Making Public Histories: Australian History Beyond the University

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Nikita Vanderbyl; Kat Ellinghaus; and Clare O'Hanlon

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Acknowledgments

About the Authors

Nikita Vanderbyl[1] is a writer, researcher, and teacher of history to undergraduate students. She is most interested in the transnational art histories of Aboriginal cultural objects and artworks from the nineteenth century and their relevance to communities today.

Kat Ellinghaus is an Associate Professor of History in the School of Archaeology and History at La Trobe University, where she teaches Australian history. She is of Irish and German descent and is the author of Taking Assimilation to Heart: Marriages of White Women and Indigenous Men in the United States and Australia, 1887-1937 (University of Nebraska Press, 2006) and Blood Will Tell: Native Americans and Assimilation Policy (University of Nebraska Press, 2017). In 2014 she was awarded an Australian Research Council Discovery Project grant to write a history of Aboriginal exemption policies in Australia, a project which continues in collaboration with Judi Wickes, Kella Robinson, Lucinda Aberdeen and Jennifer Jones. In 2019 Kat was lead Chief Investigator on a successful Australian Research Council Discovery project grant which funded a large team to research a project entitled 'Indigenous mobilities to and through Australia: agency and sovereignties'. In 2020, together with Barry Judd and Richard Broome, she was awarded an Australian Research Council Special Research Initiative Grant to produce a four-volume collection of primary documents entitled 'Indigenous Australia: A History of Documents 1770-2000' to be published by Routledge. Kat has researched and written extensively on Indigenous assimilation policies and made an enduring contribution to the field in Australia and internationally. She has presented work to Australian, Canadian and US journals, conferences and publishing houses and has made significant interventions into the history of Indigenous assimilation policy, colonial history, intimacy, gender and racial discourse, and to the task of bringing Australian history to the attention of the international scholarly community and beyond. In the field of Australian settler colonial history, ethical scholarly practices are becoming as, if not more, important than scholarly esteem and expertise. In her most recent work Kat has added a new and important focus: collaborative practice and history writing based on collaboration between Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars and people which places ethics and community at the highest priority.

Clare O'Hanlon is a librarian who is passionate about encouraging collective reflective practice and making critical and diverse knowledges, theories, and histories accessible within, across and beyond the Galleries, Libraries, Archives and Museum (GLAM) and higher education sectors. Their practice is guided by social justice principles, compassion, courage, and creativity.

Thomas Amosis a Bachelor of Laws (Honours)/Arts graduate from the Wimmera town of St. Arnaud on Dja Dja Wurrung Country. Thomas developed a keen interest in history from a young age, thanks due his late great-grandmother and grandmother being researchers at the local Historical Society. Thomas works as a Peer Learning Advisor at La Trobe University Library and will start History Honours in 2024.

Paul Doogood was born and bred in Dandenong, grew up loving music and literature (and the Richmond Football Club) – and hating high school. He became an apprentice Electrical Linesman with the SEC as a 15-year-old in 1977, but continued to focus on music and literature, playing in a number of loud, weird and angry post-punk bands in the late 70s and early 80s. After his first stint

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1. https://nikitavanderbyl.com/

at La Trobe in the late 1980s, he added theatre to the list of things he loves, somehow falling into a career as a puppeteer with Polyglot Puppet Theatre from 1989 through to the early noughties. Stony broke after 20 years in the theatre, he returned to working as a Linesman for 10 years, before essaying another attempt at getting a degree in 2018. He has just graduated and is considering doing Honours next year.

Madeleine Gome is a history and law graduate currently working in the Victorian Government. Her Honours thesis examined the likelihood a referendum on a First Nations' Voice to parliament would succeed. Madeleine enjoyed completing part of her studies in Norway and Hong Kong. She lives and works on Boon Wurrung and Wurundjeri Country.

Jose Manga was born and raised in Peru where he worked in the cultural tourism sector for sixteen years, before migrating to Australia in 2014. In 2018, Jose started his studies at La Trobe University, graduating in 2021 as a Bachelor of Arts, majoring in History. He lives in Bendigo, Victoria, and currently works at the Bendigo Art Gallery. Jose plans to further his studies in the Museums and Cultural Heritage field. Jose has also been a volunteer firefighter in Peru and Australia for more than twenty years.

Nicholas Short is an English student and shoemaker based in Melbourne. He is attracted to topics related to the Modernist movement and more broader studies in human subjectivity. At the centre of this attraction is an exploration of the definition of 'meaning' and how that concept affects human life.

Chapter 1: Introduction to Making Public Histories

Nikita Vanderbyl and Kat Ellinghaus

The urge to use history to define and consolidate national identity has never gone away, especially in the political sphere, and especially around moments of national celebration. We can, for example, detect this impulse in Prime Minister John Howard's statements about the writing of Australian history in his Australia Day speech in 2006. Howard expressed his worries that Australian children were being taught too much about how the beginnings of this nation rested on stolen land and violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, instead of more positive stories about how Australia came to be. 'In the end,' Howard, said, 'young people are at risk of being disinherited from their community if that community lacks the courage and confidence to teach its history. … Let us indeed celebrate our diversity. But we should also affirm the sentiment that propelled our nation to Federation 100 years ago – One People, One Destiny.' Howard's determination to affirm 'One People, One Destiny' led, in 2007, to the government convening a 'History Summit' that tried to promote and control the teaching of history within primary and secondary schools.[2] Since that time the Australia Day national holiday has become the impetus for debates about national identity, settler colonialism and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander rights and equality. In 2023, Matthew Bach, the Victorian shadow Minister for education, noted that these conversations were often marked by historical illiteracy, and complained about the sorry state of the history curriculum. 'Victorian students, across the secondary years, simply aren't being taught about our history,' he wrote in the Guardian. Until Australians' 'current lack of basic historical knowledge' was addressed, any discussions about Australia Day would be 'tedious and divisive'.[3]

But history-making itself is not seen as the answer by everyone. In recent years, there has been growing recognition that history is not a neutral discipline, that its foundations in European knowledge systems ignore other knowledge systems and ways of thinking about the world. Indigenous scholars make this point most powerfully. In 2008 Linda Tuhiwai Smith wrote from a Māori perspective: '[T]he sense of history conveyed by [Indigenous epistemologies] … is not the same thing as the discipline of history, and so [she says] our accounts collide, crash into each other […] History is the story of the powerful and how they became powerful, and then how they use their power to keep them in positions in which they can continue to dominate others. It is because of this relationship with power that we have been excluded, marginalized and 'Othered'.[4]

Victoria Grieves-Williams, a Tasmanian and Warraimay historian, outlines a number of ways in which Aboriginal philosophy incorporates a very different theory and approach. Culturally, Grieves-Williams writes, Aboriginal people do not engage with history as a celebratory or foundational narrative. Indeed, history is not 'in the past' but is still very much in the present. She argues that for

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2. The full speech can be found here: https://australianpolitics.com/2006/01/25/john-howard-australia-day-address.html, accessed 26 January 2023.

3. Matthew Bach, 'Change the Date?', Guardian, 24 January 2023, https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2023/jan/24/change-the-date-day-curriculum-ignorance-australia-history, accessed 26 January 2023.

4. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples (London & New York: Zed Books, 2012), 28, 34.

many Aboriginal people, any difficult history is not forgotten until it is dealt with – and then it is truly left behind. Stories are retained to ensure historical wrongs are addressed and when they are, they are no longer told. People with authority and knowledge lead the resolution of disputes, the wrongs are righted, including through ceremony, and then everyone can move on. The business of the past is then declared to be finished. Grieves argues that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people will not belong to the nation state until their history and their ways of doing history are incorporated into the narrative of the nation and resolved.[5]

Non-Indigenous historians are also grappling with new ways of writing history. Most recently Anna Clark's Making Australian History has explored how Australian history has been written, revised, and reinterpreted by successive generations of historians.[6] Her focus on key texts extends the scope of primary historical sources to include poetry and Indigenous rock art among others. Motivated by the capacity of history to draw attention to those whose voices have been marginalised, Stuart Macintyre's Winners and Losers: the pursuit of social justice in Australian history drew attention to the significance of history in public life as a future-oriented discipline whose practitioners seek to make a difference. Connecting history to politics, Paula Hamilton, Paul Ashton and Tanya Evans have recently analysed public history in the context of 'difficult times'.[7] These authors are interested in what constitutes public history across the world, while also exploring new formats of history-making (including podcasting, Facebook and historical re-enactment). They draw attention to the role of the historian in disruptive times as being necessarily public, whose intention is to influence the present by contributing to public policy and advocacy. Questions arise as to the position of the historian as neutral, complicit, or embedded within the communities about which they write.

Making Public Histories: Australian history beyond the university is based on work produced at La Trobe University in the 'Making History' subject. This capstone subject of the History major aims to place students directly into debates about how public histories are, and should be, made. It explores how history manifests in parks, on webpages, in museums, in people's homes and even on bodies. We start with weeks on the large institutional ways in which the public (broadly defined) encounters history: statues, archives, museums and schools. We then move onto more unofficial, 'unregulated', popular forums: such as film and television, Wikipedia, tourist sites, history as generated by communities and engaged in by family historians.

We also think about the many roles the past plays in our lives. How is history utilised by politicians? How is history used to inform debates about our future? And how does the present inform what we look for in the past? Underpinning all this is a question about the ethics of the discipline itself: who makes history? Who tells these stories? And whose stories get left out?

'Making History' is shaped by three main themes or questions, which we return to again and again throughout the semester.

5. Victoria Grieves-Williams, 'Makarrata: The Aboriginal healing process we should all know about,' 9 July 2019, https://www.sbs.com.au/topics/voices/culture/article/2019/07/04/makarrata-aboriginal-healing-process-we-should-all-know-about, accessed 26 January 2023.

6. Anna Clark, Making Australian History (Sydney, Vintage Books, 2022).

7. Paula Hamilton, Paul Ashton and Tanya Evans, 'Making Histories, Making Memories in Difficult Times' Making Histories, (Austria: De Gruyter, 2020).

1. How can history make a difference?

There is no doubt that history has a huge place in the world. It is there in our everyday lives, in how we understand our family and community, in the news, and in our popular culture. The idea of history constituting a valuable guide for present and future action is an established part of western culture. And the fear of history repeating itself can be seen as directly shaping government policy and societal shifts. If you asked most historians why history is useful, they would probably talk about "making a difference", about how learning from the mistakes of the past can enable a better future. Historians have an important role as detectives and storytellers and to remind society of things that have happened that may have impact in the present day.

But the intention and ability of history to make a difference is complex and contested, especially when we try to tell a complicated story. There are real dangers in engaging with the past, in unearthing stories that still have power in the present. Whose voices are included, who remains silenced, and who has the authority to speak for whom?

2. What are the ethical and moral obligations that historians have in their role as 'gatekeepers' of the past?

The words we write as historians, and how we shape them, and the subjects about which we write – or don't write – have power, and power beyond the time they were written. It goes without saying that good historians carefully analyse and critique their evidence, they provide and discuss points of view that are contrary to or challenge their ideas about the historical events they are discussing. They attempt to create an historical account which is as true and as objective as is possible from the historian's particular perspective.

One of the dangers of treating objectivity as the primary way in which we judge 'good history' is that historians might go about their business of trying to write well-researched historical narratives with little thought about how their work reaches beyond the academy. They might research a subject simply because it hasn't been researched before. They might treat archives as treasure troves waiting to be mined, with little thought about how those records got there and whether they contain sensitive information that might hurt people in the present day. They might only rarely reach beyond dusty archival records to engage with the living contemporary communities about whose past they are writing. Indeed, there is an increasing movement for historians to engage more with the communities which they research.[8]

3. How can historical knowledge be co-produced with community input?

Historians work most often from archival sources – it is what sets the discipline of history apart from adjacent disciplines such as sociology, anthropology and political science. While many historians do oral history, and have relationships with the public, and through published research, history remains a discipline that rests on individual research, traditionally in archives and libraries, where the literal requirement for quiet or silence further precludes collaborative working. Historians sift

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8. Katherine Ellinghaus and Barry Judd, 'Writing as Kin: F.W. Albrecht, Assimilation Policy and the Lutheran experiment in Aboriginal Education, 1950s-1960s', Indigenous-Settler Relations in Australia and the World, ed. Sarah Maddison and Sana Nakata (Singapore: Springer Nature, 2020): 55-68.

through documentary sources to reconstruct and understand what happened and why, but usually as individuals, as lone scholars, who then publish sole-authored books and journal articles.[9]

'Making History' asks students to explore what issues arise when historians do work in collaboration with communities. What happens when historians draw on perspectives that come from outside the archive, and what happens when they share their authority with stakeholders? How do public and community histories challenge and change the way historical research projects are conceived, researched, and written? Can blurring boundaries between historians and communities enable multiple voices to be heard in the historiographical record?

Making Public Histories: Australian history beyond the university presents new and innovative answers to these questions, expressed through fascinating case studies of the past. It is composed of examples of public history research investigating these themes and questions.

This Open Education Resource is divided into two sections, one showcasing student work and one showcasing the work of La Trobe academics. The major assessment in 'Making History' entails researching an Australian topic and presenting it in one of four formats for a public audience. Choosing between a Wikipedia page, a podcast, an illustrated essay or an exhibition display proposal, students inhabit the role of a historian and contend with the ethical imperatives this brings. As a third-year capstone subject, critically engaging with the world of history-making beyond the university is an essential focus.

By presenting their work to an audience beyond the history department staff, student-authors have the opportunity to disseminate and celebrate their work. The final week of each semester is dedicated to a mini conference celebrating their research achievements. This culminating experience means the authors in this book have gone from being a student of history to a history-maker.

Through a simulation of the challenges and activities undertaken by historians in many different approaches to history-making, students gain authentic experience which prepares them for their careers after university. 'Making History' becomes a space in which to test complex and challenging scenarios, including navigating the copyright and licensing requirements for publicly accessible presentations of their chosen topic, and unpacking the ethical implications of their role as the history-maker. Negotiating the research process, including working through archival materials and institutions, can be testing for every researcher; 'Making History' supports students as they gain independence in these tasks and pursue critical enquiry and creativity in their chosen projects. The subject forms a liminal space where students can inhabit the transition from inside to outside university walls, with the support of professional guides.

In the following chapters, student projects showcase the potential of the podcast, the Wikipedia page, the exhibition space and the illustrated essay as vehicles for public history. Ubiquitous and accessible, podcasts have emerged as a prolific field of history consumption. Not only breaking down the barriers between who produces and consumes history, they have also redefined the presentation and dissemination of historical content. Students have drawn from the audio-technician's bag of tools to craft their audio histories, including thinking about sounds, transitions and narrative devices often previously reserved for the dramatic and fictional genres.

Wikipedia's fortunes as a less-than-honourable reference in undergraduate assignments are put under

9. Pente, Elizabeth, Paul Ward, Milton Brown, and Hardeep Sahota. "The Co-Production of Historical Knowledge: Implications for the History of Identities." Identity Papers: A Journal of British and Irish Studies 1, no. 1 (2015): 34. https://doi.org/10.5920/idp.2015.1132.

the spotlight by projects in Making Public Histories. Students adopting this format must follow Wikipedia's own rules – of engagement, referencing and accessibility of sources – which in turn provokes students to think differently about questions of plagiarism. Embracing the unique task of writing (potentially) for the entire English-speaking corner of the Internet, students explore knowledge-making in the public domain in ways that no other assessment format can allow.

Using objects to access the past enables a form of history-making that connects students with all that Galleries, Libraries, Archives and Museums (or GLAM) organisations have to offer. Utilising the exhibition format requires students to construct narratives in three dimensions and to understand how different audiences from differing backgrounds and abilities might encounter their displays. Rather than requiring a physical display, students prepare a proposal for an exhibition. This has the added appeal of allowing students to situate disparately located objects together in a hypothetical dialogue.

Essays are a staple of academic writing; however, the illustrated essay requires the careful incorporation of images and multi-media material. This takes the format into an arena where readers might also find investigative long-form journalism with interactive videos, images, or sound included. Projects utilising archival material are also well suited to this format and complement an immersive reading experience.

The 'Making History' subject has evolved since its inception in 2015 and its current form builds upon the work of previous subject coordinators Adrian Jones, Ruth Ford, Roland Burke and Ingrid Sykes. From its very earliest inception in 2005 the subject focussed on giving students who majored in history the chance to reflect on their discipline, and to experience discussions and classes focussed less on content and more on developing the skills they wanted to develop. As the first coordinator, Adrian Jones, describes it, students were encouraged to "own" the role and title of "historian". Video and illustrated essays formed the primary assessments from 2015 to 2019. Much of this work has been archived on a dedicated internal student blog. In 2020 the subject took on its current form and the desire to continue showcasing the work of students persisted until, with the assistance of the La Trobe Library and eBureau, this publication was born.

A sharper focus on licensing and audience accessibility emerged during the 'lockdown' research period of the pandemic, continuing through the era of opening up and 'living with the virus' in 2022/ 2023. Students and researchers alike confronted the challenges of completing research projects with limited access to archives until relatively recently. Clare O'Hanlon's chapter 'Plan your research for publishing public history' takes its inspiration from these recent developments. It is an instructive 'how to' for researching and disseminating history publicly, drawing attention to important ethical considerations, and giving practical examples. As access has been restored, we are forced to think anew about when and how historians enter the archive and who their audiences are when they emerge. You, dear reader, might be a student or an amateur historian, you might be based inside a university or an historical society. In all cases you are accessing this text as a piece of open research, made available under license that allows the work to be shared, no profits are to be made from it and appropriate attribution to the authors must be made. It is not behind a paywall or shelved in a library, instead it can be read by anyone with the correct URL.

We believe the historical profession is at an exciting time, a time when we are questioning current and past practices and daring to offer new ways of thinking and working. 'Making History' asks students to be part of that change, and we are thrilled to be able to share the work of a new generation of historians in this publication.

Chapter 3: Place-based History: Teaching and Researching in Ecologically and Culturally Sustainable Ways

Jennifer Jones

History students are accustomed to learning from texts and in classrooms that are far removed from the sites where historic events took place. Their teacher seldom has a deep connection to the communities they are teaching about. Place-based approaches to history change this status quo by using real-life encounter with places, including heritage sites, to understand how physical and cultural environments change over time. In teaching, these interactions stimulate student self-reflection and develop critical thinking skills. In research, they ensure that researchers are accountable to the communities who nurture bonds to these places.[1]

A place-based approach is particularly effective when local community members with attachment to heritage places are involved as co-designers and provide ongoing input as co-instructors or co-researchers. These people provide important perspectives that help identify how complex and entangled versions of the past can compete or cooperate as histories. We all have formative connections to the place where we were born or raised. We all maintain important connections to the place where we live. I invite you, dear reader, to consider how your personal place attachments influence your historical research interests or approach to history teaching.[2]

I do this by first examining my own background and how this shaped my interest in place-based history, including development of a third-year rural studies elective subject offered by La Trobe University called 'Gone Bush'. This subject is taught in partnership with The Man From Snowy River Bush Festival at Corryong and in cooperation with Indigenous and industry stakeholders in Victoria's Murray and Upper Murray regions. One of the central aims of the subject is to draw student attention to the convergent and divergent histories, experiences, and perspectives of rural Indigenous and settler communities. The 12-week subject uses a conventional history format, including weekly recorded lectures, topical readings, online activities, and face-to-face tutorials (weeks 1–5 and 7–12) that sandwich the centrepiece mobility experience in Week 6. I adopt a decolonising approach that makes Indigenous experiences and perspectives available each week in the reading list. Weeks 1–5 orient students to the post-invasion historic context. Students then gather at Albury Wodonga for a four-day field trip in Week 6. After returning to their home campuses, weeks 7–12 offer students the opportunity to reflect on the key 20th-century sites and themes they encountered.

In the following section I introduce my rural background and how childhood experiences influenced my philosophy of history teaching and inspired the development of Gone Bush. The chapter then examines the transformative capacity of place-based teaching and learning. As you read, imagine

1. Michael Harcourt, "Towards a Culturally Responsive and Place-Conscious Theory of History Teaching," *Set: Research Information for Teachers* 2 (2015): 36–44.

2. Robert B. Stevenson, "A Critical Pedagogy of Place and the Critical Place(S) of Pedagogy," *Environmental Education Research* 14, no. 3 (2008).

how designing your own units of work, or history research projects, might draw on your attachments to places: to inspire and shape the future treatment of these places and the communities that live there.

How childhood context influenced my history curriculum choices

In Gone Bush, I aim to examine historic diversity and to assist students to recognise and respectfully negotiate competing interpretations of contemporary life. These goals grew from my personal experience of growing up in country New South Wales. As a young person I encountered but did not understand a clashing dynamic in Australian culture that positions country people in a dichotomy with the city, variously valorising and denigrating both. Judith Brett identifies the fluctuating claims about the virtues and vices of the country and the city as part of a struggle 'over the allocation of symbolic and material resources'.[3] This contest drew upon and perpetuated intersecting forms of historic injustice that I recognised, even as a child, as differentially impacting the choices and life quality of Australian families and communities.

I grew up on a farm in the Riverina district of Southern New South Wales, the second of three daughters born to white farmers whose grandparents had purchased small parcels of agricultural land in the early 20th century. My mother left school at age 15, helping at home until she married. All her siblings became farmers, and they married children of farmers. They formed and maintained a large and cohesive clan who gathered, volunteered, and contributed to their family and local communities with reliable enthusiasm. Their full tables and open arms modelled the style of 'sturdy independence' that fuelled government visions of a hearty rural yeomanry and made my childhood great.[4]

My father was a talented student from a clever family. He gained honours in his Leaving Certificate despite long seasonal absences from school, helping with sowing and harvest on the farm. My grandfather died when dad was 18, and so dad decided against university to work the farm with his brother. His two sisters, however, went away to teachers' college and entered careers, encouraged and enabled by their mother. Natal family poverty had forced her out of school and into domestic service when she was 12. Many rural parents then discerned brighter futures for their children in the cities, especially their daughters.[5] This seemed true when my city cousins came for farm holidays in the 1970s and 80s, citing recent-release movies and exciting social exploits like disco rollerskating, and wearing chain store brands. Our home-made independence seemed drab and dated then, and my aunties' incomes looked even more attractive as drought and economic rationalism strained traditional gender expectations and accelerated the decline of farming communities.

By the 1980s, government support for farmers under 'protected development' legislation was gradually withdrawn in favour of deregulated markets.[6] Local businesses closed and some of my uncles exited farming under the pressure of drought, debt and market adjustment. My Uncle Peter dissolved the farming partnership with my dad and moved his family to Wagga, where he distributed Amway products and started a gardening business.

3. Judith Brett, "Fair Share: Country and City in Australia," *Quarterly Essay*, no. 42 (2011): 3.

4. Graeme Davison, "Country Life: The Rise and Decline of an Australian Ideal," in *Struggle Country: The Rural Ideal in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Graeme Davison and Marc Brodie (Clayton, Vic.: Monash University ePress, 2005).

5. Brett, "Fair Share: Country and City in Australia."

6. Geoff Cockfield and Linda Courtenay Botterill, "Rural and Regional Policy: A Case of Punctuated Incrementalism?," *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 72, no. 2 (2013).

Leaving the country for better educational opportunities and careers was widespread and normalised in my generation. But I only lasted one year in the city. All those ideas about the sophisticated city didn't make it a better place to live. I got married and joined my husband at a regional university on the coast. And stereotypes about backward country people also unsettled me. I knew, for example, that I did not have access to the same quality schooling or higher education pathways as my city cousins, and that my Indigenous cousins had worse treatment in the same rural school and fewer opportunities than I had. My undergraduate degree clarified and informed this knowledge. My eyes were opened to the intersections of class, gender and race, and I was hooked by the power of learning.

Regional, rural and remote students' experience of higher education in historic context

After eventually completing two higher degrees I began an academic career that included coordinating Bachelor of Arts delivery at La Trobe University's Albury Wodonga campus (2016–2021). By then, the access and equity issues that hindered regional student participation and success in higher education were well known beyond the lived experience. In the 1990s, Australian universities had been charged with responsibility to improve societal equity through the participation of non-traditional groups.[7] But by 2008, the Bradley review of higher education found that although widened participation promised many social and economic gains, equal benefit was not availed to all Australians.[8] The Bradley review identified Indigenous Australians, people from low socio-economic backgrounds and regional, rural and remote students (RRR) as the most disadvantaged groups in Australian higher education. Since then, universities have attempted to increase participation of non-traditional groups. These efforts have gradually shifted the profile and needs of students in higher education, but in 2022, 25 per cent of the students in Victoria's north-east still experience disadvantage and were drawn from communities with an eight per cent higher education participation rate, when the state average is nearly 17 per cent.[9]

Formerly excluded groups might gain access to higher education, but they may not be retained or enabled to succeed due to curricula, pedagogy and governance that ignores their cultural needs. Gale and Tranter describe the need for reform in these areas as 'recognitive justice', arguing that the knowledge and values of minoritised groups should be accepted and addressed by the academy. This call recognises that students are more engaged and experience higher success when teaching and learning strategies demonstrate relevance to and respect for their daily cultural contexts and aspirations.[10] Equity principles relevant to the creation of such strategies include learner-centredness and epistemological equity, which consider student identities, interests and priorities in the development and delivery of curricula, and take into account the politics of knowledge production as well as knowledge content.[11]

7. Todd R. Walton and Franz Carrillo-Higueras, "Evaluating the Effectiveness of University Widening Participation Activities in Rural Australia," *Assessment & Evaluation in Higher Education* 44, no. 5 (2019).

8. Denise Bradley et al., "Review of Australian Higher Education: Final Report," ed. Employment and Workplace Relations Department of Education (Canberra: Australian Government 2008); Trevor Gale and Deborah Tranter, "Social Justice in Australian Higher Education Policy: An Historical and Conceptual Account of Student Participation," *Critical Studies in Education* 52, no. 1 (2011).

9. Liam Macnally, "Regional Areas are Rejecting Universities," *Border Morning Mail*, June 30, 2022, 3.

10. Brittany Aronson and Judson Laughter, "The Theory and Practice of Culturally Relevant Education: A Synthesis of Research across Content Areas," *Review of Educational Research* 86, no. 1 (2016).

11. Gail Crimmins, "Inclusion in Practice: Operationalising Principles of Inclusion and Diversity," in *Strategies for Supporting*

For RRR students, one important context is the diversity within this group. Nearly 70 per cent of Australians live in cities, but of the remaining 30 per cent, around 20 per cent live in inner regional areas, nine per cent live in outer regional areas and around two per cent live in remote and very remote areas.[12] The geographic distribution of Indigenous Australians 'is quite different' from this pattern, comprising one per cent in major cities, three per cent in inner regional areas, six per cent in outer regions, 15 per cent in remote areas and 50 per cent in very remote areas. Yet traditional histories and contemporary representations of the country (aside from very remote places) often overlook Indigenous rurality. I wanted to introduce a decolonising and reparative approach to teaching rural history that respectfully challenged this status quo. Holding divergent First Nations and settler viewpoints in productive tension, I hoped, would 'redress the effective erasure' of First Nations people from RRR history and contemporary culture.[13]

I designed a collaborative subject where diverse authentic regional voices shape a narrative that is considerate and gentle but still challenges traditional ways of viewing RRR history, and that immerses regional and metropolitan students in country life together. Drawing upon and innovating place-based pedagogy helped me to achieve these aims. Recognising what inspires your own research or teaching goals is an important first step in the design of any project or teaching unit. The next step is developing or adapting a methodology that will empower you to achieve your objectives.

Developing a critical place-based history pedagogy that gives voice to RRR experience

I chose a critical place-based pedagogy because the approach aligns with my aims to make teaching and learning relevant to local communities and to reacquaint regional students with stories about their own environments.[14] Place-based pedagogy often finds application in local school and higher education settings where it is used to engage students and community members with histories of familiar local places. The Gone Bush program expanded this understanding of 'local' to include the regional and surrounding rural communities within which Albury Wodonga's La Trobe University's campus is embedded. Since 2017, this small elective subject has drawn 151 students from La Trobe's large metropolitan and smaller regional campuses to access selected heritage sites near Albury Wodonga.

