts* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1998), 22; Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2011), 64; Piggin and Linder, *Fountain of Public Prosperity*, 177; James Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies* (London: Hamilton, Adams, 1843), xcvi–xcvii.

23 Baptist Missionary Society (1792), (London) Missionary Society (1795), Edinburgh (Scottish) and Glasgow Missionary Societies (1796), and in 1799 the Society for Missions to Africa and the East (known as the Church Missionary Society from 1812). See Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion 1700–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 40.

24 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 106.

25 Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 6; Piggin, *Spirit, Word and World*, xi.

26 Carey, *Believing in Australia*, 14.

27 Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 57. Please note, some scholars have objected to the description of these evangelicals as 'humanitarian'. I use this term only to signify evangelical interest in issues relating to human moral and spiritual welfare. See Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 133; Claire McLisky, "'Due Observance of Justice, and the Protection of Their Rights': Philanthropy, Humanitarianism and Moral Purpose in the Aborigines Protection Society Circa 1837 and its Portrayal in Australian Historiography, 1883–2003', *Limina: A Journal of Historical and Cultural Studies* 11 (2005).

to abolish slavery in the British Empire, a campaign that succeeded in 1833.²⁸ In the same decade, evangelical humanitarians exercised significant influence over colonial policy.²⁹ Lord Glenelg, an evangelical Anglican and a director of CMS,³⁰ held the position of Secretary of State for War and the Colonies from 1835 to 1839. His actions in office included the retrocession of annexed Xhosa land in the Cape Colony and the postponement of the colonisation of South Australia because of concerns about Indigenous welfare.³¹ Other evangelical figures who expressed humanitarian sympathies in their abolitionist stance also had extensive power, including Sir James Stephen, permanent under-secretary of the Colonial Office from 1836 to 1847.³²

Consequently, there was an ‘overhaul’ of British colonial policy between 1835 and 1840.³³ This manifested most significantly in the increased attention given to abuses of indigenous peoples across the Empire.³⁴ In 1837 the Aborigines Protection Society was founded by the evangelical Quaker Thomas Hodgkin,³⁵ with the evangelical Anglican TF Buxton as its president.³⁶ That same year, the ‘Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes’ was published, with Buxton as the committee’s chair,³⁷ which included among its recommendations the policy of appointing protectors of Aborigines—enacted in the Port

28 Stephen R Holmes, ‘British (and European) Evangelical Theories’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Evangelical Theology*, ed. Timothy Larsen and Daniel J Treier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 245–46.

29 Heather Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy: Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales, 1770–1972* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1996), 45.

30 Twomey, ‘Vagrancy, Indolence and Ignorance’, 95.

31 Lester, ‘British Settler Discourse and the Circuits of Empire’, 29; Hannah Robert, “‘Satisfying the Saints’—Colonial Entrepreneurs in the 1830s and 1840s and the Elasticity of Language’, in *Writing Colonial Histories*.

32 Zoe Laidlaw, ‘Integrating Metropolitan, Colonial and Imperial Histories—The Aborigines Select Committee of 1835–37’, in *Writing Colonial Histories*, 83; David Stoneman, ‘Anti-Transportation: The Statesmen’s Perspective’, *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 14 (2012), 253.

33 James Heartfield, *The Aborigines’ Protection Society: Humanitarian Imperialism in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Canada, South Africa, and the Congo 1836–1909* (London: Hurst, 2011), 7.

34 Heartfield, *The Aborigines’ Protection Society*, 3; Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy*, 45.

35 For reference to Hodgkin’s evangelical Quaker background, see Zoe Laidlaw, ‘Heathens, Slaves and Aborigines: Thomas Hodgkin’s Critique of Missions and Anti-Slavery’, *History Workshop Journal* 64 (2007), 133: doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbm034.

36 Jessie Mitchell, *In Good Faith? Governing Indigenous Australia through God, Charity and Empire, 1825–1855* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2011), 27: doi.org/10.22459/GF.01.2011.

37 Laidlaw, ‘Integrating Metropolitan, Colonial and Imperial Histories’, 84.

Phillip District (now Victoria) in 1838.³⁸ This advocacy of indigenous rights culminated in 1840 in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in New Zealand.³⁹ Outside of indigenous rights, evangelicals also engaged substantially in law and prison reform, and were instrumental to the abolition of transportation.⁴⁰ The 'Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation' (1838), for example, which recommended the abolition of transportation, was steeped in the language of depravity and sin so prominent in evangelical writing.⁴¹

In colonial Australia, evangelicalism had a strong presence from the outset. Anticipating the potential for spreading the gospel, men such as William Wilberforce were crucial in the appointment of the evangelical Reverend Richard Johnson as first chaplain to the colony, and Reverend Samuel Marsden as his assistant.⁴² Evangelicalism's broader social influence was also reflected in a number of Australian governors. Lieutenant-Governor George Arthur, for example, brought a strong sense of evangelical humanitarianism to his project of convict reformation and Aboriginal conciliation in Van Diemen's Land.⁴³ The wives of governors Macquarie, Darling and Bourke came from evangelical backgrounds as well.⁴⁴ Moreover, although it was not until 1821 that an official missionary,

38 Alan Lester and Fae Dussart, 'Trajectories of Protection: Protectorates of Aborigines in Early 19th Century Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand', *New Zealand Geographer* 64 (2008), 210; doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-7939.2008.00146.x; Elizabeth Elbourne, 'The Sin of the Settler: The 1835–36 Select Committee on Aborigines and Debates over Virtue and Conquest in the Early Nineteenth-Century British White Settler Empire', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 4, no. 3 (2003); doi.org/10.1353/cch.2004.0003.

39 Porter, *Religion Versus Empire?*, 154.

40 Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, 127; Reid, *Gender, Crime and Empire*, 224.

41 John Ritchie, 'Towards Ending an Unclean Thing: The Molesworth Committee and the Abolition of Transportation to New South Wales, 1837–40', *Australian Historical Studies* 17, no. 67 (1976), 150. Elbourne's 'Sin of the Settler' makes a broader point about the influence of evangelical Christian ideas in informing many debates about vice and virtue in this period.

42 Brian Dickey, 'Evangelical Anglicans Compared: Australia and Britain', in *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States*, ed. George A Rawlyk and Mark A Noll (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 220; John Harris, *One Blood: 200 Years of Aboriginal Encounter with Christianity: A Story of Hope*, 2nd edition (Sutherland, NSW: Albatross Books, 1994), 42.

43 Alan Lester and Fae Dussart, *Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian Governance: Protecting Aborigines across the Nineteenth-Century British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 61; doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139022026.

44 Piggin, *Spirit, Word and World*, 20; Piggin and Linder, *Fountain of Public Prosperity*, 141; Frank Bongiorno, 'Bourke, Sir Richard', in *The Governors of New South Wales, 1788–2010*, ed. David Clune and Ken Turner (Annandale, NSW: Federation Press, 2009), 168.

Reverend William Walker, arrived in Australia to convert Aboriginal people, evangelicals nonetheless constituted the majority of missionaries in NSW.⁴⁵

Throughout the 1840s, however, this humanitarianism waned in power.⁴⁶ In Australia, many attempts at the conversion of Aboriginal people were thought to have failed and by 1850, all of the original missions that were established had collapsed.⁴⁷ This was related to a broader disillusionment among humanitarians after 'the apparent failure of [slave] emancipation in the West Indies, and by their own ability to interpret indigenous resistance as specific evidence of irreclaimability'.⁴⁸ Moreover, Andrew Porter argues that Buxton's death in 1845 caused the movement to rapidly lose direction, and Brian Dickey suggests that the rise of Tractarianism in the 1830s placed evangelical Anglicanism on the defensive.⁴⁹ Some colonists also objected to humanitarian criticisms of colonisation, and rejected their initiatives, such as the protectorate.⁵⁰ Evangelicals were probably not popular among convicts either.⁵¹ Nonetheless, the dominance of evangelical humanitarianism in the 1830s and its ongoing influence⁵² had a significant role in the political and social life of colonial Australia as it approached self-government in the 1850s.

45 Piggin, *Spirit, Word and World*, 21; Jean Woolmington, 'Early Christian Missions to the Australian Aborigines: A Study in Failure' (PhD Diss., University of New England, 1979), 154.

46 Mark McKenna, 'Transplanted to Savage Shores: Indigenous Australians and British Birthright in the Mid Nineteenth-Century Australian Colonies', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 13, no. 1 (2012): doi.org/10.1353/cch.2012.0009; McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies*, 157.

47 Harris, *One Blood*, 23; Woolmington, 'Early Christian Missions', 5; Meredith Lake, 'Samuel Marsden, Work and the Limits of Evangelical Humanitarianism', *History Australia* 7, no. 3 (2010), 57.16.

48 Alan Lester, 'Colonial Settlers and the Metropole: Racial Discourse in the Early 19th-Century Cape Colony, Australia and New Zealand', *Landscape Research* 27, no. 1 (2002), 45: doi.org/10.1080/01426390220110757; Andrew Porter, 'Introduction: Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume III: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 23–24: doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198205654.003.0001.

49 Porter, *Religion Versus Empire*, 151; Dickey, 'Evangelical Anglicans Compared', 225.

50 Jessie Mitchell, '"The Galling Yoke of Slavery": Race and Separation in Colonial Port Phillip', *Journal of Australian Studies* 33, no. 2 (2009), 126: doi.org/10.1080/14443050902883355; McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies*, 123; Lester, 'Colonial Settlers and the Metropole'; and Leigh Boucher and Lynette Russell, 'Introduction: Colonial History, Postcolonial Theory and the "Aboriginal Problem" in Colonial Victoria', in *Settler Colonial Governance in Nineteenth-Century Victoria*, ed. Leigh Boucher and Lynette Russell (Acton, ACT: ANU Press, 2015), 12: doi.org/10.22459/SCGNVCV.04.2015; Henry Reynolds, *The Law of the Land*, 2nd edition (Ringwood: Penguin Books, 1992), 115.

51 Piggin, *Spirit, Word and World*, 8, 10.

52 Mitchell, '"The Galling Yoke of Slavery"', 126.

The period from 1830 to 1850, therefore, provides a revealing snapshot of the broad range of activity undertaken by evangelicals as they fought to achieve their humanitarian and religious goals. Indeed, these goals—Christianisation and civilisation—were intertwined and mutually supporting.⁵³ Evangelicals thought personal behaviour was a reflection of conversion: 'the "fruit of the Spirit" had to be seen to be genuine'.⁵⁴

The consequent focus on spiritual *and* moral reformation not only led to the imposition of 'respectability' on the white population of the British Empire, but also reconceptualised empire as a civilising mission.⁵⁵ Evangelicals, therefore, helped to define a 'respectability' that became a 'hallmark of Victorian middle-class culture', centred around values such as 'discipline, chastity, sobriety and hard work'.⁵⁶ Later, Australian colonists would engage in an aggressive anti-transportation movement to attain such respectability.⁵⁷ Moreover, since evangelical missionaries preached, perhaps with even greater interest, to the indigenous peoples of the Empire, this desire to foster moral improvement also extended to them.⁵⁸ Indeed, it was thought that introducing Christianity and 'civilisation' was necessary to atone for the sins committed during the process of violent colonial expropriation, as well as being a part of Britain's obligation as a prosperous empire.⁵⁹ Thus, the evangelical was a paradoxical figure—they simultaneously criticised colonisation for its brutality but also 'rarely wavered in their support for British imperialism

53 Harris, *One Blood*, 24 & 77–78; Woolmington, 'Early Christian Missions', 170.

54 Piggin and Linder, *Fountain of Public Prosperity*, 28.

55 Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, 88–89; Porter, *Religion Versus Empire?*, 198; Alan Lester, 'Race and Citizenship: Colonial Inclusions and Exclusions', in *The Victorian World*, ed. Martin Hewitt (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012), 381–82; Piggin and Linder, *Fountain of Public Prosperity*, 75.

56 Margot Finn, 'Victorianism at the Frontier: The White Settler Colonies', in *The Victorian World*, 663; Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 67; Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, 14. See also Susan Thorne, "'The Conversion of Englishmen and the Conversion of the World Inseparable': Missionary Imperialism and the Language of Class in Early Industrial Britain', in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 239: doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520205406.003.0007; Woolmington, 'Early Christian Missions', 120.

57 Michael Sturma, *Vice in a Vicious Society: Crime and Convicts in Mid-Nineteenth Century New South Wales* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983), 51; Stefan Petrow, "'Convict-Phobia': Combating Vandemonian Convicts in 1850s and 1860s Victoria', *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 14 (2012), 267.

58 Thorne, "'The Conversion of Englishmen'", 246; Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, 74; Timothy Larsen, 'Defining and Locating Evangelicalism', in *The Cambridge Companion to Evangelical Theology*, ed. Timothy Larsen and Daniel J Treier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1: doi.org/10.1017/CCOL0521846986.001.

59 For example, Watson, 'Watson's Instructions'. See also Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, 88–89 & 90; Elbourne, 'Sin of the Settler'; Porter, 'Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire', 232–33.

in its ideal forms'.⁶⁰ Driven to improve the moral wellbeing of both the 'unrespectable' convicts and 'uncivilised' Aboriginal people, both featured prominently in evangelical discourse.

Sinners in a broader process of sin

For evangelicals, both convicts and Aboriginal people represented broader systems and processes of sin. Convicts were a product of transportation, a system that evangelicals criticised for its cruelty and failure to reform individuals. Aboriginal people, and the apparently poor state of their welfare, reflected the dispossession, debasement and 'extermination' caused by European colonisation. Evangelicals believed in collective wrong, as much as they did collective atonement, and so these sinful processes were subject to extended condemnation.⁶¹

Transportation, in this way, became a target for evangelical critique. The highly influential Congregational anti-transportationist, Reverend John West, for example, decried the 'slave-holding interest' of convict masters, and wrote that 'no colonist can forget his shudder at the first spectacle of men in chains'.⁶² Such an attack was particularly powerful because, as John Hirst argues, 'slavery' became 'a word of unrivalled potency' after abolition, particularly as it represented the respectable white man's degeneration through absolute power.⁶³ West's invocation of slavery thus associated the practice of transportation with this particularly egregious act of cruelty and evil. This sense of the immorality of transportation was further compounded by reports of severe corporal punishment, the seeming lack of mechanisms for reformation and access to religious instruction, and the belief that convictism often facilitated intercourse between convicts that worsened sin. Such harms, then, became the bedrock of opposition to transportation within evangelical discourse.

60 Mitchell, *In Good Faith?*, 96. Evans et al. make a similar point regarding humanitarian governors, see Julie Evans, Patricia Grimshaw, David Philips and Shurlee Swain, *Equal Subjects, Unequal Rights: Indigenous Peoples in British Settler Colonies, 1830–1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 64.

61 Lake, 'Limits of Evangelical Humanitarianism', 57.3; Elbourne, 'Sin of the Settler'.

62 John West, *The History of Tasmania, Volume 2* (Launceston: Henry Dowling, 1852; reprint: Adelaide, Libraries Board of South Australia, 1966), 333–34. On West's influence, see Roberts, 'Beyond "the Stain"', 206.

63 John Hirst, *Convict Society and Its Enemies: A History of Early New South Wales* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1983), 22 & 23. See also Reid, *Gender and Empire*, Chapters 5 & 6; McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies*, 122.

The impact of European colonisation on Aboriginal people, however, was an equally abhorrent manifestation of colonial sin. Addressing the issue of Aboriginal welfare, West noted that European colonisers 'wantonly stained their hands with native blood'.⁶⁴ In a letter to NSW Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, the Quaker missionary James Backhouse warned that unless the condition of Aboriginal people was alleviated, the 'unmitigated guilt before God, of their extermination, will be fixed, irremediably, upon the British Nation and its Australian descendants'.⁶⁵ This notion of collective punishment for the sinful process of colonisation was echoed by Presbyterian clergyman John Dunmore Lang. In an 1838 sermon given in Sydney's Scots Church, Lang suggested that Australia's then drought was Godly punishment for both the cruel dispossession of Aboriginal Australians and the 'ignominious bondage' of transportation.⁶⁶ In this way, the two processes fundamental to the colony's establishment—colonisation that procured land, and transportation that helped extract profits from it—were themselves sinful.

As much as evangelicals recognised these sinful processes, however, they did not fail to condemn the depravity of individuals as well. Evangelicals saw no problem in constructing this 'dualistic image' of a convict as both the victim of transportation and agent of corruption, and the Aboriginal person as a victim of European colonisation, but also a person of uncivilised habits and beliefs.⁶⁷ In their criticisms of both groups as sinners whose behaviour represented their unconverted state, indolence and intemperance were of foremost concern. Meredith Lake goes so far as to suggest that the emphasis on indolence was so strong that the perceived failure of Aboriginal people to meet evangelical standards actually hindered humanitarian impulses of human equality.⁶⁸

Indolence was condemned because of the centrality of hard work, forbearance and perseverance to the evangelical mentality. Such values were, after all, Godly—Adam was told that 'in toil you shall eat of it [the ground] all the days of your life', and the Bible also proclaims that

64 West, *The History of Tasmania*, Volume 2, 69.

65 Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, cxxxiii.

66 As well as a failure to adhere to the Sabbath. See John Dunmore Lang, *National Sins, the Cause and Precursors of National Judgments: A Sermon, Preached in the Scots Church, Sydney, on Friday, November 2, 1838* (Sydney: James Tegg, 1838), 14, 17 & 21–22.

67 Reid, *Gender, Crime and Empire*, 222.

68 Lake, 'Limits of Evangelical Humanitarianism', 57.2.

'he who will not work must not eat'.⁶⁹ These values, with roots in the Calvinist doctrine of predestination in which virtue was evidence of being part of God's elect, 'found fertile ground among English evangelicals'.⁷⁰ Moreover, missionaries themselves were often required to toil for their own material support, as well as persist in the face of regular frustrations in their efforts to convert Aboriginal people. Their work required, as London Missionary Society (LMS) missionary Lancelot Threlkeld put it, 'daily exercise of faith, patience, and perseverance'.⁷¹ Such values were congruent with both the evangelical belief that life on earth was preparation for judgement upon death, and the high standards of self-denial evangelicals upheld—promoting abstinence from amusements such as theatre, card games and dancing.⁷²

Consequently, convicts and Aboriginal people shared the brunt of evangelical condemnation of indolence. Lang argued that convicts lived 'a life of idleness and luxurious indulgence' rather than 'honest industry'.⁷³ And Aboriginal people were similarly chastised. JCS Handt, a missionary at Wellington Valley, blamed an array of practices on idleness, noting that 'idleness was the principle [sic] cause of all these evils', was the reason for Aboriginal privation, and even the reason that they ate cabbage raw—being too lazy to dress it.⁷⁴ It was a common missionary complaint that Aboriginal people had 'a natural taste for a rambling, indolent life'.⁷⁵ In this manner, the commitment of evangelicals to values like hard work and forbearance united their perspectives on both convict and Aboriginal peoples.