Gone Bush was designed to be as a collaborative and inclusive as possible, within economic and social constraints. Members of the Man From Snowy River Bush Festival committee and the Local Aboriginal Education Consultative Group, and Aboriginal liaison officers based at La Trobe University and at Albury and Wodonga City Councils, were consulted in the subject design phase and variously included alongside industry specialists (paid and voluntary) as co-instructors in subject delivery. To achieve this level of cooperation, I first needed to demonstrate my trustworthiness. This process, of demonstrating and developing trust, drew upon and extended local networks that I

Inclusion and Diversity in the Academy: Higher Education, Aspiration and Inequality, ed. Gail Crimmins (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020); Nikki Moodie, "Learning About Knowledge: Threshold Concepts for Indigenous Studies in Education," *The Australian Educational Researcher* 46, no. 5 (2019).

12. Jennifer Baxter, Matthew Gray and Alan Hayes, *Families in Regional, Rural and Remote Australia, Facts Sheet 2011* (Melbourne: Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2011).

13. Cathy Bergin and Anita Rupprecht, "Reparative Histories: Tracing Narratives of Black Resistance and White Entitlement," *Race & Class* 60, no. 1 (2018).

14. David A. Greenwood, "Why Place Matters: Environment, Culture, and Education," in *Handbook of Research in the Social Foundations of Education*, ed. Steven Tozer (New York: Routledge, 2011), 632.

developed over many years as a country person living locally. These connections demonstrated and affirmed my ongoing accountability.

Consultation with Aboriginal community members and Elders requires transparency, deference, deep listening and reflection, delicate persistence and continuing effort.[15] Stakeholders in any collaborative research or teaching project will look for signs of respect for their experience, perspectives and values, as well as the potential for mutual benefit. Gone Bush therefore uses Indigenous-led 'Learning From Country' to frame and inform the weekly content and field trip experiences. But it also purposefully retains an overarching focus on the historic and lived legacies of rural settler colonialism. As a descendant of English and German settlers, I recognise that the transformation of sacred Country into European-styled farmland was at the cost of tenacious Aboriginal attachments. I also accept that my primary responsibility, as a person who shares white privilege, is to teach anti-racism.[16] This priority aligns with the core aims of a place-based approach to research and teaching.

Place-based frameworks recognise that people may not understand how their own environment has been historically 'disrupted or injured'.[17] Place-based approaches therefore draw attention to dominant systems of thought that have perpetuated ecological and social injustices, and they equip students or audiences to recognise these impacts.[18] Dolores Calderon suggests that centring Indigeneity and destabilising settler conceptualisations of place must be central to projects that seek ecological justice. Calderon renames place-based education as 'land education' to recognise disruption and injury to land as including displacement of First Nations peoples. This shift critiques settler claims to the land and confronts normalised forms of settler colonialism like education.[19]

Australian Indigenous scholars promote 'Learning from Country' as the best way to engage with 'diverse Aboriginal experiences and views emerging from local cultures, identities, histories and communities'.[20] Harrison and Skebneva argue that learning from Country is potentially decolonising, because Country is itself the 'teacher', and people 'are able to listen and observe the patterns of Country'.[21] Gone Bush uses a playful approach to help build rapport between students and the community members they encounter. To highlight the diversity of rural identities and attributes, and help students to practise compassion rather than judgement, students self-select into small groups according to a preferred identity of Townies, The Squattocracy, Us Mob (providing cultural safety),

15. Sandra Wooltorton et al., "Sharing a Place-Based Indigenous Methodology and Learnings," *Environmental Education Research* 26, no. 7 (2020).

16. David Hollinsworth, "Forget Cultural Competence; Ask for an Autobiography," *Social Work Education* 32, no. 8 (2013).

17. David A. Gruenewald, "The Best of Both Worlds: A Critical Pedagogy of Place," *Environmental Education Research* 14, no. 3 (2008), 319.

18. Deborah J. Tippins et al., *Cultural Studies and Environmentalism: The Confluence of Ecojustice, Place-Based (Science) Education, and Indigenous Knowledge Systems* (Netherlands: Springer, 2010).

19. Dolores Calderon, "Speaking Back to Manifest Destinies: A Land Education-Based Approach to Critical Curriculum Inquiry," *Environmental Education Research* 20, no. 1 (2014).

20. Cathie Burgess et al., "Towards a Conceptual Framework for Country-Centred Teaching and Learning," *Teachers and Teaching* 28, no. 8 (2022): 932; Neil Harrison and Iliana Skrebneva, "Country as Pedagogical: Enacting an Australian Foundation for Culturally Responsive Pedagogy," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 52, no. 1 (2020).

21. Harrison and Skrebneva, "Country as Pedagogical: Enacting an Australian Foundation for Culturally Responsive Pedagogy," 24.

Cockies (struggling farmers), The Exodists (rural expats), and Tree Changers (city expats). Students bond with 'their people' but also build respect for diverse voices by 'trying out' other identities and standpoints prior to the field trip. This gentle approach to intercultural and empathic learning encourages intellectual flexibility and courage to engage in respectful dialogue and interaction across social and cultural boundaries during the field trip.[22]

Five principles for place-based education in Gone Bush

Place-based learning can help students gain deeper insights into historical narratives. I used five key organising place-based principles, which are examined below:

1. Use local settings

2. Acknowledge diversity of place meanings

3. Examine authentic artefacts and representations during fieldwork

4. Encourage ecologically sustainable and culturally appropriate decolonising norms

5. Expand historical place consciousness.

I also present de-identified student perspectives on the impact of the critical place-based approach in Gone Bush, as presented in self-reflective essays submitted for assessment in the subject.[23] These student responses help with examination of the five key principles of place-based history pedagogy.

1. Use local settings

Gone Bush uses local settings to focus student attention on natural, social and cultural histories. It adopts an anti-racist strategy by examining the social structures of race and class that have historically privileged whiteness, through dual operations of white invisibility and 'acceptable' multiculturalism.[24] The border districts that host the Gone Bush field trip are much less diverse than the national average, and the overwhelmingly 'Anglo' cultural environment of the Man From Snowy River Bush Festival is quickly apparent to students.[25] Albury's regional population is around 67,700, but only 2.7% are Indigenous and 11.4% born overseas. The national percentages are 3.2% Indigenous and 29.1% born overseas. Gone Bush examines how local perceptions of diversity are impacted by this numerical prevalence and associated privilege. Visits to Man From Snowy River Bush Festival events are punctuated by a guided tour to Bonegilla Migrant Experience near Wodonga. Bonegilla provided transitional accommodation for 320,000 non-Anglo migrants from

22. Kim Holflod, "Voices of Playful Learning Experimental, Affective and Relational Perspectives across Social Education and Teacher Education," *Journal of Play in Adulthood* 4, no. 1 (2022).

23. Ethics approval was gained from La Trobe University HREC (number E16-118) to approach completed students, and permission was gained to analyse reflective essays submitted for assessment in HUS3GBP Gone Bush.

24. Rose Butler, "Migration, Class and Intra-Distinctions of Whiteness in the Making of Inland Rural Victoria," *Journal of Rural Studies* 94 (2022); Helen Forbes-Mewett, Kieran Hegarty and Rebecca Wickes, "Regional Migration and the Local Multicultural Imaginary: The Uneasy Governance of Cultural Difference in Regional Australia," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48, no. 13 (2022).

25. See Jennifer Jones, "Place-Based Learning and Student Critical Reflection at the Man from Snowy River Bush Festival: A Model for Embedding Indigenous Perspectives in Non-Specialist Subjects," *Higher Education Research and Development* 41, no. 4 (2021): 1–15.

more than 30 nations after the Second World War. This migration flow changed the cultural fabric of the nation, including perceptions of the relative importance of the bush myth in Australian identity.[26] One in 20 Australians has links to Bonegilla, and since 2017, three students have gained insight into the migration experience of their relatives at Bonegilla. In 2023, a student reflected that family knowledge contrasted the rosy picture of welcome and successful transition put forward by Bonegilla's curation of material and documentary history:

> **The stories shared [at Bonegilla] about migrants' experiences were mostly positive: about the new ideas, traditions, and perspectives that helped to diversify Australia. My personal connection evoked mixed feelings about the camp. My great grandparents attended the facility in 1952, after escaping warn-torn Lithuania. My great grandmother's experience was frightening. She could not speak any English and was separated from her husband on arrival. Despite the negatives, she was always immensely grateful for the safety, and opportunities the camp provided.[27]**

Understanding the difference between officially sanctioned celebratory narratives and her own family stories of insecurity and dislocation also prompted this regional student to examine multiculturalism in her hometown. She noted that, 'when researching, I was embarrassed to admit that I was naïve in my perception of my town'.[28] Combining place-based learning with a mobility experience enabled these insights. As Greuenwald et al. note, 'temporal and spatial analysis of local phenomena also readily leads to an examination of places further afield, and to questions of what should happen to communities and their environments in the future'.[29]

2. Acknowledge diversity of place meanings

Learners and teachers bring a range of intersecting positionalities and relationships to their place-based study.[30] Similarly, the historical development of a physical location is shaped by diverse temporal contexts and dynamics, including changing social and economic inequalities, that intersect with and influence an individual student's sense of place.[31] To provide insight into this dynamic, and to encourage critical empathy, I conducted a suite of oral history interviews with members of the Corryong community who have had long involvement with the Man From Snowy River Bush Festival and Man From Snowy River Museum. Students have an opportunity to engage with these narratives before the field trip, where they encounter some of the characters in person. The interviews include members of the organising committee, who also present a Q&A workshop for students in the festival rooms. Many students are critical of the monocultural public representations of rurality they encounter at rural museums and the Man From Snowy River Bush Festival. A common response is to note that the bush festival and museum are 'heavily focused on European settlement [while]

26. Bruce Pennay, "'But No One Can Say He Was Hungry': Memories and Representations of Bonegilla Reception and Training Centre," *History Australia* 9, no. 1 (2012).

27. Student essay, 2023.

28. Student essay, 2023.

29. David A. Gruenewald, Nancy Koppelman and Anna Elam, "Our Place in History," *Journal of Museum Education* 32, no. 3 (2007): 232; Harcourt, "Towards a Culturally Responsive and Place-Conscious Theory of History Teaching."

30. Hollinsworth, "Forget Cultural Competence; Ask for an Autobiography."

31. Elizabeth Langran and Janine DeWitt, "How and Why Placed-Based Learning Works," in *Navigating Place-Based Learning: Mapping for a Better World*, ed. Elizabeth Langran and Janine DeWitt (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020).

colonisation, dispossession, and enduring struggles for Indigenous rights were notably ignored'.[32] Another student recognised the intergenerational challenge faced by younger festival participants 'coming to terms with colonial constructs and the restraints they place on different generations'. Differential willingness and ability to decolonise was central to this sympathetic critique:

> **[Festival] organisers have made small attempts to acknowledge the traditional owners. For example, a rider carrying a partially unfurled Aboriginal flag entered the rodeo ground. I pictured myself in their position – young, possibly non-Indigenous, within an unenlightened monoculture – tasked to carry a flag; would I have acted differently? I probably would not have carried the flag, given the festival's milieux of strong identities paying homage to 'Australian heritage'.[33]**

History teachers, according to Harcourt, need to actively confront difficult topics in settler colonial settings and offer students an opportunity to personally identify with historical actors in a manner that avoids presentism and prejudice by recognising historical agency.[34]

3. Examine authentic artefacts and representations during fieldwork

Core disciplinary skills developed by historians and inculcated in their students include the capacity to 'problematize previous stories about the past, formulate their own questions, and design and follow processes of inquiry'.[35] During the Gone Bush field trip, students access professional and 'do it yourself' (DIY) public histories at three local museums, guided at Beechworth by museum professionals and at Corryong and Wodonga by volunteers. Students enjoy two professionally guided historic precinct tours at Beechworth, and an Indigenous guided tour at the Mudgegonga rock art site, conducted by an Aboriginal curator from the Albury Library Museum. Developing a nuanced appreciation of the ethics of representation and the politics that constrain public history is an important aim of the subject. Students particularly enjoy a 'behind the scenes' tour of the Burke Museum at Beechworth, conducted by the collections manager. Many contrast the professional curation at Beechworth with the 'DIY heritage' evident at the Man From Snowy River Museum at Corryong.[36] Volunteering in the community heritage sector, described as 'serious leisure' by Cantillon and Baker, results in 'tensions, dislikes and disappointments' alongside rewards. Students notice and critique the individual and organisational consequences of 'serious leisure' in the community heritage sector, especially regarding the politics of public history.

Volunteering at the Man From Snowy River Museum, according to one regional student, supports the 'sustainability of the region's rural economy' and enables local knowledge holders to 'proudly share knowledge seemingly passed down from generations, which evoked a sense of pride in their shared community spirit'. Most students respect the volunteers for presenting their community history with such passion, but many also recognise the 'institutional authority' of the museum as a discursive

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32. Student essay, 2023; see Jones, "Place-Based Learning and Student Critical Reflection at the Man from Snowy River Bush Festival."

33. Student essay, 2022.

34. Harcourt, "Towards a Culturally Responsive and Place-Conscious Theory of History Teaching."

35. Keith A. Erekson, "Putting History Teaching 'In Its Place'," *Journal of American History* 97, no. 4 (2011): 1068.

36. Zelmarie Cantillon and Sarah Baker, "Serious Leisure and the DIY Approach to Heritage: Considering the Costs of Career Volunteering in Community Archives and Museums," *Leisure Studies* 39, no. 2 (2020).

space in which social and cultural dynamics are negotiated and expressed.[37] One metropolitan student described, for example, the museum's choices regarding the display and interpretation of Indigenous artefacts. He found the displays to be 'reproduce[ing] and entrench[ing] the Historical Society's particularly conservative, inward-looking version of local history'.[38] Another regional student, who assessed the exhibition of Dhuduroa cultural material as being 'captive in the coloniser's display case', also observed an interaction with elderly volunteers as enabling progressive peer-to-peer learning about the violence of settlement, which included 'colonising not only land but their descendants' epistemological understanding of Country'.[39]

4. Encourage ecologically sustainable and culturally appropriate decolonising norms

Recognising that mainstream conceptions of land are informed by dominant ideologies also enables students to consider how Indigenous agency and resistance are closely tied to Indigenous cosmologies.[40] Greenwood suggests that place-based subjects can achieve this aim by posing two core questions: "What needs to be remembered in and about this place? What needs to be changed or transformed in this place?". Place-based history teaching should observe Indigenous protocols for research and teaching, including the right of Traditional Owners and other authorised Aboriginal knowledge holders to control and direct Learning from Country.

5. Expand historical place consciousness

The power of Indigenous-led teaching dawned upon us, students and teachers alike, when we arrived at the Mudgegonga rock art site in 2023. A group of Traditional Owners and park rangers were at the site conducting an archaeological survey. Our interaction with these Elders was rich, unexpected, and well beyond my scheduling powers. One exchange student commented on the 'culture of acknowledgment and respect toward Aboriginal people' that he observed at the site visit, through contrast with settler–Indigenous relations in his home country:

> **While both the United States and Australia have both made efforts to install reparations toward their respective Indigenous peoples, the United States' few policies pale in comparison to Australia's attempts to repair the damages. [Australia has] created a culture of acknowledgment and respect toward Aboriginal people, a culture I was able to witness firsthand during my time with the Elders on the Gone Bush field trip. Uncle Reg was incredibly knowledgeable about the artifacts found near the rock art structure, pointing them out on the ground where I would have just seen dirt.[41]**

This student also reflected that they did not know 'the original owners of the land I lived on' in the United States, and after a 'quick google search' after class, they were still 'only moderately sure [that] the Native American tribes I found were for specifically my state'.

37. Tony Bennett, "Introduction: Museums, Power, Knowledge," in *Museums, Power, Knowledge: Selected Essays* (Milton, UK: Taylor & Francis Group, 2018), 1–18.

38. Student essay, 2022.

39. Student essay, 2022.

40. Calderon, "Speaking Back to Manifest Destinies."

41. Student essay, 2023.

By encouraging students to connect their field trip experience with their personal histories, and their present needs and wants, Gone Bush encourages action-oriented approaches to studying the past.

Outcomes and concluding considerations

The subject outline presented above, and its connection with place-based activities on the field trip, has been finely honed through a yearly cycle of continual improvement. At the conclusion of each field trip, and at the end of semester, I reflect on this year's proceedings with stakeholders to make necessary improvements. One of the core aims of place-based pedagogy is to recognise and develop place-based sustainability, which must include community perspectives. This approach has developed strong support for the initiative and has grown my appreciation of and capacity for relational accountability. In their critical pedagogy of place, Huffling Carlone and Benavides suggest that the benefits of place-based teaching and learning include collective empowerment to create a more critically oriented perspective of place. The comments that I have cited above provide a sense of the nuanced self-reflective critique that students undertake when encountering historical stories in the places where they happened. At the end of the course students appreciated the value of person-to-person encounters and experiencing diverse views, even though they may have still disagreed with some of standpoints that they encountered. Taking students out of the classroom and into the country is well worth the effort, when the outcomes include empowerment to understand why others experience places and see the past differently. My challenge to you, as future researchers or teachers of history, is to consider how your project or unit design can incorporate community involvement and accountabilities: to harness the transformative power of place.

4.1 Judi: Archives, trauma and family history

I remember that I was excited, but wary about what I was about to uncover. I soon discovered that whitefella academics could access all files, but the same access was restricted to me. (Judi)

In this section, I will be discussing the Stolen Generations storyline, an area of research that has been written about for decades. Yet there is little written concerning how each Aboriginal person was supported through their journey of finding family, especially through the archives. I will also write about my own experiences during my Honours and Masters research.

In the early 2000s, I was working as a Stolen Generations counsellor. In this role, I supported Aboriginal clients as they were searching for their families. Once a client contacted staff at the Queensland's State Archives about researching their family history, they would do a search and eventually would send the relevant documents to the client by post. Reading their family documents from various files held in Queensland government archives was at times emotional, and in many instances quite devastating. Occasionally, the information described in family documents was not easy to process or even to comprehend. The new information about their family's circumstances was often even difficult to share with other family relatives. This put the client on a roller-coaster of emotions, especially with the issue of identity. Each client dealt with their feelings in their own way. I was only there to guide them through their pain. I had to always remember that it was about their family, and to be supportive of their emotional journey. Sometimes, I felt frustrated with the slow progress; but I had to keep reminding myself that it was about their journey, not mine. In addition to assisting them to unravel their past, I endeavoured to provide them with the appropriate tools to cope with the findings.

People of all cultures can experience intergenerational trauma. In this instance, I am referring to Australia's Indigenous people, many of whom were removed from their homelands under government policies and forcibly transported to unfamiliar places across this country. Aboriginal people were expected to follow the rules dictated by government policies – or face the consequences. There are very few Aboriginal families today who avoided experiencing some form of intergenerational trauma, much of which has never been addressed. Many of my clients who were wanting to find their family had themselves been victims of emotional trauma through their ancestors. Some carried the scars of the past through alcoholism, drug use and mental health issues, and the list goes on. Naturally their emotions were extremely fragile as they read through the government documents revealing distressing information about long-lost loved ones.

Throughout my life, I have also suffered from intergenerational trauma. Both my maternal grandparents (at the ages of 13 years and 19 years) were removed from their homelands and put on an Aboriginal church-run mission. They met on Purga Mission and were married there in 1924. My grandfather spent just over a decade there, before he gained his certificate of exemption. Thereafter, he and his family moved away to live within mainstream society. They never told us about their earlier life or even where they were from. Interestingly, there were various comments going around the family about our heritage. For example, 'Grandmother was a Māori Princess'; another one was 'We could pass as Italian'. Both of these I found hard to believe. I grew up not knowing 'who I was' or 'where I belonged' and over the years that has taken its toll on me.

Sometimes my clients would ask me questions such as 'Who's your family?' and 'Where are you

from?' Sadly, I didn't yet know the answers. In 2003, I enrolled in the Honours and later Masters programs at the University of the Sunshine Coast in order to research the Certificate of Exemption for Aboriginal people. I believed that this was a way to go about finding those answers. Part of my studies involved doing research, which was all new to me. However, with help from my supervisors, I was soon able to gain an understanding of what I needed to do.

Before I attempted my research collection, various forms had to be designed to hold the data and the statistics needed to support the research question. As a mature-aged student, I had previously worked in clerical positions; therefore I had an understanding of what was required. My social work degree from the University of Queensland also helped me, as I studied 'research' as a subject and did my second placement of a 20-week period of unpaid work in a research-based project located in Cairns, north Queensland. I actually moved up there from Brisbane to be part of the team. The project's research involved five different Aboriginal sites in far north Queensland. At one stage, I spent two weeks in an Aboriginal community collecting data for the project. I was aware of important community protocols which had to be complied with. It was such an amazing experience, and I learned so much about the cultural practices of that community.

When I began doing my Honours research on the Certificate of Exemption at Queensland State Archives, I made a list of possible areas I wanted to investigate. Armed with pencils, erasers, paper and a purse full of $1 coins for photocopying, I packed my lunch box and then headed off. On arriving, I soon discovered that this was the beginning of a whole new world to me. However, before I could do anything, I had to fill in an application form for my State Archives card, which allowed me to access the library catalogues. I felt so excited to be able to be there and to physically see my family's story.

Next, I was introduced to the computer and reading room, where I was shown how to access the government's archives website. Eventually, I became familiar with the records and their categories and how to interpret the filing system. Each file had a serial number, which was needed by the library staff in order to search for the documents. Another staff member would bring the documents to the counter for me to collect. As my research was about the Certificate of Exemption, I was looking at the Aboriginal Department's files. The resources included the Colonial Secretary's correspondences, original series, and within them there were many subsections to go through – and so much more! I knew it was going to take a lot of time reading all those documents and taking endless amounts of notes, including where I found the information. There were often times when I thought, 'Now where did I read about that?'

Ordering specific microfiche rolls was done with help from staff, who also set up the microfiche machine. After I was shown exactly how it all worked, I was on my own. The rolls held years of important research information, so I took my time, in order to not miss any relevant data. Each roll took up to 60 minutes to review from beginning to end, and often longer if I found anything of interest that needed to be noted.

Today, microfiche machines are considered to be old technology, and they are no longer in regular use, due to spare parts being unobtainable. However, the rolls are slowly being digitised and can still provide us with many answers. Modern technology has moved on, and research now can be quickly achieved with a mobile phone and a USB stick, to record the necessary information. Also, much of the research can now be achieved remotely by searching the digitised categories of the Queensland State Archives website. Today, just send an email to the Archives staff with the details of documents required, and eventually they arrive by post – so different from being physically there!

During the four months of gathering my research data, I drove a daily distance of 250 kilometres each

weekday to and from the State Archives, in Runcorn, southside Brisbane. Overall, this represented a total distance of over 20,000 kilometres. Therefore, it was very important that I had a reliable car and the time to do the daily trek, and still have time for research. Expenses included car maintenance, fuel, toll fees and photocopying charges. Fortunately, I was awarded a $2,000 scholarship by the local Rotary Club, which largely covered my costs.

With my Honours and Masters research work, I held many community talks about the Certificate of Exemption, and I always had a variety of reactions from those in the audiences. Everything from 'knowing nothing', to 'yes, my ancestors had them'. I can recall at one community talk I was giving on exemptions, I noticed a woman was crying. She got up and went out of the room but stood by the door. After my talk I went and spoke with her. She explained that she was a 'Stolen Generation survivor' and that she wasn't emotionally prepared to see the slides I was showing. I spoke with her for some time, helping her cope with being upset over it. For that very reason, now when I give talks/ lectures, I always announce a warning that the slides contain issues that may be upsetting to some. When discussing your research it is important for you to know your audience and to be willing to chat afterwards. We are all human!

Research can be viewed in many varied forms. For instance, it can trigger all degrees of emotions when you are interviewing your target group. On one occasion I was with a group of Aboriginal Elders talking about my research into the Certificate of Exemption. They were certainly not interested in any research, and didn't they let me know it! They exclaimed, 'What are you digging up the past for?' Those hurtful words and much more were verbally thrown at me. I left that room half an hour later with tears in my eyes, wondering why! That incident happened almost 20 years ago, yet the experience still haunts me all these years later.

At various universities, I would often deliver lectures on the topic of 'The Certificate of Exemption'. The lectures highlighted past injustices perpetrated on Australia's Indigenous people by various draconian governments. Quite often, after a lecture I would have students wanting to talk with me about their family members who had an exemption. Frequently, some would ask about ways to start looking for family, and I would suggest that they speak with family members first. Then they could contact Link-Up, an Australia-wide organisation that helps those individuals who are 'searching for family'.[1]

Recently, I was required to call on my experience as a Stolen Generations counsellor when I was asked to assist Indigenous students in a program called 'Finding your family'. I am very happy to say that we have had one successful family reunion so far. It is interesting to note that all these years later, the painful emotions felt by past clients are still just as painful for the current students. Being anxious about what is found and what is not found, and the often long time taken to find family, still creates stress and anxiety. Emotions ride high on expectations, and there is always the danger of being let down if information is not available. There were a few times when a student would bring a family member with them for support, and that was fine with me.

In order to help each student in their quest to find their family, I designed four different forms. The first form was for recording all known family members, starting with self, then parents, grandparents, great-grandparents and so on. It is important that people talk with current family members to find out what they know. The second form related to any known district where it was believed their ancestors might be from; for example, a town in western Queensland. I told students of my experience when visiting a district in the search for lost family connections. It is always a good idea to talk to the

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1. For more information see "Link-Up," Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, accessed February 12, 2024, https://aiatsis.gov.au/family-history/you-start/link.

senior or Elders volunteers; they are often at the information centre located in the town's centre. They would know the residents living in town and so much more! The third form was for recording websites, including BDM (Births, Deaths and Marriages) in each state, Trove, state archives sites and so many others. Again, I would ask if there were any BDM certificates of family members that they were aware of. Finally, the last form was for notetaking, which allowed each student to keep together all information gathered from various websites, as well as personal communications with family members.

Searching the internet or websites for clues concerning where a family had lived in the past can be very time consuming, but it is often rewarding. I discovered that Trove is a fabulous resource site to explore.[2] It is part of the National Library website, on which many Australian state and territory newspapers from the 1840s to 1940s have been digitised. All you need to do is ask a question and the response is almost instant, sometimes with answers that you may not have expected. Another helpful website is Ancestry.com, where the Australian muster and electoral rolls are recorded.[3] They reveal past addresses of individuals at the time of elections. Not only do they reveal addresses but also individual's job titles and which family members lived at the same address. This information applied to my Aboriginal grandfather, who was exempted in 1926. Because he and his family voted, I could chart their whereabouts through the various electoral rolls over many decades.

Throughout my research studies, it was extremely important that I took care of myself mentally and physically – a process now called 'wellbeing'. I also tried hard not to neglect those around me, as they were my support team, helping me to manage it all. Researching can become lonely at times. It can also become very addictive and time consuming. It may take ages to find those records you were searching for. Remember, sometimes it is necessary to take a break in order to absorb the information just discovered. From time to time, 'life happens' and research is interrupted for a time, and that's ok. Research is an ever-revolving door that can be started and stopped throughout its journey.

2. Trove, accessed February 12, 2024, https://trove.nla.gov.au.

3. Ancestry, accessed February 12, 2024, https://www.ancestry.com.au.

4.2 Kat: History, emotion and giving back

I came to the topic of exemption when I stumbled upon a file while working in the State Archives and Records Authority of New South Wales in the early 2000s. It was an old microfilm reel of exemption applications that I had to get special permission to look at – a few years later it was closed to anyone who wasn't related to the individuals whose lives were described within it. Once the archivists had verified that I was an academic, they set me up on a microfilm reader and off I went. In this section I describe how I began my research on the archives of exemption policies and how I have changed my approach to them over time in ways that I hope have made me a better historian.