The widespread problem of intemperance, or alcohol consumption, also featured heavily in evangelical discourse. Many key evangelical missionaries in early colonial Australia were heavily involved in the

69 Gen. 3:17 cited in Woolmington, 'Early Christian Missions', 183; 2 Thess. 3:10 cited in Lake, 'Limits of Evangelical Humanitarianism', 57.7.

70 2 Thess. 3:10 cited in Lake, 'Limits of Evangelical Humanitarianism', 57.6.

71 LE Threlkeld, 'Annual Report of the Mission to the Aborigines: Lake Macquarie, for MDCCCXXXVI [1836]', in *Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld, Missionary to the Aborigines, 1824–1859*, ed. Niel Gunson (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1974), 133.

72 Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, 28.

73 John Dunmore Lang, *Transportation and Colonization, or, the Causes of the Comparative Failure of the Transportation System in the Australian Colonies: With Suggestions for Ensuring Its Future Efficiency in Subserviency to Extensive Colonization* (London: A. J. Valpy, 1837), 66.

74 JCS Handt, 'Reverend Handt's Journals', 1832–35, Journal 11, p. 12 & Journal 4, pp. 8, 6, cited in *The Wellington Valley Project*.

75 Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 41.

temperance movement. Indeed, on one occasion, the clergymen Lang, John Saunders and William Cowper all proposed or seconded motions in the same meeting of the NSW Temperance Society.⁷⁶ For them, alcohol consumption was the cause of numerous problems. For instance, Lang argued that a significant reason for the failure of transportation hitherto 'has doubtless been the unlimited importation and consumption of ardent spirits in these colonies'.⁷⁷ Writing about the Lake Macquarie Mission, Threlkeld similarly noted that for Aboriginal people, alcohol 'tends to their destruction'.⁷⁸ This destruction, however, was not merely a force of its own making—Europeans were a significant cause of the problem. Threlkeld recorded an instance where, upon chastising an Aboriginal person for drunkenness, 'the reply was [...] why do the Whites sell rum, but that they [Aboriginal people] might drink it? Gentlemen get drunk! Ladies get drunk!! And why should not they?'⁷⁹ The problem of intemperance, as with indolence, crossed racial boundaries and unified both convict (and sometimes simply white) subjects with Aboriginal ones.

Yet, indolence and intemperance were but the milder aspects of the litany of sinful allegations that evangelicals made against Aboriginal people and convicts. Focusing particularly on sexual transgressions and the role of women, these allegations encompassed claims of sodomy, prostitution, 'concubinage', infanticide and domestic violence. Sexual misconduct was a particular focus of evangelical denunciations of vice,⁸⁰ and scholars have emphasised how powerfully allegations of sodomy, in particular, and sexual scandal more broadly, influenced the anti-transportation movement.⁸¹

Within evangelical discourse, the sexual relationships between white men and Aboriginal women caused significant consternation. In such discussions, missionaries blamed multiple groups for sexual immorality. First, they blamed Aboriginal women: 'And now she is living in

76 'Domestic Intelligence: New South Wales Temperance Society', *The Colonist*, 8 January 1835.

77 Lang, *Transportation and Colonization*, 76.

78 Threlkeld, 'Annual Report of the Mission to the Aborigines New South Wales, for MDCCCXXXVII [1837]', in *Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld, Missionary to the Aborigines, 1824–1859*, 136.

79 Threlkeld, 'Annual Report of the Mission to the Aborigines: Lake Macquarie, for MDCCCXXXIX [1839]', in *Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld, Missionary to the Aborigines, 1824–1859*, 159.

80 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 134.

81 See Tim Causer, 'Anti-Transportation, "Unnatural Crime" and the "Horrors" of Norfolk Island', *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 14 (2012), 231; Reid, *Gender, Crime and Empire*, 5–6, 174, 175 & 231. For sexual scandal in general, see McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies*, 123.

the commission of a vice of which she was constantly told the evil consequences'.⁸² Here, Watson suggests that the sin committed was at least partly the fault of the Aboriginal woman because *she* had somehow failed to obey warnings to the contrary.⁸³ Second, Aboriginal men were also blamed, condemned for 'lending his wives to White men'⁸⁴ and profiting from that exchange.⁸⁵ These characterisations of Aboriginal men were consistent with allegations that they violently abused their wives or kept them in severe subservience: 'The women of the aborigine are in a state of the most deplorable slavery'.⁸⁶ Finally, evangelicals also blamed white men—both convicts and those of a more respectable background. Threlkeld discussed 'the *un*-matrimonial state of the thousands of male prisoners [...] [which] leads them by force, fraud, or bribery to withdraw the Aboriginal women from their own proper mates'.⁸⁷ He also blamed 'White Gentlemen whose taste, when in the Bush, leads them to keep Black Concubines', thus setting a bad example for convicts.⁸⁸ In a context where Europeans regarded men's treatment of women as an 'important measure of civilisation', these sexual transgressions added to the sense that the colonial frontier was rife with sin.⁸⁹ And the multiple attributions of blame strengthened the sense that this sin was mutually constituted by both convicts *and* Aboriginal people.

These allegations of sin were used by evangelicals to demand reform. Transportation was a cruel form of bonded labour and the brutality of Indigenous dispossession was no better. Worse, convicts and Aboriginal people themselves were grossly depraved, being indolent, intemperate and sexually unrestrained. Evangelicals, dedicated to activism, were committed to the extirpation of such sins, which were antithetical to the gospel code for living. As outward behaviour reflected inner belief, civilisation and respectability were necessarily entwined with Godly salvation. Thus,

82 Watson, 'Reverend Watson's Journals', Journal 4, 15.

83 Similar point made in Woolmington, 'Early Christian Missions', 159.

84 Günther, 'Reverend Günther's Journals', Journal 2, 23.

85 William Watson, 'Reverend Watson's Journals', Journal 5, 12.

86 Christopher Eipper, *Statement of the Origin, Condition, and Prospects, of the German Mission to the Aborigines at Moreton Bay, Conducted under the Auspices of the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales* (Sydney: James Reading, 1841), 9.

87 Threlkeld, 'Annual Report of the Mission to the Aborigines New South Wales, for MDCCCXXXVII [1837]', 137.

88 Threlkeld, 'Annual Report of the Mission to the Aborigines: Lake Macquarie, for MDCCCXXXVIII [1838]', in *Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld, Missionary to the Aborigines, 1824–1859*, 146.

89 Elbourne, 'Sin of the Settler'; John Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 149.

with its fixation on sin and immorality, evangelical discourse continually connected convict and Aboriginal transgressions in a broader attempt to promote the reformation of a 'depraved' colonial society.

Salvation and common humanity

The sin that was thought to stain the characters of both Aboriginal people and convicts marked these groups as particularly in need of salvation. Evangelicals firmly believed that all humans shared 'one blood': 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth'.⁹⁰ They believed, therefore, that all humans were capable of being saved, irrespective of the degree to which they were stained by sin.⁹¹

An annual report of the Aborigines Protection Society in 1839, for example, wrote that 'of the capacity of these [Aboriginal] people to become civilized there is no reasonable doubt'.⁹² A report from the Wesleyan Missionary Society wrote similarly of Aboriginal people in Western Australia, where 'the work among the Aborigines [...] afford most satisfactory evidence in favour of the Native mind, and its capacity for religious instruction'.⁹³ Backhouse expressed this idea by emphasising the importance of circumstance in shaping character, rather than an ineradicable essence: 'the untutored native of the woods would much sooner learn [...] the arts of civilization, than the woman from civilized society would, by acquiring the arts belonging to savage life'.⁹⁴ There was, therefore, no insurmountable barrier in the evangelical worldview that prevented the correction of sin that they saw as so widespread in the colonies.

Sharing common humanity, however, did not absolve defects of character. Within the same paragraph, the Wesleyan Methodist missionary, Joseph Orton, simultaneously declared Aboriginal people to be 'in some respects

90 Acts 17:26 cited in Piggin and Linder, *Fountain of Public Prosperity*, 177.

91 Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 64; Porter, 'Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire', 229; Harris, *One Blood*, 30.

92 Aborigines Protection Society, *Second Annual Report of the Aborigines Protection Society, Presented at the Meeting in Exeter Hall, May 21st, 1839. With Lists of Officers, Subscribers, Benefactors, and Honorary Members* (London: P White & Son, 1839), 13.

93 Wesleyan Missionary Society, *The Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society, for the Year Ending April, 1844: With an Appendix, and an Account of the Contributions Received from January 1, to December 31, 1843* (London: Printed by Thoms, Printers, 1844), 29.

94 Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, 174.

far below the brute creation' while also the 'fellow-men' of Europeans.⁹⁵ The Reverend Wilhelm Schmidt of the mission at Zion Hill (now Nundah, Brisbane) also maintained that although Aboriginal people 'are not in want of faculties', they were also the 'lowest in the scale of the human race' because, he believed, they lacked a concept of a divine being.⁹⁶ Evangelicals evidently did not perceive these positions as contradictory. Rather, their faith in the ultimate shared humanity of all could be expressed, ironically, through debasing language: 'however degraded, however wretched, however equal to the brute beasts they are in many respects, it is not impossible for the Almighty to change them'.⁹⁷ Such statements reflected a 'doubled discursive formation of the degraded, but salvageable, Aboriginal heathen'.⁹⁸

This same notion of 'degraded, but salvageable' also applied to convicts. Rather than anything innate, the cause of convict depravity was often situational:

it will be found, that most of the crimes which they have committed, were committed under the excitement of ardent spirits; and that, apart from this excitement, they are not commonly more depraved than the generality of their countrymen.⁹⁹

Yet, again, attribution of common humanity did not preclude exhortation of character. The Wellington Valley missionary, James Günther, wrote that 'the idea of convicts, these wretched characters on a Christian mission, is [...] revolting to my mind'.¹⁰⁰ Despite this, however, his comment that he wished missionaries to be a 'city on a hill' not only for 'a savage tribe' but also for 'a perverse generation of professing Christians', suggests his belief in the possibility of convict salvation too.¹⁰¹ Although they were linked as sinners in broader processes of sin, convicts and Aboriginal people were also connected by the evangelical belief in a common humanity and the possibility for all to be saved.

95 Joseph Orton, *Aborigines of Australia* (London: Thoms, 1836), 9 & 10.

96 New South Wales Legislative Council, *Report from the Select Committee on the Condition of the Aborigines with Appendix, Minutes of Evidence, and Replies to a Circular Letter* (Sydney: Printed by WW Davies, 1845).

97 Handt, 'Reverend Handt's Journals', Journal 9, 9.

98 Johnston, 'Antipodean Heathens', 75. See also Harris, *One Blood*, 30, 33.

99 Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, 157.

100 Günther, 'Reverend Günther's Journals', Journal 2, 9.

101 Günther, 'Reverend Günther's Journals', Journal 3, 7.

If, however, all were capable of progress towards 'civilisation', then all were also subject to the danger of regression. The very fact that evangelical conceptions of race were not fixed in biological essentialism¹⁰² entailed a certain fluidity about one's salvation that allowed for 'backsliding'. Such ideas were congruent with Enlightenment stadial thought about human societies on a 'ladder of progress', which allowed for colonists to 'slide backwards down the path of social development if they did not attend to the need to keep the light of civilisation shining'.¹⁰³ Backsliding was also consistent with the social mobility and anxiety about status that characterised the Australian colonies.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, Hilton argues that despite evangelical doctrinal debates about Calvinist predestination, from 1815 onwards, 'both camps [supporting or rejecting Calvinist doctrine] were at one on the ever-present danger of backsliding'.¹⁰⁵ Evangelical writings were often dominated by a 'perpetual sense of accountability for every lapse from the highest standards of Christian behaviour', revealing an intense desire to avoid deviation and regression from ideal Christian virtue.¹⁰⁶

The mutability of character these beliefs entailed gave power to the prominence of 'contamination' in evangelical discourse—the widely held view that poor moral examples could lead to the corruption of character. Thus, a new convict whose original transgressions had not been so abhorrent might be made more corrupt by 'old hands'—people who had been convicts for a longer time—and an otherwise relatively innocent Aboriginal person may become 'degraded by contact with a population of European extraction'.¹⁰⁷

Inversely then, respectable characters could also lift those from barbarity to civility. This was, after all, one reason Lang agitated for greater free migration: he hoped that convicts would be 'encouraged by the good example of the reputable portion of the new community'.¹⁰⁸ Consequently, regression was well featured in evangelical descriptions of convict reform

102 This contrasts to the latter half of the nineteenth century, see Lester, 'British Settler Discourse and the Circuits of Empire', 44; 'Race and Citizenship: Colonial Inclusions and Exclusions'. See also Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment*, 164.

103 Penny Russell, *Savage or Civilised? Manners in Colonial Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010), 30; Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment*, 151.

104 McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies*, 1.

105 Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, 9.

106 Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, 22.

107 Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, 455 (old hands), 240 (extraction).

108 Lang, *Transportation and Colonization*, 59–60.

and Aboriginal civilisation—it was captured in the image of a newly pardoned convict squandering all his wealth immediately in a public house, and the Aboriginal people who ‘left their clothes in the hut, and when called, on the morrow [...] every individual had disappeared’.¹⁰⁹ In this way, evangelical discourse portrayed Aboriginal people and convicts as expressing the natural depravity of ‘man’. Degraded because of their sin, salvageable because of common humanity, and capable of backsliding, both groups required salvation within the framework of evangelical discourse.

Explicit comparisons

At their most lucid, the discursive links between Aboriginal people and convicts were explicitly made. They were not only endowed the same characteristics—indolence and intemperance, for example—but were often given similar labels, such as ‘savage’.¹¹⁰ As Penny Russell argues, ‘savage’ did not merely evoke the dispossessed Aboriginal person, but encompassed figures like ‘the foul-mouthed convict’ or the ‘brutish drunkard of the harsh frontier’.¹¹¹ There is, therefore, much to explore in the way that representations of Aboriginal people interacted with those of convicts, and vice versa, for rhetorical effect. As I argue here, the image of the morally degraded convict was used to signify the expansive possibility for Aboriginal redemption, while the trope of a primitive ‘Aborigine’ was used to chastise some Europeans (including, but not exclusively, convicts) for failing to meet particular moral standards.

In the former case, by demonstrating similarities between Aboriginal people and convicts, evangelicals suggested that race was not a barrier to salvation. As Backhouse explained, the unpleasant smell of Aboriginal people was:

109 For convict image, see Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, 310; for Aboriginal image, see Threlkeld, ‘Annual Report of the Mission to the Aborigines: Lake Macquarie, for MDCCCXXXVI [1836]’, 133.

110 Russell, *Savage or Civilised?*, 50; Reid, *Gender, Crime and Empire*, 246.

111 Russell, *Savage or Civilised?*, 5.

much like what we have noticed among prisoners of filthy habits in N. S. Wales, and from this similarity I am disposed to attribute the unpleasant smell of Blacks, not to their colour, but to their want of personal cleanliness.¹¹²

For Backhouse, the fact that white prisoners were also in the habit of uncleanness suggested that Aboriginal people were not ineradicably dirtier 'Others'. Moreover, Watson's comment that: '[a violent incident] has been referred to as a proof of savage character and want of intellect; but what is it when compared with the conduct of persons, who [...] will insult the Majesty of Heaven?' suggests that claims of Aboriginal barbarity were insignificant in the face of European sin.¹¹³ This similarity was also acknowledged by Wilhelm Schmidt in the 1845 'Report From the Select Committee on the Condition of the Aborigines'. When asked, 'Do you not think the mind of a savage is, to some extent, in the position of that of as [sic] ignorant white person?', he replied, 'I dare say it is'.¹¹⁴ Such comparisons positioned Aboriginal people at, or sometimes even above the level of convicts, implying the possibility of their redemption.

By comparison, the trope of Aboriginal savagery could also be employed to exacerbate evangelical condemnation of convict character. Watson wrote of the 'wretched Europeans' on the frontier as 'depraved in their habits [...] they differ from the aboriginal Natives in little more than the colour of their skin'.¹¹⁵ Such a statement was an indictment of the European who had 'sunk' to the level of the depraved Aboriginal person. Other statements suggested Europeans were even worse. The CMS missionary, Günther, denounced 'our European neighbours [who] appear, with hardly any exceptions, more ungodly, if possible, than these Black heathens'.¹¹⁶ These comparisons drew on images of the 'savage' to highlight the depths of European sin. Missionaries, therefore, concluded that the presence of such white savages would only be corrupting and harmful; William Porter from the Wellington Valley Mission declared: 'I do not hesitate to call it a great sin—They [convicts] pull down & destroy; whatever we attempt to build'.¹¹⁷

112 Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, 516.

113 Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, 134–35.

114 New South Wales Legislative Council, *Select Committee on the Condition of the Aborigines*, 19.

115 Watson, 'Reverend Watson's Journals', Journal 10, 1.

116 James Günther, 'Reverend Günther's Journals', Journal 1, 26.

117 William Porter, 'Letter 5: Porter to Coates', 1841, cited in *The Wellington Valley Project*.

There was something very unsettling in these comparisons. The suggestion that white convicts could be as depraved as Aboriginal people insinuated that they and other sinful Europeans were an 'enemy within', which 'put the hierarchies of race and class under threat'.¹¹⁸ Moreover, the suggestion that Aboriginal people were as capable of salvation as white Europeans who had strayed from a righteous path, also seems to shake traditional assumptions of hierarchy. Though the evangelical missionary claimed to civilise a barbaric Other, their explicit comparisons of that Other with certain Europeans upset notions of who was truly 'savage' and 'civilised', a dichotomy on which colonisation was justified.¹¹⁹ Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that some Aboriginal people even explicitly believed their status was above convicts—a point that requires further research.¹²⁰

Evangelical humanitarians were, therefore, radical in their own way. Their active attempt to spread the gospel and promote salvation made them willing to denounce white sin as much as Aboriginal 'savagery', and champion the possibility of Aboriginal salvation as much as white reformation. Separate though they were, and indeed perhaps because they were, comparisons between both groups were utilised in evangelical discourse to highlight the universality of their sin and their capacity for salvation.

Conclusion

Evangelical discourse, though diffuse, was one of the notable features that gave the early nineteenth-century British Empire its character. Although convicts (and emancipists) and Aboriginal people were often engaged in a struggle for land and survival, these two groups shared many similarities in the evangelical imagination. In the sin-obsessed worldview of evangelicalism, both groups represented the sinful processes of bonded labour and brutal colonialism respectively. While victims of such processes, they also represented personal vice in their indolence, intemperance and sexual transgressions. Though humanitarian faith was often tempered by strong claims of Aboriginal depravity, evangelicals in this period evidently championed the capacity for all to receive salvation. When the two groups

118 Mitchell, *In Good Faith?*, 70 & 71; McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies*, 172.

119 Elbourne, 'Sin of the Settler'; Russell, *Savage or Civilised?*, 2.

120 For some examples see Günther, 'Reverend Günther's Journals', Journal 2, 22 & Journal 1, 34.

were subject to explicit comparison, the similarities of these 'branches of the great human family' were revealed—posing a significant challenge to the notion of a civilised European and a savage Aborigine.¹²¹

In many ways, Watson's lamentation, 'O Sin, Sin, What hast thou done', aptly captures the point of this article. Beyond the smaller links drawn by the existing literature, substantial discursive connections between Aboriginal people and convicts can be found in the early nineteenth century. Evangelical humanitarian discourse is an important point of entry into studying these connections because of its significant influence in this period. In the worldview of evangelical humanitarians, one in which sin was rife and moral reformation was urgent, we can begin to see how the discursive similarities of Aboriginal and convict groups played an important part in conceptions of respectability and civilisation in early nineteenth-century Australia.

121 Aborigines Protection Society, *Third Annual Report of the Aborigines Protection Society, Presented at the Meeting in Exeter Hall, June 23rd, 1840. With Lists of Officers, Subscribers, Benefactors, and Honorary Members* (London: P White & Son, 1840), 9.

Object study—The Tombstone of Anne: A case study on multilingualism in twelfth-century Sicily¹

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Abstract: *In 1149 a Christian cleric by the name of Grisandus erected a small funerary headstone in honour of his mother at the Church of St Michael in Palermo, the capital of Norman Sicily. Often known as the Tombstone of Anne, the funerary headstone offers unexpected insight into the competing religious and cultural ideologies of twelfth-century Sicily. The four inscriptions are not, as some scholars have assumed, exact translations of the same text. In particular, the differences between the Arabic and Latin texts hint at some of the tensions underscoring Sicily's multicultural aspirations by proclaiming Christian superiority, affirming King Roger II's authority as a defender of the Pope of Rome and in the case of the Arabic texts, encouraging readers to convert to Christianity. Roger II's authority as king derived from the Pope of Rome, creating a complex political environment between cultural tolerance and Christian superiority. As is argued in this article, the Tombstone was a political tool, encouraging the dominance of Christianity in Sicily and the legitimacy of King Roger II's kingdom.*

Sicily in the twelfth century, under the reign of Roger II (1130–54 AD), was a place of cultural and religious exchange. Appreciation for Arabic, Byzantine and Latin art and architecture ran deep within the society, encouraging cultural and linguistic interaction between different groups of people and ways of life.² The Tombstone of Anne (see Figure 1),

1 This article is an extended version of a source analysis task written for HIST2243: Vikings, Crusaders and Mongols: Shaping Medieval Europe, c. 850–1300, at The Australian National University (ANU), convened by Dr Tania Colwell.

2 Joanna Drell, 'Cultural Syncretism and Ethnic Identity: The Norman "Conquest" of Southern Italy and Sicily', *Journal of Medieval History* 25, no. 3 (1999), 187–88: doi.org/10.1016/S0304-4181(99)00002-0.

a funerary headstone erected by the cleric Grisandus for his mother in 1149, represents something of Sicily's unique multicultural aspirations. It also, on closer inspection, highlights the social division and political agenda that existed in Sicily at the time (see Figure 1). Although the four inscriptions on the Tombstone—Arabic, Latin, Greek and Hebrew—might initially suggest an unusual degree of religious and cultural tolerance, when they are compared, they also reveal a clear effort to promote and legitimise Christian authority. This object study will first contextualise the artefact and then, with particular focus on the Arabic and Latin inscriptions translated by historian Hubert Houben, it will argue that the purpose of the Tombstone was not merely to honour and remember the death of Anne, but also to promote the conversion of 'heathens' to Christianity and further support King Roger II's loyalty to the Catholic Church.



Figure 1: The Tombstone of Anne, sometimes known as the 'Tombstone in four languages'.

Source: Dipartimento regionale dei Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana. Soprintendenza per i beni culturali ed ambientali di Palermo. Archivio fotografico. [Regional Department of Cultural Heritage and Sicilian Identity, Supervisor for the Environmental and Cultural Heritage of Palermo. Photograph archive.]

The Norman conquest of Sicily in 1060, then under Arab control, was coordinated by Robert Guiscard and his youngest brother Roger, who would later become known as Roger I.³ The conquest of Sicily ended in 1091 with the victory of the Norman armies and the instalment of Roger I as the Count of Sicily.⁴ The Norman conquest, although sanctioned by the Pope of Rome, was not a crusade. Roger I's army was made up of a mixture of Latin Christians, Greek Christians and Muslims.⁵ During the eleventh century the Normans and Latin Christians were minorities on the island of Sicily and after his conquest, in an effort to consolidate his rule and establish peace, Roger I recognised the need for cultural accommodation and sought to promote Sicily as a region of religious and linguistic tolerance.⁶ It is out of this policy for cultural tolerance that Roger II, Roger I's second son, would also build his kingdom.

During Roger II's reign (1130–54), Sicily remained a place of cultural exchange, where Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Arabic communities formed a multiethnic and multilingual society, acting as an important cultural bridge between the East and the West.⁷ Sicily promoted cultural tolerance by adopting three official languages of administration: Latin, Greek and Arabic.⁸

The Tombstone of Anne was produced in 1149 at Palermo in Sicily, where Roger II's palace and court resided.⁹ It was made as a funeral inscription documenting Anne's date of death and the transfer of her body to an alternative burial site. The Tombstone is relatively small, only 32 cm in width, with the base of the stone created from marble and decorated with multicoloured glass fragments, which also form the central cross. Grisandus, Anne's son and apparently a cleric belonging to the court of Roger II, ordered the production of the artefact.¹⁰ Little appears to

3 Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Late Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 5.

4 Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers*, 5–6.

5 Dirk Booms and Peter Higgs, *Sicily: Culture and Conquest* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2016), 174.

6 Booms and Higgs, *Sicily*, 174.

7 Hubert Houben, 'Religious Toleration in South Italian Peninsula During the Norman and Staufen Periods', in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. G Loud and A Metcalfe (Brill: Leiden & Boston, 2002), 324; Hubert Houben, 'King of Sicily and Southern Italy', in *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler Between East and West* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 50.

8 Hubert Houben, 'Between Occidental and Oriental Cultures: Norman Sicily as a "Third Space"', in *Norman Tradition and Transcultural Heritage*, ed. S Burkhardt and T Foerster (Farnham: Taylor & Francis, 2013), 21.

9 Drell, 'Cultural Syncretism and Ethnic Identity', 187.

10 Houben, 'Between Occidental and Oriental Cultures', 22.

be known about Grisandus, apart from his employment as a priest at the Church of St Michael in Palermo. It is clear, however, that he was a supporter of the multilingual approach adopted by Roger II.

According to the Arabic translation by Huber Houbens, a historian of Sicily during this period, the Tombstone states that Grisandus 'transferred her with prayers of intercession to this church of St. Michaels', while the Latin simply indicates the final location with 'this chapel' (see Appendix). It is important to note that Houbens's conclusions are contested. The historian Wolfgang Kronig suggests that the use of the terms 'church' and 'chapel' are not so easily interpreted as parts of the Tombstone's inscription were poorly preserved, leading to some confusion over its final resting place.¹¹ Was the Tombstone located in a private chapel called St Anne's inside the Church of St Michael, or is the Church renamed St Anne's in the memory of his mother?¹² The reference to the clerical order, the Pope of Rome and Mary, 'mother of the Messiah [Jesus Christ]', does point towards the artefact's Latin origins (see Appendix). Whatever the resting place of the Tombstone of Anne, it was created to reside inside a Latin Christian building.

The Tombstone of Anne is an extraordinary artefact that provides strong evidence of Sicily's multiethnic and multilingual society in the twelfth century. Four different languages are represented on its surface—Arabic, Latin, Greek and Hebrew—and are neatly divided into four separate sections.¹³ The four languages inscribed on the funeral stone demonstrate that the communication between the different ethnic groups was important for the administrative functions of Sicilian society. Their content also reveal an understanding of different religious calendars. In the Hebrew inscription 'Anne [...] died at the time of vespers on Friday 20 August in the year 4908', while in the Greek inscription 'Anne passed away peacefully on 20 August 6656'.¹⁴ While the Tombstone was created in a Latin Christian context, the acknowledgement of individual religious calendars demonstrates the level of cross-cultural knowledge and tolerance between the different religious groups in Sicily in this period. The Tombstone of Anne reveals a high level of religious and cultural tolerance within Sicilian society during the twelfth century.

11 Wolfgang Kronig, 'Der Viersprachige Grabstein Von 1148 in Palermo', *Zeitschrift Fur Kunstgeschichte*, 556.

12 Kronig, 'Der Viersprachige Grabstein Von 1148 in Palermo', 556.

13 Houben, 'Between Occidental and Oriental Cultures', 23–24.

14 Houben, 'Between Occidental and Oriental Cultures', 23.

Yet, the Tombstone of Anne also demonstrates a belief in Christian superiority. On closer inspection, although the inscriptions refer to the same event, the texts are altered according to what religion or language is being addressed.¹⁵ From a visual point of view, the Arabic (bottom) and Hebrew (top) texts are longer than that of the Greek (right) and Latin (left) (see Figure 1). In his examination of the Tombstone, Wolfgang suggests that the content of the inscription was authored by Guirsudus'—his own 'intellectual property'.¹⁶ The inscriptions are of a personal nature, detailing the building of the 'chapel' was for God, himself and his mother. It might be that someone was commissioned to inscribe a set script in the different languages, but at the very least the words appear to have been first written by Grisandus.

The Arabic text is the most elaborate of all the inscriptions, detailing attributes of Roger II:

The ruling majesty, the august, the supreme, the sublime, the most holy, the magnificent, the powerful through God [...] he who reigns over Italy, Lombardy, Calabria, Sicily and Africa.¹⁷

The inscription attempts to validate Roger II's authority and divine sovereignty over the Arabic reader, which is in striking contrast to the Latin text where the king is entirely absent from the inscription (see Appendix). During the 1140s a majority of the population in Sicily spoke Arabic. Portraying the Norman Christian king as a powerful and magisterial figure was likely a strategy to remind Arabic readers of Roger II's current political authority.¹⁸

The Arabic text ends: 'thus God may have mercy on him who reads this and pray for her [Mary's] mercy. Amen. Amen. Amen'.¹⁹ This inscription not only appears to be praising the reader's conversion to Christianity, but also reaffirms that Arab peoples—like all Christians—were considered to be sinners and in need of God's mercy and forgiveness.

Furthermore, the Tombstone inscriptions are centred around an elaborately decorated Christian cross, featuring multicoloured glass fragments to form the shape of the cross (see Figure 1). The cross is offset by Greek

15 Kronig, 'Der Viersprachige Grabstein Von 1148 in Palermo', 556–57.

16 Kronig, 'Der Viersprachige Grabstein Von 1148 in Palermo', 556.

17 Houben, 'Between Occidental and Oriental Cultures', 23–24.

18 Booms and Higgs, *Sicily*, 174.

19 Houben, 'Between Occidental and Oriental Cultures', 24.

symbols appearing in each corner of the cross. The symbols, according to historian Hubert Houben, translate to 'Jesus Christ is victorious'.²⁰ This inscription typically refers to Jesus conquering death; however, it could also be argued that they allude to Christianity's triumph over Islam and Judaism. The colourful description of the king in the Arabic inscription appear to be reminding the readers of the king's supremacy and, above all, loyalty to Rome and Christianity. The stark contrast between the Arabic and Latin inscriptions seems at first to suggest an underlying religious prejudice within medieval Sicily. However, let us consider for a moment the Tombstone in the broader context of Roger II's reign.

A spirit of cultural unity was a founding symbol of Roger II reign. His royal chapel Cappella Palatina, for example, is well documented as a symbol of Roger's diversified court.²¹ The Cappella Palatina was completed in 1140, nine years prior to the production of the Tombstone, and highlights a unique mixture of architectural and artistic design inspired from Arabic, Greek and Latin cultures.²² The dome painting is a unique example of Islamic styled influence within the Cappella Palatine. The ceiling is covered with panels in an elaborate muqarnas layout, which is a form of Islamic architecture that is seen through the 'geometric sub-divided' arrangement of the dome.²³ Furthermore, Roger II's coronation mantle is an elaborate red and gold silk robe with an Arabic inscription surrounding the hem of the garment, detailing the Arabic workshop and calling for a blessing upon the ruler.²⁴ Although it is suggested that the garment was created four years after Roger's official coronation in 1130, the intention of wearing a Arabic-styled robe to a coronation by a Catholic Pope is a bold statement of cross-culture interaction.²⁵ Sicily's mix of cultural artistic influence demonstrates a level of tolerant coexistence between the

20 Houben, 'Between Occidental and Oriental Cultures', 24.

21 Roberto Salvini, 'Monuments of Norman Art in Sicily and Southern Italy', in *The Normans in Sicily and Southern Italy*, Lancel Lectures (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 65–66.

22 William Toronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatine in Palermo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 134–52.

23 Wijdan Ali, *The Arab Contribution to Islamic Art: From the Seventh to the Fifteenth Centuries* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1999), 161.

24 'Mantle of Roger II of Sicily', Textile Research Centre: TRC Needles, 2017, accessed at www.trc-leiden.nl/trc-needles/individual-textiles-and-textile-types/secular-ceremonies-and-rituals/mantle-of-roger-ii-of-sicily.

25 Robert Irwin, *Islamic Art in Context: Art, Architecture and the Literary World* (New York: HN Abrams, 1997), 225–26.

multiethnic society. Roger II's open and visual display of religious unity, and the Christian-dominated ideology inscribed on the Tombstone of Anne demonstrates a complex coexistence of religious orthodoxies.

Another perplexing issue surrounding the Tombstone of Anne is the fact that it was located inside a Christian church (although it is unclear which church exactly). The Latin inscription states that 'she was transferred to this chapel which her son built for the Lord and himself'. Unless this chapel was regularly visited by different religious peoples, why was a Tombstone with an Arabic inscription and clear rhetoric of conversion located inside a 'chapel', a place primarily visited by believers? Dirk Booms and Peter Higgs have suggested that the Tombstone was used for Muslims that had already converted to Christianity, but who still spoke and read Arabic.²⁶ This interpretation, however, fails to explain the striking differences between each inscription, including the elaborate promotion of Christianity and the superiority of King Roger II, found only in the Arabic text, if its purpose was simply to cater for Arabic speaking Christians.

Another explanation for the Tombstone's location would be that non-Christians were required to attend significant Christian events. Yet, we know that Muslims and Jews were able to freely practice their own religion, building and visiting mosques and cadis.²⁷ 'Forced' attendance in Christian churches does not fit with the policy of religious tolerance that existed throughout Roger II's reign. Despite the spirit of cultural unity, the Tombstone strongly emphasises the king's firm Christian faith.

The Arabic inscription states that the king is 'the defender of the Pope of Rome, the protector of the Christian faith'.²⁸ This is an interesting statement considering the strained relationship between Roger II and the Pope of Rome.²⁹ Roger II became the sole ruler of Sicily at 16, however, despite his young age he had a strong political vision for Sicily.³⁰ Historian Graham Loud suggests that one of the issues between Norman rulers and the Pope was whether to continue the tradition of rulers swearing an Oath of Fealty to each new Pope, which Robert Giscard had done in 1080.³¹

26 Booms and Higgs, *Sicily*, 221.

27 Edmund Curtis, 'Two Counts of Sicily, 1085–1130', in *Roger of Sicily: And the Normans in Lower Italy* (New York and London: The Knickerbocker Press, 1912), 94.

28 Houben, 'Between Occidental and Oriental Cultures', 23.

29 Drell, 'Cultural Syncretism and Ethnic Identity', 187.

30 Booms and Higgs, *Sicily*, 178.

31 Graham A Loud, 'The Papacy and the Rulers of Southern Italy: 1058–1198', *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. GA Loud and A Metcalfe (Boston: Brill, 2002), 158.

Over time, issues began to arise between the Papacy's view of the Norman rulers as temporary and replaceable and Roger II's belief of his inherited authority as the King of Sicily. Roger II's ambition for his kingdom—which did not properly acknowledge the Church's authority to legitimise Christian rulers—quickly turned into a display of defiance against the Church.³² To Roger II's advantage, however, Rome during the year 1130 experienced a contested papal election among the College of Cardinals, against Pope Innocent II and the anti-Pope Anacletus II.³³

The political turbulence within the Catholic Church weakened the authority of the Pope and created an opportunity for Roger II to ally himself with Anacletus II, in return for his official coronation as King of Sicily on Christmas day of 1130.³⁴ The ambiguous nature of Roger II's claim to kingship and the tense relation with the Church demonstrates the political complexity within medieval Sicily. Taking this context into account also helps scholars more critically interpret objects like the Tombstone of Anne.

One possible interpretation of the conflicting inscriptions on the Tombstone is that the inscriptions were used as a political tool in Roger II's agenda. It is possible that the artefact, tucked away in the 'chapel', was never meant to be read by anyone other than Christian eyes. The detail of Christian superiority in the Arabic inscription not only demonstrates that the king was loyal to the Christian faith, it also affirms his efforts to convert non-Christians to the Catholic Church. The Arabic inscription could have been part of an effort to eradicate any doubt that the King of Sicily, despite his perceived religious tolerance, was a sympathiser to the Arabic and Hebrew faiths.

The reference of Roger II being a 'defender of the Pope' is particularly interesting, as it suggests that the king was attempting to demonstrate his loyalty to the Pope of Rome, and subsequently his divine right to rule as monarch (see Appendix). Rogers II's entire kingdom was built on a fabricated claim of legitimacy, through the illusion of a kingdom having existed before the Norman conquest, and the support of that claim by the Pope of Rome.³⁵ Roger held no legitimate claim without the support, or at least perceived support, of the Pope of Rome, a fact that firmly tied Roger's authority to the Catholic Church. With the delicate balance of power

32 Booms and Higgs, *Sicily*, 178–79.

33 Booms and Higgs, *Sicily*, 178.

34 Booms and Higgs, *Sicily*, 178.

35 Booms and Higgs, *Sicily*, 178–79.

during medieval Sicily it makes sense that Roger would have promoted his connection to the Pope of Rome, even if the ‘real’ relationship appeared strained.

But, what of Anne’s son, the cleric Grisandus? Why would a personal artefact that he erected to remember his mother be entangled so deeply in efforts to legitimise Roger’s reign? The role of the cleric in this conclusion is unclear. There are limited sources surrounding Grisandus and the use of tombstones as political tools, which leaves it open to interpretation. Perhaps Grisandus was attempting to gain favour with Roger II, and through this gain control over the Catholic Church in Sicily. Roger II took control over church matters early in his reign, which added to the turmoil between the Pope and the king.³⁶ Grisandus also appears to be closely tied to the Palermo Court. The historian Thomas Brown has identified him as the head of the Palatine Chapel during Roger II’s reign.³⁷ Grisandus’ references to himself as the ‘priest of the ruling majesty’ suggest that he might have held a political relationship with Roger II, or at least the want of one (see Appendix). Might Grisandus have been demonstrating his loyalty, even friendship, to Roger II and his kingdom?

The location of the Tombstone in the city of Palermo is important. As Roger II’s kingdom became a recognised political power in the region, Palermo attracted scholars and guests from all over medieval Europe to visit the king’s court and palace. The placement of the Tombstone, in a city designed to legitimise and promote Roger II’s authority, provided ample opportunity to display Roger II’s ‘strong’ connection to the Pope of Rome, and serves as but one object in a complex political campaign of cultural unity and monarchical authority. It demonstrates Roger II’s detailed political agenda and the careful construction of medieval Sicily as a dominant political influence in the twelfth century. The Tombstone survives as a piece of Sicilian propaganda, which promotes conversion to Christianity and demonstrates the politically derived illusion of King Roger II’s loyalty to the Catholic Church; therefore, it provides a legitimate foundation for his kingdom and his right to rule as king.