That day in the New South Wales State Archives I was immediately struck by the stories in this file, stories of people seemingly 'applying' to have basic human rights, playing the game of demonstrating how closely they followed the tenets of the assimilationist policy in vogue at that time in New South Wales. To make matters worse, they were then being judged by anonymous bureaucrats on the intimate details of their lives. The files contained a mixture of awful reports on people's behaviour and lives – whether they drank alcohol and how much, whether their houses were clean, whether they looked after their children, were married to their partner, whether they were employed. In that they were no different from other colonial records I had read. But what grabbed my attention was that they also contained letters from the people themselves, describing their lives and applying for something called 'exemption'. What was this exemption they were applying for? Off I went, like a good little historian, to find out more. At this point in my career I wasn't doing much collaborative work with Aboriginal people or scholars (that came later). I didn't reach out to any Aboriginal people, institutions or communities. Instead, I went to books written by other historians, the colonial archive and finally to the Australian Research Council (ARC). The ARC gave me a grant in 2014 to search through all the state records offices for records about exemption policies. With the help of Dr Leonie Stevens, who was employed on the project as a research assistant, we collected records from Perth, Darwin, Adelaide, Sydney, Brisbane, Alice Springs and Melbourne. Then I began planning to write an academic history of exemption policies. I have a filing cabinet and a Google Drive folder full of photocopies and scans of files – application letters and forms, police reports, welfare office reports, minutes of meetings and (thanks to Leonie's hard work) a list of all the names that appear in them.

I still haven't written that book. Instead, as time went on, I began to question how I was doing the project. The work I was doing made me question what academic historians do and the way I had been taught to be an historian. The material was so raw, so personal, so heartbreaking, I started to feel like an intruder. I began to question whether the distance that I had from this chapter of Australian history impacted on my ability to write and research. After all, I am a white woman and I have no family history of exemption. Who am I, I asked myself, to write this? – an outsider who came across it by chance, safe on the other side of a microfilm reel on a university-funded research trip where I stayed in a nice hotel.

I didn't come to these questions all by myself. It was partly by reading the critiques of the history profession made by Aboriginal people and scholars who have asked non-Indigenous historians to simply stop writing 'about' or 'for' Aboriginal people.[1] It was also by talking to people who have

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1. For example, see Karen Martin, *Please Knock Before you Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers* (Padmelon Press, 2008), and for a summary of these arguments see Katherine Ellinghaus and Barry Judd,

exemption in their family and generous Indigenous colleagues. One of the most important people taught me about exemption is Adjunct Professor Judi Wickes, the first historian to work on the history of exemption and who I met for the first time at a symposium in 2018.[2] Since then I have been lucky enough to form a beautiful friendship with Judi, and she has been a true friend who has taken the time to guide me through this work. We are now part of a larger team of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal scholars, largely brought together by Judi's dedication to researching exemption.[3]

Judi has made me realise that archives are not just there to be used as resources for my work. They have a history of their own and an ongoing power to hurt that should be taken into account. She has reminded me about how emotional this history is and how careful I need to be when I write or talk about it. When I sent her a draft of an article that I had written based on the archives in 2020, she talked to me gently and caringly about how it upset her. That article eventually became a co-written publication that was shortlisted for the 2022 Australian Historical Studies Patricia Grimshaw Prize, which is given to the article that makes the most significant contribution to our understanding of Australian history published in that year. In it we talked about how my academic writing concerning exemption had hurt Judi and taught me lessons about whether Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander stakeholders found purely academic research helpful or appropriate.[4]

Archives, records, documents and primary sources are the historian's toolbox. They are the evidence we use to write about the past, and our focus on them is one of the things that distinguishes us from other disciplines like anthropology and political science. Archives are often what our research is based upon, and thus how we build our careers. Historians love digging up the past for its own sake. But the colonial archive itself was based on hurt – on the collection of information without people's consent and then the use of that information to control and subjugate. It is entirely shaped in response to the settler state. As historian Trudy Huskamp Peterson has argued, one way to think of archives, particularly those created by governments, is as the 'caboose of the train of the state' – following along behind, sticking to the same tracks. She argues that this shapes the history 'it was and is possible to write'.[5] I wonder whether it is possible, as a non-Indigenous person, to write a colonial archive-based history that is not potentially hurtful to the descendants of the people described therein.

I now feel a deep responsibility, having collected so much archival information about exemption.

"Writing as Kin: F. W. Albrecht, Assimilation Policy and the Lutheran Experiment in Aboriginal Education, 1950s–1960s," in *Indigenous–Settler Relations in Australia and the World*, eds Sarah Maddison and Sana Nakata (Singapore: Springer Nature, 2020), 55–68.

2. Judi was the first scholar/historian in the world to write on the topic of Aboriginal exemption policies in her Honours and then Masters thesis: Judith Anne Wickes, "Study of the 'Lived Experience' of Citizenship Amongst Exempted Aboriginal People in Regional Queensland, with a focus on the South Burnett region" (MA thesis: University of the Sunshine Coast, 2010). You can find a list of her publications in note 4.

3. The team includes another Elder with a history of exemption in her family, Kella Robinson, and researchers Lucinda Aberdeen, Ashlen Francisco, Jennifer Jones and Jodi Cowdery.

4. Ellinghaus and Wickes, "A Moving Female Frontier."

5. Trudy Huskamp Peters, "Archives, Agency, and the State," in *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945*, eds Berber Bevernage and Nico Wouters (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), 139. See also Natalie Harkin, "Weaving the Colonial Archive: A Basket to Lighten the Load," *Journal of Australian Studies* 44, no. 2 (2020): 1–13; Kathy Bowrey, "Speaking of Us, about Us and for Us: Telling Stories about Aboriginal Peoples from the Archives," *Law & History* 3 (2016): 132–161; Greg Lehman, "Writing our Lives," in *Colonial Afterlives, Exhibition Catalogue*, curated by Sarah Thomas (Hobart: Salamanca Arts Centre, 2015), 6–8; and Kirsten Thorpe, "Ethics, Indigenous Cultural Safety and the Archives," *Archifacts*, no. 2 (2018): 33–47.

There are two aspects of these records that I've had to think deeply about. Firstly, there are some families who do not want their exemption stories told. Secondly, exemption can be painful, as it may lead to family dislocation and break ups. It is often surrounded by shame and silence. As Judi has discovered, many people would rather this history be forgotten. So it is not for me to publicise the hundreds of family histories of exemption that I have collected without speaking to those families first. The possibility exists that there are amazing stories in those archives that will never be told, and I have to work hard to silence my inner historian in order to reconcile the fact that there will be silences in my work: amazing stories of people resisting and negotiating with the policy that will likely never be told – because they are not my stories to tell.

At the same time, those archives also contain valuable information for people who might have suffered family dislocation. There are a burgeoning number of Indigenous family historians at present, individuals working hard after work and on weekends to fill the gaps in their family stories. In fact, helping more people to know about and understand the history of exemption is something that is sorely needed. Judi has made this her life's work. Today, the history of exemption policies is still not widely known, either by mainstream or by Indigenous communities. These policies are still not included in the Australian history curriculum. This is despite the fact that throughout the country, thousands of Indigenous people were granted exemptions. It is important to note that Judi's pioneering research uncovered more than 4,000 exemptees listed in Queensland alone.

Historians are confronted with many moral dilemmas when researching colonial archives, and those big questions have kept me awake at night. For example: Who actually owns these records? Should they be simply returned to Aboriginal communities and families or closed forever because they are so sensitive? Even though many archives are restricted because they contain such intimate and personal information, there are also many which are freely available to anyone who walks in. Some have even been digitised. Is it fair for non-Indigenous people to draw on these records to write articles and books that tell the story of settler colonial Australia and its crimes – but also further their career? On the other hand, these records are accessible to people wanting to use them to find information about their families and communities. How can universities and archival institutions support Aboriginal people through what is often a traumatic process of finding information about their families? How should historians and other researchers treat these records? What is my role in this space?

These are questions I've faced as I've worked on the history of exemption policies and wondered what to do with the information from state archives about exemption collected by Leonie and myself. So instead of writing a book I created a website (www.aboriginalexemption.com.au) as a way of dealing with this. It is supposed to operate as an invitation for people who have a family history of exemption to contact me so I can see if I have anything that might be able to help them. I worked with a fantastic website company called Digital Heritage Australia, which specialises in historical websites, to create the content. They suggested that I shoot a video to explain what the website was doing, rather than relying on lots of text. It is often older people who are doing the work of finding family history. Instead of just giving an email address I included a simple form for those who were not computer savvy. I added a page on 'Why am I doing this?' and included resources and information about the policy for those who might be interested. I included all of Judi's writings, as well as other publications coming from our team.

Since the website began, I have helped about 15 to 20 people a year. We mention the website at public events when we speak and refer to it in our writings. However, most traffic comes through internet searches conducted by people exploring their family stories. Sometimes weeks go by without a hit, and then there will be a flurry and I'll spend my weekend searching through our files and writing responses. This work is not recognised or valued by my university, but it is a joy to think that I am helping people understand their family history better, even in a small way. Often exemption is the

reason for the family silence. As one person wrote to me, 'Until today I had not known of Aboriginal Exemption as such, and I think it may answer some things regarding part of my father's family history.' Another wrote, 'I know very little about their history other than what I have been able to track down in Ancestry.com and some old family stories. My Nana denied her Indigenous heritage, which I believe could have been a result of the "exemption" policy.'

For many individuals I often do not find anything. If that is the case I direct them to the appropriate Indigenous family history services (there is one in every state and territory), giving them phone numbers and email addresses and letting them know that as a family member, they will be able to access files that I cannot as an academic. Every now and then, though, the names that they send me are a 'hit' and I can specifically direct them to particular files, or even give scans of documents that mention their ancestor's name or are in their ancestor's handwriting. I am always careful not to provide any information that contains any other families' names. Sometimes these hits generate a conversation, and we have had individuals who came to us through the website attend our symposia, or even join our team.

Probably my biggest highlight was being able to direct someone to a letter in their grandmother's handwriting, preserved in the colonial archive. The joy of being able to help people find archives that are significant to them is a different feeling from doing academic work. It feels more important, more real, as if I am making an impact in someone's life. It is very different from sending a piece of academic writing out into the world. I have Judi to thank for that.

The Indigenous Archives collective is a group of researchers and practitioners – both Indigenous and non-Indigenous – who want to encourage discussion about Indigenous archives, based on values of respect, integrity and social justice. They advocate for a right of reply, for the right to know what archival materials exist that pertain to them, for the right to cultural safety in the archive and for the right to control through consent how those archives are engaged with and used by all researchers.[6] That is how I see Judi's work; she is challenging and responding to the archives of exemption and the colonial archive itself. Together we are part of a larger team that includes other Aboriginal scholars who are working to challenge and respond to the records we collected. Our team recently received an ARC grant to research the history of Aboriginal exemption policies, but this time it is not to fund non-Indigenous historians. It is to support and encourage people with a history of exemption in their family to tell their own stories. My role is now much clearer than it was to me when I first encountered that file in Sydney, in my privileged position as a non-Indigenous woman employed by a university as a historian. It is to facilitate and support this work, not to speak over the top of it, to listen, to be responsive and to be challenged: to knock before I enter.[7]

6. Indigenous Archives Collective, accessed December 9, 2023, https://indigenousarchives.net.

7. See Martin, *Please Knock Before You Enter*.

4.3 Conclusion

So, dear reader, if you get the opportunity to work in the colonial archive, go with an open mind. Remember these files are not just about long-dead people; they are people's family and ancestors. They are the mother, the father, the sister, the brother, the grandparents, the aunty and the uncle … and so on. They are more than just paper, they are real, they are feelings and emotion, they are human. Treat the information that you find there with respect. Think about ways you can use your knowledge to help other people, not just yourself. Ask yourself, if this were your family, how would you like them to be treated? This nation will never heal until we know more about our history, so we must dig up the past with care and respect.

5.1 Author positionality

As a Pasifika researcher of Tongan descent, it is right that I make myself transparent and known to readers, particularly to those who are Pasifika researchers themselves. This is culturally appropriate.[1]

Figure 1: Paternal grandparents of author, 'Ilaisaane 'Ilaiū (née Tu'imoala) and Semisi 'Ilaiū, Nuku'alofa Marketplace, Tongatapu (1960s) – an online image of the original photograph shared by author's sister Hingano Anna Lea'aetoa (21 October 2023).

My paternal grandparents, (Figure 1) Semisi 'Ilaiū (grandfather) is from the village of Mu'a Tatakamotonga on the main island of Tongatapu and 'Ilaisaane 'Ilaiū (née Tu'imoala, grandmother) is from the village of Pukotala on Ha'ano island, Ha'apai group directly west of the Tonga Trench (with ancestral ties to Fiji). My maternal grandparents, Moho Leau (grandfather, with ancestral

1. Inez Fainga'a-Manu Sione, Ruth (Lute) Faleolo, and Cathleen Hafu-Fetokai. "Finding Harmony Between Decolonization and Christianity in Academia," *Art/Research International: A Transdisciplinary Journal*, Special Issue: (Re)crafting Creative Critically Indigenous Intergenerational Rhythms and Post-COVID Desires, 8, no. 2 (2024): 519–546; Ruth (Lute) Faleolo, Edmond Fehoko, Dagmar Dyck, Cathleen Hafu-Fetokai, Gemma Malungahu, Zaramasina L. Clark, Esiteli Hafoka, Finausina Tovo, and David T. M. Fa'avae. "Our Search for Intergenerational Rhythms as Tongan Global Scholars," *Art/Research International: A Transdisciplinary Journal*, Special Issue: (Re)crafting Creative Critically Indigenous Intergenerational Rhythms and Post-COVID Desires, 8, no. 2 (2024a): 663–704.

ties to Sāmoa) is from the village of Houma, Tongatapu and 'Ana Malia Fisi'ihone Akauola (née Halangahu, grandmother, with ancestral ties to Uvea) is from Ha'alalo, Tongatapu (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Maternal grandmother of author, 'Ana Malia Fisi'ihone Akauola (née Halangahu) affectionately known as 'Nana' (1990s) – an image taken by the author (13 July 2024) of the original photograph passed onto author by mother, Falakika Lose 'Ilaiū, in 2022 (originally stored in a private archival collection in Aotearoa NZ), now stored in a private archival collection in Australia.

My father 'Ahoia 'Ilaiū first met my mother Falakika Lose Halangahu while boarding in Nuku'alofa (the capital city of Tonga) as a student at Tonga High School. After courtship, they were married on 22 December 1969 in Tongatapu (see their marriage certificate in Figure 3) and travelled to the outer island of Vava'u, where my father was teaching. They later returned to the main island of Tongatapu shortly before the birth of their first child (1972).

Figure 3: Marriage certificate of author's parents, 'Ahoia and Falakika Lose 'Ilaiū (née Halangahu) – a photo of a certified copy of the original shared by author's brother James (Semisi) 'Ilaiū (24 January 2024).

It was during this time that they decided it would be easier for them to provide a better life for their family if they migrated overseas. They took advantage of the short-term work visas on offer to Pacific Islanders and moved to Aotearoa NZ (Figure 4), where I was later born in 1974. My parents were then able to apply for Aotearoa NZ citizenship on the grounds that they had a child born in the

country, as well as the fact they had purchased their first property there, allowing them to settle and raise a family in this newfound homeland.
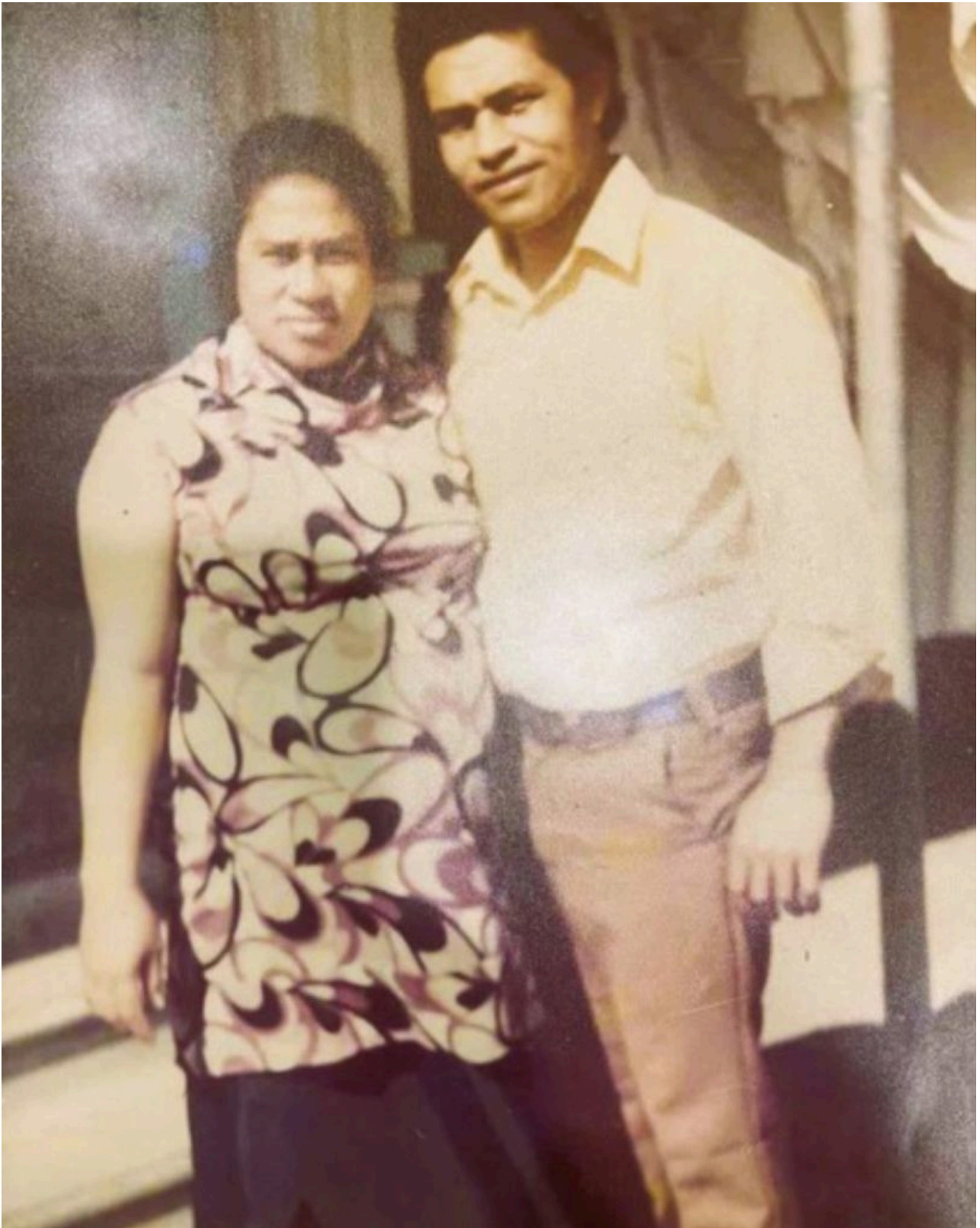
Figure 4: Author's parents Falakika Lose and 'Ahoia 'Ilaiū, Auckland, Aotearoa NZ (1970s) – a photograph of the original image taken and shared online by author's sister Hingano Anna Lea'aetoa (21 October 2023).

In the early 1990s I met Leaula Thom Faleolo, the eldest son of Aufa'i Leaula Saolotoga Faleolo from Saleaula and Falelima, Sāmoa, and Malia 'Alosia Faleolo (nee Suafoa), from Leulumoega,

Sāmoa. Thom and I were studying at the University of Auckland when we became good friends at 18 years of age. We married on 22 November 1997 in Auckland and later had six children: Israel, Sh'Kinah, Angels, Nehemiah, Lydiah, and Naomi. Thom and I chose to live in Ōtara, where we purchased our first two properties right next door to my parents; there our growing family was born and raised. We built our careers in education and research, researching and studying part time to complete higher qualifications while teaching full time in local secondary schools in South Auckland (2002–2015). After much conversation, prayer and consideration of our options, we decided to sell up our homes to move to Brisbane; we hoped for a healthier lifestyle, better opportunities and higher education for our family. As I write this chapter, it's been almost a decade since we moved to Australia; several of our goals have been achieved here, some are still in progress, and holistically our family's life has been good. We count our blessings each time we think about our shared migration story (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Author's family. (Left to right) Nehemiah (late son), Ruth (author), Naomi (in front), Thom (husband), Sh'Kinah, Lydiah and Israel (taking photo) at the Brisbane International Airport, saying goodbye to extended family returning to Auckland, Aotearoa NZ – a selfie-style image taken by author's son Israel Faleolo and later shared on Facebook by author (22 May 2016).

In 2015 I began a PhD study of Pasifika trans-Tasman migration and the correlation between their experiences and perspectives of wellbeing. The findings of this study revealed that Pasifika (including Tongans') narratives and understandings of their migration are holistic and that their mobility is collectively inspired by their holistic dimensions of wellbeing. In 2020 these insights helped shape the objectives of my postdoctoral study of Pasifika mobilities to and through Australia. An interesting outcome of the earlier part of the study was the impact of COVID-19 on the collective mobility of Tongans that I was working in partnership with across Australia, Aotearoa NZ and the US. The physical restrictions on their connectivity enhanced and became the catalyst for

further sociocultural connectivity online – strengthening the intergenerational and multigenerational sharing of spiritual, social and cultural knowledge and heritage. Four years later, in 2024, I have been given opportunities through ongoing and new research work to study Pasifika migration and mobilities through various lenses, including seasonal food workers' pathways into Australia and intra-movements within Australia's states and territories, as well as a continuation of the study of Pasifika mobilities to and through Australia to other Pacific rim nations (Aotearoa NZ and the US) and further afield to Asia and Europe.

It is my hope to capture the nuances of Tongan mobility histories that are often left untold or have been told incorrectly. This chapter will reflect the gleanings of meaning making and understandings that I have been privy to hearing and experiencing in my participant–observer research work over the years.

5.2 Introduction

If you are looking for a cut and dried text on how and why Pacific migrants have landed themselves in Australia, this is not the right chapter for you. I suggest that you head to an economist's review or a political report on Pacific labourers and migration trends. Be mindful that if you do take the mainstream route,[1] you will most likely hear very little of the Pacific voices and narratives that give meaning to their migration and movements across the seas. However, if you are seeking a deeper understanding of what brings Pacific peoples to the shores of Australia, then do keep reading. This chapter presents Tongan mobility histories that have often been overlooked as unimportant or too familiar[2] by historical texts yet are being retold because they provide key understandings. These Tongan mobility histories have been co-created – the telling and retelling of oral histories, collation of narratives, storage and passing on of material culture related to these histories and narratives by members of families and collectives – and preserved intergenerationally. The knowledge and meanings of how, why, when and where our Tongan people have settled and thrived in Australia, over time and space, have been passed on through several generations' narratives. Such understandings are often preserved in private archives or shared online within collectives – an e-cultivation of cultural heritage both in Tonga and in diaspora contexts.

The Talanoa Vā methodology is a culturally responsive approach used to better understand Tongan communities in diaspora contexts like Australia. This chapter introduces the e-talanoa method – founded on Talanoa Vā – an online process of dialoguing with Tongans, something that is key to further analysis of material culture and cultural e-heritage that has been shared online with and by Tongan collectives.

I include a series of images from these online collectives, alongside images of private archives kept by Tongans living in diaspora contexts, and excerpts of migration narratives in this discussion are incorporated to illustrate and retell Tongan mobility histories in Australia. These are not the usual archives for an historian, but they show us how our shared past is made into history in a very personal way.

1. Richard Bedford, "Pasifika Mobility: Pathways, Circuits and Challenges in the 21st Century" (Hamilton: University of Waikato Population Studies Centre, 2007); Richard Bedford, Elsie Ho, and Graeme Hugo, "Trans-Tasman Migration in Context: Recent Flows of New Zealanders Revisited," *People and Place* 11, no. 4 (2003): 53–62; Robert Haig, "New Zealand Department of Labour Report: Working Across the Ditch – New Zealanders Working in Australia" (Wellington: Department of Labour, New Zealand Government, 2010); Paul Hamer, "Unsophisticated and Unsuited: Australian Barriers to Pacific Islander Immigration from New Zealand," *Political Science* 66, no. 2 (2014): 93–118.

2. Ruth (Lute) Faleolo, "Re-visioning Online Pacific Research Methods for Knowledge Sharing that Maintains Respectful Vā," *Waka Kuaka: The Journal of the Polynesian Society,* Special Issue: Re-visioning Pacific research method/ologies, 132, nos. 1 & 2 (2023a): 93–110; Ruth (Lute) Faleolo, Sh'Kinah Tuia'ana Nauna Faleolo, Lydiah Malia-Lose Faleolo, and Nehemiah Thomas Faleolo, "Understanding Diaspora Pasifika (Sāmoan and Tongan) Intergenerational Sense-Making and Meaning-Making Through Imageries," *Art Research International: A Transdisciplinary Journal,* Special Issue: (Re)crafting Creative Critically Indigenous Intergenerational Rhythms and Post-COVID Desires, 8, no. 2 (2024b): 362–414.

5.3 Talanoa Vā and e-talanoa

Talanoa Vā and e-talanoa are Pacific ways of knowledge sharing that have been developed by Pacific scholars in the diaspora.[1] Talanoa is a concept found in the Tongan, Sāmoan, Tuvaluan and Fijian languages.[2] Simply defined as 'a free-flowing conversation that involves the sharing of stories, thoughts and feelings', Talanoa was first formally mentioned by Halapua (2002).[3] He makes the important link between talanoa and vā, an important sociocultural relational space that Pacific people seek to maintain. Talanoa seeks to maintain good vā through reciprocal knowledge sharing.[4] The e-talanoa method that I developed to understand Pasifika trans-Tasman migrants' experiences and perspectives was further evolved by Fa'avae et al. to incorporate the ethics of vā-relations.[5] Tongan scholar David Taufui Mikato Fa'avae and his colleagues view e-talanoa as a Moana-Pacific research praxis that disrupts 'colonial framings … frameworks, and activate[s] mindset shifts'.[6] Importantly the use of Talanoa Vā alongside e-talanoa is key to deep analysis of meanings and sense making behind the material culture and cultural e-heritage that has been shared online with and by Tongan collectives.

1. Faleolo et al., "Our Search for Intergenerational Rhythms"; David Taufui Mikato Fa'avae, Ruth (Lute) Faleolo, 'Elisapesi Hepi Havea, Dion Enari, Tepora Wright, and Alvin Chand, "e-talanoa as an Online Research Method: Extending Vā-relations Across Spaces," *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* 18, no. 3 (2022): 391–401.

2. Tamasailau Suaalii-Sauni and Saunimaa Ma Fulu-Aiolupotea, "Decolonising Pacific Research, Building Pacific Research Communities and Developing Pacific Research Tools: The Case of the Talanoa and the Faafaletui in Samoa," *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 55, no. 3 (2014): 331–344.

3. Sitiveni Halapua, "Talanoa process: The Case of Fiji" (Honolulu: East-West Centre, 2002), https://fdocuments.net/download/talanoa-process-the-case-of-fiji-united-process-the-case-of-fiji-sitiveni.

4. Ruth Faleolo, "Talanoa moe vā": Pacific Knowledge-Sharing and Changing Sociocultural Spaces during COVID-19," *Waikato Journal of Education* 26 (2021): 125–134.

5. Faleolo et al., "Our Search for Intergenerational Rhythms"; Ruth (Lute) Faleolo, "Pasifika Trans-Tasman Migrant Perspectives of Well-Being in Australia and New Zealand," *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 7, no. 1 (2016): 63–74; Faleolo, "Talanoa moe vā."

6. Fa'avae et al., "e-talanoa as an online research method," 393.

5.4 Tongan collectives

Tongans originate from the Kingdom of Tonga, an archipelago in the South Pacific region in close proximity to Pacific rim countries like Aotearoa NZ and Australia (Figure 6). Tongan individuals migrating to Australia, often through Aotearoa NZ, are part of a collective of families (famili) – kainga.[1] Multigenerational family groups that exist in Tongan collectives across diaspora and Pacific homelands are what help to maintain intergenerational connections, both face to face and online.[2]

Figure 6: Map showing circular migration of Tongans between their Pacific homelands and diaspora collectives in Australia and Aotearoa NZ (adapted from Virtuaocean, retrieved 8 August 2023).

There are salient links between diaspora and Pacific homelands.[3] Material culture reveals connections that are ongoing and circulatory.[4] Traditional materials used in

1. Ruth Faleolo, "Understanding Pacific Island Well-Being Perspectives Through Samoan and Tongan Material Cultural Adaptations and Spatial Behaviour in Auckland and Brisbane." *Sites: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies* 16, no. 2 (2019a): 37–76; Ruth (Lute) Faleolo, "Wellbeing Perspectives, Conceptualisations of Work and Labour Mobility Experiences of Pasifika Trans-Tasman Migrants in Brisbane," in *Labour Lines and Colonial Power: Indigenous and Pacific Islander Labour Mobility in Australia,* eds V. Stead and J. Altman (Canberra: ANU Press, 2019b): 185–206.