The Tombstone of Anne is part of Roger II’s legacy, and allows historians unique insight into the way competing religious and cultural ideologies persisted—sometimes beneath the fabric of daily life—in Sicily’s medieval

36 Booms and Higgs, *Sicily*, 178.

37 Houben, ‘Between Occidental and Oriental Cultures’, 28.

multilingual society. Beyond honouring Grisandus's mother Anne, the Tombstone was a political tool, helping to encourage the conversion of heathens and the dominance of Christianity in Sicily and the legitimacy of King Roger II's kingdom. The artefact demonstrates a general tolerance of different cultural traditions through the appreciation of language and religious customs; however, the striking contrast between the Arabic and Latin inscriptions reflect a political strategy to maintain the power of cultural unity, while ensuring a display of loyalty to the Church of Rome.

Appendix: Translations

Translations reproduced in Hubert Houben, 'Between Occidental and Oriental Cultures: Norman Sicily as a 'Third Space'?' in *Norman Tradition and Transcultural Heritage*, ed. S Burkhardt and T Foerster (Farnham: Taylor & Francis, 2013), 23–24.

The Latin inscription reads:

On the thirteenth calends of September [20 August] died Anne, the mother of Grisandus, and was buried in the great church of St. Mary in the year 1148,
in the eleventh indiction. On the thirteenth calends of June [20 May] she was
transferred to this chapel which her son built for the Lord and himself in the year
1149, in the twelfth indiction.

The Arabic inscription reads:

Anne, the mother of the priest Akrisant, priest of the ruling majesty, the august, the
supreme, the sublime, the elevated, the most holy, the magnificent, the powerful
through God, the potent through His omnipotence, the mighty through His
strength, he who reigns over Italy, Lombardy, Calabria, Sicily and Africa, the
defender of the pope of Rome, the protector of the Christian faith—may God
prolong his reign!—died on Friday, at the time of Vespers, on 20 August
543

[1148 AD] and was buried in the great cathedral (jami). From there her son transferred her with prayers of intercession to this church of St. Michael on Friday

at the first hour of the evening of 20 May of the year 544 [1149 AD], and built

over her tomb this church and named it the church of St Anne, after the name

of Anne, mother of [our lady] Mary [, the mother of the Messiah. Thus God may have mercy on him who reads this] and pray for her mercy. Amen. Amen. Amen.

LECTURES

Inaugural Professorial Lecture— Is Australian history still possible? Australia and the global eighties¹

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It is a mark of the limiting character of a purely national perspective that it has been so rarely noticed that two English-speaking democracies of the 1980s each had a former trade union official as its national leader. Bob Hawke, Australian Labor Party (ALP) prime minister, was a former president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU); Ronald Reagan, a former president of the Screen Actors Guild. Each is credited with having restored to their countries ‘a sense of national pride and optimism’.² In Reagan’s case, his role was to lift the gloom that had descended over the country during the Carter presidency, with its economic decline and foreign humiliations; to demonstrate that in America, it was indeed morning again. In Hawke’s, it was to take full advantage of the improving national mood in 1983 associated with the end of a drought and a recession, and the victory of an Australian syndicate in the America’s Cup yachting competition in Newport, Rhode Island.

We should not exaggerate the similarities. Reagan had once been a Roosevelt ‘New Deal’ Democrat but he was now of the right. Hawke, having begun his ACTU presidency as the left’s nominee, was now ‘right’ in the context of his formally ‘democratic socialist’ party but a pragmatist increasingly criticised by the left inside and especially outside the ALP as having abandoned Labor ideals and traditions. Each, however, was a charismatic and popular leader who had achieved celebrity outside formal politics—Reagan in show business, Hawke as a national union leader and media superstar who was as much a showman as Reagan. They both

1 Inaugural Professorial Lecture, The Australian National University, 10 May 2017. This version has been edited and amended in light of two astute referees’ reports, for which the author is grateful, and the passage of time.

2 Michael Schaller, *Reckoning with Reagan: America and Its President in the 1980s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 66.

appealed to voters above the formal structures of party and government, creating an almost mystical bond with the people which helped sustain a powerful sense of destiny. Yet destiny often needed helping along; each was flexible, being willing to compromise in ways that could be dismissed as mere expediency by their more ideologically committed allies and opponents, but which helps to account for their political longevity.³

The rise of transnational and global histories in the early twenty-first century sometimes obscures the reality that much—perhaps most—history being written about the modern world is still national. By ‘national history’ I do not mean ‘nationalist history’, although the categories can and do overlap. Historians with a popular following still perform the part of the storytellers of their tribe, a phrase I borrow gratefully from Iain McCalman; sometimes addressing their audience as ‘we’;⁴ at worst, trading in familiar and comforting national stereotypes; at best, challenging familiar ways of thinking and seeing.

I am myself a national historian. Both of my recent books—a history of Australian sexuality since 1788 and a history of Australia in the 1980s—take ‘Australia’ as their subject.⁵ But a national history that treats ‘Australia’ as its basic unit of study inevitably misses something of the contingency of such a category. ‘Australia’ is the product not only of a local political settlement but also of global and transnational forces such as imperial conquest and decolonisation, industrialisation, migration, the expansion of capital, the development of trade, and exchanges of information, knowledge, ideas and culture. The best national histories treat the nation-state as embedded in global networks shaped by these forces. But it remains a valid criticism that most national histories deal inadequately with such challenges. The mere telling of a story about ‘the nation’ can imply a singularity or exceptionalism, even a self-containment.⁶ We can easily miss the common elements in the leadership styles of a Reagan and a Hawke.

3 Frank Bongiorno, *The Eighties: The Decade That Transformed Australia* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2015), 33–40, 58; John Ehrman, *The Eighties: America in the Age of Reagan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 71–72.

4 See, for instance, Geoffrey Blainey, *The Story of Australia's People: The Rise And Rise of a New Australia* (Melbourne: Penguin, 2016), 142.

5 Frank Bongiorno, *The Sex Lives of Australians: A History* (Collingwood: Black Inc., 2012); and Bongiorno, *The Eighties*.

6 William O Coleman, ed., *Only in Australia: The History, Politics, and Economics of Australian Exceptionalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

My lecture is, in part, a reflection on these problems, which I discuss in reference to what I'm calling the global 1980s. The decade has received increasing historical attention as with the passage of time it passes from current affairs to contemporary history. Historians now seem increasingly confident in placing the 1980s in the context of a broader sweep of time.⁷ Some treat the decade as the end of an era in world history, placing 1989, and the end of the Cold War, alongside such momentous and revolutionary years as 1789 and 1917.⁸ Famously, beginning with a controversial article published in 1989 and culminating in a 1992 book, Francis Fukuyama declared that moment as 'The End of History', by which he meant that liberal democracy and capitalism had emerged as the only viable economic and political systems. There was a universal pattern discernible in 'History', and this was where it was going. Sure, there might be discontinuities along History's journey—the extinction of the dinosaurs and the rise of the Nazis were examples—but the process was coherent and unidirectional. '[W]e have trouble imagining a world that is radically better than our own', he explained, 'or a future that is not essentially democratic and capitalist'.⁹

There is little point in providing yet another critique of this flawed exercise in latter-day Hegelianism a quarter of a century after its publication. It is more pertinent to my purpose to suggest that the confidence and optimism of 'The End of History' thesis was probably only possible in the late 1980s and early 1990s, in those years between the fall of the Berlin Wall and 9/11, or perhaps before the genocides in east Africa and south-eastern Europe of the mid-1990s. It is an artefact—a period piece, if you like—through which we can read the effects of rapid and far-reaching change that was unthinkable just a few years before. It is little wonder then that a recent American collection of essays on the decade calls the 1980s 'A Critical and Transitional Decade'. But that book is almost exclusively concerned with the US; Part 4, which promises to consider the world beyond America's borders, is meaningfully called "'We are the World'", but there is little sign of any irony in the recycling of this well-known 1980s song title.¹⁰

7 EJ Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914–1991* (London: Michael Joseph, 1994).

8 Kimberly R Moffitt and Duncan A Campbell, 'Introduction: The 1980s as a Decade', in *The 1980s: A Critical and Transitional Decade*, ed. Moffitt and Campbell (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2011), 2.

9 Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (London: Penguin, 2012), 46, 128–30 & 139.

10 Moffitt and Campbell, eds, *The 1980s*.

Historical knowledge is not nationally neutral; a political economy of knowledge ensures that the histories of powerful Western countries as a rule do better in a global academic and publishing marketplace than those of smaller nations, to say nothing of the well-known divisions between the global North and South. It has been a feature of transnationalism in history that it has drawn renewed attention to the relevance of local or national stories to a larger scene. Localities—such as towns or cities—will sometimes figure in such histories as ‘nodes’ in a ‘network’, but in practice the histories of many places become invisible, or very nearly so.¹¹

The contrast of this present rather ambiguous place for national history with what might be thought of as the ‘golden age’ of Australian history in the years between the 1960s and 1980s seems very stark. From the beginning of the 1960s, the end of empire, the eclipse of Australian Britishness and the emergence of the so-called new nationalism formed the background to the rise of Australian history.¹² In many ways, the prominence of the subject in the public sphere reflected the generational experience of those who had come to adulthood in the 1950s and 1960s and felt there had been insufficient access to Australian culture in their formal education. More generally, Australian history was part of a declaration of independence from the British Empire; there were similar developments in Canada, New Zealand, India, the Caribbean and even, arguably, within Britain itself, with the rise of Scottish and Welsh nationalism. Yet, paradoxically, the rise of Australian history from the 1960s to the 1980s coincided with the rise of a critical social history, stimulated by international influences, that gave voice and agency to women, Indigenous people, the working class, immigrants, and ethnic and sexual minorities. The preoccupations of the ‘new social history’ presented Australian history with a strangely divided personality. It fostered a sense of national distinctiveness and belonging, even as it drew attention to diversity, exclusion and discrimination and cast a critical eye over national stereotypes. This was a creative tension, although one that paved the way for historical transnationalism once the nationalist impulses that had given rise to the Australian history boom took a rather different turn in an age of more intense globalisation during the 1990s.

11 Frank Bongiorno and Erik Eklund, ‘The Problem of Belonging: Contested Country in Australian Local History’, *New Scholar: An International Journal of the Humanities, Creative Arts and Social Sciences* 3, no. 1 (2014), 39–40.

12 Jim Davidson, ‘The De-dominionisation of Australia’, *Meanjin* 38, no. 2 (July 1979), 139–53; Stuart Ward, *Australia and the British Embrace: The Demise of the Imperial Ideal* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001); James Curran and Stuart Ward, *The Unknown Nation: Australia After Empire* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2010). See also “‘Post-Imperial’ Australia”, Special issue, *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 51, no. 1 (2005).

In the 1980s, however, the boom was in full swing. Books about the Australian past appeared in vast numbers on an ever-growing variety of subjects, including in the genres of Aboriginal family history, autobiography and memoir—think of the success of Sally Morgan and Ruby Langford Ginibi. Peter Carey's Booker prize-winning historical novel, *Oscar and Lucinda*, was set largely in colonial New South Wales and climaxed in an exploration party's massacre of Indigenous people.¹³ Convict history seemed to do particularly well around the time of the Bicentenary of 1988, with historians such as Robert Hughes and Babette Smith writing very different kinds of books on the era.¹⁴ Anzac began its modern meteoric rise, launched in 1981 by the success of Peter Weir's film *Gallipoli* and Albert Facey's book *A Fortunate Life*, later a television mini-series.¹⁵ Historians—a few of them at least—were seen frequently in the media; they were as ubiquitous then as specialists in terrorism, international relations and strategic studies are today. TV mini-series screened on a bewildering variety of historical topics. The First Fleet re-enactment would soon be sailing into Sydney Harbour, Coca-Cola logo and all. The Australian National University's own Manning Clark wandered the land as the Bicentennial celebrity *par excellence*, his six-volume *History* even becoming the subject of a stage musical. Clark looked and sounded like an Old Testament prophet: how was it that in a country seen as secular-minded, egalitarian, democratic, informal and even anti-intellectual, Clark—with his searching spirituality, his well-honed biblical language and his cryptic literary allusions—came to achieve this strange status? Possibly the national stereotype itself is flawed; that many Australians of the 1970s and 1980s had a remarkably old-fashioned hunger for a dignified national symbolism that could be taken seriously by 'old' countries. Here was evidence that Australia had a conscience and a soul. And his books, in their stately dust-jackets—they would not have been out of place next to the family Bible—showed that Australia also had a history, that it was not just an obscure footnote to the British Empire.¹⁶

13 Sally Morgan, *My Place* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1987); Ruby Langford, *Don't Take Your Love to Town* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1988); Peter Carey, *Oscar and Lucinda* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1988).

14 Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore: A History of the Transportation of Convicts to Australia, 1787–1868* (London: Collins Harvill, 1987); Babette Smith, *A Cargo of Women: Susannah Watson and the Convicts of the Princess Royal* (Kensington: New South Wales University Press, 1988).

15 Albert Facey, *A Fortunate Life* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1981).

16 Mark McKenna, *An Eye for Eternity: The Life of Manning Clark* (Carlton: The Miegunyah Press, 2011), 613–16.

The most influential contributions to understandings of the 1980s are the work of journalists rather than professional historians: notably Paul Kelly, editor-at-large for *The Australian*. In Australia journalists have been more willing than historians to write of the recent past. Their professional work provides them with a public profile, and with contacts, stories and files that, with much or little effort, can be translated into book-length publication. Certainly, Kelly's *The End of Certainty: The Story of the 1980s* (1992) remains the most influential account of Australia in that decade.¹⁷ Kelly tells his story in terms of its movers and shakers. It is largely the view from Canberra's Parliamentary Press Gallery, with all of the benefits, and the limitations, of such a perspective.

Kelly's was a contemporary history in almost every sense one might imagine, appearing in 1992 when the 1980s were a recent memory and, for many, an unhappy one because they seemed a time of corporate greed and policy failure that led to a nasty recession. But Kelly sets the 1980s in a wider context—the rise and fall of what he calls 'the Australian Settlement' in the 90 years between 1901 and 1991—and much of its intellectual power comes out of that manner of framing his 1980s narrative. For Kelly, the decade mattered because it had seen a Labor government open up the economy to the world, deregulating the financial sector, reducing tariff protection, decentralising the industrial relations system and selling public assets. Yet, for all its emphasis on Australia's integration into the world economy, Kelly's story is a national one, addressed to a national audience, and designed to produce national effects; that is, to persuade Australians of the wisdom of the changes the previous decade had wrought and to urge them to support a politics that would extend them in the 1990s.¹⁸ Kelly assumes the role of a kind of tribal storyteller, addressing the 'imagined community' of the nation about its past and prospects.¹⁹

My own approach to Australia's 1980s treats the Hawke Labor Government as also very much a response to the economic, political and cultural challenges of the 1980s. Bob Hawke's election policy speech in February 1983 gave few signs of the dramatic changes that would mark the Labor Government's 13 years in office, especially in the direction of what contemporaries called 'economic rationalism' and which is now

17 Paul Kelly, *The End of Certainty: The Story of the 1980s* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1992).

18 Kelly, *The End of Certainty*, 679–85.

19 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

more commonly known as 'neoliberalism'. Responding to the recession of 1982–83, Labor's election policy was recognisably Keynesian as well as protectionist; increased spending would revive a faltering economy, and a recession which had seen the loss of thousands of manufacturing jobs was no time for tariff cuts.²⁰

Yet, almost from the moment Labor came to power, it shifted from this traditional approach, with both Hawke and the Treasurer, Paul Keating, worrying that excessive spending would lead to the very kind of inflationary break-out that had played such a large role in destroying both the Whitlam and Fraser governments. Keynesian economists and advisers soon found themselves on the outer. The most spectacular changes occurred initially in the Australian financial sector, where the government floated the dollar in December 1983—a decision recognised then, and even more forcibly since, as a critical moment in the making of modern Australia—followed by a decision in 1984 to allow foreign banks to begin operating locally. At the same time as it subjected the economy and its own decision-making ever more closely to the judgement of the global market, the new government self-consciously cultivated an image of fiscal rectitude, seeking to place as much distance as it could between itself and the Whitlam Government. It moved away from that government's emphasis on universalism in welfare, with the notable exception of a new system of health insurance, Medicare.²¹

Many of these changes were disorientating because they were introduced by a Labor Party that had historically sought to control rather than unleash market forces. But Australia's shift towards deregulation was anything but exceptional. Such changes occurred across the world, most famously in the case of Britain under Margaret Thatcher and the US under Ronald Reagan.²² The advance of the market occurred irrespective of whether the centre-left or the centre-right held office.²³ The case of France is particularly instructive because the shift seemed so unlikely when Socialist

20 Bongiorno, *The Eighties*, 4.

21 Bongiorno, *The Eighties*, 40–50, 158.

22 Henk Overbeek and Kees van der Pijl, 'Restructuring Capital and Restructuring Hegemony: Neo-liberalism and the Unmaking of the Post-war Order', in *Restructuring Hegemony in the Global Political Economy: The Rise of Transnational Neo-liberalism in the 1980s*, ed. Henk Overbeek (London: Routledge, 1993), 2: doi.org/10.4324/9780203411865.

23 Herman M Schwartz, 'Public Choice Theory and Public Choices: Bureaucrats and State Reorganization in Australia, Denmark, New Zealand, and Sweden in the 1980s', *Administration & Society* 26, no. 1 (May 1994), 48–77: doi.org/10.1177/009539979402600104.

President François Mitterrand came to power in May 1981.²⁴ Policies of the early years included nationalisation, public sector expansion, a lower retirement age, a shorter working week, more paid holidays, increased minimum wages, pro-union labour laws and a wealth tax. But inflation remained high and the country suffered a foreign exchange crisis that culminated in a decision to devalue the franc in March 1983. Australia, it might be noted, devalued in the same month, as one of the first decisions of the new Labor Government. A ‘Socialist U-turn’ followed in France, a policy of ‘austerity’. During the period of ‘cohabitation’ in the mid-1980s—that is, a Socialist Party President, Mitterrand, and a conservative prime minister, Jacques Chirac—industries that had been nationalised in the early 1980s were privatised. Chirac also cut taxes and spending, abolished price controls and introduced labour market reforms.²⁵

The parallels with the Australian story seem fairly obvious. Indeed, the realisation that in an age of globalisation it was impossible for any particular country to follow its own course without due regard for the economic world bequeathed by the end of the long boom took a distinctive form in each country. Nonetheless, the transnational neoliberal revolution can be traced in economic histories of the era as diverse as those of Spain, Ghana, Chile and New Zealand, to say nothing of China’s market reforms under Deng Xiaoping.