2. Dion Enari and Ruth (Lute) Faleolo, "Pasifika Collective Well-being During the COVID-19 Crisis: Samoans and Tongans in Brisbane," *Journal of Indigenous Social Development* 9, no. 3 (2020): 110–126; Ruth (Lute) Faleolo, "Tongan Collective Mobilities: Familial Intergenerational Connections Before, During, and Post COVID-19," *Oceania* 90 (2020a): 128–138.

3. Ruth (Lute) Faleolo, "Pasifika Well-Being and Trans-Tasman Migration: A Mixed Methods Analysis of Samoan and Tongan Well-being Perspectives and Experiences in Auckland and Brisbane" (PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 2020b); Faleolo, "Wellbeing Perspectives, Conceptualisations of Work and Labour Mobility Experiences of Pasifika Trans-Tasman Migrants in Brisbane."

4. Faleolo, "Understanding Pacific Island Well-Being Perspectives"; Ruth (Lute) Faleolo, "Pasifika Diaspora

Australia are often brought by family members from Tonga when attending celebrations and bereavements.[5] Figure 7 captures a moment of serious discussion amongst Tongan women deciphering which mats should be gifted to whom at a Pasifika PhD graduation celebration attended by prestigious community leaders and University of Queensland affiliates.

Figure 7: Kie Tonga (fine mats) and ngatu (tapa cloth) being folded in preparation for the gifting of cake and koloa faka-Tonga (Tongan wealth) to special guests at a family graduation celebration in Brisbane (2016) – photograph taken by author and later posted on Facebook (12 December 2016).

The migratory pattern of movement of Tongan people in search of better opportunities and resources is a natural inclination that has been happening for centuries.[6] The phenomena of Tongans migrating en masse during the 1950s to 1990s from their

Connectivity and Continuity with Pacific Homelands: Material Culture and Spatial Behaviour in Brisbane," *TAJA: The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 31, no. 1 (2020c): 66–84.

5. Faleolo, "Understanding Pacific Island Well-Being Perspectives"; Faleolo, "Pasifika Diaspora Connectivity and Continuity with Pacific Homelands"; Ruth (Lute) Faleolo, "Mobility Justice: Tongan Elders Engaging in Temporal Trans-Tasman Migration for Caregiving Duties," *Australian Geographer* 54, no. 4 (2023b): 533–544.

6. Epeli Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands," *The Contemporary Pacific* 6, no.1 (1994): 147–61.

Pacific homelands to Aotearoa NZ, Australia and the US has been well documented.[7] There is evidence that there are more Tongans living abroad than there are living in Tonga.[8] What is interesting is that the connections through material culture, circular migration and e-talanoa have increased, especially since COVID-19, which revived intergenerational knowledge sharing online.[9]

An example of knowledge sharing in action was the proliferation of Tongan women's coffee and prayer groups alongside cultural crafts, cultural dance and language groups during the 2020–2021 lockdowns.[10] Post pandemic, these groups have continued online and boosted numbers attending church and community events across Tongan collectives. This has been observed in Australia, Aotearoa NZ, the US and Tonga.[11]

7. Manuhuia Barcham, Regina Scheyvens, and John Overton, "New Polynesian Triangle: Rethinking Polynesian Migration and Development in the Pacific," *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 50, no. 3 (2009): 322–337; Leulu F. Va'a, "Saili Matagi: Samoan Migrants in Australia" (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific & Apia: National University of Sāmoa, 2001); Tēvita O. Ka'ili, "Marking Indigeneity: The Tongan Art of Sociospatial Relations" (University of Arizona Press, 2017).

8. Niko Besnier, *On the Edge of the Global: Modern Anxieties in a Pacific Island Nation* (Stanford University Press, 2011).

9. Faleolo, "Mobility Justice"; Ruth (Lute) Faleolo, "Trans-Tasman Mobilities in and Through Aotearoa New Zealand: Extending Family, Home, and Work Across the Tasman," *Transforming the Politics of Mobility and Migration in Aotearoa New Zealand* (2023c): 87–99; Faleolo, "Our Search for Intergenerational Rhythms"; Enari and Faleolo, "Pasifika Collective Well-being During the COVID-19 Crisis."

10. Faleolo, "Trans-Tasman Mobilities in and Through Aotearoa New Zealand."

11. Faleolo, "Talanoa moe vā"; Faleolo, "Trans-Tasman Mobilities in and Through Aotearoa New Zealand."

5.5 Private archives

As well as the online sharing of cultural heritage, there is evidence of the ongoing practice of maintaining material culture and archival records within Tongan family homes.[1] During many visits to the homes of kainga in the diaspora as well as in Tonga, I have observed how several families have proudly stored and then shared their collections of images, documents and materials that have been passed on through the generations as keepsakes, heirlooms and family treasures.[2]

One might find it odd that Tongan women store their fine mats and ngatu under the mattresses of the beds in their homes.[3] From personal experience, when I moved to Australia – thinking I might save my children from the lumpy mattress practice – I put my ngatu in a large plastic box with a lid and, thinking it was safe, left it in my cupboard. To my dismay, after a year and a half of not taking the ngatu out to air in the sun and to shake out any insects that could be living in the material, I discovered that layers had been eaten into by a bark-eating insect that found its way into the box! I have learned from that consequence that the aerated layering of fine mats and ngatu under a spare-bedroom mattress is the best storage place. Also, I realised that the annual practice of bathing these natural materials in the sun was not just a chore that we carried out in Aotearoa NZ for school holiday fun; I fondly remember that my mother would get my siblings and me to spread her koloa-wealth out on the front lawn, and yards of ngatu stretched across her very long driveway during summer. We would help to use Tongan lolo-oil and black ink to revive the cultural motifs and distinct fragrance of the ngatu. These memories of our famili effort to preserve koloa from Tonga in Aotearoa NZ helps me to appreciate the kie Tonga-fine mats and ngatu-tapa cloth that was passed onto me by my mother. Several pieces had been gifted to her through the cultural practices of ceremonial giving at various events she had attended in Tonga and Aotearoa NZ. In Australia, I continue to teach my children the value of koloa and how this gifting through generations connects us back to Tonga.[4]

The larger-than-normal kie Tonga (see Figure 8), are especially made for occasions like weddings, often collected by a Tongan mother over a number of years in preparation for her children. The mother of the bride for the wedding shown in Figure 8 had been able to add to her collection from fine mats purchased or made in Tonga and brought over to Aotearoa NZ during the 1990s. Some other pieces used in the front of the church were gifted to her during the exchange that occurs at other family events (e.g. birthdays and funerals). Reciprocal gift giving at Tongan events helps to circulate

1. Faleolo et al., "Understanding Diaspora Pasifika (Sāmoan and Tongan) Intergenerational Sense-Making and Meaning-Making Through Imageries."

2. Faleolo, "Re-visioning Online Pacific Research Methods"; Faleolo, "Trans-Tasman Mobilities in and Through Aotearoa New Zealand"; Faleolo et al., "Understanding Diaspora Pasifika (Sāmoan and Tongan) Intergenerational Sense-Making and Meaning-Making Through Imageries."

3. Dagmar Dyck and Caroline Scott Fanamanu, "Interweaving Creative Critical Sense-Making Through a Body of Koloa: An Exploratory Examination of Falanoa as an Intergenerational Arts-Based Research Method," *Art Research International: A Transdisciplinary Journal,* Special Issue: (Re)crafting Creative Critically Indigenous Intergenerational Rhythms and Post-COVID Desires, 8, no. 2 (2024): 563–598.

4. Faleolo et al., "Understanding Diaspora Pasifika (Sāmoan and Tongan) Intergenerational Sense-Making and Meaning-Making Through Imageries."

these valuable items of material culture, which are effectively passed on with special meaning through one's connections to the Pacific homelands and throughout their diaspora collectives.

Figure 8: Fine mats from Tonga used in church aisle for a Tongan wedding in Auckland, Aotearoa NZ (2015) – photo taken by author and shared on Facebook (29 March 2015).

Figure 9 depicts a baby shower display table in Brisbane decorated by the female cousins and mother of the expectant mother, who had brought her koloa from Auckland as extra luggage. Often the objects of material culture used by Tongan families in Australia have travelled with family members via Aotearoa NZ. This is largely due to the ease of transfer and migration between Australia and Aotearoa NZ for Tongans who have either been born as Aotearoa NZ citizens or become permanent residents in Aotearoa NZ. The Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement between Australia and Aotearoa NZ further encourages the circulatory migration of Tongans between these two diaspora contexts and Tonga.[5]

Figure 9: Kie-fine mats and ngatu-tapa cloth from Tonga used on a presentation table at a baby shower in Brisbane. These items had been transported through family members leaving Tonga in the 1970s to settle in Auckland, Aotearoa NZ. In 2016 these items were further transported across to Australia by relatives attending the event in support of the mother-to-be – an amended image of a photo shared online with the author by Tessalina Lee (18 April 2016).

Educational milestones are a sign of fakalakalaka-progress for families who have migrated from Tonga[6] to diaspora contexts like Australia. Figure 10 demonstrates the significance placed on academic achievement, particularly higher education qualifications like a doctoral degree. The display of material culture in this instance was not only to honour a Tongan daughter but also to pay homage to the Pacific cultures that were represented at the event held in Logan, an area that is highly populated by Pasifika. Their attendance at this special graduation, adorned in traditional cultural attire, cheering on the many Pasifika graduates in song and dance, is what happens in Tongan island

5. Faleolo, "Wellbeing Perspectives, Conceptualisations of Work and Labour Mobility Experiences of Pasifika Trans-Tasman Migrants in Brisbane."

6. Ruth (Lute) 'Ilaiū, "Signs of Development as 'Fakalakalaka' in Tonga? A Consideration of the Views and Changing Roles of Tongan Women" (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1997); Ruth (Lute) Faleolo, "Higher Education in New Zealand: A Form of Fakalakalaka for Educated Tongan Women? A Consideration of the Perspectives of Educated Tongan Women on their Experiences of Higher Education in New Zealand, and how this Relates to Fakalakalaka" (MEd thesis, Massey University, 2012).

and village settings. In Australia and in other diaspora contexts, university and school communities alongside church groups and sports clubs have for many Tongans become the diaspora village-like setting – a place where material culture is promoted and meaningful, and where the red and white flag of the Kingdom of Tonga is often raised in celebration or remembrance. Such events and ways of being in Australia carry songs and narratives of migration, urging fellow Tongans to excel and live good lives in their extension of home in diaspora.

Figure 10: A collection of Tongan koloa-wealth displayed at a Pasifika graduation event in Brisbane. This special collection was presented by Fatai Faingaʻa and her family, to honour the graduation of their daughter Dr Inez Faingaʻa-Manu Sione with her PhD in Brisbane, December 2022 – photo taken and shared online with Inez and her family, by author (11 December 2022).

5.6 E-cultivation of cultural heritage

The online sharing of Tongan cultural heritage is something that was happening before COVID-19; however, it has become more noticeable since the pandemic. Enari and Faleolo explain the significance of the timing of this increased connectivity online.[1] The intergenerational knowledge sharing of traditional and cultural ways of being alongside innovative and contemporary practices has helped to maintain vā – important sociocultural and relational spaces – between family and community members. For instance, Dr Inez Fainga'a-Manu Sione used social media to share her inspirational migration narratives and to promote collective stories of success in Australia. The following links have been used with permission from Dr Inez Fainga'a-Manu Sione (12 July 2024):

Video: Born2lead Digital Migration Story (2020) posted by Dr Inez Fainga'a-Manu Sione

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here: https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=530#oembed-1

Video: Graduation Ceremony with Community (2023) posted by Dr Inez Fainga'a-Manu Sione

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here: https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=530#oembed-2

1. Enari and Faleolo, "Pasifika Collective Well-being During the COVID-19 Crisis."

Video: Dr Inez Fainga'a-Manu Sione Graduation Dinner – Friday, 12 January (2023) posted by Dr Inez Fainga'a-Manu Sione

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here: https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=530#oembed-3

Video: Sustaining Indigenous Knowledges (2024) posted by Dr Inez Fainga'a-Manu Sione

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here: https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=530#oembed-4

The growth of membership and stability of Tongan religious groups in the diaspora and in the Pacific homelands is often a reflection of the strength of familial groups to maintain their family engagement in a chosen church. For example, the 'Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga District Australia Inc – Online Services'[2] is a public group on Facebook, with 2,000-plus followers. The Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga District Australia Inc. offers an online platform with linked services, helping to keep individuals and families connected through the church. There is a strong connection between this Australia-based group and those in the Pacific homelands, as well as with Aotearoa NZ members of a similar regional group. Often these connections have been maintained for several generations and although weekly attendance at church may not always be physical (it can be online for some) the cultural element of the Tongan church is always a drawcard for family groups who find that values, traditions and language is maintained through such spaces, particularly for those raising Tongan children in diaspora.

During the pandemic, family gatherings online became more common, with funeral services and burials often shared within a collective via livestream private links on Facebook. For example, a Tongan familial collective across Tongatapu, Aotearoa NZ and Australia used a private group on Facebook to call their network (320 members) together during a time of bereavement, when travel and physical restrictions led to more creative ways of dealing with loss and grief. This allowed family members to feel sociocultural closeness despite being separated physically while the funeral took place in Brisbane. The tangible distance between Tongans during these times only served to

2. Free Wesleyan Church of Tongan District Australia Inc – Online Services https://www.facebook.com/search/top?q=free%20wesleyan%20church%20of%20tonga%20district%20australia%20inc%20-%20online%20services

strengthen their sociocultural vā. Post pandemic, several Tongan families have continued to use this online method of shared mourning, to further promote closeness and kinship across the global collectives in diaspora and Tonga.[3]

The importance of maintaining vā with other Tongans across the globe, and especially connecting back to the Pacific homelands, allows the many Tongans living abroad to keep focused on the bigger picture: the reason many Tongans emigrate from Tonga in the first place is not to leave but rather to build and maintain connections through the return of 'help' whether in the form of money, tea boxes stocked with food, clothing and stationery, or the physical return of a professional or graduate to contribute physically to the fakalakalaka-development of Tonga.[4] The beauty of an online platform collective is that many Tongans can contribute to it and stay informed whether living in mainland villages, on outer islands or further abroad. For instance, the 'Tongan Women in Action Collective'[5] is a public group on Facebook with 657 members. It is a Tonga-based collective for Tongan women, operating on the ground in the local villages while connecting globally online, raising the profile of Tongan women and their voices in economic, social and political spaces of policymaking. The connectivity attained in this collective is built on innate cultural knowledge and understandings. In return, these individuals and members of families, communities and villages can participate in the reciprocal cultural sharing that occurs naturally along this line of communication.[6]

Many Tongans come to Australia every year temporarily as part of seasonal worker programs, recruited via church and community leaders in Tonga, Australia and Aotearoa NZ. The 'Tongan Seasonal Workers (AUST)'[7] Facebook group is evidence of the high number of Tongans engaged in this industry, with 3,400-plus members. The public group provides a platform for Tongan seasonal workers to dialogue and share knowledge and understandings while in Australia or Aotearoa NZ for seasonal work.

Public groups like 'Tongans in Australia'[8] help to promote Tongan-ness online. This public group, with 26,300 members, promotes Tongan culture, lea faka-Tonga-language and events. This forum on Facebook has become popular since COVID-19 because of the opportunities to connect with fellow Tongan members across the globe, allowing these networks to communicate collective sense making and understandings of family, church, community and culture. Tongans are sharing ideas online about how to create material culture using templates that are both traditional and contemporary; this online practice further helps to build and maintain intergenerational connections. Elders of the community have been able to share their crafts and traditional knowledge online with the assistance of Tongan youth who have established social media channels and technological skills. The combination of these sets of know-how have proliferated the use of online platforms, especially since 2020 when forced lockdowns provided the impetus for technological and intergenerational upskilling; importantly the 'stay at home' clause of social and travel restrictions meant increased togetherness and time to learn about cultural materials and meanings.

3. Faleolo, "Tongan Collective Mobilities"; Faleolo, "Trans-Tasman Mobilities in and Through Aotearoa New Zealand."

4. Faleolo, "Higher Education in New Zealand."

5. 'Tongan Women in Action Collective' https://www.facebook.com/groups/TWAC2014

6. Faleolo, "Trans-Tasman Mobilities in and Through Aotearoa New Zealand."

7. 'Tongan Seasonal Workers (AUST)' https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=10207917240807333&set=p.10207917240807333

8. 'Tongans in Australia' https://www.facebook.com/groups/1667589573510275

5.7 Tongan mobility histories in Australia

What is the significance of these understandings about Tongan collectives, their face-to-face and online connections and the way they nurture and maintain shared understandings, material culture and heritage? Tongan people living in Australia are not just filling a labour shortage. Our collective mobilities are, and have been, the result of factors and processes that are not linear and not just economically driven. Evidence suggests that contemporary Tongan migration trajectories and mobility journeys are simultaneously evolving and responding to changes occurring in the island homeland and diaspora contexts that we choose to live in.[1]

The mobility of Tongan collectives involves a host of intrinsic and extrinsic reasons.[2] Our priorities of solidarity, family and community encourage our participation in migration, including labour lines, to and through Australia. These movements have been met with varying responses, resulting from the transforming social, economic and political landscapes of Australia, Tonga and often Aotearoa NZ, where many Tongans land first on their pathway to Australia. For instance, the declining economic situation in Aotearoa NZ, the changing trans-Tasman arrangements between Australia and Aotearoa NZ, or the visa policies with Tonga, including recent allowances made for seasonal workers and their families to be considered as citizens, all play a part in the mindsets of Tongans when they discuss and plan their migration and mobility steps. One thing is for certain, Tongans are not a passive participant in this process, as is wrongly portrayed by literature describing Tongan migrants as forced or influenced by government regimes.[3] Tongans living in Australia enact agency to move, settle or pause temporarily in a place, for the wellbeing of their families and themselves, as a way of maintaining vā. This Tongan agency is something I have discussed elsewhere.[4]

Tongan people will almost always prioritise their spiritual, familial and social wellbeing; these spheres influence their migration decisions.[5] My research with Pasifika collectives and their mobilities, to and through Australia, since April 2020 has provided insights into how familial and communal support across the Tasman has continued to contribute to the successful collective mobility of family members. For instance, the role of Tongan elders in our collective mobility is significant, drawing family members together for knowledge and practice sharing face to face and online – a collective space that has increasingly become useful in our shared mobilities since 2020.

Sosaia, a Tongan man and first-generation migrant born in Tongatapu, spoke with me in 2020 via

1. Dion Enari and Lisa Viliamu Jameson, "Climate Justice: A Pacific Island Perspective," *Australian Journal of Human Rights* (2021): 1–12; Enari and Faleolo, "Pasifika Collective Well-being During the COVID-19 Crisis."

2. Faleolo, "Pasifika Well-Being and Trans-Tasman Migration"; Faleolo, "Understanding Pacific Island Well-Being Perspectives."

3. Faleolo, "Tongan Collective Mobilities"; Faleolo, "Mobility Justice"; Faleolo, "Trans-Tasman Mobilities in and Through Aotearoa New Zealand."

4. Faleolo, "Understanding Pacific Island Well-being Perspectives"; Faleolo, "Tongan Collective Mobilities"; Faleolo, "Pasifika Diaspora Connectivity and Continuity."

5. Enari and Faleolo, "Pasifika Collective Well-being During the COVID-19 Crisis"; Faleolo, "Trans-Tasman Mobilities in and Through Aotearoa New Zealand"; Faleolo et al., "Understanding Diaspora Pasifika (Sāmoan and Tongan) Intergenerational Sense-Making and Meaning-Making Through Imageries."

e-talanoa during the pandemic lockdowns and travel bans. He was aged 75 years at the time of our last face-to-face talanoa communication, when he had been travelling back and forth, with his wife, between his home in Aotearoa NZ and the home of his daughter in Australia. He had been making these short-term visits each year for the past five years, since the birth of his first grandchild, as a way of helping his daughter with tauhi fanau-child care. The help he provided effectively minimised the annual cost of his grandchild attending the local play centre for extremely expensive fees – a sound reason for his regular three-month stays each year.

Paea and Selu, aged 60 and 67 at the time of our last communication (2021), are also Tongan grandparents who shared their e-talanoa narratives with me during the COVID-19 lockdowns. They live in Aotearoa NZ but began their trans-Tasman tauhi fanau travels in 2014 when their daughter first moved to Australia as a newlywed and was expecting their first grandchild. Although these grandparents are permanent residents of Aotearoa NZ, they have remained Tongan citizens, travelling on Tongan passports. Each trip requires them to apply for visas and visa renewals to extend their stay beyond just a visit. The significance of their trans-Tasman trips is that it is their way of maintaining important sociocultural connections with their daughter and her Tongan husband's family based in Australia. They made regular trips until the start of 2020. Recently, in 2021 and again in 2022, they resumed their travel, navigating in and around the pandemic restrictions.

Several Pasifika collectives have helped individuals to migrate to represent them in family events happening across the Tasman, especially funerals.[6] Other members overcame the challenges of restricted travel to care for their elderly parents. During the changing trans-Tasman pandemic-influenced regimes, the choice to continually migrate across spaces within and between Australian states' pandemic jurisdictions, as well as across Aotearoa NZ's varying restriction zones, often meant expensive quarantine time in hotels on either side of the Tasman. However, according to many committed Pasifika family members, these experiences of extended waiting and every dollar spent on quarantine processes were worth the sacrifice of time and money if it meant they could finally embrace loved ones awaiting their arrival.

It was clear that 2022 signalled a long-awaited freedom for many people across the globe, including Australia and its neighbours. Tongan collectives became mobile again, although with trepidation.[7] By midyear, spontaneous and planned travel between our Pacific homelands and diaspora collectives in Australia and Aotearoa NZ were in full effect. This freedom of movement finally allowed for some form of normalcy across the Pacific and Tasman; families resumed their sociocultural activities, and gathering points at church and community events became increasingly physical in nature, although online forums remained a part of the 'new normal'.[8]

Personally, during the months of June to November 2022 I clocked up over 45,000 km of travel, with 62 hours of flying across six Pasifika diaspora and island sites. Observing my fellow Pasifika family and friends, their devised circular trips to, from and through Australia and Aotearoa NZ and onward to our Pacific homelands and sometimes further to the US have been on the rise since this time. However, with the increased busyness that comes with such freedom of movement, many – young and old – are increasingly seeking spiritual and cultural restoration, as well as further reconnection to their important others (living and deceased members of their collective). Often this rebuilding

6. Faleolo, "Tongan Collective Mobilities."

7. Faleolo, "Mobility Justice"; Faleolo, "Trans-Tasman Mobilities in and Through Aotearoa New Zealand."

8. Faleolo, "Trans-Tasman Mobilities in and Through Aotearoa New Zealand"; Faleolo et al., "Our Search for Intergenerational Rhythms."

process entailed a holistic wellbeing retreat back to their villages in Tonga or to their diaspora settlements and suburbs to reconnect with famili (family) and kainga (kinfolk).

In Australia, although our Pacific peoples, including Tongans, are generally viewed as a 'cheap source of labour' by government and immigration institutions, we as a people continue to uphold our dreams and hopes for our children's and grandchildren's futures. Yes, these hopes do carry us away from our Pacific homelands for a time. Often they do take us into the mire of harsh labour environments, wrought with circumstantial by-products of racism, deficit mindsets and minority labelling. But eventually, generations later, we rise, because those hopes and dreams were talked about and collectively fanned into flames over time and across spaces. Migration narratives are told and retold as a way to remind the next generation why we came, why we choose to remain, and to whom and where we still belong – to 'Otua-God and Tonga.[9]

At the 2022 Griffith University Pasifika graduation in Brisbane, it was clear that this special event not only marked Pasifika academic success in Australia for the familial and communal collectives represented by each graduate but was also the joint celebration of 'togetherness' and 'freedoms' from the not so distant memory of pandemic social restrictions that had kept our communities physically separated for what seemed too long! Many of the 'thank you' speeches given by graduates as a part of the ceremony (Figure 11) emphasised their gratitude and relief that the challenges of studying during a pandemic had been overcome by maintaining their important vā with God, family and community. They stayed connected spiritually and socially.

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9. Fainga'a-Manu Sione et al., "Finding Harmony Between Decolonization and Christianity in Academia."

Figure 11: Dr Inez Fainga'a-Manu Sione gives the valedictorian speech at the Griffith University Pasifika Graduation event, Logan, Brisbane (December 2022) – photo taken and shared online with Inez and her family, by author (11 December 2022).

During this occasion I spoke with several Pasifika (including Tongan) families who had chosen to migrate to Australia in search of betterment for their children, grandchildren and wider collective. Some of the graduates that spoke at the ceremony described their academic achievements as a way of giving back and thanking their parents and grandparents for their migration journeys from the Pacific Islands. Some of the migration narratives shared at the podium noted that their familial migration journeys had been through Aotearoa NZ to Australia, while others had migrated directly from the Pacific Islands (for instance, some had come through Fiji from Tonga) to Australia. There was consensus among the 15 Pasifika graduates at this event that they had not achieved their degrees on their own. It was only with the love, prayers and ongoing support of their families and 'village'[10]

10. In Australian diaspora contexts the phrase 'my village' often includes extended family, church and community, and for academics this often includes the university campus student-led Pasifika associations. Dion Enari and Jacoba Matapo, "Negotiating the Relational vā in the University," *Journal of Global Indigeneity* 5, no. 1 (2021): 1–19.

– the people who were the source of their inspiration to begin their studies and to stay the path to successful completion.

5.8 Summary of chapter

Tongan mobility histories are often told from an economic and political angle, through the lens of policymakers and economists. However, in this discussion I have retold our mobility histories based on historical sources that are often overlooked as unimportant or too familiar. This chapter presented Tongan mobility histories that have been co-created and preserved intergenerationally. The knowledge, understandings and meanings of how, why, when and where Tongan people have settled and thrived in Australia over time and space has been passed on through our generations' migration narratives, preserved in private archives and shared with online collectives – further e-cultivating their cultural heritage both in Tonga and in diaspora contexts.

The Talanoa Vā methodology is a culturally responsive approach used to better understand Tongan communities in diaspora contexts like Australia. This chapter introduced the e-talanoa method – founded on Talanoa Vā – an online method of dialoguing with Tongans, something that is key to further analysis of material culture and cultural e-heritage that has been shared online with and by Tongan collectives.

A series of images from these online collectives, alongside images of private archives kept by Tongans living in diaspora contexts, and excerpts of migration narratives were interwoven into this discussion to illustrate and retell Tongan mobility histories in Australia.

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Chapter 7: Applying Historical Research to Heritage Conservation: A Case Study of the Miner's Cottage

Charles Fahay

Introduction

Late in his life the successful clothing manufacturer David Fletcher Jones recalled his childhood growing up among miners in the Bendigo suburb of Golden Square. The son of a gold mine employee, one of Fletcher Jones' strongest memories was the rows of weatherboard cottages that lined his street as a child. For the Jones family life was often lived on the economic margin. When his father suffered from a depilating carbuncle on his neck the family was without a source of income for many weeks. Yet food regularly appeared on their verandah, donated anonymously by neighbours. In his teen years Jones was presented with a vial of quartz dust by his father. This was a potent message that mining was a dangerous occupation and that his son should fight the injustice of industrial illness. For the young Fletcher Jones the dangers of mining were all too obvious. One of his strongest childhood memories was of bed sheets draped over the verandahs of the Golden Square cottages; behind the sheets miners lingered during the day racked with coughs from 'miners' complaint' or silicosis. In 1915 Jones joined the AIF and saw action at Fromelles in August 1916. In one battle he was buried alive for several hours. He was repatriated to Australia in 1917, and on his return to Golden Square he found his old suburb in dire economic stress due to the collapse of goldmining during the war. Again the cottages of Golden Square were a feature of his post-war memories; in this case he recalled cottages lifted onto drays bound for soldier settlers clearing dense scrub in the Mallee. This was another sign that his home community of Bendigo offered little prospects of advancement. Fletcher Jones left Bendigo and eventually established a successful clothing manufacturing and retail company, with a factory in Warrnambool and almost 50 shops across Australia. The experience of growing up in a working-class community never left him and was instrumental in forming his radical views on profit sharing and working cooperatively with his employees.[1]

Since the mid-1970s great strides have been made to protect the built heritage of Bendigo, Ballarat and other Victorian goldmining cities and towns. Pall Mall in Bendigo or Sturt Street in Ballarat offer magnificent Victorian streetscapes and are a lure for tourists. In recognition of the importance of the Victorian goldfields, the Victorian government and a group of local councils are currently preparing a case to have the goldfields serially listed as a World Heritage Area.[2] A serial listing acknowledges that individual sites may not rank on a world scale, like the Sydney Opera House or the Parthenon, but looked at collectively they may demonstrate a historic era or event. A number of

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1. Fletcher Jones, *Not by Myself: The Fletcher Jones Story* (Melbourne: Kingfisher, 1984), 3–4. John Lack, "Jones, Sir David Fletcher (1895–1977)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1996), https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/jones-sir-david-fletcher-10638/text18905.

2. See The Victorian Goldfields World Heritage Bid https://goldfieldsworldheritage.com.au/.

convict sites in Australia have been listed for their ability to help us understand the forced migration of convicts across the world in the 18th and 19th centuries.[3] A significant theme of the goldfields bid is the world importance of migration in the 19th century and of mineral discoveries as one of the factors pulling migrants to settler colonial nations. The mass movement of people meant housing new arrivals, and suburbs such as Golden Square, with small, weatherboard houses on Crown land, provided a solution to this problem. A critical feature in the economic and social development of the Victorian goldfields – the miner's cottage – has only slowly been recognised as a significant cultural artefact. Inadequate historical research or the failure to link history with architectural fieldwork has downplayed the importance of ordinary working-class housing.

Gold was discovered in Bendigo late in 1851 and the surrounding valley was rapidly filled with eager prospectors seeking their fortunes. Alluvial gold provided only short-term riches; in the long run the creation of an enduring city of Bendigo was based on the exploitation of gold locked in quartz reefs. By the end of the 19th century capitalist mining companies and a handful of wealthy goldmine owners had chased these reefs over 1000 metres below ground. In the process the valley of Bendigo became an intense focus of industrial mining; in the 1880s Bendigo boasted perhaps the greatest array of steam engines in the Australian colonies, and head frames, which stretched 8 kilometres south-north across the city, stamped the district as one of the world's great mining centres. Mining was the economic base on which a regional city was built. The colonial and municipal governments and commercial interests endowed this city (and other goldfields) with an array of splendid Victorian and Edwardian buildings while a local middle class – mine owners, engineering proprietors, merchants, shopkeepers and professionals – built elegant villas. Conservation studies from the mid-1970s did much to project this grand architecture. These studies failed to protect working-class timber architecture, and its preservation was stalled for over 30 years.

This chapter has three major sections. First, I examine the historical evolution of housing in 19th-century and early 20th-century Bendigo – a form of housing that was built across the Victorian goldfields and indeed on farms and in many Melbourne suburbs. I pay particular attention to the use of Crown land for mining and home building. I explore the evolution of land law relating to building residences on Crown land and the impact this had on the style of houses built and the morphology, or physical shape, of the city. In the second section, I analyse the failure of early conservation studies to undertake detailed analysis of housing. I conclude in the third section by examining a belated recognition of the importance of the miner's cottage and the eventual development planning machinery to protect the domestic architecture of mining. The story of the preservation of the miner's cottage emphasises the need for detailed historical research in heritage conservation.

I am not a native of Bendigo and grew up in suburban Melbourne. I was drawn to the study of the goldfields by my first thesis supervisor, Weston Bate, whose portrait of Ballarat in the 19th century in the book *Lucky City* remains our most complete account of a goldfields city.[4] I only began to appreciate the heritage riches of the goldfields when I worked as a public historian in the 1980s researching historic sites on Crown land. My doctorate, looking in part at the goldfields, was heavily focused on archival sources. I spent a year in a basement in Melbourne examining probate records (now digitised), and I was the first academic researcher given access to records from the Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages. I extended this demographic research when I worked with Professor Patricia Grimshaw on a study of families and community in Castlemaine. Papers from this

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3. See "Australian Convict Sites", UNESCO, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1306/.

4. Weston Bate, *Lucky City: The First Generation at Ballarat, 1851–1901* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1978).

research appeared in an important collection called *Families in Colonial Australia*.[5] While I remain proud of these papers, I must admit that when I wrote them, I really had little understanding of material culture or place. This came when I worked as a civil servant with Jane Lennon, an historical geographer, researching Crown land. This work pushed me out of Melbourne and into the goldfields and rural Victoria. As part of this work I researched, among other sites, mine mullock heaps, old flour mills at Smeaton and Murchison, and the Barmah forest. Jane Lennon always urged me 'to read the landscape', one of the best lessons I learned as a young historian.

In 1990 I took up a position at La Trobe University's Bendigo campus and moved from Melbourne to what my colleagues condescendingly called 'the regions'. My focus as an academic historian turned from public history to teaching undergraduates, supervising postgraduate students and publishing in scholarly journals. Living in Bendigo I grew to appreciate northern skies and my neighbourhood, and I continued to research the goldfields. By collecting genealogies, tracking down letters and diaries and continuing to use statistical sources, I have written extensively on the social history of the goldfields.[6] Bringing this research to a wide audience has remained important to me. I have indulged myself writing about Happy Valley and Victoria Hill, where I walk my dog. Nonetheless this is a popular historical site, enjoyed by local residents, and my work aims to convince readers that there is more to the site than old mining machinery. The site was home to array of migrants – Scots, Germans and the Cornish, to name a few – and their struggles to make ends meet help us understand the migrant experience. Moreover, Victoria Hill was a part of an international diaspora; gold rushes were global, a theme I took up with Lionel Frost and Keir Reeves in a special issue of the *Australian Economic History Review*.[7] Around Victoria Hill settlers built humble weatherboard houses.[8] These vernacular home builders help to found an Australian tradition of owner building that Tony Dingle has researched on the goldfields, in rural Australia and in metropolitan settings.[9] Home building was not just an Australian phenomenon. In a recent study of US housing, Thomas Hubka has argued that working-class housing became modern through retrofitting and enlarging small, weatherboard, vernacular housing.[10]

5. Patricia Grimshaw and Charles Fahey, "Family and Community in Nineteenth-Century Castlemaine," in *Families in Colonial Australia*, eds Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville and Ellen McEwen (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin Australia, 1985).

6. Charles Fahey and Alan Mayne, *Gold Tailings: Forgotten Histories of Family and Community on the Central Victorian Goldfields* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2010).

7. Keir Reeves, Lionel Frost and Charles Fahey, "A World in Search of Gold," Special Issue, *Australian Economic History Review* 50, no. 2 (July 2010). See also Benjamin Mountford and Stephen Tuffnell, *A Global History of Gold Rushes* (Oakland: California University Press, 2018).

8. Charles Fahey, "Happy Valley Road and the Victoria Hill District: A Microhistory of a Victoria Gold-Mining Community, 1854–1913," *Victoria Historical Journal* 90, no. 2 (December 2019): 271–300.

9. Tony Dingle, "Necessity the Mother of Invention, Or Do-it-Yourself," in *A History of European Housing in Australia*, ed. Patrick Troy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

10. Thomas C. Hubka, *How the Working-Class Home Became Modern, 1900–1940* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 2020).

7.1 A brief history of the miner's cottage

To understand how the urban shape and housing forms of Bendigo evolved we need to understand the history of Bendigo's mining industry. While the built form of 19th-century Bendigo (and other goldfields) was largely a product of quartz mining, legislative developments trialled in the alluvial phase set a pattern of residence on Crown land. Gold was found on Dja Dja Wurrung land. The Indigenous owners of this land were ruthlessly pushed aside across northern Victoria by squatters in the 1830s and 1840s. When gold was discovered, the squatters on auriferous (gold-rich) land in turn found themselves dispossessed of their sheep runs by the colonial government. Surveyors moved onto the goldfields, laid out towns and villages, surveyed cadastral areas for agriculture and critically reserved large areas of Crown land as auriferous land. This Crown land became a major resource for housing. From 1871 the larger urban districts on the Bendigo goldfield were the City of Sandhurst (Bendigo from 1891) and the Borough of Eaglehawk (see Map 1 for the location of Bendigo). These two municipalities were surrounded by the rural shires of Marong, Huntly and Strathfieldsaye. In 1994 these areas became part of the City of Greater Bendigo.[1]

Gold was discovered in late 1851 and the first great rush occurred in the summer of 1852. As the great Australian historian Geoffrey Serle demonstrated, migrants arriving in search of gold transformed Victoria from a minor sheep-farming outpost to a bustling colony; Melbourne for a generation was Australia's major city.[2] From 1852 to the mid-1850s most alluvial mining was undertaken by teams of three or four men who dug shallow shafts into the pipe clay of Bendigo and recovered the gold with simple hand technology. From the mid-1850s horse-driven puddling machines were used to strip the topsoil, and vast volumes of soil were treated to win the smaller parcels of gold not recovered by the first prospectors. Puddling distributed miners across the Bendigo goldfield. At the 1857 census the largest concentration of miners was, not surprisingly, in and around the Borough of Sandhurst. Outside the borough boundaries there were large concentrations of alluvial miners to the south, as well as to the north in the Epsom-Huntly district. These workers, known as 'puddlers', and their families lived on Crown land. Four years later when the next census was taken alluvial mining remained the dominant mode, and puddlers were again widely distributed across the goldfield. Members of Victoria's first Legislative Assembly legislated for a 'miner's right'. For an annual fee of £1 prospectors were permitted to 'mine for gold upon any waste lands of the Crown' and to occupy a portion of this land for residence. This provided cheap land on which miners erected rudimentary housing. In 1857 over 80 per cent of housing was simply labelled in the census as a one-roomed hut or tent.[3]

1. Bendigo was awarded municipal status as Sandhurst in 1855. It was proclaimed a borough in 1863 and a city in 1871. Eaglehawk was gazetted as a borough in 1862.

2. See Geoffrey Serle, *The Golden Age: A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851–1861* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1963). For the early history of Bendigo see Frank Cusack, *Bendigo: A History* (Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1973). The Bendigo Goldfield was resumed from the Mt Alexander No. 2 Ravenswood pastoral run.

3. This history of the miner's cottage is drawn from Jane Amanda Jean and Charles Fahey, *The Evolution of Housing on the Bendigo Goldfields: A Case for Serial Listings* (City of Greater Bendigo, 2020): 38–39.The city provides PDFs of their heritage studies since 1993. Contact strategic.planning@bendigo.vic.gov.au. For an excellent overview of the miner's cottage generally see Tony Dingle, "Miners' Cottages," *Australian Economic History Review*, 50, no. 2 (July 2010): 162–177. For life in a Bendigo mining community see Charles Fahey, "Happy Valley Road and the Victoria Hill District: A Microhistory of a Victoria Gold-Mining Community".

Major Gold Cities and Towns of Victoria

N

MURRAY

RIVER

GOULBURN

OVENS RIVER

CHILTERN

• BEECHWORTH

LODDON RIVER

WEDDERBURN •

OVENS
GOLDFIELD

ST ARNAUD •

• BENDIGO

HEATHCOTE
•

MARYBOROUGH •

• Mt Alexander

RIVER

OMEO
•

STAWELL •

• CASTLEMAINE

AMHERST
• CLUNES

ARARAT •

CRESWICK •

• BLACKWOOD

BALLARAT •

• EGERTON

WOODS POINT
•

• BUNINYONG

• WARRANDYTE
■ MELBOURNE

• WALHALLA

PORT
PHILLIP
BAY

GEELONG

km

0   50   100
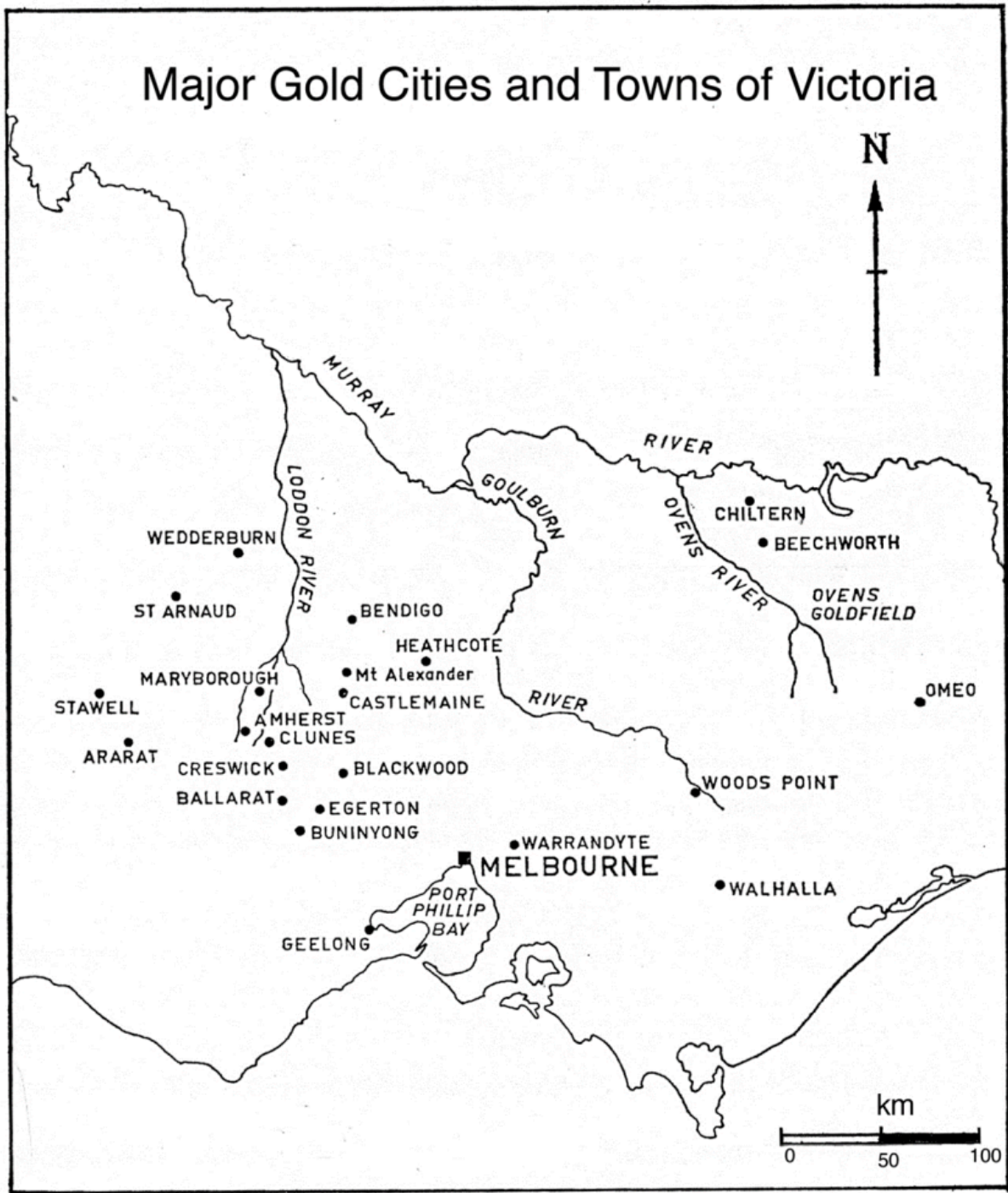
Map 1: Bendigo and the Victorian Goldfields. Source: Drawn by author.

From the first days of the alluvial rushes, prospectors hacked away at surface outcrops of quartz with primitive gads (pointed picks) and hammers. A stable industry developed slowly from the late 1850s. Initially, cooperative parties worked quartz reefs. As shafts were sunk deeper capital was required and many struggling claims were floated as public companies. A handful of fortunate reefers struck rich deposits close to the surface and became mine owners, and local businessmen invested commercial profits into mining. By the mid-1860s a small elite of successful quartz reefers and investors can be identified. In the late 1860s these men began to build houses appropriate to their new won wealth. One of the defining features of the Bendigo goldfield was the propensity of these mine owners and speculators to build near their mines, and their houses, usually of brick and stone,

were spread across the quartz mining districts of the Bendigo goldfield. These men were able to use the provisions of the *Mining Statute of 1865* and the *Amending Land Act* 1865 to buy freehold land.

In 1865, as Bendigo made the transition from alluvial to quartz reefing, the Victorian legislature overhauled mining law. A new bill set the ground rules for cheap housing for the mining population. Under section 4 of the *Mining Statute of 1865*, taking out a miner's right for 5 shillings per year (reduced from £1) permitted the holder to occupy on any goldfield Crown land for a residence. The area was to be set by local by-laws. The act permitted the holder to erect a dwelling and remove timber. When the Crown sold this land, always at auction, the value of improvements was added to the upset price of £1 per acre. If the occupier was the highest bidder, a valuation of improvements was deducted from the purchase price. Applying to transfer Crown to freehold land favoured those with capital; land put up for sale was offered to all comers by competitive auction. This system of tenure was in place until 1881 when the Miner's Residence Area Bill was legislated.

A gold boom in the early 1870s transformed the socio-geography of Bendigo. Over the five years from 1871 to 1876 the Bendigo mines were highly profitable, and employment was buoyant. As alluvial mining struggled, prospectors moved out of mining, and many left the community. During the years of alluvial mining the search for gold encouraged men from diverse backgrounds to try their luck as prospectors. With the rise of quartz mining, the industry was dominated by a new type of miner, recruited from the metal mines of Cornwall in the south-west of England and to a lesser extent from Germany. At the same time many Irishmen and other migrants, with little hard-rock mining experience, left the industry and often the community. The migrants of the 1870s had no illusions that fortunes were to be won; they came looking for waged work and brought with them wives and children. There was a pressing need to quickly provide housing. Employment conditions in the mines became precarious from the 1880s. Employees suffered from bouts of unemployment and frequently worked on a form of contracting known as tributing.[4]

The ready availability of Crown land and the weatherboard cottage was the means of creating instant suburbs. The itinerant prospector used the miner's right to provide land to erect temporary buildings of canvas, slab, stone and bark. With the arrival of the wage-earning family miner these vernacular materials were replaced by factory-sawn timber frames and weatherboards. Although most land in the centre of the city was alienated in land auctions through the 1850s, land near and adjoining mining leases remained in Crown ownership. Large areas in neighbouring shires such as Marong were deemed auriferous and available for occupation under a miner's might. Miners for a nominal rent of 5 shillings per year could take up quarter-acre allotments and erect cottages. Many Cornish miners came from a tradition of owner building on mining leases, and the miner's residence area permitted them to transport this practice to their new homes in Bendigo.[5]

4. For labour conditions in the gold mines see Charles Fahey, "Labour and Trade Unionism in Victorian Goldmining: Bendigo, 1861–1915' in *Gold: Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia*, eds Iain McCalman, Alexander Cook and Andrew Reeves (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

5. For the traditional practices of home building in Cornwall see Damaris Rose, "Home Ownership, Subsistence and Historical Change: The Mining District of West Cornwall in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Class and Space: The Making of Urban Society*, eds Nigel Thrift and Peter Williams (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 108–153.
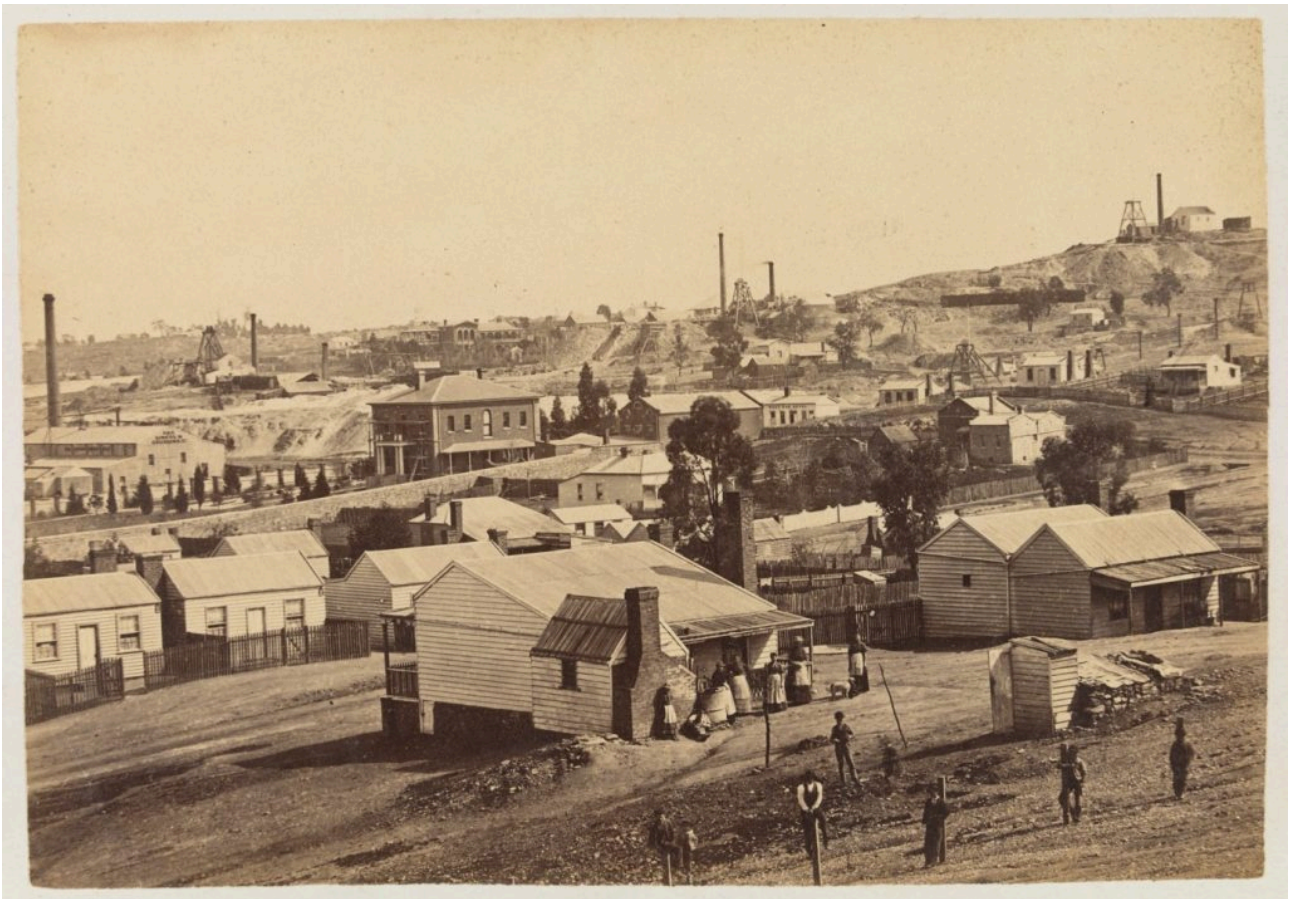
Figure 1: New Chum Bendigo 1875 (Nicholas Caire, State Library of Victoria). This image was taken by Nicholas Caire in 1875. In the picture we can clearly see small weatherboard cottages built to house miners and their families. Before the passing of the Residence Area Act many of the cottages are single gabled structures without verandahs. The image also shows the residence of Barnet Lazarus a miner owner in the middle ground and in the background is Fortuna Villa the home of the major mine owner and investor George Lansell. The evidence of industrial mining can clearly be seen from the chimneys and head frames. Mining has left the area bereft of vegetation. Source: Nicholas Caire, *View of Old Chum Hill, Victoria, ca. 1875*, **National Library of Australia, nla.obj-144318320**

Alluvial mining dispersed miners across the whole Bendigo mining field; quartz reefs were concentrated on the western side of the surveyed centre of Bendigo and ran in a north-south direction. Miners' residences were spread out along the main lines of reef. On the New Chum reef line, miners' houses extended from Spring Gully Reservoir in the south to north of the town of Eaglehawk. Miners walked to work and often worked night shifts. Living near work was essential. There were concentrations of miner housing in areas of successful mines. The districts of New Chum, Garden Gully, Ironbark and Victoria Reef were distinctive miner suburbs. Yet miners built where the mines were located and where auriferous Crown land was available. At St Just Point, miners built on Crown land both within the City of Sandhurst and the Shire of Marong. Unlike Melbourne, these were not orderly subdivisions created by developers, with terraces fronting onto streets. In many areas miners and their families walked along rough tracks, and houses were distributed in seemingly random ways. On Ironbark Hill cottages looked down the hill and often do not face the streets that were surveyed decades after the cottages were built. (See figures 1 and 2 for examples of miners' cottages.)

Figure 2: An aerial photograph of Long Gully (State Library of Victoria). Photographed sometime in the 1920s, this image shows part of Long Gully in the foreground. By this date streets had been surveyed and the council have undertaken tree planting. Many of the houses have had extra gables added and there is protection from the sun from verandahs. On many blocks large gardens were possible, a way for widows or unemployed miners to run small businesses. Larger houses built on freehold land, more substantial houses can be seen towards the centre of the photograph. On the right can be seen the former Garden Gully United mine. Source: State Library Victoria, Pratt, C. D., & Airspy. (1929). *Bendigo [picture]*.

Although holders of miner's rights could occupy Crown land for residences, they had little security of tenure. Miner's rights had to be renewed annually. They could also be resumed for mining, and holders could not leave the land unoccupied. In 1881 local Legislative Assembly members piloted through the first of a series of acts that essentially gave all the benefits of freehold. The *Residence Areas Act* 1881 was to be read as part of the *Mining Statute of 1865* and came into operation on 1 April 1882. A residence area was defined as any Crown land not exceeding a quarter of an acre occupied 'for the time being in accordance with the provisions of the Mining Statute by any holder of a miner's right or a general business license'. The holder of a residence area had to have his block endorsed on the miner's right document; this was registered annually by the Mines Department. Existing miner's right landholders who had held their land for more than 12 months were granted all the rights and privileges of the new act. New holders of a miner's right had to build a residence within four months. If no residence was erected after a further three months, the residence area could be cancelled. After 12 months the holder could let out the residence area with all the rights and privileges of normal landlords and tenants.

As unemployment rose in the 1880s the right to temporarily leave a residence area permitted miners to travel in search of work. They could also hold another residence area if it was not within 10 miles of an existing area. Although a residence area was exempt from occupation for mining under any miner's right, the Governor in Council could temporarily exempt any portion of a district in which a

new discovery of gold had been made. In such cases compensation had to be paid. After 12 months holders of a residence area could sell their interest in it. The new holder had to hold a miner's right and have the residence area endorsed by the Mines Department on their right. Having the residence area endorsed annually was required by all holders, and failure to do this could result in loss the land.