In the fields of culture, consumption and technology, too, where a transnational or global story seems nearly unavoidable, it is nonetheless surprising how wedded historical interpretation remains to national perspective.²⁶ The major new technologies of home and work, such as the video cassette recorder (VCR), the fax machine and the personal computer, can only be understood in the context of global consumer capitalism. True, the fax machine was a particularly revolutionary technology in Japan because of the ease with which images of Japanese characters could be communicated, but it was hardly less so in Australia, where the number of units in the country expanded from something like 8,000 to 50,000 between 1984 and 1987. It was a major boon for a place

24 Philip Short, *A Taste for Intrigue: The Multiple Lives of François Mitterrand* (New York: Henry Holt, 2013), 312–13, 322 & 361.

25 Short, *A Taste for Intrigue*, 361–76, 392–96, 422–23, 431–36, 443, 464 & 484–86; Jeffrey Sachs and Charles Wyplosz, ‘The Economic Consequences of President Mitterrand’, *Economic Policy* 1, no. 2, (April 1986), 261–306: doi.org/10.2307/1344559.

26 Bob Batchelor and Scott Stoddart, *The 1980s* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2007).

so distant from the world's major markets.²⁷ The VCR was also becoming ubiquitous, climbing from one in 20 Australian households early in the decade to more than half by 1987.²⁸ Personal computers spread across homes and workplaces as they became cheaper, in the process helping to create the global phenomenon of Julian Assange, a teenager in the mid-1980s but already a confirmed computer geek soon after acquiring his first Commodore 64. He would become the twenty-first century's ultimate celebrity global citizen, rivalled in that status only by another Australian who, in 1985, swapped his Australian for American citizenship to expand his media empire: Rupert Murdoch.²⁹

Other Australian cultural exports made their mark in this globalising world, with the export of TV soaps such as *Neighbours*, of the hit film *Crocodile Dundee*, and of pop groups such as INXS and Midnight Oil. The British critic, Peter Ackroyd, described *Crocodile Dundee*, starring the comedian Paul Hogan, as 'a heavily Americanised film':

Dundee, wearing his Australian version of the stetson, acts like some representative of the old cowboy and thus reminds the American cinema audience of its more manly, heroic and (at least in his case) good-humoured past.³⁰

Like Hogan and Dundee, the rock group INXS was a huge hit in the US, perfectly in tune with the MTV generation. 'Their music concerns itself with many of the stock concerns of the genre', an acerbic critic commented in Britain's *New Musical Express*. 'Lyrically there are obligatory references to red dresses, long black hair, wantin' and needin', but the market values of FM and MTV have brought with them this new kind of rock'.³¹ The more blatantly political Midnight Oil's engagement with nuclear and environmental issues inevitably gave them a transnational sensibility. They flourished in the United States of Reagan and Bush Senior, thereby bringing to the attention of young American audiences the oppressions suffered by Indigenous people, asbestos miners and other victims of injustice in distant Australia.³²

27 Bongiorno, *The Eighties*, 209–10.

28 Bongiorno, *The Eighties*, 211.

29 Bongiorno, *The Eighties*, 236 & 122–23.

30 Peter Ackroyd, 'Australian Fantasies', *Spectator* 3 (January 1987), 30.

31 Stuart Maconie, 'INXS: "You British Are Too Cool For Your Own Good"', *New Musical Express* 25 (June 1988), 14.

32 Peter Garrett, *Big Blue Sky: A Memoir* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2015).

A properly transnational history of the US in the 1980s that ignored Mick Dundee would surely overlook one of that country's dream-heroes, a figure fit to take his place beside Reagan, and as evocative of the nostalgic fantasy that historians have identified as a powerful strain of the era.³³ Similarly, a properly transnational history of Britain would need to make room for *Neighbours*, which assumed a notable place in the dream-life of Thatcher's Britain. Transnational perspectives will not supersede national histories of the 1980s nor, indeed, of any other era, but national histories will be the poorer for their failure to take full account of research attuned to the transnational and the global.

You can, if you wish, try to forget about the eighties, but, as the rise of that quintessentially eighties 'American Man' Donald Trump would suggest, the eighties do not wish to forget about us. Given the decade's ubiquity in both the nostalgia industry and in public discourse, we are unlikely to be able to forget about the 1980s entirely, but there is a politics of memory in which we are enjoined to do our best to overlook some things while recalling others—sometimes through rose-tinted glasses that can make them virtually unrecognisable to anyone who bothers researching the era. As Dennis Glover has recently reminded us in his affectionate, angry, nostalgic, elegiac and moving book about his home-town of Doveton in outer-suburban Melbourne, there is a 1980s 'reform' cheer-squad, led by the two Pauls, Kelly and Keating, that enjoins us to forget the reality—still so evident in the post-industrial landscapes of many communities—that the decade had its 'losers', those with skills not valued in the post-eighties, post-recession, deregulated economy.³⁴

One of my own students in an economic history class, after I had explained that there were Australian industrial suburbs and towns with a rate of unemployment above 15 per cent in the 1980s, asked how such communities had recovered. The sad answer, of course, is that many still have not; indeed, some face further ordeals as Australian car manufacturing ends and steel-making comes under increasing pressure. There was a telling moment in the series of interviews that Kerry O'Brien conducted with Paul Keating for the ABC, in which O'Brien asks the former Treasurer about those whose jobs were forever wiped out by

33 Michael Dwyer, "'Fixing" the Fifties: Alex P. Keaton and Marty McFly', in Moffit and Campbell, eds, *The 1980s*, 201–23; Batchelor and Stoddart, *The 1980s*, xiii.

34 Dennis Glover, *An Economy is Not a Society: Winners and Losers in the New Australia* (Collingwood: Redback, 2015). See also Mark Peel, *Good Times, Hard Times: The Past and the Future in Elizabeth* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995).

industry restructuring under Labor: 'And do you know what they found?' Keating replies, 'A better job a week later, in a growing economy with big employment growth'. 'You make it sound so simple', replies a sceptical O'Brien.³⁵ And so he does: Keating, that great political salesman, wants us to remember the 1980s, but he also wants us to do some forgetting, too.

He is not alone there. We can be fairly certain that in this post-Mabo age of sweetness and light in relations between mining companies and Indigenous people—or at least some of them—the mining industry does not want us to remember too vividly the days when its anti-land rights television advertising showed a black hand building a brick wall across a map of Western Australia containing the warning:

KEEP OUT
THIS LAND IS UNDER
ABORIGINAL
CLAIM

And it would be no more polite to recall mining executive Hugh Morgan's denigration of Aboriginal culture as barbaric and cannibalistic.³⁶

And then there is the Melbourne historian Geoffrey Blainey, who tells media interviewers these days of his role in campaigning against the pace of Asian immigration to Australia in the 1980s: 'I was simply saying that social cohesion is important'.³⁷ This may well be how Blainey now recalls his role in a highly emotional debate, but it is a sanitised summary. Beginning with the dubious claim that Asians represented 'the favored majority' in Australia's immigration policy, Blainey later went on to condemn the Hawke Government for its 'Asianisation' and 'Surrender Australia' policies. He cited South Africa under apartheid as an example of a failed multicultural society. His image of recent immigration history crystallised as one of discrimination against British and European applicants, of Asians being preferred for government jobs, of a 'secret room' in Canberra where officials manipulated Australia's immigration intake, of ordinary Australian working people turned into 'refugees', outcasts and strangers in

35 Kerry O'Brien, *Keating* (Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2015), 318.

36 Ronald T Libby, *Hawke's Law: The Politics of Mining and Aboriginal Land Rights in Australia* (Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1989), 76–77; Hugh Morgan, 'Religious Traditions, Mining and Land Rights', in *The Land Rights Debate: Selected Documents*, ed. Ken Baker (Melbourne: Institute of Public Affairs, 1985), 22–26.

37 Richard Guilliat, 'He's Got History', *Weekend Australian Magazine*, 29–30 October 2016, 15.

their own land.³⁸ Liberal Party leaders flirted with Blainey's ideas, briefly in 1984 and then again in 1988, when John Howard fatally (for his own leadership) decided to make an issue of the pace of Asian immigration. Bipartisanship over immigration and multiculturalism largely held but in the longer run, the image of neglected and alienated 'old Australians' championed by Blainey has been resilient. Today, it finds expression in the melancholy image of a betrayed and abandoned white working class at the heart of conservative politics, whether in Trump's America, Brexit England, or among the Hansonite minority in Australia. And in a peculiarly rural form, it figures in the effort of National Party leader Barnaby Joyce to articulate a basis for the revival of his stalled political career.³⁹

The historians of the post-World War eclipse of Britishness in Australia now often treat the 1960s as the critical turning point in the country's civic identity. In some accounts the period appears almost as one of existential crisis, as Australians took their place among the abandoned Britons left high and dry by the United Kingdom's turn to Europe. Yet in the 'new' nationalist rhetoric of the 1960s and 1970s, one searches in vain for a sense that Australia would cease to be a white nation. The language of Britishness went into decline, and an explicit language of whiteness with it. But the widespread assumption, until the mid-1970s and the appearance of large numbers of Asian migrants in the wake of the Vietnam War, was that Australia could engage with Asia and abandon its offensive White Australia Policy without fundamental change to its essential whiteness and Western-ness.⁴⁰ This helps explain the kinds of anxieties that emerged in the 1980s, by which time it was clear that more fundamental changes were occurring. In my reading, the 1980s becomes a turning point in the history of Australian national identity, the moment when, as Ghassan Hage has so vividly put it, the appearance of 'Third World Looking People' in Australian streets began to raise more fundamental questions about national selfhood than those suggested by the liquidation of the British Empire in the 1960s.⁴¹

38 *Warrnambool Standard*, 19 March 1983, *Age*, 20 March 1984, *Herald*, 3 April 1984, *West Australian*, 9 June 1984, in *The Immigration Debate in the Press 1984*, ed. Renata Singer, assisted by Michael Liffman (Richmond: The Clearing House on Migration Issues, 1984), 3, 6, 18 & 59; and Geoffrey Blainey, *All for Australia* (North Ryde: Methuen Haynes, 1984), especially Chapters 6 & 7.

39 Barnaby Joyce, *Weatherboard and Iron: Politics, the Bush and Me* (Sydney: New Holland, 2018).

40 Curran and Ward, *The Unknown Nation*.

41 Ghassan Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society* (Annandale: Pluto Press, 1998).

But there are also other, more immediate political issues at stake in how we remember. The dilemmas, conflicts and habits of thought that we find in the 1980s still cast their shadow over our own times. We are still being enjoined to worry over threats to national cohesion posed by the latest wave of migrants, with religion intersecting with—and arguably now overwhelming—race as the key signifier of difference.⁴²

What I want to suggest in the final part of this lecture is that among the most fundamental responsibilities of the national historian is to seek to influence public consciousness with stories that are both true and engaging, and yet sometimes uncomfortable and unsettling. For those who look to the past for a vindication of their own selfhood or past behaviour, the work of historians committed to honest and painstaking historical enquiry can be threatening. To conservative nationalists, such work can look like a dubious form of self-indulgence on the part of over-educated and taxpayer-funded idiots and, even worse, as a threat to Team Australia. We hear this sentiment being expressed every April in complaints about academic historians who challenge this or that aspect of the Anzac legend. Yet, notwithstanding the complications added by claims concerning Anzac's sacredness, the familiar complaints about disloyal academic assaults on Anzackery are really just a special example of a familiar attitude: the idea that histories of the national past should be patriotic, tidy and usable.

Some of these issues arose in one of the more thoughtful reviews of my book *The Eighties*, that in the *Weekend Australian* by David Free. Bongiorno, he wrote:

retrieves the forgotten voices of the not-so-great, an approach that is known in the trade as 'history from below'. Whether these voices are always worth reviving is debatable [...] Such stuff is the white noise of Australian politics, the dust that had to settle before we could start seeing things in perspective. What do we gain by kicking it up again? Should it fundamentally change our minds about the past?

Free worries that I might be suggesting 'that revisiting the past from below is not merely a useful supplement to hindsight but a revolutionary new way of seeing that trumps the naive journalistic practice of looking at history

42 For a study of this transition, see Alexandra Biggs, 'Islam in the Antipodes: Australian Mosque-Building and the "Muslim Migrant" 1967–1990' (BA Honours thesis, School of History, The Australian National University, 2016).

backwards'. Apparently, this is 'a piece of academic theory being pushed too far. To what degree, exactly, are our retrospective judgments obliged to capture what people felt back then, in the heat of the moment?'⁴³

The answer to that one is 'to a very great degree', unless you want to write bad history. The great British historian, EP Thompson, is able to help us out here. 'Our only criterion of judgement', he says in the famous preface to *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963):

should not be whether or not a man's actions are justified in the light of subsequent evolution. After all, we are not at the end of social evolution ourselves. In some of the lost causes of the people of the Industrial Revolution we may discover insights into social evils which we have yet to cure.⁴⁴

So, for Thompson, we should try to understand people's actions in light of their own experience and circumstances, rather than assimilating it to the history of what happened next. Paradoxically, in doing so, we are invited to relativise the present, to see our own perspectives and judgements as contingent, indeed as phenomena that might in due course become subject to the condescending or, if posterity is kind to us, the empathetic judgement of future historians.

Nonetheless, the perspective provided by the passing of time also has its role to play, even when, as I do, we write of a past in the living memory of many of us. At one point in his review, Free compares my own treatment of the 1980s to Kelly's in *The End of Certainty*. 'Bongiorno favours the sympathetic close-up; Kelly takes the chillier long view. And surely the long view, in history and politics, is what matters [...] Individual pain matters, but the bigger picture, the retrospective wide shot, matters more'.⁴⁵ Again, I disagree: in good history—and certainly in good democratic history—they both matter a very great deal.

This is perhaps especially so in the study of the nation, where—as the French historian Ernest Renan suggested in a famous lecture in 1882—the ethical responsibility of the historian to disclose national forgetfulness is critical. 'Forgetting, I would even say historical error', Renan argued:

43 David Free, 'Short Memory', *Weekend Australian Review*, 31 October – 1 November 2015, 19.

44 EP Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968 [1963]), 13.

45 Free, 'Short Memory', 19.

is an essential factor in the creation of a nation and it is for this reason that the progress of historical studies often poses a threat to nationality. Historical inquiry, in effect, throws light on the violent acts that have taken place at the origin of every political formation, even those that have been the most benevolent in their consequences. Unity is always brutally established.⁴⁶

In the case of Australia, the process of ‘historical error’ and the habit of ‘forgetting’ are now perhaps best appreciated in relation to the history of violence against Indigenous people, and of what WEH Stanner influentially called ‘The Great Australian Silence’.⁴⁷ This forgetfulness lies at the heart of the denialism that enjoins us all to celebrate Australia Day each 26 January as an expression of our common belonging, as if we can all regard British settlement as an unalloyed benefit to humanity. But the urge to forget is also at the heart of debates over the 1980s, which are to be celebrated as an era of brave and intelligent economic reform with a human face, but not as a decade of resilient anxiety about Asian migrants and Japanese investors, of unfulfilled promise to Indigenous people, or of an excess that ended in a recession which devastated vulnerable communities and destroyed livelihoods. As Thompson said of the casualties of the English Industrial Revolution, we should not regard such ‘casualties of history’ only as ‘the lost myriads of eternity’.⁴⁸

Quite late in my research on *The Eighties*, I became absorbed in some records in the National Archives of Australia on the Bicentenary. They were collected by the official historian of the Bicentenary, Denis O’Brien, who wrote to country newspapers in 1988, asking people to let him know what they had done on 26 January. The letters reveal that alongside the formal, official and organised events, people did things in their own way, with an emphasis on the sociable, playful celebration of a nation that, they said, made them feel grateful and proud. There were evasions of the darker aspects of Australian history—such as the dispossession of Indigenous people—as well as engagements with it. I loved this material, not least because it confirmed for me that there was a ‘history from below’

46 Ernest Renan, ‘What is a Nation?’, text of a conference delivered at the Sorbonne on 11 March 1882, in Ernest Renan, *Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?*, translated by Ethan Rundell (Paris: Presses-Pocket, 1992), accessed at ucparis.fr/files/9313/6549/9943/What_is_a_Nation.pdf.

47 WEH Stanner, *After the Dreaming: Black and White Australians—An Anthropologist’s View* (Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1969), 18–29.

48 Thompson, *Making*, 13 & 915.

still to be written about 1988, an enduring folk life only mildly influenced by the corporate branding of the Australian Bicentennial Authority and the controversies that had engaged the elites.

There is something oddly poignant about many of these personal stories, perhaps because so many writers wove their intimate experience and feelings for home, family, friends and country around their accounts of the national celebrations. My favourite concerns Tracey Matthies, a country-town journalist and mother from Leongatha who, after describing a busy day of juggling her multiple roles—such a common story of gender in the 1980s—concluded:

Many people have said our bicentennial marks the end of one era and the beginning of a new one for our nation. In retrospect, I see the same can be said for my family. On January 27, the day after Australia Day, Daley took his first steps and moved from babyhood to toddlerhood.⁴⁹

This should not be dismissed as ‘white noise’, or an unfortunate distraction from the big picture, the wide pattern, the ‘chillier longer view’. Rather, it is an Australian woman making meaning of her own professional, personal and family life in the context of a wider and more abstract connection; in this case, to the nation itself. I feel an intense privilege, and responsibility, when someone affords me such a precious glimpse of her life, and such a rare insight into her sense of belonging.

49 TG Matthies to Denis O’Brien, 10 May 1988, ‘The Book of the Year—Regional Newspapers & Readers Involvement’, National Archives of Australia, NAA: C2705, PA50-3442, PART 2.

Geoffrey Bolton Lecture— From bolshevism to populism: Australia in a century of global transformation¹

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One hundred years ago last week, an obscure Russian named Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov directed a seizure of power in the Russian capital of St Petersburg. Ulyanov was a professional revolutionary, better known as Lenin (because he had been exiled in Siberia, close to the Lena river), and was living in Switzerland in April 1917 when Germany took him back to his homeland to foment discord there.

For Germany was at war with Russia and the growing strain of that conflict had brought down the tottering Tsarist regime in the previous month. Since Lenin was known to oppose the war, his arrival in Russia was calculated to weaken the efforts of the new Provisional Government to revive that country's military effort. And so it did. With his call for an end to the war, Lenin's Bolshevik Party (Bolshevik meaning the majority wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party) grew rapidly from some 10,000 members in March 1917 to 400,000 by November.