Clause 21 of the *Residence Areas Act* 1881 legislated for conversion of Crown land to freehold by auction at an upset price to be determined by the Governor in Council. The *Residence Areas Act* 1884 amended the sale provisions to remove the competitive aspect of auction. Those who had held a residence area for two and a half years were given exclusive right of purchase if there were no objections to alienation on the grounds that the land was auriferous or required for other purposes. The value of the land was to be approved by an appraiser nominated by the Board of Land and Works, and the holder was to receive a valuation for improvements if the Crown required the land. This same act increased the area available from one quarter of an acre to one acre. These provisions were incorporated into the *Mines Act* 1890, and the right of existing holders not to have their residence areas negated by mining officials was legislated in an amendment to the *Mines Act* 1892. The *Mines Act* 1897 reduced the annual miner's right fee to 2 shillings and 6 pence. The *Residence Areas Holders Act* 1910 permitted the transfer of residence areas to widows whose husband died intestate without a grant of probate if the area was valued at less than £250 and the total value of the estate was less than £250. This removed from poor widows the expensive legal costs of seeking probate. These laws enabled miners to make improvements to their dwellings.
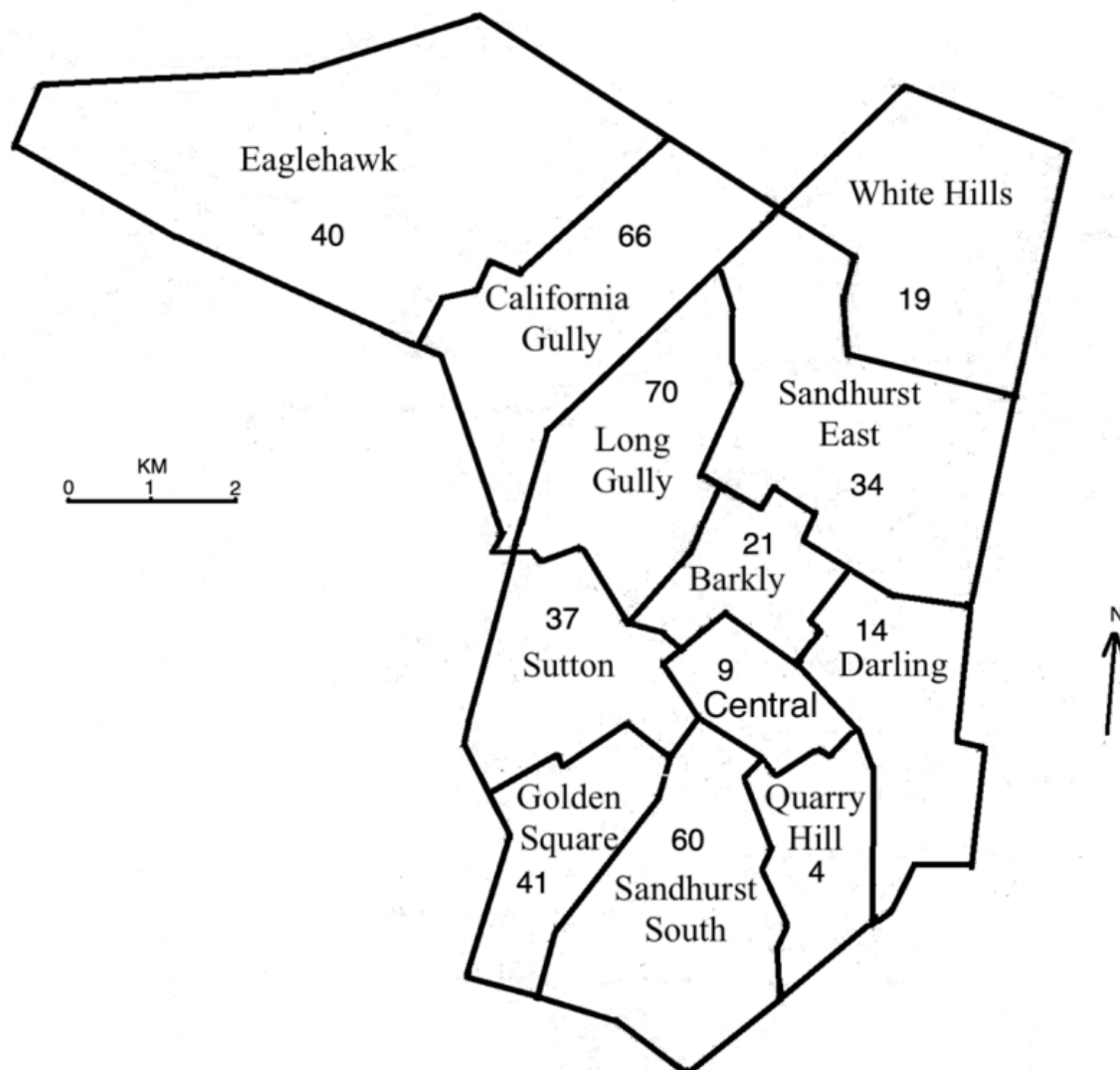
Map 2: The proportion of houses in each suburb that were held on miner's residence area in 1891. The 1891 assessment book was the document from which the official rate book was compiled. The author found the Bendigo assessment books in the tower of the town hall. Unlike the rate books for the nineteenth century, the assessment books recorded whether properties were held as miner's residence areas and recorded the number of residents in each house. The suburbs were drawn from addresses in the 1903 Commonwealth Electoral Roll. Residence areas were spread throughout the city with concentrations in the mining districts of California Gully, Long Gully and Sandhurst South. Source: Drawn by author.

To explore the geography of Bendigo, I have divided it into the 12 electoral subdivisions used for the first federal electoral roll in 1903 (Map 2). In 1871 the proportion of houses occupied on a miner's right in Sandhurst (figures are not available for Eaglehawk) was 48 per cent; by 1891 the proportion was still 32 per cent. If we include Eaglehawk the proportion rises slightly to 35 per cent. While residence areas were located in all divisions in 1891, it was more common in the divisions

with significant quartz mining operations: Sandhurst South, Golden Square, Sutton, Long Gully, California Gully and Eaglehawk. It was also significant in Sandhurst East, where brickworks and noxious industries were located (Map 2). Here residence areas were located on former alluvial mining land. By 1891 changes in the law broadened the diversity of the miner's residence area holders beyond simply miners; miners occupied 58 per cent of residence areas, while other manual workers – skilled and unskilled – occupied just over a third. The remaining residence areas were spread among the other occupational groups. Women became important holders of Crown land through the death of their husbands. The extension of available areas from a quarter of an acre to one acre enabled families to grow vegetables and fruit and raise poultry. This was important as unemployment rose in the late 19th century. Widows could use this increased area to run small diaries.

The miner's right and later the miner's residence area was a potent sign of the freedoms offered in the new world of Victoria. In 1856 holders of miner's rights could vote for the recently constituted Parliament of Victoria. The first parliament enacted adult manhood suffrage (female suffrage had to wait). For over 50 years thousands of men on the goldfields were automatically placed on the electoral roll by virtue of their appearance on local government rates books as holders of a miner's right or residence area. A more cherished freedom may have been the simple fact that goldfields residents could be free of landlords, living in houses they had built, or partially built, with ample gardens. The miner's cottage was a seminal point in the development of the Australian dream of homeownership. Yet despite this historical importance early heritage investigations failed to protect the miner's cottage.

7.2 The 1977 and 1993 heritage conservation studies

Soon after the formation of the Heritage Commission by the Whitlam government the firm of Lawrie Wilson and Associates was commissioned to 'undertake a study of the buildings and objects of potential architectural and historical significance' in the City of Bendigo. The scope was subsequently extended to an area vaguely referred to as 'the whole of the urban area'. The study, the authors explained, was an exercise in planning, with 'emphasis on the conservation of areas of historical significance rather than individual buildings'. Detailed analysis of architectural and historic importance was 'quite beyond the capacity of the study'. The study did have some recommendations for further investigation with a 'view to protect areas containing potential buildings of historic or architectural significance as the first stage in the conservation process'. The authors advised that 'no original historical research was undertaken'.[1]

The study identified nine areas of heritage and historic significance:

1. Sailors Gully Precinct
2. Harvey Town Precinct
3. Eaglehawk Central Precinct
4. Long Gully Precinct
5. Victoria Hill Precinct
6. Central Area Precinct
7. Barkly Terrace Precinct
8. Golden Gully Precinct
9. Diamond Hill

Despite a lack of research, the study did recognise the importance of working-class Bendigo. Harvey Town, located on the north of the goldfield, was particularly significant as the location of a series of stone cottages and outbuildings. Constructed by a family from Cornwall, the eponymous Harveys, these stone cottages had evocative resonances of the, domestic stone architecture so prevalent in the old mining areas of the UK. Stone, however, was not the dominant form of building material on the Victorian goldfields. More typical, as we have seen, was timber. Focusing on the Victoria Hill and Long Gully districts, the study did identify the most important area for the emergence of quartz mining in the 1870s. The authors were fortunate to survey this area when it still appeared to have much charm.

> **Within the Long Gully precinct, a quiet, almost rural atmosphere is created by the undulating topography, street trees, few sealed footpaths, in some instances large blocks of land with small vegetable plots and fowl runs and lack of through traffic. To the outsider Long Gully seems a forgotten backwater with the charm of small miner's cottages catching one's eye.**

The authors concluded that the Long Gully Precinct 'is not perceived in terms of significant

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1. Lawrie Wilson and Associates, *Bendigo Urban Area Conservation Study* (Melbourne, 1977), Preface.

streetscapes but rather in the totality of its character in the generally pervading historic environment'. They demurred on making specific conservation recommendations; many of the houses were in poor repair, financial assistance was not available for maintenance and totally out-of-character renovations and infill buildings had been added. They did not consider it practicable to prohibit the demolition of the remaining cottages. They suggested that residents be made aware of the 'historic character, charm and importance of their cottages' and that the local council and local conservation bodies 'assist and advise the residents with their own conservation efforts'. Failing to justify how it chose conservation areas, the 1977 study ignored important areas built in the 19th century.[2]

The second heritage study, undertaken by Graeme Butler and Associates and released in 1993, was more ambitious in its scope.

> **The purpose of this study is to identify, evaluate and document the built and environmental heritage of the City of Bendigo and the Borough of Eaglehawk (the Study Area) and to place it within the context of the history of Victoria; to access the importance of the Study Area's heritage as a State and community resource; and to develop a comprehensive program for the conservation of the Study Area's heritage and its integration into the general planning framework.**

The project's budget recognised its bolder conceptual base. The budget allocated 40 per cent to historical investigation, 8 per cent to landscape and a further 40 per cent to built sites and urban areas. The architects in charge of the study, Andrew Ward and Graeme Butler, were two pioneers in heritage investigation and practice. The historian employed on the project was Dr Chris McConville, an urban historian who had made some trenchant criticism of the tendency of architects to look only at architectural values and ignore historic significance.[3] The project also employed an expert in landscape and garden conservation and drew on engineering expertise to assess mining sites. Although it broke new ground, the 1993 study did little to protect working-class housing.[4]

Unlike the 1977 study, the 1993 heritage study was underpinned by a short environmental history. Dr McConville examined three key phases in the European history of Bendigo:

1. To 1868 – The Digging Fields
2. Mining Metropolis 1868–1888
3. Forest City

In each section McConville provided short discussions about housing. Under the time constraints of a commissioned history, there was little opportunity to undertake detailed archival research, and the comprehensiveness of each period was determined largely by information in available printed sources. Of the five decennial censuses taken by the colonial government from 1861 to 1901, the 1861 census stands out as the only census that provided detailed coverage for small areas. Capturing the field in the final throes of alluvial mining, the census revealed a community of primitive housing. Eight years after the discovery of gold, McConville wrote that in most of the mining gullies the miners and their families were sheltered by small dwellings, many of them only one

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2. Lawrie Wilson and Associates, *Bendigo Urban Area Conservation Study*, 105–107 and 115–117.

3. Chris McConville, " 'In Trust'?: Heritage and History," *Melbourne Historical Journal* 16 (1984): 60–74.

4. Graeme Butler & Associates, *Eaglehawk & Bendigo Heritage Study* (Melbourne: 1993). Volume One: Recommendations & Guidelines; Volume Two: Environmental History; Volume Three: Significant Areas: Volume Four: Significant Sites; and Volume Five: Site Schedule.

or two rooms. Tents were still common even in the centre of the city. Although the 1861 census permitted McConville to plot national origins in local areas, the census did not permit more detailed investigation of regional origins. A change to more substantial brick or stone buildings could be detected in 1861. In the 1870s and 1880s McConville observed that four-room weatherboard cottages had been built in the mining gullies, and on the more elevated locations the middle class built more substantial houses. The 1881 census provided McConville with a description of houses – rooms and materials – at the level of municipality and in Bendigo by wards. At the end of the century, McConville argued that although houses were small, most were generally accepted as basic but comfortable, and they were held 'as better housing than that in the poorest areas of Melbourne'.[5]

In the long term one of the more important features of the 1993 study was the exhaustive survey of the heritage housing stock of Bendigo and Eaglehawk.[6] Ward and Butler examined over 4,000 buildings and gave these sites the following ranks:

    A. National or state significance

    B. Regional significance

    C. Local significance

    D. Representative of their era and contributory to a streetscape/precinct

From their survey they designated 1,540 sites of individual significance within 12 precincts and 29 sub-precincts. Their report provided heritage citations for the 294 sites, designated as either A or B. The project funding, the authors claimed, did not permit any more detailed work, but a list of 1,000 sites designated C and D was compiled. Long Gully, identified as significant in the 1977 study, was designated a heritage precinct in the 1993 study. Unfortunately, the area set aside was largely on the main roads and the residential area identified in 1977 as having an almost rural atmosphere was excluded. This was an area largely settled by miners on Crown land. The tragedy of the 1993 study was the failure to link the field survey with the importance of small, domestic houses identified in the environmental history.

5. Graeme Butler & Associates, *Eaglehawk & Bendigo Heritage Study*, Volume Two, 20–23, 34–35 and 49–50.

6. Graeme Butler & Associates, *Eaglehawk & Bendigo Heritage Study*. Volume Five lists the heritage housing stock, organised by street and number in 1993. It has remained an invaluable list of the housing stock and was used as a base for later studies.

7.3 Recognising and protecting the miner's cottage

For over a decade miner's cottages were afforded little protection; their large block size, a feature of the miner's residence area legislation, made them ideal for speculative redevelopment. In 2005 the Bendigo council commissioned Robyn Ballinger, a local heritage historian, to make a preliminary study of the 'Ironbark' region.[1] This preliminary study recognised the importance of the area and alerted planning authorities to the need for more detailed research. Conducted by Amanda Jean, who was also the heritage advisor for the City of Greater Bendigo, the Ironbark study was commissioned in 2007 and released in 2010.[2] It was an exemplary study. With considerable experience in vernacular architecture Amanda Jean conducted the first detailed field investigation of the area. Unlike earlier studies her investigation paid particular attention to materials and modes of construction of the houses. In addition to physical examination, she undertook extensive archival investigation, employing rates books to date houses and locate biographical details of the occupants. This archival research was contextualised with secondary sources on the social history of the mining industry and the history of 19th-century migration.

1. Districts in Bendigo were often named after creeks, rises and valleys. A precise definition of the Ironbark region is difficult. It was named after a hill and a gully. Ironbark and Long Gully were essentially one area, adjoining New Chum. Modern roads have cut through this area, dividing locations that were one large residential and mining area in the 19th century.

2. Jane Amanda Jean, *Ironbark Heritage Study 2010* (City of Greater Bendigo, 2010). Volume One. Volume One provided the thematic history.

Figure 3: A miner's cottage at the rear of the author's residence. This simple weatherboard miner's cottage with one gable and a skillion at the rear is being lovingly restored (June 20024) by its owners. The cottage was vacant for several years before the owners decided to restore it. They have taken down the lace work from the verandah. This has been repainted (powder coated) ready to be restored when the verandah's iron roof and timber posts have been replaced. The house has been insulated and re-plastered. Although small, the cottage now has three bedrooms and a large open-planned kitchen and living room. There is a new bathroom-laundry. The chimney, although, no longer serving an open fire, will be underpinned to right a lean. The house will be a very comfortable small house. The owners have already renovated the house behind this one, and they are looking for another project. The cottage is an excellent example of how the nineteenth century can be brought into the twenty first century and retain the character of the old. Source: Photo by author.

Amanda Jean's statement of significance blended an assessment of the historical and architectural importance of the area. It recognised the importance of the miner's residence area in providing 'homes of the working-class miners who serviced some of the wealthiest deep quartz mines of Bendigo and Eastern Australia'. Their preservation provided an 'insight into the domestic lives and typical homes of Cornish and German miners, some of whom worked in the related trades as blacksmiths, engine drivers, carriers and mine engineers'. Architecturally the significance also lay in their diverse range of housing styles, including the 'typical Cornish vernacular long house' and the 'combined use timber weatherboards and pisé rammed earth forms of construction associated with the German community'.[3]

In 1993 writing an environmental history was a new feature of heritage studies; in 2009 Heritage Victoria formalised the writing of environmental histories with its Framework of Historical Themes. In line with these themes Robyn Ballinger and Colin Pardoe wrote a new environmental history

3. Amanda Jean, *Ironbark Heritage Study 2010*, Volume Two, Citations, 9–10.

of Bendigo in 2013.[4] Their brief extended beyond the Borough of Eaglehawk and the City of Bendigo to encompass additional rural areas and country towns incorporated into the City of Greater Bendigo in 1994. The themes set out by Heritage Victoria provide a common framework for conducting heritage studies across the state, and Ballinger and Pardoe wrote an elegant overview of the development of the built environment of Greater Bendigo. However, the Framework of Historical Themes encourages a broadbrush approach and sidelines environmental features peculiar to specific regions. The new environmental history rightly pointed out the importance of the residence area (with very limited discussion of its origins and evolution) yet ignored the way it shaped housing or how residence areas were distributed across the city.[5]

Figure 4: Cottage in Prout St, Long Gully. The cottage in this image has two fronts. When the cottage was first built the existing streets had not been laid out. The original section of the cottage looked down to Ironbark Gully, towards the Garden Gully mine where the original owner may have worked. The cottage has been extended with two additional gables and an additional verandah. The front of the house, not shown in the picture, faces onto the street first laid out long after the first front but now back rooms were built. Source: Photo by author.

In 2020 heritage planners at the City of Greater Bendigo commissioned Amanda Jean to study mining cottages with the intention of providing a 'serial listing' of houses that would capture houses not covered in existing heritage overlays. Amanda Jean in her study of Ironbark drew on my research into Cornish migration and asked me to help her in researching the history of the evolution of housing on the Bendigo goldfield. Our study was the first detailed investigation of the legislation covering residence areas, and we used rate assessment books – a previously neglected source – to plot the geographical spread of residence areas and the social composition of residence area holders. Our study also used diaries and probate inventories to examine the way cottages and houses were first

4. Lovell Chen, Architects & Heritage Consultants, *Thematic Environmental History: Final Report* (City of Greater Bendigo, June 2013). The authors were Robyn Ballinger and Colin Pardoe.

5. Lovell Chen, *Thematic Environmental History.* For the discussion of the residence area see p. 114. The photographs are a great feature of this report.

built and later extended. From the morphological evidence of the historical report Amanda Jean argued:[6]

> **Serial listing of the typology of miners' houses seems justified particularly as visual context affects aesthetic experience. The heterogeneric character of development on former auriferous land tends to visually obscure the 19th century miner's house. The potential for continual infill development is high.**

To aid the identification of the housing stock of the goldfields, and based on the historical report, Amanda Jean identified three distinctive house styles:[7]

1. Quartz gold boom miners' houses – simple modest timber frame, weatherboard and hip roof houses associated with the 1870s mining boom and associated with the *Mines Act* 1865, the *Residence Areas Act* 1881 and the *Residence Areas Amendment Act* 1884.

2. Workers' and mine speculators' housing – more opulent housing provided by an expansion of the residence area legislation which opened auriferous land for habitation by non-miners, manual and skilled workers and women. This resulted from further liberalising of the residence area legislation.

3. Quartz reefer houses – houses built in the early colonial regency architectural style by aspiring speculators and quartz reefers who took advantage of 1865 legislation to purchase Crown land at competitive auction.

Amanda Jean's typology gave strong grounds for reassessing many of the houses scattered through the goldfield and identified as early as 1993 by Butler and Ward but not included in heritage overlays.

In response to this study the council commissioned the *Victorian Miners' Housing Serials Listing – Stage 2 Study,* which was undertaken by Trethowan Architecture and completed in November 2021. Using the categories developed by Amanda Jean, further detailed fieldwork and additional archival research, this study examined 158 houses across the city. In November 2023 the City of Greater Bendigo announced that it had examined the investigation of Trethowan Architecture and adopted the planning scheme amendment C275gben, to 'protect different types of miner's houses built during Bendigo's gold rush era'. Of the 158 houses examined, 147 were added to existing planning schemes and given heritage protection. Commenting on the amendment, Mayor Andrea Metcalf said the aim of the amendment was to protect and enhance the cultural heritage of Greater Bendigo for future generations.[8]

> **Heritage shapes our identity and connects us to our past, our city, and region and this amendment will continue to protect our rich heritage through the Heritage Overlay in the Greater Bendigo Planning Scheme which lists those places that are locally significant.**

These houses are indeed locally important; they are also important material reminders of 19th-century global migration and the quest for a new and better life (Figure 3).

6. Amanda Jean and Fahey, *The Evolution of Housing on the Bendigo Goldfields: A Case for Serial Listings*, 5.

7. Amanda Jean and Fahey, *The Evolution of Housing on the Bendigo Goldfields: A Case for Serial Listings*, 6.

8. City of Greater Bendigo, "Planning Scheme Amendment to Protect Miners' Houses Adopted at Council," (press release, November 21, 2023).

Chapter 2: Illustrated essay

Essays are a staple of academic writing; however, the illustrated essay requires the careful incorporation of images and multi-media material. This takes the format into an arena where readers might also find investigative long-form journalism with interactive videos, images, or sound included. Projects utilising archival material are also well suited to this format and complement an immersive reading experience.

In this chapter you will find the following digital creations by student authors that exemplify the core qualities of this particular medium:

2.1 James "Jim" Edwin Wiggins: Surviving the Second World War

2.1 James "Jim" Edwin Wiggins: Surviving the Second World War

Thomas Amos

The Second World War was one of the significant periods in Australia's history, as its victory brought a rapid period of economic prosperity and a more independent outlook.[1] However, over 30,000 Australians would become prisoners of war.[2] This essay will discuss the wartime experience of one of these prisoners, my great-great-grandfather James ('Jim') Edwin Wiggins. Many of his stories can be told through the items he brought home. These items have remained in the family for over four generations, alongside the stories which make them significant. Therefore, this essay will give a more detailed background and metadata to the stories and the items which make Jim's wartime experience. After struggling to find a stable job during the Great Depression, Jim would enlist to serve his country and receive a chance of regular employment. Jim would be part of the Battle of Singapore, where he became a Japanese prisoner of war ('POW') and spent a year in Changi. After consistent sickness in Changi, Jim would become part of "G Force" and was sent to Japan. He would spend the rest of the Second World War in Osaka and Takefu. After coming home, Jim would never fully come to terms with this experience.
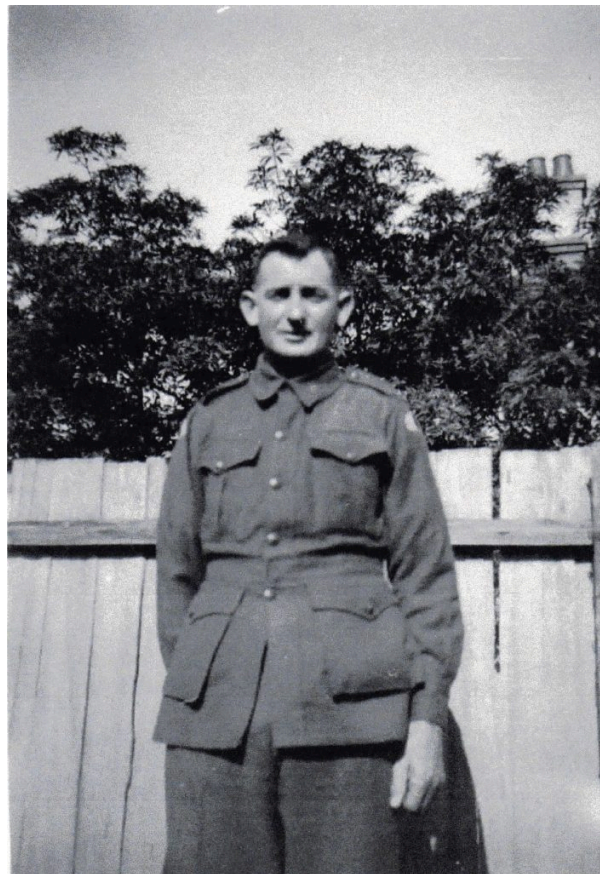
Figure 1: Jim Wiggins, in his Army uniform, c. 1941, Wiggins Family Album. Used under CC-BY-NC-ND

The stories that make up this essay are a product of an inherited legacy, as I become the third generation in my family to write about them.

Many of these stories were saved by my great-grandmother, Jessie Cameron (nee Wiggins), who received them through her brother.[3] Jim would usually only discuss his wartime experiences with his male friends and sons.[4] Thus, this was a clear rejection of Jim seeking control over his story

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1. Lachlan Grant and Karl James, 'Australia and the Second World War' in Paul R. Bartop (ed.), The Routledge History of the Second World War (Oxford: Routledge, 2021), 408.

2. Ibid.

3. Dorothy Patton and Mervynne Dunstan, 'Interview with Mrs. Jessie Cameron' in Dorothy Patton and Mervynne Dunstan (eds.), A Harvest of Memories: Oral History of Kara Kara District (St. Arnaud: Kara Kara Bicentennial Community Committee, 1988), 53.

4. Ibid.

and the transmission of social emotions to his family.[5] Moreover, the items behind Jim's wartime experience would fall into what Buchanan calls "ambient knowledge".[6] While some of the items can highlight the shared experiences of Japanese POWs, most of them are constructed through Jim's experience and family knowledge. Moreover, all of Jim's items have precise metadata that I have encountered.[7] The metadata collected in the past has mainly been related to Jim's stories and how they survived. The role I play with this essay is to create better metadata by adding thicker, academic-based descriptions to Jim's item and his story.[8] Therefore, this metadata can provide a more accurate foundation for future research projects into Jim's life.[9]

On 18 January 1903, Jim was born on his parent's farm in Korong Vale.[10] Soon after, they moved to the small farming district of Emu, near Bealiba.[11] He would continue to live in Emu until 1927 when he and his young family moved to Maffra.[12] During his time working as a seasonal lumberjack in Gippsland, he and his family would feel the impacts of the Great Depression.[13] For example, his family lived mainly off the vegetables he grew with occasional rabbit and fish.[14] They would move to Shepparton in 1935, living in a two-roomed tent.[15] Jim would work as a fruit picker and channel digging on sustenance.[16] They would move back to St. Arnaud in 1936, but Jim's struggle to find work continued.[17] Jim would enlist in the Australia Imperial Force ('AIF') on 28 June 1940.[18] There were two main reasons why Jim enlisted: he thought it was the right thing to do for Australia, and he wanted a chance at stable employment.[19] The "king and country" sentiment was common in mid-1940, as the Battle of Britain was beginning.[20] The highest peak of AIF enlistment

5. Ashley Barnwell, 'Family Secrets and the Slow Violence of Social Stigma', Sociology, 53/6 (2019), 1120.

6. Rachel Buchanan, 'The Iran Album (1974): Some Sleeve Notes', Archivaria, 85 (2018), 132.

7. Ibid. 129.

8. Ibid. 133.

9. Ibid. 128.

10. Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Birth 4196/1903.

11. Isabel Wardley, 'Recollections of Isabel Wardley (nee Wiggins)', in Dorothy Patton and Mervynne Dunstan (eds.), A Harvest of Memories: Oral History of Kara Kara District (St. Arnaud: Kara Kara Bicentennial Community Committee, 1988), 55.

12. Dorothy Patton and Mervynne Dunstan, 'Interview with Mrs. Jessie Cameron', 51.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid. 52-53.

15. Ibid. 51.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid. 52; John Lack and Peter Hosford (eds.), No Lost Battalion: An Oral History of the 2/29th Battalion AIF (McCrae: Slouch Hat Publications, 2005), 30.

18. Australian Army: Central Army Records Office, 'VX45532 James Edwin Wiggins' [letter to Jessie Cameron], 8 Sep. 1982.

19. Jan Amos, James Edwin Wiggins 1903-1967: My Grandfather [Compiled Notes] (c. 2010), 5; John Lack and Peter Hosford (eds.), No Lost Battalion, 30.

20. Ibid. 31.

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occurred during this time.[21] Moreover, Jessie also noted that "six shillings and day and … [a family] allowance" got many men to enlist.[22]

However, Jim would not fit the "average Australian soldier" aged in his 20s from an industrial or white-collar background described by Grant and James.[23] He was 37 and from a rural background with five children.

Figure 2: Jim's final photo with family before leaving for Singapore, c. 1941. Left to right: Jessie Aileen, Muriel (Jim's wife), Jim (holding Graeme), William (in front) Harold. Source: Wiggins Family Album, used under CC-BY-NC-ND.

Figure 2 is Jim's last photo with his children before going overseas. Jessie Cameron hated this photo because it shows her and her siblings' "sad faces".[24]

Jim would sail from Fremantle on 8 August 1941, arriving in Singapore a week later.[25] Jim was a

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21. Lachlan Grant and Karl James, 'Australia and the Second World War', 399.

22. Dorothy Patton and Mervynne Dunstan, 'Interview with Mrs. Jessie Cameron', 52.

23. Lachlan Grant and Karl James, 'Australia and the Second World War', 399.

24. Dorothy Patton and Mervynne Dunstan, 'Interview with Mrs. Jessie Cameron', 53; Jan Amos, James Edwin Wiggins 1903-1967: My Grandfather, 6.

25. VX45532 James Edwin Wiggins AIF Service Book [notebook] (c. 1940-1945).

member of the 2/29 Battalion, and their first barracks were in the suburb of Katong.[26] Soon after, he would be hospitalised with mumps.[27] After being discharged, he joined the 27th Brigade because the 2/29 had moved into British Malaya.[28] Jim would spend the next three months in the Johore state of British Malaya, participating in the Malayan Campaign.[29] In January, the 27th Bridge would take part in the Battle of Singapore.[30] The fall of Singapore on 15 February 1942 would have significant adverse effects on Australia, as the war would come closer to home. For Jim, the British surrender would mean he would become one of the 22,000 Australians to become Japanese POWs between January and March 1942.[31]

Figure 3: Telegram from Jim from the battlefield. Dated: 5 February 1942 at 11:45am. Used under CC-BY-NC-ND.

Figure 3 is Jim's last form of communication with his family before becoming a Japanese POW. The next time Jim's family would hear from him was around six months later.

Furthermore, Jim would be marched to the Changi POW Prison two days later.[32] It would serve as a transit camp where prisoners were housed until being moved on as forced labours in Burma, Borneo,

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26. John Lack and Peter Hosford (eds.), No Lost Battalion, 63.

27. VX45532 James Edwin Wiggins AIF Service Book [notebook] (c. 1940-1945).

28. Ibid; John Lack and Peter Hosford (eds.), No Lost Battalion, 63.

29. Joseph Morgan, 'A Burning Legacy: The 'Broken' 8th Division', Sabretache, 54/3 (2013), 6; John Lack and Peter Hosford (eds.), No Lost Battalion, 65.

30. Ibid. 12.

31. Ibid. 405.

32. VX45532 James Edwin Wiggins AIF Service Book [notebook] (c. 1940-1945).

and Japan.[33] Hygiene and sanitation would become a massive concern in Changi. Tropical diseases would be a constant threat due to Singapore's climate, causing malaria and cholera outbreaks.[34] Jim would suffer dysentery and Dengue fever during his time in Changi, and his weight would also drop from 76kg to 38kg.[35] Many of the items Jim kept during his wartime experience tell us about his time in Changi:

Figure 4: The spoon Jim eat rice from in Japanese POW camps. Source: Spoon [physical item] (c. 1940-1945), Wiggins Family Collection. Used under CC-BY-NC-ND.

Figure 4 shows the spoon he would eat rice with throughout his wartime experience. POWs would struggle with a severe lack of food and malnutrition caused by an imbalance, rice-based diet.[36] Small groups of prisoners would scrounge food and share it, as rice rations were too small and left POWs hungry.[37]

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33. R. P. W. Havers, Reassessing the Japanese Prisoner of War Experience: The Changi Prisoner of War Camp in Singapore, 1942-45 (Oxford: Routledge, 2003), 11; Lachlan Grant and Karl James, 'Australia and the Second World War', 405.

34. Lucy Robertson, 'Changi: Military discipline in a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp, 1942–45', in Joan Beaumont, Lachlan Grant and Aaron Pegram (eds.), Beyond Surrender: Australian Prisoners of War in the Twentieth Century (Carlton: Melbourne University Press), 124.

35. VX45532 James Edwin Wiggins AIF Service Book [notebook] (c. 1940-1945); Jessie Cameron, VX45532 Private James Edwin Wiggins [Notes] (c. 1980s), 2.

36. R. P. W. Havers, Reassessing the Japanese Prisoner of War Experience, 43; Lucy Robertson, 'Changi: Military discipline in a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp', 125.
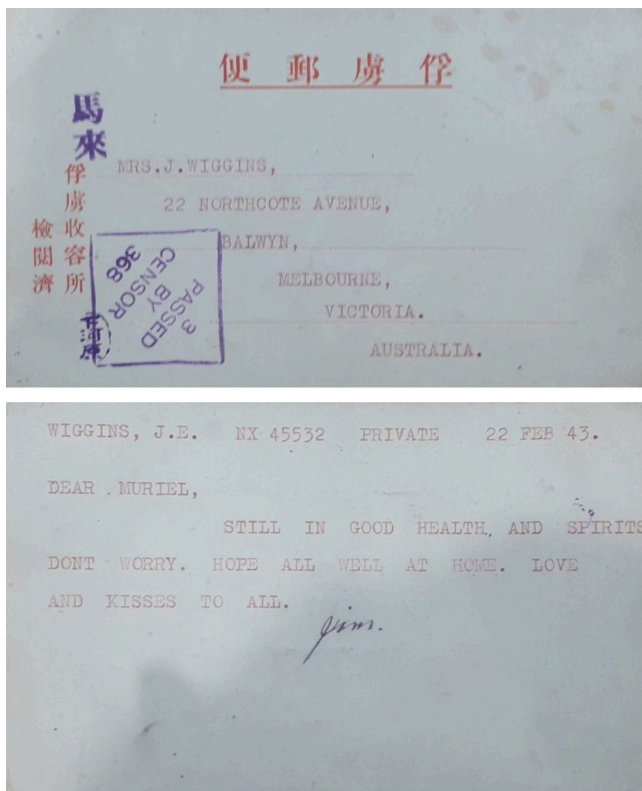
37. Ibid.

Figure 5 shows one of the postcards he sent home to his family from Changi. The postcards were strictly restricted to only 24 words, and the Japanese gave detailed instructions on what the POWs could and could not write. However, the response from the POWs was highly positive as the need for communication with home was long desired.[38]

In 1943, Edward "Weary" Dunlop decided Jim would be sent to Japan as a cooler climate may give him a better chance of survival.[39]

This most likely occurred in January when Dunlop was organising his forces who would become forced labourers on the Burma-Thailand Railroad.[40] Thus, Jim would become part of "G Force", who would be sent to Japan on 25 April 1943.[41] Many G Force POWs were mainly sick, disabled, or hospital and maintenance staff.[42] G Force would be transported to Japan on a one-month voyage on a "hell-ship".[43] Onboard these ships, POWs were forced into overcrowded holds and suffered further severe malnutrition and disease due to starvation, dehydration, and inadequate hygiene.[44] The hell-ships would also be where many POWs first interacted with Japanese soldiers, as Australian and British officers were still responsible for enforcing discipline in Changi.[45] Jim's movement over the next two years is based on primary sources. Jim would be stationed at the Taisho POW camp

38. R. P. W. Havers, Reassessing the Japanese Prisoner of War Experience, 52-54.

39. Jessie Cameron, VX45532 Private James Edwin Wiggins, 2.

40. Sue Ebury, Weary: King of the River (Carlton: The Miegunyah Press, 2010), 195.

41. AWM54, 554/16/1, "G" Force (Japan): Reports on Taisho Sub Camp, Osaka – Oeyama Camp, Takefu camp.

42. Verdun Walsh, Cry Crucify (Ryde: Val Walsh & Associates, 1991), 139.

43. AWM54, 554/16/1; Cheah Wui Ling, 'Post-World War II British 'Hell-Ship' Trials in Singapore: Omissions and the Attribution of Responsibility', Journal of International Criminal Justice, 8/4 (2010), 1036.

44. Ibid. 1038.

45. Verdun Walsh, Cry Crucify, 139; Lucy Robertson, 'Changi: Military discipline in a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp', 122.

in Osaka.[46] He most likely worked in the Osaka Ironworks until March 1944, when he became too weak to walk.[47] He then began working around the camp, repairing boots for Japanese officers and gardening.[48]

46. AWM54, 554/16/1.

47. Ibid; James Wiggins, 'Letter from Taisho POW Camp' [letter to Muriel Wiggins and his children], 4 Jun. 1944.

48. Ibid; Jessie Cameron, VX45532 Private James Edwin Wiggins, 2.

35 SANJOGO
36 SANJUROKU
37 SANJOSHICHI
38 SANJOHACHI
39 SANJUKU
40 YON. JU

HI'EE; YIS; NIA NO;
DENKI; Light
ASH MESSHI; Breakfast
HIKU "; Lunch
BAN "; Tea
WAKARI MASU; Do you
   understand
WAKALLY MA SEN
   I dont understand
KICHO; get up
CHŌTŌ; Lights out
TATTEE; Stand up
SUWARE; Sit down
NO ICHI DO; Do once again

oasmor, oasin oh
HŌKI; Broom
KUTSO; Boot
BŌSHI; Cap or hat
LUBON, Trousers
ZATSO BŌ; Cap off
CHAKU "; " on
UWAGI; Jacket
EKURA DESKA; How much
DEKIRA DAKE
   ITASHEE DESU;
   I WILL do my best

SAMU KU NAKIMA
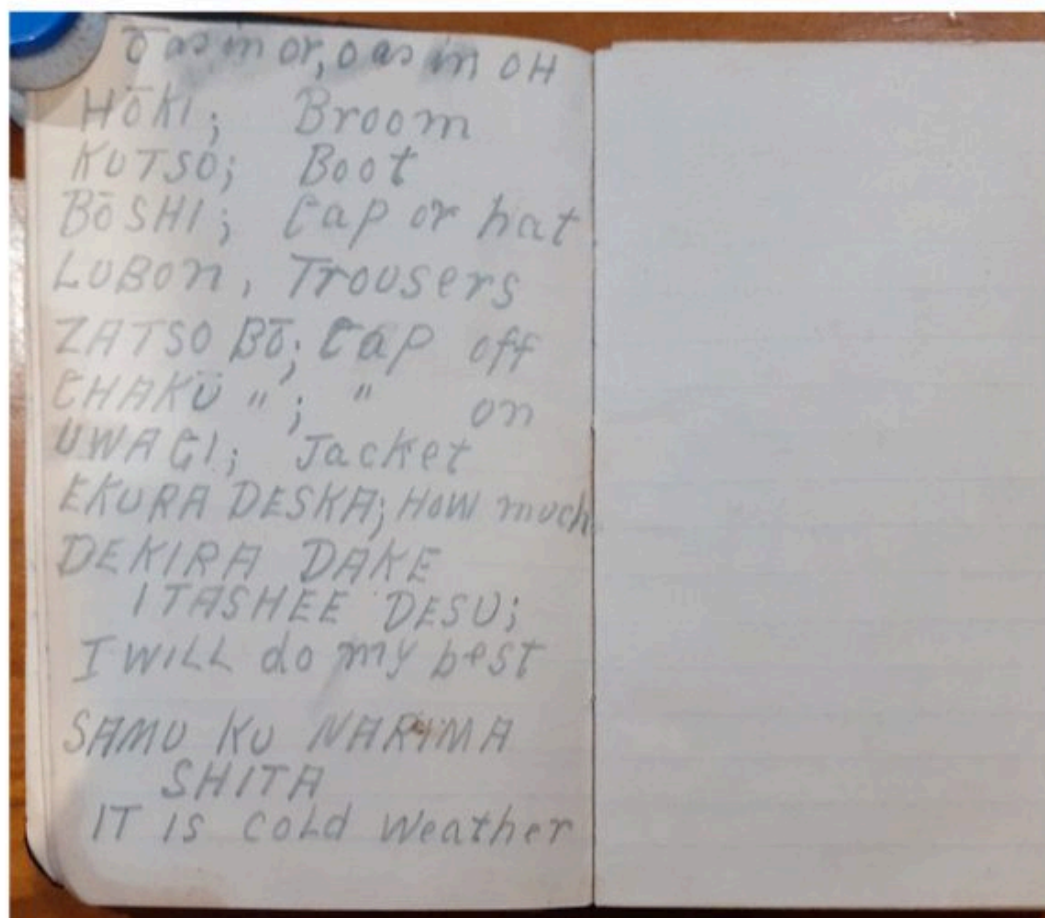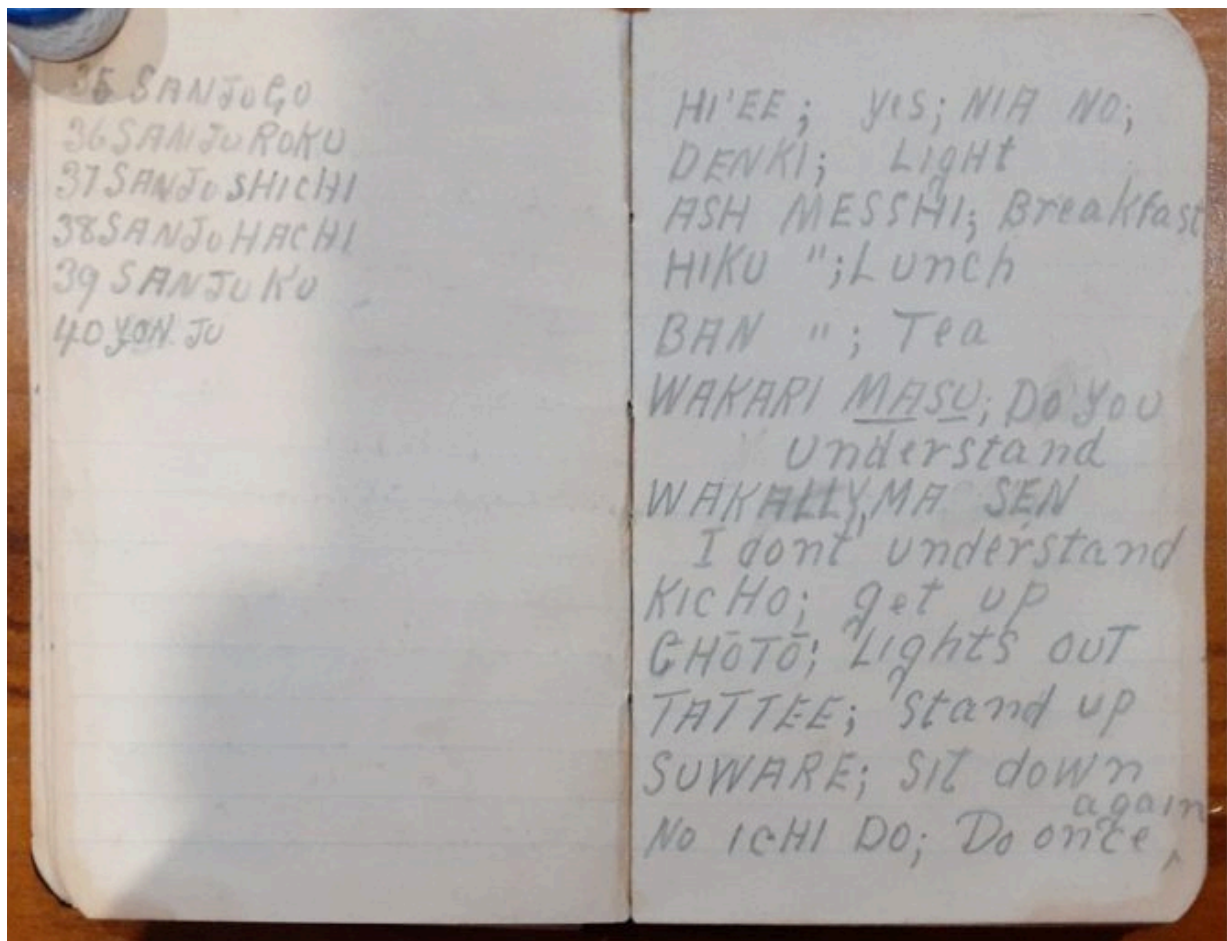   SHITA
   IT IS cold weather

Figure 6: Pages from Jim's service book showing Japanese transitions. Source: VX45532 James Edwin Wiggins AIF Service Book [notebook] (c. 1940-1945). Used under CC-BY-NC-ND.

Figure 6 shows Japanese translations of commands from his service book. The Japanese saw to reinforce the POW position during their inactions, seeing its use as enforcing the Imperial Japanese Army ("IJA") wishes.[49]

However, the conditions of POW camps in Japan would vary significantly.[50] Jim did have his thumbs flattened with a hammer once by an IJA guard and had lash marks on his back from beating.[51] The POWs received three small bowls of rice each day in Taisho.[52] Jim would steal small pumpkins from the garden when working in the camp.[53] He also climbed a wall from his boot-mending hut, across the ceiling of the guard's room, to scrounge rice from the connected storeroom.[54] Although only approximately four Australian POWs died as members of G Force, many were still very sick.[55] POWs were marched to and from the Ironworks each day, around 2.4km from the camp.[56] They would work 10-hour shifts, having a rest day every two weeks.[57] When Jim became too weak to walk, he had to be supported by the workers and guards back to the camp.[58] Moreover, Jim recorded interactions with Japanese civilians were positive, holding no hatred towards them.[59] One of Jim's stories was about an older man putting a newspaper in the wire of the prison fence each day.[60]

By May 1945, Jim was moved to Takefu POW camp, like many of the prisoners in Taisho.[61] Part of the reason prisoners speculated for this move was that Osaka had been becoming a target of

49. R. P. W. Havers, Reassessing the Japanese Prisoner of War Experience, 59.

50. Lachlan Grant, 'Breaking Barriers: The Diversity of Prisoner-Of-War Camps in Japan and Australian Contacts with Japanese Civilians' in Joan Beaumont, Lachlan Grant and Aaron Pegram (eds.), Beyond Surrender: Australian Prisoners of War in the Twentieth Century (Carlton: Melbourne University Press), 167.

51. Jessie Cameron, VX45532 Private James Edwin Wiggins, 2; Jan Amos, James Edwin Wiggins 1903-1967: My Grandfather, 2.

52. Ibid.

53. Jessie Cameron, VX45532 Private James Edwin Wiggins, 2.

54. Ibid.

55. Verdun Walsh, Cry Crucify, 361-366; John Lack and Peter Hosford (eds.), No Lost Battalion, 180.

56. AWM54, 554/16/1.

57. Ibid.

58. Jessie Cameron, VX45532 Private James Edwin Wiggins, 2.

59. Ibid; Lachlan Grant, 'Breaking Barriers', 175.

60. Jessie Cameron, VX45532 Private James Edwin Wiggins, 2.

61. Verdun Walsh, Cry Crucify, 361.

American bombing raids.[62] On 15 August 1945, Japan surrendered to the Allies, ending the war.[63] Jim's activities after leaving the camp are not entirely known, but he was in Yokohama in early September before travelling to Manilla.[64] However, several of Jim's items do tell stories from this time:

Figure 7: Scarves made out of parachute silk collected from American food drops. Source: Scarves from American food drops [physical item] (c. 1945), Wiggins Family Collection. Used under CC-BY-NC-ND.

62. Ibid; John Lack and Peter Hosford (eds.), No Lost Battalion, 180.

63. Lachlan Grant and Karl James, 'Australia and the Second World War', 408.

64. James Wiggins, 'Letter from Manilla' [letter to Muriel Wiggins], 10 Sep. 1945.

Figure 8: Postcard collection from Takfu [postcards] (c. 1945), Wiggins Family Collection. Used under CC-BY-NC-ND.

Figure 7 shows scarves made out of parachute silk and figure 8 shows a collection of postcards from Takefu. The postcards were picked up as souvenirs when he was allowed out of the camp. The parachute silk scarves were in American food supply drops, which started on 28 August.[65] These supplies allowed Jim to gain 12kg within the first month since the ending of the war and were also regularly shared with Japanese civilians.[66]

65. James Wiggins, 'Letter from Manilla' [letter to Muriel Wiggins], 10 Sep. 1945; Jan Amos, James Edwin Wiggins 1903-1967: My Grandfather, 17.

66. Ibid; Lachlan Grant, 'Breaking Barriers', 175.

Figure 9: Japanese doll brought home by Jim. Japanese doll from Takfu [physical item] (c. 1945), Wiggins Family Collection. Used under CC-BY-NC-ND.

Figure 9 shows another souvenir Jim got in Japan, a doll. The story surrounding this was one of Jim's

friends, who was too weak to go out, started crying when he saw it because he could not get any souvenirs.[67] Therefore, Jim decided to give him the dog connected to the doll.[68]

Additionally, Jim was discharged from the AIF on 3 December 1945, returning to Australia on the HMS Formidable.[69] Jim had regained his weight to 88kg by the time he returned.[70] When receiving food on the HMS Formidable, he would jump back in line to receive seconds.[71] After the war, Jim worked with his sons in Melbourne for Victorian Railways before moving back to St. Arnaud.[72] Like many, Jim would feel the effects of wartime experience for the rest of his life. One incident was when multiple planes were surveying over St. Arnaud; Jim had nightmares and would go to the ground when they flew over.[73] This suggests he was suffering some form of trauma, which the development of its understanding would occur over the post-war years.[74] Jim rarely talked about his wartime experience, only talking about them to his friends and sons.[75]

Jim died on 8 December 1967 at the age of 64 from heart failure.[76] Thus, he would not live to see the significant developments towards the attitudes of former POWs. Firstly, there was growing international attention toward previous human rights violations starting from the 1970s.[77] And secondly, post-traumatic stress disorder was officially recognised as a psychiatric category in 1980.[78]

To conclude, my great-great-grandfather, James ("Jim") Edwin Wiggins, was one of the many Australians that became a Japanese prisoner of war during the Second World War. His items and stories from his wartime experience have been passed down through four generations of my family. This essay gives some more described context and metadata so that future projects can have a more accurate foundation into Jim's life. Like many, Jim struggle to find stable employment during the Great Depression. Enlisting gave Jim a chance at regular employment and allowed him to support his country. He fought in British Malaya and Singapore before being captured as a POW after the fall of Singapore. Jim would spend a year in Changi and suffer sickness and serve malnutrition. In

67. Jessie Cameron, VX45532 Private James Edwin Wiggins, 3.

68. Ibid.

69. Australian Military Forces, 'Certificate of Discharge No. 311712: VX45532 Private James Edwin Wiggins', [certificate] (1945).

70. Dorothy Patton and Mervynne Dunstan, 'Interview with Mrs. Jessie Cameron', 52.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

73. Jan Amos, James Edwin Wiggins 1903-1967: My Grandfather, 2.

74. Christina Twomey, The Battle Within: POWs in Post-War Australia (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2018), 150.

75. Dorothy Patton and Mervynne Dunstan, 'Interview with Mrs. Jessie Cameron', 53.

76. Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Death 28106/1967.

77. Christina Twomey, 'Compensating prisoners of war of Japan in post-war Australia' Joan Beaumont, Lachlan Grant and Aaron Pegram (eds.), Beyond Surrender: Australian Prisoners of War in the Twentieth Century (Carlton: Melbourne University Press), 200.

78. [87] Ibid.

1943, he was sent to Japan on a hell ship as part of G Force. Jim would spend the rest of his wartime experience in Osaka and Takefu. He would work in factories before becoming so weak that he could not walk without support. Jim would come home and resume his ordinary life but would feel the effects of his wartime experience for the rest of his life. Unfortunately, he died before many realised the struggles Japanese POWs faced when returning home.

Reflection

My essay discussed my great-great-grandfather, James ('Jim') Edwin Wiggins, experience as a Japanese Prisoner of War (POW) during the Second World War. This essay is structured around items kept from his experience, such as letters and photographs, letting their stories produce scholarly analysis. Using Rachel Buchanan's article, The Iran Album (1974): Some Sleeve Notes, as the template, the essay gives more detailed metadata to these items to show how archival material can be used in writing family or personal history. In this context, the metadata produced by my essay is academically based, adding to the existing family's knowledge of Jim's experience. That article became my primary influence because the initial idea was to use this project to show off these items while also telling Jim's story.

The critical concept of Jim's story is survival. Jim suffered severe sickness and hunger while interned as a Japanese POW. The survival concept is also relevant to the items. Many of their stories would not have survived if my great-grandmother, Jessie Cameron, had not saved them from Jim's social control of his emotions. I also wanted to challenge Australian Second World War historiography. The average Australian Second World War soldier is often seen as a man in their 20s from an industrial, urban background. However, Jim does not fit this mould. He was 37 at the time of his enlistment and came from a rural background. I saw Jim's story as a unique perspective from one of more than 30,000 Australians who found themselves Japanese POWs.

I chose the illustrated essay format because it was the best format to explain Jim's life story, compared to a museum display. Although, I found it hard initially to give the essay's narrative over the items because there were many other topics I wanted to discuss. For me, the hardest to leave out of the final version was his experiences from the Great Depression, which also connected to the survival concept very well. I also found it hard to reflect on the historian's role fully. I understood I was adding academic-based information to stories recorded as personal accounts. However, I could not figure out how to express this aim within the essay. I realised afterwards this essay was an excellent example of the academic-based transformation family history has seen. This is because I used the material made by Jesse and Nan (Jan Amos) in a hobby-based pursuit and added academic research.

As gatekeepers of history, we intentionally make political editorial decisions whenever we discuss wars, mostly without realising. During this project, I did make clear political editing decisions. I wanted to avoid any sensitivity as the relationship between Australia and Japan has changed significantly since the end of the Second World War. I relied heavily on the notes Jessie wrote about the items, which focused on stories of torture and war crimes performed by the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA). The only stories of this nature which made it into the final essay were those I could back up with references from other primary accounts from Jim's battalion and work parties. I also wanted to reinforce that Jim did not hold any hatred towards the Japanese, as many fellow POWs did, for the crimes committed against them by the IJA.

About the author

Thomas Amos

Thomas Amos is a Bachelor of Laws (Honours)/Arts graduate from the Wimmera town of St. Arnaud on Dja Dja Wurrung Country. Thomas developed a keen interest in history from a young age, thanks due his late great-grandmother and grandmother being researchers at the local Historical Society. Thomas works as a Peer Learning Advisor at La Trobe University Library and will start History Honours in 2024.

2.2 'Border Security': the scapegoating of refugees and asylum seekers in Australia since 2001

Meg Burns

In 2001, at the Liberal Party's campaign launch for the federal election, John Howard lauded Australia as being a nation of 'generous, open-hearted people taking more refugees on a per- capita basis than any nation except Canada'. To great applause, he then stated 'But we will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come.'

Many tactics have been deployed over the past two decades to demonise people who come to Australia by boat. 'Illegals', 'queue jumpers', 'boat people' are just some of the terms used by public figures and the media to describe them. Where does such an attitude come from, and how has it been weaponised to justify the treatment of asylum seekers and refugees?

Starting with the Howard years through to the eve of the 2022 federal election, I will explore how successive Australian governments have tried to control the narrative surrounding border protection and boat arrivals through the implementation of dehumanising and inhumane strategies in order to achieve this.

See this trailer for the documentary series from 2011, Go Back to Where You Came From, for further insight into differing attitudes towards refugees in Australia (albeit from solely white, privileged perspectives in this instance).

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here: https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=728#oembed-1

Australia: a settler colony

Before we begin to explore Australia's horrendous asylum seeker and refugee policies it is important to discuss the ongoing legacy of racism that traces back to the very foundation of Australia. In her book Cruel Care : A History of Children at Our Borders Jordana Silverstein cites the Amangu Yamatji historian Crystal McKinnon who argues that Australia's practices of border control must not be viewed as extraordinary, as to do so 'obscures the violence and horror of colonialism'. She continues:

'To see contemporary practices of incarceration and detention of asylum seekers as exceptional removes them from the historical and contemporary context of global systems of imperialism and racial capital … It removes the local context and histories too, erasing the ongoing colonial violence against Indigenous people … it is vital to understand detention, incarceration, and other forms of custody as central to colonialism in order for us to analyse these systems, fight against them, and build better societies with Indigenous sovereignty as the foundation.'

So-called 'Australia' was invaded by the British in the 18th century and subsequently colonised.

While the initial act of invasion occurred in the past, the effects and policies of colonisation continue into the present day. Australia remains a settler-colony. It is important to note that in the past three decades more than 400 Indigenous people have died in custody – either being held in prisons or under arrest of the police.

Incarceration of Australia's Indigenous population is at a record high, despite findings and recommendations from the Royal Commission into Deaths in Custody from 1991. Australia's inhumane detention system has colonial foundations and plays into a problematic and ongoing racist history.

What is the difference between a refugee and an asylum seeker?

Australia is a voluntary signatory of both the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugee (referred to as 'the Convention'). Therefore, it is under obligation to offer protection to anyone who meets the Convention definition of a refugee (Mares 2002). Article 1A defines a refugee as a person who:

> **"… owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself to the protection of that country… ."**

As Peter Mares states in his 2002 book Borderline, "Australia has a sophisticated system in place for determining whether or not people meet this definition. A person who comes to Australia in search of such protection is known as an "asylum seeker'".