Effective power passed during 1917 from the Provisional Government to local councils of workers, soldiers and peasants, known as soviets, which took over the running of factories, removed unpopular military officers and redistributed the landholdings of the nobility. With their

1 This is the text of the Geoffrey Bolton Lecture for 2017, which was delivered in Perth at the invitation of the State Records Office of Western Australia. I was asked to mark the centenary of the Russian Revolution and offer observations on the rise of populism 100 years later. In doing so, I drew extensively on my biography of Paddy Troy, cited below, and a more recent biographical essay, 'Geoffrey Bolton: A Lifetime of History', *A Historian for All Seasons: Essays for Geoffrey Bolton* ed. in Stuart Macintyre, Lenore Layman and Jenny Gregory, (Melbourne: Monash University Publishing, 2017), 1–39. In preparing the lecture for publication, I have restricted footnotes to the sources of quotations and specific references.

slogan of 'Bread, Peace and Land' and call for 'All Power to the Soviets', the Bolsheviks seized control of the bridges and railway stations in St Petersburg in early November (October in the old Julian calendar) and then bombarded the headquarters of the Provisional Government in the Winter Palace into submission. Through a national congress of soviets they proceeded to issue a series of decrees that included the declaration of peace, the transfer of land to the peasants, workers' control of industry, self-determination for the national minorities in the far-flung Tsarist empire, new marriage laws, adoption of the Gregorian calendar, reform of the alphabet and much else. By July 1918, when Bolsheviks renamed their party the Communist Party, they were able to proclaim:

abolition of exploitation of man by man, the complete elimination of the division of societies into classes, the ruthless suppression of the exploiters, the establishment of a socialist organisation of society, and the victory of socialism in all countries.²

Even before the Bolsheviks seized power, those who had most to lose resisted their loss of wealth and authority. By 1918 army generals, reinforced by Russia's allies (the British forces included a little over 100 Australian soldiers), were fighting to regain control. A counter-revolutionary war was waged over the next three years with extraordinary brutality. It cost the lives of more than 3 million combatants and civilians, with another 2 million dying of typhus, smallpox, dysentery and other diseases, plus another 6 million from starvation.³ In December 1917, the Bolsheviks created an Emergency Committee for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage, known from its Russian initials as Cheka. In the following year, as anti-Bolshevik forces closed in on the stronghold where the royal family was held, the Cheka killed the Tsar, the Tsarina and their children. The Romanovs were among 300,000 victims of the Cheka during the civil war.

Lenin was a man of unbending determination and self-discipline, personally modest but utterly convinced of his own judgement and intolerant of dissent. He conceived his revolutionary party as a vanguard force leading the proletariat to its historic mission of overthrowing capitalism, that term vanguard only one of the military metaphors he employed. The party's

2 SA Smith, *The Russian Revolution: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 40: doi.org/10.1093/acrade/9780192853950.003.0003.

3 Smith, *The Russian Revolution*, 47.

iron discipline was shaped by Russian circumstances that gave very little space for open political activity, a fateful characteristic that strengthened during the civil war. All opposition was stamped out.

Then, with Stalin's capture of the Communist Party after Lenin's death, there were the purges and the unleashing of a Terror that carried off anyone suspected of disloyalty. The forced collectivisation of agriculture and suppression of national minorities killed millions. Stalin replaced one-party rule with personal dictatorship and his cult of the all-powerful, all-knowing leader prefigured the way that communist regimes installed after the Second World War produced their own dictators. Kim Jong-un, the son and grandson of such dictators, personifies the appalling consequences.

The 100th anniversary of the Russian Revolution finds few celebrants. Communism was discredited by the revelations in 1956 by Stalin's successor Khrushchev of the crimes committed in its name. It fell abruptly in Eastern Europe at the end of the 1980s and then in Russia with almost no resistance, living on in China and a few other countries in name only. By the time of the Cold War it was common to see the Russian Revolution as a tragic wrong turn of history, and that remains the dominant reading. Why, then, did such a ruinous cause command the loyalty of so many people? Totalitarian rule can perhaps explain the 40 per cent of the world population who lived under communist regimes as late as 1985, but what of those who voluntarily joined and sustained communist parties elsewhere? Communism was a unique political force with an organisational structure that encompassed every country in the world, and it attracted millions of adherents in France, Italy and India.

The events in Russia at the end of 1917 set off a wave of revolutionary sentiment that swept across the globe. In its aftermath tobacco workers in Cuba formed their own soviets, while young radicals in Asia hailed the dawn of a new era. Here in Western Australia, John Curtin welcomed the Russian Revolution as vindication of his opposition to conscription. In editorials in the *Westralian Worker* he rejoiced in the downfall of tyranny, joined with the Bolsheviks in calling for the end of a senseless imperial conflict. 'One nation only has passed victorious through the ordeal', he would write, 'and has now risen renovated and rejuvenated, a star of promise for the world, a beaconlight for our future guidance'.⁴

4 John Curtin, 'Destruction and Construction: The Old Order and the New', *Westralian Worker*, 5 March 1920.

The fall of the Romanovs was followed by that of the Hapsburgs, the ruling family of Austro-Hungary, and then by the Ottoman Emperor in Turkey and the Kaiser in Germany. By the end of 1918 all prewar regimes from Vladivostok to the Rhine had gone, though Lenin's expectation that the Russian Revolution would bring world revolution was mistaken. Wherever communists attempted to seize power outside Russia they were put down in a cycle of revolution and counter-revolution.⁵ The savagery of this contest is difficult to exaggerate. As nation-states replaced empires, there was a chain reaction of civil wars that extended as far west as Ireland. The principle of national self-determination that President Wilson espoused at the Paris Peace Conference failed to accommodate ethnic and religious minorities within the new states, many of which were baptised in the blood of genocide. The new regimes were characterised by a vengeful, militarist and authoritarian nationalism that Mussolini turned into fascism, Hitler into Nazism and from which other dictators formed their own variants. The League of Nations proved impotent in the face of their aggression.

Apart from the waste and destruction of the unfinished war, the victors who determined the Treaty of Versailles failed to rebuild the international economy. The financial demands of the conflict left huge debts, and the peace settlement severed trading links. Inflation wiped out savings, and a financial imbalance plunged the world economy into a deep Depression at the end of the 1920s. In such circumstances communism attracted support, here as elsewhere.

Among those drawn to this demanding creed was a young Western Australian, Paddy Troy. Born in Port Melbourne in 1908, he had come to Fremantle during the war when his father brought a vessel across the Bight to assist in dredging a naval base. After leaving school Paddy worked in a series of casual temporary jobs—a greengrocer's delivery boy, a storeman's assistant, a shearers' rouseabout. He changed his occupation frequently, partly because that's what teenagers do, partly because he stood up for his rights and partly because of the seasonal and uncertain nature of the economy.

5 A recent general account is Robert Gerwarth, *The Vanquished: Why the First World War Failed To End* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2016).

His father earned good wages but had no security of employment; and since Paddy was the eldest boy of 10 children, he was expected to contribute to the household. He went to sea on a merchant vessel and later worked under his father's command dredging the port of Geraldton. A few days before Christmas 1929 that work was suspended and the crew was laid off. For the next three years the dredging was intermittent. The Troy family fell back on relief work; this was restricted to married men but, with his father's health failing, Paddy was given permission to earn the meagre allowance. He joined the Australian Workers Union, which covered relief workers, and became closely involved in the local labour movement. His talent as an organiser was quickly spotted and he was appointed campaign manager for the Geraldton district council of the Australian Labor Party (ALP). A parliamentary career beckoned.

But in 1934 he submitted his resignation to the ALP. 'My reason for resigning', he wrote, 'is because I have decided to link up with the Communist Party'.⁶ What brought a young man in an isolated regional town in an isolated state of a remote country to this decision? He had met up with some communists sent from Perth on relief work, one of them from a Jewish Russian family. He had read some communist literature, and was particularly attracted to the Soviet magazine, *USSR in Construction*, which extolled the achievements of the workers' state. Most of all, he was trying to understand the inability of the State Labor Government led by Philip Collier to withstand the misery and distress of mass unemployment. A purposeful, collective endeavour to build a new social order free of exploitation exerted an irresistible appeal.

'I am convinced that I am on the right track at last', he declared in his letter of resignation, and 'knowing that my path will be rough, I am fully prepared to accept whatever may be my lot'. That path *was* rough. When Paddy joined the Communist Party of Australia, there were no more than 100 Western Australian comrades who kept up a round of demanding but largely unrequited activity. Having married in 1935, he took work where he could find it: initially as a rigger on a small goldmine at Youanmi until he was blacklisted for leading a strike, and then on building sites around Perth.

6 Quoted in Stuart Macintyre, *Militant: The Life and Times of Paddy Troy* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1986), 38.

The outbreak of the Second World War intensified the rigours of his activism, for the Communist Party opposed the war until 1941 as another imperialist conflict. He was one of the victims of an unusually effective officer in the special branch of the Western Australian police force, Ron Richards, who planted both informants and evidence to obtain convictions for breaches of the wartime National Security Act. Paddy was an early victim, arrested in May 1940 for possession of a communist publication and sentenced to three months hard labour in the Fremantle prison.

Soon after release he found work on the waterfront. From his time on the dredges he was a member of the Coastal, Dock, Rivers and Harbour Works' Union (CDRHWU), which provided labour for a number of jobs: harbour maintenance, ship repair, tug hands, watchmen and the men who loaded and unloaded ships when demand exceeded the membership of the Lumpers' Union (as the Western Australian branch of the Waterside Workers Federation was then known). The members of the CDRHWU made up a residual workforce performing tasks not covered by the more powerful lumpers, seamen and craft unions. Most worked on a casual basis, engaged for a specific job and then laid off. If you were on your uppers and there was no other prospect, you would go down to the waterfront and sit outside the Fremantle Trades Hall on Marine Parade awaiting a call. To find employment you might have to give a kickback to the foreman, and the nearby Esplanade Hotel was commonly used for the transaction. A transient, dispirited membership made for a tame union, but the wartime shortage of labour allowed for improvement and Paddy was elected an organiser in 1944. He had the landlord of the Esplanade Hotel install benches on the veranda to rescue workless men from the indignity of sitting in the gutter. By 1948 he was the union secretary, re-elected annually for the next 25 years.

His was a form of union leadership that has disappeared. He did not wear one of those off-putting uniforms emblazoned with insignia. His pay was that of the members. Every morning he would attend the pick-up and then visit the worksites to ensure safe working conditions. While insisting that arbitration gave nothing to the workers they did not fight for, he appeared repeatedly before the State Arbitration Court to improve awards and pursue disputes. He secured attendance money for those who were not engaged, a roster system to end favouritism, penalty rates for those doing the dirtiest work, annual leave and eventually tenure of employment with a regular wage. He was the best-known union activist in the West, notorious for his militancy, respected for integrity and effectiveness.

As a communist, he lent his union's support to other unions and to those fighting for their rights: hence it gave assistance to the Aboriginal pastoral workers in the Pilbara and banned Dutch ships that were carrying supplies to put down the independence movement in Indonesia. On Saturday mornings you would find him selling the communist paper in High Street, on Sundays he was speaking on the Perth Esplanade. He served as president of the state branch of the Communist Party when it was a force and marched under the union banner on May Day as the numbers fell away. He stood for federal and state parliament as a communist candidate on 11 occasions, lucky if he saved the deposit.

His was a form of class politics based on his experience and membership of an occupational community. Pat and Mabel lived from the 1940s in a substandard rented house in East Street, Fremantle, with their five children and often relatives as well. After the owner evicted them to use the site for a service station, they moved in 1954 to a Housing Commission home in Palmyra. It was a clean, new, timber-framed asbestos box with three bedrooms and another on the front veranda occupied by one of the boys and a homeless retired waterside worker, but it gave them an indoor bathroom for the first time. Both Pat and Mabel had limited schooling; on birthdays the children were given books. They listened to the ABC news and parliamentary broadcasts; all the family was expected to contribute to discussion of current affairs at the dinner table. Two of the boys completed university degrees and one went to sea. The sisters trained as secretaries; one became an accountant, another became a federal electoral officer.

Here already we see the forces that were extending the horizons of working-class families: full employment, public housing, better health care, greater educational opportunity, a narrowing of the gap between rich and poor. The historian Eric Hobsbawm has suggested that governments of the advanced capitalist countries embarked on these improvements after the Second World War to meet the challenge of communism, which was at its height during the Cold War.⁷ I would see them more as a determination to solve the deep problems left by the First World War, problems that had led so quickly to a second. Whatever the explanation, the poverty and insecurity that had persuaded men and women such as Paddy Troy to throw in their lot with communism were in retreat, and so too was their cause.

7 Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914–1991* (London: Michael Joseph, 1994), Chapter 9.

He retired from the union in 1973, the very year in which a quarter-century of sustained growth and social improvement came to an end with the OPEC (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries) oil crisis. From then until the end of the 1980s Australia and other Western countries searched for a solution to unemployment, inflation, the collapse of industries that had once offered job security, financial volatility and fiscal difficulties that choked public provision. These problems might have been expected to revive working-class activism, even breathe life into communism. They didn't, for reasons to which I shall return, but first I want to say a little about the history I have related.

I became interested in the life of Paddy Troy when I was teaching at the new Murdoch University in 1979. He had died the previous year but I befriended his eldest son, Patrick, who showed me a collection of his father's books and papers. After moving to Melbourne in 1980, I returned here regularly to undertake biographical research. The records of the Labor Party were in the Battye Library, but it held few communist ones at that time (it has since acquired the extensive collection of Annette and Duncan Cameron).⁸ The records of Paddy's union were in its office in Fremantle, eloquent testimony to his concern to document its work. The minute books gave extensive accounts of meetings and campaigns, with leaflets and bulletins pasted in.

Since then a remarkable body of additional sources has become available. Newspapers are now digitised and online, so you no longer have to turn over the pages hoping the name you are after will catch your eye—you can use it as a search term and locate every single item. The State Records Office has taken advantage of the new technology to make its enormous volume of records on government agencies accessible. And the same holds for Commonwealth records, including those created by the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) and its predecessors. We now know in detail of the methods that Ron Richards used to obtain convictions during the war and his manipulation of evidence after it.⁹

8 Michal Bosworth, comp., *Well Read: A Bibliography of Communist Party & Other Sources Collected in Western Australia by Annette and Duncan Cameron, donated to the J. S. Battye Library* (Sydney: Search Foundation, 1997).

9 See especially the files for Western Australian communists in National Australian Archives (NAA), Series A6119.

One of the most shocking acts of the Bolsheviks after they seized power at the end of 1917 was to publish the wartime diplomatic correspondence of the Allies, which revealed that their protestations of clean hands were bogus: there in the official record was the division of territorial spoils on which they had secretly agreed. Archives are not just the raw material of history; they are a fundamental principle of accountable government. Granted, there is an interval before the official record is opened to the public; even so, the knowledge that the full documentary evidence will be retained and eventually available serves as a check on the abuse of power.

Now you could hardly call the Soviet Union or the present Russian Federation models of archival openness; for that matter ASIO is reluctant to release all its records to the National Archives, and withholds or redacts portions of the files that can be used. Paddy Troy's ASIO file is a case in point. It is replete with details of his trips to attend union as well as political meetings in the east (the travel agent routinely forwarded all bookings to security), and much else, but it withholds the identity of the informer who reported (very inaccurately) on the comrades who gathered with Paddy at a dinner to welcome the black American singer and communist, Paul Robeson, to Perth in 1960.¹⁰

Paddy's eldest son, Patrick Troy, experienced ASIO's inefficiency when he landed in England at the end of 1958 to begin an advanced course in engineering run by the Federation of British Industry. He was interrogated at length by two retired naval officers who said they had evidence provided by an Australian government agency of him inciting workers to strike on the Fremantle docks. That a 22-year-old would wield such influence was inherently implausible and Pat was able to persuade them ASIO had confused him with his father.¹¹

There is a story told of a book launch in Perth in 1972 at which a large audience assembled to celebrate the author's achievement. It went well apart from one discordant note when the stentorian voice of Paddy Troy was heard asking 'what about my union records?'¹² The story is possibly apocryphal since the minute books were all safely in the union office when I used them eight years later, but the author had interviewed Paddy (and just possibly borrowed his union's minute books) when writing a study of Western Australia during the Depression years.

10 Patrick Lawrence Troy, vols 1–3, NAA A6119, 1235–7.

11 Personal information; see also Patrick Nicol Troy, NAA A6119, 5897.

12 Information from members of the Maritime Union of Australia in 1983.

This historian was Geoffrey Bolton, his book *A Fine Country to Starve In*. Geoffrey's appreciation of archives went back to his time as an undergraduate when he embarked on a study of Alexander Forrest. He went on to archival research in England and Ireland, and subsequently in all the principal Australian repositories. His histories were not restricted to the documentary record, for he was an early practitioner of oral history, and a keen reader of newspapers and contemporary publications; he picked up information from myriad sources and stored it in his capacious memory. Geoffrey was the most versatile of a distinguished generation of Australian historians.

A quarter-century younger than Paddy Troy, his life and career illustrate the new possibilities that opened up in the second half of the last century. Born in 1931, he was the child of English immigrants who lived modestly in North Perth. By means of scholarships, he made his way from the local state school to Wesley College and the university. His talent secured a postgraduate award and then another that enabled him to undertake further training at Oxford. From there he proceeded to a research fellowship at The Australian National University, an academic post at Monash, and then chairs at the University of Western Australia, Murdoch, the University of Queensland and Edith Cowan. There were just seven universities teaching 30,000 undergraduates when he became one of them. There were 40 universities with an enrolment of half a million when he retired in 1996, marking the extraordinary growth of the professions.

Geoffrey was never attracted to communism. He tried to read Marx but was repelled by the hectoring style of argument. He wondered why intelligent students a few years ahead of him at university such as Dorothy Hewett could be so committed to such a doctrinaire faith. While editor of the student newspaper, *Pelican*, he supported Robert Menzies' 1950 legislation to outlaw the Communist Party but drew back during the subsequent constitutional referendum to allow that ban after he witnessed Young Liberals shouting down their opponents on the campus.¹³

He thought he inherited his aversion to the abuse of power from his parents. They came from that frugal and cautious section of the lower middle classes that Menzies invoked in his celebrated wartime broadcast

13 Geoffrey Bolton in *Pelican*, 5 May 1950, and letter to the editor, *West Australian*, 26 September 1951.

to ‘The Forgotten People’, acutely conscious that whether business or unions held the whip hand it was ‘the people in the middle’ who were likely to get hurt.¹⁴ One of the works he read in his first year at university made a lasting impression. The Marquess of Halifax, a politician during the Restoration period, upheld moderation and compromise against extremism and intolerance. The term trimmer was levelled against him to denote opportunism and expediency. In a celebrated essay, *The Character of a Trimmer* (1684), Halifax insisted that prudent statecraft required holding the centre and pursuing the middle way.

Geoffrey was also drawn to the middle way. He chose it as the title of his volume in *The Oxford History of Australia*, which runs from the Second World War up to closing years of the last century. It relates the fortunes of a country emerging from its wartime emergency, achieving economic growth and social progress, pragmatic and adaptive, but mistrustful of extremes. In relating the downfall of Gough Whitlam, whose hallmark was ‘Crash Through or Crash’, Geoffrey remarked that the children of the Depression and the postwar migrants both sought security and modest comfort and were accordingly ‘apprehensive of too much change’.¹⁵ Later generations are inclined to take for granted the transformation that occurred in the domestic lives of ordinary people during these years: hot water in the kitchen, a refrigerator, a washing machine, clean surfaces and fresh paint. But change was thrust upon Australia after 1975. The prolonged difficulties in restoring the country’s economic fortunes brought a new edginess and rancour to public life. The far-reaching alterations of national policy that followed in the 1980s swept away many fixtures of the middle way: the arbitration system and income security, the protection of local industries, the public enterprises and agencies that sustained rural communities.

The disappearance of these safeguards is commonly credited with economic reform that allowed the market to allocate resources more efficiently, lift productivity and lay the foundations for a further run of uninterrupted growth that lasted from the mid-1990s to the present. Geoffrey’s account of the changes in his Oxford history and reflection upon their effects in his 1992 Boyer lectures was less ebullient.

14 Geoffrey Bolton, interviewed by Neville Meaney, 11 September 1985, National Library of Australia (NLA), TRC 2053/6.

15 Geoffrey Bolton, *The Oxford History of Australia, Volume 5, 1942–1988* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990), 243.

He linked the deregulation of finance to reckless speculation and extravagance, the pursuit of personal advantage to a weakening of probity. He deplored the excesses of what he called a new Gilded Age, the growth of inequality, the crude adversarialism in public life and the exploitation of resentments and fears.

Both Paddy Troy and Geoffrey Bolton lived busy lives. Widely known and respected, they seldom declined requests to lend their expertise and influence to all sorts of projects and causes. The one was directive, confrontational and impatient. The other was conciliatory, preferring persuasion to argument. They moved in different circles, held different understandings of the world. But each applied his efforts to the common good.

Paddy Troy witnessed the modernisation of the Australian economy, and the way that improvement of wages, working conditions and welfare blunted the edge of working-class militancy. Geoffrey Bolton saw the triumph of globalisation and the new discontents it created. Those discontents have grown to threaten the neoliberal order that was constructed in the 1980s. Celebration of the apparent triumph of market democracy following the collapse of communism has given way to prognostications as anxious and gloomy as those of the 1930s.

Let me try to sketch the chain of events that brought on this disillusionment. First, the economic policies known as the Washington consensus—smaller government, fiscal discipline, trade liberalisation and financial deregulation—came to grief in 2007 as the result of excessive leverage of credit. The financial crisis spread rapidly to all market economies, the bank bailouts and forced sales of assets wreaking havoc. Partly because of the European Union's enforcement of austerity, there was mass unemployment in countries such as Greece, Spain and Italy. This in turn exacerbated antagonism to governments, politicians, the established parties and the conventional forms of liberal democracy. Italian voters who had turned to Silvio Berlusconi, the media tycoon and sexual predator, prefigured the election of similar leaders—in Europe, Turkey, the Philippines and now, it seems, the United States—whose principal appeal was that they defy the conventions and safeguards of representative government.

The painfully slow economic recovery has brought no relief. Business enterprises cut costs by offshoring operations and replacing permanent employees with part-time and casual workers. Inequalities of income and

wealth, which had been rising since the 1980s, have reached levels not seen since the early twentieth century. Except for the rich, a whole generation in the United States has experienced a decline in its standard of living. The International Monetary Fund now recognises that the lack of wage growth, and the precarious, insecure nature of employment, is stifling the consumer demand needed to restore business activity. But without unions able to drive up wages, there is little prospect of such stimulus.

Meanwhile the apparent triumph of the West proved illusory. With the fall of communism, the free market was assumed to be synonymous with political freedom, globalisation a force for integration. But China's economic transformation was accompanied by a tightening of one-party rule, heavy military expenditure and assertiveness, while Russia's autocratic ruler enforced the excision of part of the Ukraine. The United States entered the present century as the undisputed super-power, but President Bush's war on terror revealed the limits of that supremacy. It also created turmoil in the Middle East, fanning tribal, religious and ethnic conflict that sent waves of refugees fleeing the region in search of sanctuary. Intercommunal violence is not restricted to the Middle East: it began in the Balkans with the fall of communism and we may think of the prolonged civil wars in Sri Lanka and the Horn of Africa, both of which have brought refugees here. But the number coming to Australia is a tiny fraction of those entering Europe, and in countries as different as Poland and Hungary, the Netherlands and France, most recently Austria and the Czech Republic, they have fostered mass support for parties promising to defend the nation against intruders.

It is common to describe the practitioners of such politics as populists and to explain their appeal by reference to the discontents I have summarised so baldly. Populism is a widely used but poorly defined term. Literally it means support for the concerns of the people, but who are the people and who speaks for them? In pre-revolutionary Russia the populists were radical intellectuals, not unlike Lenin, who identified with the mass of the peasantry and helped bring down the Tsar. The populists in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century had a similar radical edge. In its modern form, populism is more usually associated with the right. It pits a homogenous and virtuous people against the educated, cosmopolitan elites who spurn and betray them. I note that the word elites is what is known in semiotics as a floating signifier: it has no agreed-upon meaning but functions as a richly expressive term of abuse. The same is true of the word populism, and I find it of limited utility in understanding the present

grievances. Populism certainly thrives on the feeling of being left behind, but it hardly offers a solution. Why would struggling Americans vote for a president who combines extraordinary wealth with poor employment practices and repeated recourse to Chapter 11 bankruptcy provisions?

Communism was a response to hunger, deprivation and economic crisis. It began as a movement of the European working class. It was taken up and had its greatest impact among the desperately poor peasants outside Europe living under imperial rule, for whom it served as a doctrine of emancipation and national independence. The descriptor populism, on the other hand, gathers up responses to a range of grievances that take different forms and draw on different bases of support. Some are grounded in austerity, inequality and insecurity, but they extend to hostility against ethnic minorities and identity politics. The political disengagement goes beyond hostility to politicians and finds expression in attacks on secularism, a free press and independent judiciary.

A final, provocative suggestion. Movements exploiting these grievances have had an undeniable effect on democratic polities. They have cut away the support base of established parties, rendering social democracy powerless in Europe and forcing the main conservative ones to accommodate their demands (as in the United States) or share the same fate. But not in Australia. Here we have had periodic insurgencies such as the ill-fated 'Joh for PM' in the 1980s, Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party in the late 1990s and again more recently. All of these revolts have been ephemeral; none has looked like disturbing the established political alignment. And the same holds for Canada and New Zealand.

What do these countries have in common? All have enjoyed economic success and escaped the erosion of living standards experienced elsewhere. All began as settler societies, long troubled by their appropriation of the land of their Indigenous peoples and practising racial exclusion to a greater or lesser degree before they embraced new settlers from a wide variety of cultural backgrounds. All are lands of opportunity, by no means free of prejudice and animosity, but able to accommodate difference. It may well be that Geoffrey Bolton's middle way is not yet spent.

REVIEWS

Deep Time Dreaming: Uncovering Ancient Australia by Billy Griffiths

(Carlton: Black Inc., 2018), 384 pp

Anthony Merlino

The Australian National University

Adelaide, 1980. Reverberations of electrified reggae rock shake the concrete pillars supporting the Port Adelaide Town Hall. The iconoclastic Aboriginal Australian band—No Fixed Address—are performing their powerful, politically charged anthem *We Have Survived*, bringing Aboriginal political issues, literally, to the centre stage. Inspired by the black-celebration messages of Bob Marley's 1979 Australian tour, No Fixed Address offered one of the first *overt* politicisations of Aboriginal rock music. By performing a song that unreservedly dealt with Aboriginal dispossession and survival, No Fixed Address were protesting the deeply held belief that European colonisation had destroyed thousands of years of Indigenous knowledge and culture:

You can't change the rhythm of my soul,
you can't tell me just what to do.
You can't break my bones by putting me down,
or taking the things that belong to me.

We have survived the white man's world
and the horror and the torment of it all.
We have survived the white man's world
and you know you can't change that.

It was an anthem about cultural survival and continuity—No Fixed Address were celebrating an ancient, lived tradition.

As understanding began circulating throughout the Town Hall that night, sharp whistling noises resounded through the room. Police stormed the stage, batons raised. The message triumphed by No Fixed Address was

discomforting and polarising, and on that night at least, it was too radical an idea that Indigenous Australia had survived violent dispossession. So the police went about shutting the performance down.

The violent disruption by the South Australian Police at No Fixed Address' gig in 1980 was a small but symbolic demonstration of two very different narratives about Australia's past. The underlying tensions that surfaced during the gig revealed that Australia remained a nation grappling with competing understandings of its own past. The stark contrast between these perspectives of Australian history highlighted some of the many complex questions—regarding belonging and collective identity—that emerge in settler societies forged through Indigenous dispossession.

In his captivating book, *Deep Time Dreaming*, Billy Griffiths directly explores such questions. By examining the history of Australian archaeology, he considers what it means to exist on, and belong to, a land with an ancient history.

Griffiths reflects on how Australians have come to relate to their precolonial past by exploring a number of archaeological discoveries that have excavated something of Australia's deep history. His journey includes travelling from the remarkable unearthing of Mungo Man and Mungo Lady to the discoveries at Madjedbebe, which pushed back the date of Aboriginal presence in Australia to approximately 60,000 years before colonisation. Beyond this, Griffiths describes how some of the most eminent archaeologists, historians, ethnographers and anthropologists in recent memory helped uncover the ancient history of these sites. Throughout the journey, he confronts many of the enduring questions that have continued to challenge historians of Aboriginal history. In what ways has the nature of archaeological practice changed over time? How can we write a history of place? How did the intimate yet tumultuous connection between archaeology and environmentalism develop? Can linear and non-linear understandings of time be reconciled?

One especially illuminating theme in Griffiths' book relates to the relationship—or lack thereof—between archaeology and Aboriginal activism. In particular, *Deep Time Dreaming* focuses on the tension between the roles and responsibilities of these two professions, devoting considerable attention to the more noble contributions archaeology has made to Aboriginal activism. Griffiths shows how the discipline has helped complicate and expand existing historical narratives of Aboriginal

societies. As he makes clear, it is common parlance to refer to Indigenous Australia as the 'oldest continuing culture on earth'—a view that has sometimes been misunderstood to suggest that Aboriginal societies are antiquated, homogenous and unchanging; that they exist merely as ossified chapters in human history.

Yet *Deep Time Dreaming* shows how archaeological discoveries have helped recast this orthodox view. They have gradually contributed to developing a deeper appreciation of Aboriginal societies as dynamic, lived and resilient rather than unchanging and static. Over time, many Australians have acknowledged that Aboriginal peoples were not merely nomadic tribes of hunters and gatherers. Archaeological research has shown they strategically harnessed fire, practised agriculture, purposefully adapted to unprecedented flooding, endured the extreme aridity of the Australian desert, acclimatised to the ever-changing landscape and have continued to survive the ongoing process of colonialism. And still, all such discoveries have regional and local dimensions of their own. It was common among Aboriginal communities for internal social change to alter economic politics and agricultural practices, but each individual society also adjusted their internal affairs in response to particular social, climatic, environmental and ecological circumstances. They transformed in unique ways.

Venturing further, Griffiths illustrates how these archaeological discoveries helped facilitate new forms of Aboriginal activism. In the first half of the twentieth century, activists usually couched their claims about Aboriginal rights in terms of civil equality. They emphasised that Aboriginal peoples and white Australians had equal status under the British Crown. However, in the latter half of the century, Aboriginal people began emphasising that their special connection to the land entitled them to distinct land rights. Aboriginality held *unique status*. Griffiths identifies how the expansion of archaeological knowledge empowered this reassertion of Aboriginal identity. One of the most profound examples is the unearthing of Mungo Man and Mungo Lady. This discovery, Griffiths highlights, allowed Aboriginal Australians to communicate their unique historical connection to the land in terms accessible to non-Indigenous Australians. Archaeology became an instrument of Aboriginal activism.

Griffiths is also conscious of how archaeology has clashed with Aboriginal activism. In fact, devotion to certain kinds of academic inquiry has actually harmed Aboriginal peoples. This tension is encapsulated in the

fraught relationship between Richard Gould and the Ngaanyatjarra people. In Gould's popular account of his field trip at Pututjarpa—*Yiwarra: Foragers of the Australian Desert*—he did not recognise the sacredness of local knowledge and customs, which resulted in an Aboriginal schoolgirl viewing material restricted for initiated men. This caused profound turmoil within Ngaanyatjarra communities. Such examples allow Griffiths to capture how imprudent archaeological inquiry has sometimes generated significant anxiety and animosity between researchers and Aboriginal peoples, exacerbating existing distrust between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Even as archaeological research has facilitated new and more complex understandings of Aboriginal history, it has also inflicted deep and irreversible pain.

Optimistically, Griffiths praises the increasingly collaborative relationship between archaeologists and Aboriginal peoples. It is now common for Indigenous Australians to be granted ultimate control over all projects occurring on their land. He celebrates, as well, the increasing number of Aboriginal archaeologists, although much work remains to be done to ensure that such numbers continue to grow.

It also seems that one particular tension between activism and archaeology remains relatively unexplored: is the current practice of archaeology compatible with more radical, burgeoning strands of Aboriginal activism?

One notable response to this question comes from the anti-colonial metal band Dispossessed. In March 2018, Dispossessed endorsed the view that non-Indigenous people 'do not get to be experts' in Indigenous history. Since academic institutions have been largely responsible for shaping 'the popular narrative of cultures around the world', any expertise must come from Indigenous peoples *alone*. Mere partnership does not go far enough in disrupting profoundly unequal power relations. The only role for non-Indigenous Australians is to *listen*. Griffiths gestures towards these kinds of views when discussing whether it is possible for one group to rightfully lay claim to sole ownership of the past. But perhaps such tensions deserve greater consideration than *Deep Time Dreaming* provides. Indeed, the views of Dispossessed are a response to a long legacy of abuse and exploitation where science has deceived and stolen from Aboriginal peoples in the 'pursuit of knowledge'. The damage done, particularly by a number of 1930s anthropologists and 1960s archaeologists, will take many lifetimes to overcome—if ever.

Of course, the views of Dispossessed are not representative of the entire spectrum of Aboriginal activism. One Aboriginal voice, Marcia Langton, refuted the belief that 'Aboriginal people will make "better" representations of [Aboriginal people], simply because being Aboriginal gives "greater" understanding'.¹ Importantly, though, Dispossessed's endorsement suggests that such debates are part of a larger public discussion that is finding expression outside of the academy.

And yet, the great strength of *Deep Time Dreaming* is that the book itself is a potent form of public activism. By expressing the complexity of Aboriginal societies in delicate and vivid prose, Griffiths powerfully demonstrates how archaeology has helped contribute to understanding the history of Ancient Australia. He advances the project of extending the rich history of Aboriginal Australia into the public domain.

Just as No Fixed Address once shook the pillars of Port Adelaide Town Hall, Griffiths has produced a historical portrait with the potential to destabilise existing understandings of the national past. Readers who immerse themselves in *Deep Time Dreaming* feel as though they are traversing an ancient land, being plunged into the abyss of deep time, perhaps beginning to truly comprehend the profound complexity of Ancient Australia. The immense beauty of Aboriginal history comes within the reach of all.

1 Marcia Langton, 'Well, I Heard it on the Radio and I Saw it on the Television': *An Essay for the Australian Film Commission on the Politics and Aesthetics of Filmmaking by and about Aboriginal People and Things* (Sydney: Australian Film Commission, 1993), 27.

Hugh Stretton: Selected Writings edited by Graeme Davison

(Carlton: La Trobe University Press & Black Inc., 2018), 304 pp

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Few intellectuals are recognised as having the effect that Hugh Stretton (1924–2015) exuded in the social sciences and humanities. Indeed, when one assesses his influence on generations of academics, intellectuals and practitioners in the fields of history, urban and town planning, politics, sociology, economics, political economy and the philosophy of social science, Stretton is in a league of his own. In this fine selection of Stretton's writings, Graeme Davison, an urban and social historian, has emphasised, naturally enough, some of Stretton's ideas on urban and housing policy. What is particularly impressive about the selection is the connection with Stretton's more general political outlook, which was, if we are confined to one word, egalitarian. There is something here for everyone: works on social democracy, ownership and distributive justice, the questions of equality, and much more.

Stretton's first academic love was history, which he commenced at Melbourne in 1942. After having his degree interrupted by his Second World War military service, on which he insisted on undertaking, and to which he declined a commission, he completed his study of history at Oxford on a Victorian Rhodes Scholarship. His entry point to social science (sociology, politics and economics) was at Princeton in 1948 while he was waiting to take up his new fellowship at Balliol. The stint at Princeton—the experience of positivist, purportedly value-free, approaches to social science—had a big effect on Stretton ('the most serious educational year of my life, probably'¹) and laid the fundamental ideas for his philosophy

1 Hugh Stretton, interview by Rob Linn, 14 November 2006, interview no. OH760/4, transcript, JD Somerville Oral History Collection, State Library of South Australia, Adelaide, South Australia.

of social science. He would work through his ideas about the study of the social sciences and the humanities for the next 20 years until he was ready to publish them in *The Political Sciences* (xiii–xv).

His approach was to make explicit one's political and social values, especially in teaching. For Stretton, this was not just about honesty, though it was certainly about that; it was just as much about better social inquiry—and the same principle extended to policy advocates: 'Since planners can't in fact be neutral, they might as well work for whatever they believe to be right and good' (77). Academics, in addition, should restore the great questions of social purpose and justice to their proper share of the curriculum—which he thought to be about half (194).

Stretton's teaching and writing was clear, direct and authoritative. As if taking a leaf from Einstein, he practised the adage that 'everything should be as simple as it can be, but not simpler'. He made writing and his subject look easy, which is the mark not only of an excellent writer but someone so steeped in their own subject they know how to distil the essence of their message. If one cannot explain their conceptual stance simply they do not know it well enough. Stretton had a gift for communicating directly with the reader (cf. xxiii–xxiv). Those who knew him would say that you could sometimes hear him speaking when reading his work.

Stretton tended not to refer to himself as a socialist, yet there is a good case to be made that his was the most practical kind of socialism. His erudition, and his reluctance to dismiss any plausible and non-doctrinaire point of view, would more often than not give rise to a breakthrough in a debate (273–289). His entry into the debate between welfare universalists and selectivists, for instance, recast the terms of the argument (for this reviewer anyway) so that it was possible to draw on the best aspects of both. There is nothing more universal, or at the same time progressively selective, than a full-employment society in which household capital is as equal as possible and where the redistributive effect of mixed suburbs and sophisticated urban design is predominant. When you have achieved that, there is not quite as much at stake in a choice between the two conventional positions defended by welfare advocates. For those not familiar with Stretton's work, this might sound like a mild-mannered or soft social democratic stance. Certainly the manners were mild, but the stance was as committed to the socialism of a Tawney, a Titmuss, an Attlee, Bevan or Chifley as you could hope for. Stretton would sometimes say: 'the more radical your aims, the more helpful it is to keep your appearance conservative'.

In 1976 he was ahead of his time in his thinking about the significance of the domestic economy and unpaid work. In many ways, policy—and the conceptual framework from which policymakers work, for that matter—has not caught up: we obsess about the need for high economic growth, but mature economies with large domestic sectors will be *low* growth (113–136). In 1978, well before the personal computer and the internet, he was again ahead of his time when he analysed the industrial and social implications of technology (156–170). A gradually reduced working week could and should be brought about, and, for a time, it was. But from the late 1980s, just a decade after Stretton outlined his argument for sharing the gains of technological development, Australia began to throw away the means of distributing those benefits, by diminishing the historic role of the industrial tribunal.

Stretton's commitment to the study of history was clearly reflected in his teaching of it; he would sometimes claim he had not written any history (211). But one method he sometimes employed, especially when he wanted to focus politically the mind of his audience, was to tell 'history' from a future vantage point. An example of this, titled 'Some Australian Options', fictionally written in 2006, appears at the end of Stretton's 1987 *Political Essays*. The piece is not among those selected for Davison's book, but the various themes enunciated in the collection make the reference to it here worthwhile. Reading those three 'histories'—a Right, a muddle-down-the-middle, and a Left path—is instructive. Particularly sobering, then and even more so now, is Stretton's right-wing history, which he thought would not have much chance of coming about, and, if it were to eventuate, would trigger a colossal backlash.

The accuracy of Stretton's predictions, made more than 30 years ago, is eerie. There are too many neoliberal changes to list (and many of them do not need listing); but one worth singling out is Stretton's prediction that the ABC would be privatised, called for in June 2018 by the Liberal Party Federal Council. More interesting still are examples of where a development has turned out even worse than the prediction, such as the various means of suppressing industrial rights, or the spin-off effects of neoliberalism, such as the culture wars, and the cruelty to refugees and asylum seekers. So the real history is, if anything, uglier than Stretton's 'nightmare'. We can only hope, then, he was somewhere near the mark about the counter-movement.

Radio and the Politics of Sound in Interwar France, 1921–1939

by Rebecca P Scales

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 300 pp

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We easily forget the central role that radio played in peoples' lives during the early to mid-twentieth century. Radio was the primary mode of entertainment and information for many across the globe, and it played a central role in key social and political events of the era. In *Radio and the Politics of Sound in Interwar France, 1921–1939*, the twenty-second book in the Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories series, Rebecca P Scales examines the impact of radio on French society in the interwar period (1918–39) and the debates over its emergence as a key feature of everyday life and political culture in the late Third Republic. She argues that French commentators began to conceive of the airwaves as a 'radio nation' during this period, a term that positioned radio listening as an important part of citizenship practice.

Historians of radio, including Bridget Griffen-Foley and Lesley Johnson, have shown that the medium was initially greeted as a scientific wonder that would help to integrate the disenfranchised into the public sphere. In her book, Scales contributes to this existing scholarship by arguing that the development of the French 'radio nation' began with advocacy for radio's role in reintegrating disabled ex-soldiers into French civil society. Radio supported the national recovery by providing a way for disabled veterans to reclaim their role and responsibilities as active citizens. The 'radio nation' therefore became an alternative public sphere that enabled a greater number of citizens to participate in French politics and society.

French broadcasting is an interesting case study in European radio as it was not used as an authoritarian weapon in the same way it was in Germany and Italy—nor as a tool for public intellectualism as in Britain.

Rather, France's radio industry developed in a less organised way that made it a dual system of both commercial and public broadcasting, as found in Australia. This dual system exacerbated tensions between those who felt that radio could act as a nation-building technology and those who believed in its potential to promote internationalism. With a turn of the dial, French listeners could hear broadcasts from across Europe and judge whether France's broadcast outputs met the standard of a modern radio nation. While many listeners embraced the opportunity to hear broadcasts from other countries, and even in other languages, some commentators became concerned at the intrusion of foreign voices onto the airwaves and lobbied for an increase in French content.

Scales challenges the commonly accepted argument among historians that the radio was primarily a domestic medium that facilitated a new way for the public to enter the private sphere. Instead, she demonstrates that public ways of listening to the radio continued well into the 1930s, a trend that had important implications for how radio was understood in interwar France. Broadcast sound was especially embedded in a broader discourse of noise in modern cities, where it was often seen as a noisy intrusion into the public and private spaces of Paris. Radio was part of the soundscape of the modern city, not just the modern home.

One of the main strengths of *Radio and the Politics of Sound in Interwar France, 1921–1939* is the way that Scales examines how radio was deeply embedded in both the practices of, and resistance to, French colonialism. She argues that, in Algeria, French broadcasting became a 'centerpiece of colonial modernity, as imperial lobbyists and colonial bureaucrats experimented with radio as a novel form of distance communication, a source of entertainment, and a weapon of propaganda' (Chapter 5). French colonists created Radio-Algiers, the French Empire's first public broadcasting station, to promote French culture and 'civilisation' among the Algerian population. But Algerians resisted this colonialism of the airwaves, and instead made use of the station to challenge colonial society and demand a greater role in their own governance. Scales argues that this 'war of the airwaves' made broadcasting a key part of the struggle against colonial hegemony in French Algeria.

Scales does not focus on analysing the content of radio programs, noting that there is a scarcity of reliable source material and a more pressing need to examine the discursive constructions of the meanings of radio listening. While she is correct in arguing that debates over the meaning

of radio certainly shaped how it was understood by producers and listeners, research in other countries, including Kristin Skoog's work on the BBC and my own work on Australia, has shown that focusing on such debates without a corresponding examination of the actual programming can lead to a distorted picture of radio content and listeners' attitudes. Moreover, this approach disproportionately privileges the voices of those with the power to have their opinions widely circulated in print. Nevertheless, Scales has produced an impressive study that claims radio's rightful place as a key feature of the political experience of ordinary French citizens in the interwar years. *Radio and the Politics of Sound in Interwar France, 1921–1939* is an important contribution to international radio history that reveals how the medium shaped French identity, politics and Empire in the interwar years.

Incorrigible Optimist: A Political Memoir by Gareth Evans

(Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2017), 277 pp

Chris Wallace

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When I search Gareth Evans on the non-tracking, non-customising web browser DuckDuckGo, the first three results are for a minor Welsh film director, born in 1980, ‘best known for bringing the Indonesian martial art *pencak silat* into world cinema’. The fourth result is for Australia’s Gareth Evans, born in 1944, ‘international policymaker and former politician’,¹ whose connections with matters Indonesian are rather more substantive.

Upon succeeding Bill Hayden as the Hawke Government’s foreign minister in 1988, Evans found Australia’s relations with Indonesia in something of a trough as a result of Australian media reports of suspect financial dealings by the family of Indonesia’s then president Suharto. As is often the case in diplomacy, personal amity opened a path to potentially improved relations. Evans ‘clicked’ with urbane Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas. In *Incorrigible Optimist: A Political Memoir*, Evans quotes Alatas’ version of their initial ministerial meeting:

The first thing (Gareth) said to me was ‘Why don’t we stop making a fuss about the relationship [...] We should just get on with it.’ I said ‘I’m game. You do it on your side and I’ll do it on mine.’ (145)

Foreign relations are always inflected with tensions, contradictions and complexities, as the history of Australia’s relations with Indonesia so acutely shows—a vast, vital and controversial topic in and of itself. Evans’ account of the successes, problems and controversies of this relationship is a personal as well as a political history of one ordinary Australian’s lifelong drive to make the world a better place.

1 ‘Gareth Evans (politician)’, *Wikipedia*, last modified 23 October 2018, accessed at [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gareth_Evans_\(politician\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gareth_Evans_(politician)).

It is poignant to hold in one's hands an object of increasingly artefact status, a book that contains the story of a type of person now almost unrecognisable in the political landscape: an intelligent, capable, educated and energetic citizen with a sustained commitment to doing good through public life. That the algorithms of the contemporary world rank a minor Welsh film director with Indonesian martial arts connections ahead of a serious contributor to Australia, the Asia Pacific and the wider world for over half a century underlines what we are collectively up against in the twenty-first century.

Incorrigible Optimist concerns Evans' efforts, 'sometimes partially successful but more often frustrated', to 'nudge' Australia and the world 'in better policy directions' (i), and to explain the motivation for doing so through politics. 'What is it in our genes or mental wiring, or experience', Evans asks, 'that makes us expose ourselves to the inevitable stresses, and almost certain pain, of public life? And why do at least some of us go on doing it when so often our hopes and expectations are disappointed?' (i). These are important questions, especially when the need for good and capable people to go into, and stay in, politics, despite the onslaught from internal and external competitors and media critics, is so pressing.

The simple answer is that Evans is an optimist and optimism is self-reinforcing. He contrasts this with the self-defeating nature of pessimism while also noting that optimism is not self-fulfilling, by which he means self-executing. Optimism is not enough: action is required too, as is a practical formula for dealing with the 'depressing and difficult'. Evans deployed TINA ('there is no alternative') tactics: 'there is no alternative but to try actively to remedy them in every way one realistically can' (350). A mantra from student protest and labour circles was his lifelong mainstay. 'On the eve of his 1915 execution in Utah, on a probably trumped-up murder charge', he writes, 'the union agitator and songwriter Joe Hill wrote to his colleagues: "Don't waste time mourning, organize!"' (350).

This is a marvellous—a heroic—instinct. Combined with irrepressible energy, wit, self-deprecating humour and consistent social democratic values, it conferred tremendous likeability and ability to get things done, though behind the scenes staff had to push back on his tendency to browbeat under pressure.

Incorrigible Optimist is a rigorous and vigorous account of what Evans tried to do, and how and why he tried to do it, across a career that stretched from legal academic, cabinet minister to eventually, as Cambridge academic Christopher Hill puts it, 'a kind of stateless foreign minister' in his post-politics life as head of the International Crisis Group.²

It is a remarkable set of achievements, crowned by the diplomacy of the Cambodian peace agreement, for which Evans was nominated for the Nobel Prize, and the conclusion of the UN Chemical Weapons Convention after years of deadlock. As international relations theorist John Ikenberry puts it, Evans was a 'charismatic and indefatigable presence', 'rallying the forces of internationalism to work toward genocide prevention, conflict resolution, social justice, and nuclear disarmament'.³ One could add up the foreign policy achievements of all of Evans' successors—Alexander Downer, Stephen Smith, Kevin Rudd, Bob Carr, Julie Bishop and Marise Payne—and the comparison with Evans' achievements in the portfolio is modest indeed.⁴

Crucially, this was a career enabled by, and embedded in, a specific historical moment which has all but passed: one of effective cabinet government, operating on traditional Westminster principles of accountability, underpinned by a properly functioning bureaucracy—and in which strategic policy positions were developed steadily over time rather than dodged up overnight for short-term political gain. Evans also possessed historical consciousness of the Labor strand within the Australian foreign policy tradition, long and short run. He looked back to the internationalism of two flawed, but brilliant Labor figures, HV Evatt and Gough Whitlam, as well as to Bill Hayden's more immediate legacy shifting Australia from a prone to independent position within the US alliance and patient work on intractable Southeast Asian tensions, which provided nascent footings for the Cambodia peace initiative. Evans' story is from another world, one that contemporary political operators would little recognise and likely care less about. This is tragic. It makes *Incorrigible Optimist* a time capsule for those who at some future point

2 Christopher Hill, 'Incorrigible Optimist: A Political Memoir', *International Affairs* 94, no. 1 (2018), 221–23; doi.org/10.1093/ia/iix264.

3 John G Ikenberry, 'Incorrigible Optimist: A Political Memoir', *Foreign Affairs*, 4 October 2018, accessed at www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/capsule-review/2017-12-12/incorrigible-optimist-political-memoir.

4 At the time of writing Marise Payne was Australia's newly installed Minister for Foreign Affairs.

might become interested in how things (imperfectly) used to work in a system that on average yielded much better results than the empty husk of the same system in place does today.

Evans was human and there were missteps. He accounts for some and not others. Compared to the more comprehensive expectations of autobiography, memoir gives the author greater latitude to pick and choose their material, and Evans has chosen his mode wisely. Against the backdrop of unrelenting optimism, awareness of the memoir's gaps heightens awareness of, and empathy for, Evans' bruised and bruising heart; less so for its political consequences.

An important implication of this book is just how brilliant and worthy a career is to be had as a senior cabinet minister in a high-performing government, rather than necessarily as prime minister. Evans arguably lacked that indefinable something—or was it perhaps deficient *pencak silat* skills—to make it all the way to The Lodge, but his career and contribution was no less glorious or, according to his own account, less enjoyable for it. As a primer for a long, constructive, substantial political life, *Incorrigible Optimist* is an inspiring read. As Joe Hill once said, 'Don't waste time mourning. Organize!'

Dunera Lives: A Visual History by Ken Inglis, Seumas Spark and Jay Winter, with Carol Bunyan

(Melbourne: Monash University Press, 2018), 576 pp

Ebony Nilsson
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The ‘*Dunera Boys*’ will be familiar to some Australian readers, particularly those who recall the 1985 television series of the same name. In July 1940, over 2,000 men of German and Austrian background living in Britain were deported to Australia as ‘enemy aliens’ on the HMT *Dunera*. It is these exiles, and their similarly interned counterparts who had arrived from Singapore on the *Queen Mary*, whose lives are the focus of this book. The cover art for *Dunera Lives* immediately establishes the story as one of captivity—the individuals of Emil Wittenberg’s painting from the Tatura internment camp are huddled, coat collars upturned, their dark eyes peering through the strings of barbed wire which dominate the image. But as its title suggests, the book goes beyond these migrants’ experiences of boats and camps, aiming to trace their life stories and highlight the way people adapted to lives turned upside down.

Dunera Lives is naturally transnational in scope, and highlights the multitude of individual choices that could be made amid Nazi persecution, Allied deportation and internment. It is no surprise, then, that this is to be the first of two volumes by the authors chronicling the lives of the *Dunera* and *Queen Mary* passengers.

This first volume is divided chronologically into eight sections. The first three sections contextualise these migrants’ journeys to Britain and Singapore, and the reasons for their secondary deportation. But, as the authors state, ‘there is no one *Dunera* or *Queen Mary* story’ (xxv). These sections weave together experiences of *Kristallnacht* and the *Kindertransports*, showcasing intensely personal moments recalled by internees’ families. Through family photographs, migrants’ artistic representations of their European

homelands, and a few scattered documents, it becomes clear that the *Dunera* and *Queen Mary* passengers each arrived in Australia with their own diverse backgrounds, baggage and experiences of persecution. About 80 per cent of these internees were Jewish, but the authors stress that this should not be viewed merely as a Jewish story, and indeed, this collection showcases a wide variety of family backgrounds and attachments to Jewish spirituality, culture and identity.

The fourth section details a topic more frequently covered in previous explorations of the *Dunera* experience—their time at sea. Here, the authors assemble paintings, drawings, cartoons and documents that convey the horrors of the internees' treatment onboard, but sometimes more strikingly, the sardonic humour they employed to survive the journey. One internee's drawing of 'Hitler swimming, bitten by a crab' with the *Dunera* steaming past in the background, the salacious underwater reality of which was not revealed until the image was placed against a light, was a particularly memorable piece. The internees' resourcefulness is also made more palpable by the authors' choices—images of the original camp constitution, written on precious sheets of stolen toilet paper, alongside its later, typewritten translation are worthy inclusions.

Representations of internment comprise the fifth and longest section. The authors divide this into subsections which move through each camp as many of the internees did, progressing through thematic topics that appear to reflect the emotional journey of internment—from waiting to bitterness, adaptation, longing, filling time, and others. Here we see the diverse artworks produced within the camps—sketches, paintings, designs for camp concert programs, camp currency, poetry, pin-ups and portraits. As the authors note, only official photographers were permitted to photograph internees, but in their own ways, the internees captured their experiences of camp life. Thus, this section is framed by the internees' many gazes, and guided by the captioned interpolations of the authors. Though the art forms are diverse, the authors point out that the collection is culturally cohesive, preserving a tiny pocket of the *Bildungsbürgertum*, the educated German and Austrian middle classes, in the most unlikely of places—the Australian bush.

The two penultimate sections of the book trace the post-internment lives of many former *Dunera* and *Queen Mary* passengers, documenting their wartime and postwar trajectories, experiences and achievements—from contributions to high culture and academia, to their lives as husbands, wives and new parents. Here, among the family photos and artworks,

are carefully selected documents that add texture to these stories—like the court martial records of a former internee who joined the Australian Army's 8th Employment Company during the war, and stood accused of 'insubordination' (some found the strictures of army life rather difficult after forcible internment). The connections maintained between the former internees are particularly striking—longstanding friendships, marriages and business relationships which lasted well beyond the war. The authors also take care to document the diverse paths of migrants who chose not to settle in Australia, some who returned to Germany or Britain, others who refused, and those who were reunited with family or made new beginnings for themselves in the Americas.

The final section examines memory and commemoration, which has kept former *Dunera* boys and their families connected to each other, and to the broader public, particularly at the site of their internment in Hay. The authors also explore myth-making through their inclusion of remembered 'stories' (perhaps based on real events) which circulated among the former internees after their release.

The internment camps of Hay, Orange and Tatura were a transitory space and represent a narrow temporal window, but through them, Inglis, Spark and Winter tell an interesting story about the upheaval caused by the Second World War, and the new trajectories upon which many were subsequently propelled. Although the *Dunera* (and other) lives examined in this book constitute a relatively small group, their stories are significant in teasing out the implications of forced migration during the Second World War, and of the awareness of human rights. When interviewed by *The Guardian* recently, Robert Manne stated that the next Australian book he intended to read was *Dunera Lives*, expressing his interest in whether the authors could 'convey a sad and curious rather than tragic second world war detention story'.¹ To my mind, they have.

We now eagerly await Volume 2, and though, of course, sadly Ken Inglis will not see its final publication, I feel confident that his contribution will be evident, and that Spark, Winter and Bill Gammage will continue his legacy, balancing the historian's critical rigour with the grace of the storyteller.

1 Robert Manne, cited in 'Bookmark This: Tim Winton, Geoffrey Robertson and Cynthia Banham on What They're Reading in March', *Guardian*, 24 March 2018, accessed at www.theguardian.com/books/2018/mar/24/tim-winton-geoffrey-robertson-and-cynthia-banham-on-what-theyre-reading-in-march.

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**This issue includes an updated index of the ANU Historical Journal, 1964–72.*

It has seemed, in the beginning, a bold venture for a group of undergraduates—even in Melbourne, where the History school was large and long-established and there were scores of Honours students to whom an editorial board could look as potential contributors, producers and distributors. At the A.N.U. a similar venture could have seemed positively foolhardy.

Ken Inglis, 1968

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Published by ANU Press
The Australian National University
Acton ACT 2601, Australia
Email: anupress@anu.edu.au

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The *ANU Historical Journal II* (*ANUHJ II*) is a peer-reviewed academic history journal of The Australian National University, edited by undergraduate and postgraduate history students. It is a revival of the *ANU Historical Journal* (1964–87) and maintains a special interest in publishing the research of students and recent graduates. The editors welcome submissions from students and academics across Australia.

The *ANUHJ II* is open access and published annually. It is freely available online with ANU Press (press.anu.edu.au) or at the *ANUHJ II*'s website (www.anuhj.com.au). Print copies are also available to purchase. All correspondence and books for review should be addressed to:

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The first revived issue of the *ANUHJ II* is edited by Emily Gallagher, Jessica Urwin and Madalyn Grant. It is jointly sponsored by the College of Arts and Social Sciences and the College of Asia and the Pacific.

Cover design and layout by ANU Press

This edition © 2019 ANU Press

ISSN 2652-015X (print)
ISSN 2652-0281 (online)