The Howard Years, the Tampa Affair and 'children overboard', and the subsequent policy changes.

As Guardian journalist Ben Doherty explains, Australia's current refugee policies have their origins in 2001, when a Norwegian freighter, MV Tampa, changed course to rescue 433 asylum seekers from a leaking vessel en route to Christmas Island. Australia defied international obligations and denied entry to the Tampa. After a week out at sea, the Howard Government sent in the SAS. Instead of receiving food and supplies, 45 troops were dispatched and essentially commandeered the ship. This response was meant to send a message, purportedly to people smugglers and asylum seekers themselves, but arguably more so to the Australian population that John Howard's government was 'tough' when it came to securing the nation's borders. All this was happening in the lead up to the 2001 federal election campaign. Border protection and migration became an issue of national security – and played into a growing anti-migration sentiment lead by Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party which became a key issue of the 2001 election, especially in the wake of 9/11 which occurred two weeks after the Tampa Affair.

The standoff ceased after Australia paid Nauru, a small island in the Pacific, to take some of the asylum seekers. The government also passed a suite of legislation which excised Christmas Island from the Australian migration zone, effectively making it much more difficult for people arriving by boat to be eligible to apply for protection under Australian law. After the Tampa Affair and Children overboard, and the subsequent introduction of the 'Pacific Solution', Howard introduced the Temporary Protection Visa (TPV). Refugees would be given a visa valid for 3 years after which they would need to reapply. This only applied to refugees who came by boat.

The month following the Tampa Affair, in the lead up to the federal election, another significant incident occurred. Government ministers falsely alleged that asylum seeker parents had thrown their children into the sea in order for them to be able to claim asylum after being rescued. It didn't happen, yet ministers insisted that it did. These incidents stoked an increasingly hostile sentiment towards asylum seekers arriving in Australia, and set the tone for the next twenty years.

Here is an ABC Lateline report from the lead up to the 2001 federal election discussing the significance of the Tampa Affair on the Australian political landscape:

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here: https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=728

The Rudd / Gillard Years: 2007 – 2013

The Howard Government's policies were extremely controversial. The refusal to protect refugees and rejection of Australia's moral and legal obligation under the Convention were opposed by many. While most of the refugees on Nauru and PNG were resettle within a couple of years, there were still some left when the Labor Party came into power in 2007. In 2008, Labor formally ended offshore processing, as well as Temporary Protection Visas, granting all those with TPVs permanent protection. However, these changes came at a time of an increased number of refugees seeking protection due to wars in both Iraq and Afghanistan displacing millions of people, as well Tamils fleeing persecution from Sri Lanka. All of this led to an increased number of boat arrivals coming from Indonesia, which spurred the Liberal opposition to spruce a revised punitive 'solution' which involved 'Stopping the Boats'.

The Labor leadership spill of 2010 ousted Kevin Rudd and saw Julia Gillard become Prime Minister under controversial circumstances, meanwhile pressure was mounting to do something about the increasing number of asylum seekers arriving by boat. A critical moment occurred when a boat crashed on Christmas Island, killing dozens of people. The Labor government tried to find other ways to deal with the increasing amount of boat arrivals.

After an ill-fated and morally dubious 'Malaysia Solution' was deemed by the High Court to be inadequate in fulfilling the requirements of an offshore processing country, an Expert Panel was established by Julia Gillard to provide an alternative asylum seeker policy. With barely a month to provide a compromise policy, its recommendations resulted in the recommencement of offshore processing on Manus Island and Nauru. This would be known as the 'No Advantage' policy, which extended the excision policy so that even if a refugee made it to mainland Australia, they would not be eligible to apply for protection.

When Kevin Rudd was reinstated as leader of the Labor Party in 2013, he soon announced that all asylum seekers who arrived by boat would be sent to PNG or Nauru and would never be resettled in Australia, a far cry from his initial mandate in 2007.

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here: https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=728#oembed-2

'Stop the Boats': Operation Sovereign Borders

After an election campaign based on exploiting the electorate's fear of migrants and Tony Abbott's signature slogan of 'Stop the Boats', the return of the Liberal Government in 2013 saw the introduction of an even tougher set of policies regarding boat arrivals, indefinite mandatory detention and 'border protection'. Australia's refugee policy became amongst the most punitive in the world.

As the Refugee Council of Australia states, these policies included:

- 'a hardening of the deterrence policies including the continuation of offshore processing, with the introduction of a new quasi-military Operation Sovereign Borders and the establishment of the Australian Border Force
- the introduction of a new and unfair process for determining the claims of those who came by boat, together with the removal of government-funded legal help for those claims, and
- the re-introduction of temporary protection, but this time without the possibility of permanent residence.'

In 2017, after an amendment to the Australian Border Force Act, Section 42 allowed for the imprisonment of up to 2 years of any doctors or social workers who bore public witness to children beaten or sexually abused, or to acts of rape or cruelty.

As of 2018, 12 asylum seekers have died in the Manus Island, Nauru, and Christmas Island detention centres.
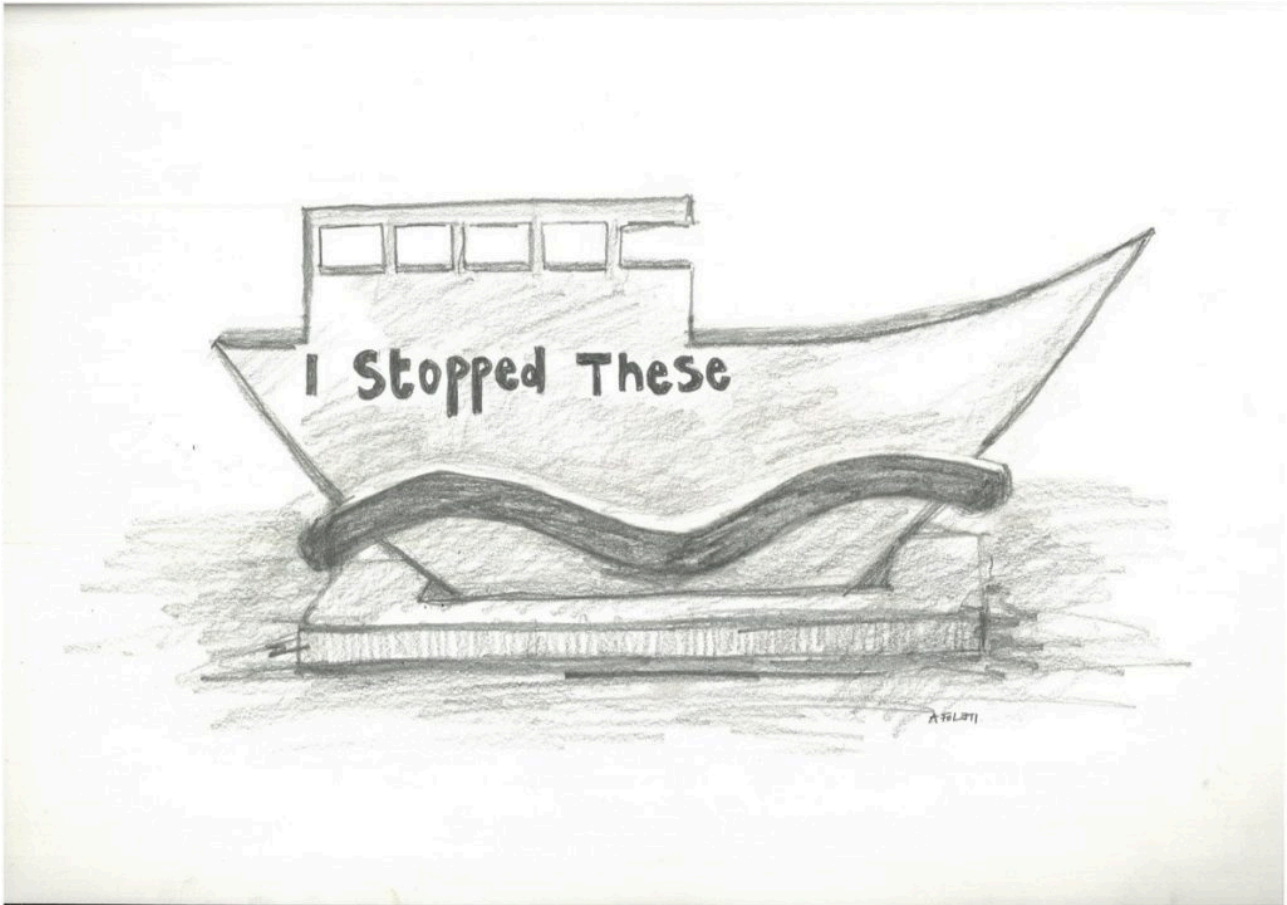
Figure 1: Artistic rendering of an actual memento that former Prime Minister Scott Morrison kept in his office, given to him during his time as immigration minister. Image courtesy of Angie Foleti.

Behrouz Boochani

Behrouz Boochani is a Kurdish refugee residing in New Zealand. He was detained on Manus Island from 2013 until 2019. His book, No Friend but the Mountains, offers a first-hand account of what it was like to be detained indefinitely in what he calls 'Manus Prison'. Whilst imprisoned, Boochani typed out the chapters on a smuggled mobile phone which he then sent in Whatsapp messages to a friend, which were translated from Farsi to English and published in 2018. He details in beautiful prose and verse his horrific experiences which include a perilous journey to Australia by boat, in which he almost drowns, the feeling of degradation and debasement experienced at the hands of Australian officials, as well as the cramped conditions of the prison and stifling heat of Manus Island. He offers astute insight into what he terms Australia's 'Border Industrial Complex' and the 'Kyriarchal' system in place, meaning the system of domination, oppression and submission – which in turn refers to the 'extent and omnipresence of the torture and control in the prison'.

Here he describes the unbearable conditions of the detention centre:

> **'Two open entry-exit points /**
>
> **Twelve small rooms, approximately one-and-a-half meteres by one-and-a-half-metres /**
>
> **Flyscreened windows /**
>
> **Four imprisoned individuals, in bunk beds /**

Forced to adapt to each other's sweaty bodies and the elimination of personal space /

Twelve rusted fans facing the same direction /

Forty-eight individuals /

Forty-eight beds /

Forty-eight foul-smelling mouths /

Forty-eight half-naked, sweaty bodies /

Frightened /

Arguing.'

Boochani perceptively describes the psychological torment and humans rights abuses of what he terms the 'detention regime' at Manus Prison where even games like a makeshift backgammon board are forbidden. He writes:

'It seemed it was their [the guards] only duty for the entire day: to shit all over the sanity of the prisoners, who were left just staring at each other in distress'.

Dirty politics

On the eve of the 2022 election, in a last-ditch effort by Scott Morrison to sway the election result in his favour, voters in marginal seats received a text message from the Australian Border Force informing them that a vessel had been intercepted in 'an attempt to enter Australia from Sri Lanka.'

Australia's refugee policies throughout the 21st century can only be described as cynical, using tactics in order to exacerbate and exploit the xenophobia of the electorate which in turn has justified the inhumane treatment of people seeking asylum. If one is to hold the idea of 'Australian values' – kindness, compassion, the fair-go – who poses more of a threat to these values? I would argue it is the politicians mandating racism, torture and abuse in the name of 'border security', than people who have risked everything to seek asylum.

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About the author

Meg Burns

Meg Burns is currently completing a Bachelor of Arts at La Trobe University, majoring in Visual Cultures and Spanish Studies. With a passion for art history, Meg currently volunteers as an archivist at Gertrude Contemporary ahead of its 40th anniversary in 2025. Meg is also a musician with eclectic taste and a background in tenor saxophone and voice. Meg adores learning languages, having tried their hand at Indonesian, then Spanish and Italian. In 2023 they had the opportunity to enrich their studies with a semester abroad in Madrid studying art history and Spanish. Meg is committed to engaging with different cultures and enhancing their understanding of the world around them.

2.3 From Italia to Melbourne: A Culinary Journey of Italian Migration

Cristina M. Thompson

In the bustling streets of Melbourne, amongst the vibrant multicultural tapestry, lies a delicious tale of migration and culinary innovation. Today, Australia offers a delightful variety of culinary treasures from diverse cultural backgrounds. With food providing a lens into the narratives of cultures, Australia boasts a rich tapestry of culinary treasures from around the globe. But have you ever wondered how staples like pizza and pasta became everyday delights Down Under? Let's take a closer look at Australia's culinary journey, beyond the simple notion that it was shaped by migrant communities.

Think about it: imagine a time when you couldn't easily find salami or mozzarella, and the idea of sipping a morning cappuccino on your way to work was unheard of. This essay delves into the captivating story of Italian migration and its impact on the vibrant food scene of Melbourne. Exploring how Italian cuisine has blended into Australian cooking, this study traces the obstacles faced by Italian migrants in the 1900s and examines how they made a lasting impact on Australian cuisine with their flavourful contributions. By employing a methodological approach grounded in both primary and secondary sources, I aim to unravel the fascinating interplay between migration, cultural exchange, and the evolution of gastronomy.

Prepare to uncover the delicious layers of Australia's culinary heritage.

Cultural Transitions through Culinary Contraband

**Figure 1:Newspaper article "No Salami This Time"
published in The Daily News on March 25, 1955.
Source: From Trove, public domain.**

Italian migrants, yearning for a taste of home in their new home of Australia, began smuggling salami—a cherished culinary treasure—into the country concealed within their belongings and in "tins of olive oil".[1] For these migrants, salami symbolised not only sustenance but a tangible link to their cultural identity and heritage. Their efforts, however, did not escape the scrutiny of the Australian authorities. Who commenced vigilant inspections of their luggage, detecting, and confiscating contraband salami. As illustrated in Figure 1, "No Salami This Time", an article published in *The Daily News* on March 25, 1955, signifies the importance of this single food commodity and provides valuable insights into the challenges and adaptations faced by Italian immigrants as they introduced their cuisine to Australia.

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1. "No Salami This Time." *The Daily News* . March 25, 1955. https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/266312101#.

Figure 2: Charcuterie board with various meats, cheeses, and accompaniments. Source: Photo by Iaredawg from <u>Flickr</u>, public domain.

Today, a variety of cured meats and cheeses grace the shelves of supermarkets, delicatessens, and the local milk bar. They have integrated into our daily routines as essential components of our lunchtime 'sangas', pizza toppings, or convenient on-the-go snacks.

Charcuterie boards are a popular feature at parties and functions and can be purchased from markets or small businesses. Figure 2 depicts a small charcuterie board available to purchase or recreate for various occasions. By comparing the two images, we can see the development of this singular commodity and how it significantly influenced Australian dietary habits, reflecting its widespread adoption and culinary versatility. However, this development does not appear to have been seamless.

Displacement and Discontent: Food at Bonegilla Migration Centre

Figure 3: Bonegilla residents during mealtime at Bonegilla Migration Centre. Photograph is located on the Discover Bonegilla website, N.D. https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/231620514?keyword=Bonegilla%20dinner

For many Italian migrants, their journey to Australia began at Bonegilla, a Migration Reception and Training centre located in Northern Victoria. Amid unfamiliar surroundings, Italian migrants found temporary refuge and support. Between 1947 and 1971, a wave of migrants; totalling around 300,000

from over 50 nations, arrived on Australian shores seeking sanctuary from the scars of war-torn Europe, Italians being among them.[2]

At Bonegilla, meals were served based on military rations, featuring a menu dominated by mutton, a meat many migrants found unpalatable.[3] Richard Bosworth's accounts illustrate the unappealing meals that migrants endured "A cold mutton chop, covered with a sauce 'absolutely unknown in Italy' was no solace for an unemployed Italian".[4] The bland food had stripped them of their identity and fed on their vulnerability instead of nourishing them. Bonegilla provided migrants with personal memories, filled with negative connotations. Mealtime at Bonegilla served as a visual memory of wartime conditions and the Italian diaspora, signifying their displacement from their homeland. Alternatives such as private cooking was prohibited due to safety concerns.

The fascinating sagas of Bonegilla are brought to life through vivid oral histories and personal accounts. One fascinating account from Elis P in 1959 paints a bleak picture of the "awful" food provisions, "We had to queue up for our meals at the dining room. And the food was awful – overcooked pasta with a grey coloured sauce".[5]

In addition to this, Nadia Postiglione's publication ''It Was Just Horrible': The Food Experience of Immigrants in 1950s Australia', delves deeper into these culinary afflictions, highlighting how critical food experiences were for post-war migrants.[6]

Nadia's analysis of migrant complaints revealed that Bonegilla exposed newly arrived migrants to experiences of food alienation and food dispossession, suggesting that these issues cast a negative light on the organisation of the migration experience.[7] Frustrations boiled over as Italian migrants voiced their grievances, leading to two notable riots. In 1952, a riot erupted among the Italian community, famously known as the 'Spaghetti riot'.[8] Following this uprising, Italian cooks were appointed to the Italian blocks, receiving special supplies of fish, macaroni, spaghetti, and other staples essential to their culinary heritage.[9]

The culinary renaissance wasn't limited to the Italians. Other cultural groups at Bonegilla saw similar improvements as migrant cooks from diverse backgrounds took charge of the kitchen, gradually transforming the quality of meals. This not only uplifted the spirits of the migrants but also

2. Gwenda Tavan, "Long, Slow Death of White Australia," *The Sydney Papers* 17, no. 3–4 (2005): 135–139

3. NOAUTHOR, 'Food', Discover Bonegilla [website] (n.d), https://discover.bonegilla.org.au/Suitcase-Trail/Food#, accessed 20 April. 2024.

4. Richard Bosworh cited in Bruce Pennay (2012) 'But no one can say he was hungry': Memories and Representations of Bonegilla Reception and Training Centre, History Australia, 9:1, 43-63

5. 'Food', *Discover Bongellia* [website], (n.d), https://discover.bonegilla.org.au/Suitcase-Trail/Food#, accessed 20 April. 2024.

6. Nadia Postiglione, 2010. "It Was Just Horrible': The Food Experience of Immigrants in 1950s Australia." *History Australia* 7 (1): 09.1-09.16. doi:10.2104/ha100009.

7. Nadia Postiglione, 2010. "It Was Just Horrible': The Food Experience of Immigrants in 1950s Australia." *History Australia* 7 (1): 09.1-09.16. doi:10.2104/ha100009.

8. 'Food', Discover Bongellia [website], (n.d), https://discover.bonegilla.org.au/Suitcase-Trail/Food#, accessed 20 April. 2024.

9. 'Food', Discover Bongellia [website], (n.d), https://discover.bonegilla.org.au/Suitcase-Trail/Food#, accessed 20 April. 2024.

showcased their resilience and determination to preserve their cultural identity even in the face of adversity.

Envisioning the mealtime scene at Bonegilla, as suggested in Figure 3, we can almost taste the evolution of the food. However, without knowing the date of the image, it is uncertain whether it depicts the bleak early days or the improved dining experiences that followed the culinary uprising.

This tale of Bonegilla is a testament to the power of food in shaping migrant experiences and the unyielding spirit of those who sought to make a new home without abandoning their heritage.

Cultural Enclaves and Integration Efforts: The Italian culinary Influence in Australian Society

When Italians migrated to Australia, many arrived without formal English, turning this language barrier into a catalyst for creating tight-knit communities. They found solace among fellow Italians, sharing backgrounds, language and the comforting aroma of home cooked meals. The majority of migrants trailed their relatives or friends who had previously migrated to Australia, pursuing not only job opportunities but also personal support.[10] Settling in neighbourhoods like Coburg, Fawkner, and Carlton – soon to be known as Little Italy – they found a sense of belonging.

Lygon Street began to thrive as Italian migrants began to establish small businesses, infusing the area with rich flavours and traditions of their homeland. Delis and cafes emerged, offering imported Italian foods, and serving espresso – a staple of Italian culture. These establishments became social hubs where Italians could converse in their language, developing a sense of connection and solidarity. Soon, Lygon Street became a vibrant hub, buzzing with life, becoming not just a culinary hotspot, but also a cultural and social centre where the Italians celebrated their heritage and forge new bonds in their adopted land.

While conducting research for this project, the memories of my own father became a useful ethnographic tool. Phillip Perroni, who migrated to Australia in 1959 and again in 1981 recalls "I think Lygon Street became a catalyst for other Italian restaurants in Melbourne, I don't remember going to any Italian restaurants as a boy here in Australia, food was always shared within the community."[11]

Australians quickly embraced the Italian cuisine, discovering new flavours and cultural traditions that were woven into the Anglo – Australian food culture. The bustling energy and warmth of Lygon Street became symbolic to Australia's multicultural identity, showcasing the enriching exchange between cultures and the vibrant tapestry of society. Lygon Street became a focal point, as Phillip Perroni shares: "I remember in 1982 Lygon Street closed off to celebrate the victory of Italy in the World Cup, there was food, drinks and festivities".[12]

As historians, we bear an ethical and moral obligation as the gatekeepers of the past. In narrating the story of Italian migration and its impact on Melbourne's food scene, we must be mindful of the diverse perspectives and experiences that shaped this journey. While celebrating the culinary contributions of Italian immigrants, we must also acknowledge the challenges they faced – from

10. Cresciani 1988, p 153 cited in Ricatti, Francesco. Embodying Migrants : Italians in Postwar Australia. Bern: Peter Lang AG International Academic Publishers, 2011. Accessed May 6, 2024. ProQuest Ebook Central.

11. Phillip Perroni, 'interview' [interview], 20 April 2024.

12. Phillip Perroni, 'interview' [interview], 20 April 2024.

discrimination to language barriers – and the resilience they demonstrated in overcoming them. By presenting a nuanced and empathetic portrayal, we honour not just the flavours but also the human stories behind them.

Figure 4: A satirical cartoon from Smith's Weekly (26 July 1941, p. 20), titled Jobs for Our Wogs, uses caricatures and captions to critique and mock societal attitudes toward migrant labor in wartime Australia. Source: Trove, public domain.

Throughout the 1950s and 1970s, a predominant portion of 'white' Anglo-Australians held onto objectives for a culturally and racially uniform society, encouraging what they perceived as the essential 'Australian way of life'.[13] This mindset was often expressed through satirical cartoons and media that fuelled strong emotional reactions against perceived 'threats,' such as migration.[14] This led the Italian ethnic community to become influenced and determined to construct their own utopian community.

THEY SPEAK ITALIANO ON MELBOURNE RADIO

By ROBERT GILMORE

LISTEN to that honey-tongued signorina exhorting Melbourne Italians — in Italian — to "telefonate" a city phone number with their week-end wine and grocery orders, and you could think you were tuned to Radio Roma.

Italians are streaming into Melbourne so fast that:

Melbourne commercial radio stations are broadcasting five Italian-sponsored, Italian-beamed programmes a week;

On nights when Italians are boxing at West Melbourne Stadium more than half the gate is Italian, which causes wags to say the stadium is to be renamed Coliseum.

Salami and gorgonzola are stocked by modest suburban grocers;

Juventus soccer team is way out in front.

Lured by sunshine, good jobs, high pay, Italians are coming into Australia faster than any other foreigners (14,000 a year, compared with 9000 Hollanders, 8000 Germans and 35,000 British).

And they are coming into Victoria more than into any other State. Of last year's 14,000, 6000 settled in Victoria. There are in Victoria about 60,000 people who were born in Italy.

Some of the 60,000 are up at Mildura and in the Goulburn Valley. But there is a mighty concentration in Melbourne's Little Italy.

To quote Italian journalist Gianfranco d'Andrea, in the current issue of the Australian-Italian newspaper La Fiamma: "In Melbourne, the Italian people have their headquarters in Carlton, Fitzroy and Richmond, where thousands of them are living as if they were in Italy."

So compact, so cohesive, so matey is this Melbourne Italian community that the Italian writer says Melbourne Italians run the risk of isolation from Australians.

The quickest way to break down the isolation of Melbourne Italians

NINO BORSARI
. . . three passions

is sport, according to one of the most prominent of the Melbourne Italians—Nino Borsari, a wiry little hustler with three passions; Australia, Italy and sport.

Borsari rode a bicycle for Italy in the Los Angeles Olympics when he was 19. He won the 4000 metres pursuit title. He came to Melbourne two years later, to ride in the Centenary Thousand Road Race.

The bicycle shop he started in Melbourne in 1939 has grown into a midget Italian department store, into which as many as 600 customers squeeze on a Saturday morning.

Borsari is a successful New Australian, who, incidentally, runs one of Melbourne's most unusual cars a Cisitalia. But more importantly he is an ardent worker for assimilation through sport.

Borsari's own sports are cycling and soccer. To him goes much of the credit for the winning form of the Italians' Juventus soccer team. But his first love is cycling, and with his "international cycle club" he practises his assimilation theories.

Following Italian village tradition, the club meets in the repair shop of Borsari's own cycle department. It chases Australian youths as ardently as it chases Italians. And there is only one important rule: English spoken here.

Go for a walk down Lygon Street with Borsari and as many Australians greet him as Italians.

Borsari says the boxing importations (in which, inevitably, he has a finger) are breaking down anti-Italianism. After a big fight, Italian workers in Australian factories report that Australians come up to them and say: "That was a smart boy of yours at the Stadium last night."

Stadium manager Dick Lean confirms that the boxing is a goodwill-builder. "The huge Italian audience makes the Stadium a brighter, better place," he says. "And as for the Italian boxers, I've never handled a nicer lot of boys. I like them and the Melbourne public likes them."

Sport is not the only influence breaking down Italians' isolation. An eager-beaver new Italian migrants' association, the Italian-Australian Migrant Association, with headquarters in Fitzroy Town Hall, lists as its first aim the speeding of assimilation.

And the church is a tireless worker. At the Sacred Heart Church in Rathdown Street (which the saint-minded Italians insist on calling San Giorgio) you may hear a priest of Irish-Australian background preach the same sermon in English and Italian.

With its rich decoration, and with a congregation 50 per cent Italian, San Giorgio helps as much as anything to make Melbourne Italians feel at home.

Figure 5: "THEY SPEAK ITALIANO ON MELBOURNE RADIO" The Herald (Melbourne, Vic. : 1861 – 1954) 6 September 1954. Source: Trove, public domain.

Drawing our attention to Figure 5, we can see how much Italians changed the landscape from 1954. As outlined in the newspaper article, Italian delicacies like salami and gorgonzola became staples in suburban grocery stores. The advancement of Italian immigrants in Melbourne's Little Italy, especially in suburbs like Carlton, Fitzroy, and Richmond, created a close-knit and cohesive community. However, the newspaper article also voices concerns regarding potential isolation from mainstream Australian society. The assimilation of Italian migrants in Australia, exemplified by figures like Nino Borsari, was instrumental in shaping both their integration and Australia's culinary

13. White 1979 cited in Ricatti, Francesco. Embodying Migrants : Italians in Postwar Australia. Bern: Peter Lang AG International Academic Publishers, 2011. Accessed May 6, 2024. ProQuest Ebook Central.

14. White 1979 cited in Ricatti, Francesco. Embodying Migrants : Italians in Postwar Australia. Bern: Peter Lang AG International Academic Publishers, 2011. Accessed May 6, 2024. ProQuest Ebook Central.

landscape. Borsari's efforts to promote sports and community events helped Italian immigrant's bridge cultural divides and foster better relationships with Australians. This integration facilitated the gradual acceptance and incorporation of Italian foods into mainstream Australian cuisine. As Italian delicacies like salami and gorgonzola transitioned from exotic items to everyday staples, they reflected the successful blending of Italian culinary traditions into Australian food culture. This process highlights how Italian migration not only led to cultural assimilation but also significantly transformed Australia's culinary landscape.

Pineapple on pizza?

In the colourful tapestry of modern culinary culture, Italian cuisine reigns supreme, popping up in eateries, grocery stores, and cookbooks faster than you can say 'mamma mia!' Italian-inspired recipes continue to inspire even the most clueless chefs.

Today, Australians—both Italian and Anglo—are engaged in a lively debate over whether pineapple belongs on pizza. This contentious issue pits Italians against Australians in a flavourful clash that is as spirited as a ripe tomato and as cheesy as pizza itself. Whether you're on Team Pineapple or staunchly opposed to tropical toppings, one thing is certain: the fusion of Italian zest and Aussie flair creates a flavour explosion that's worth celebrating.

Melbourne provides a kaleidoscope of cultures; a delicious tale of migration and culinary innovation unfolds. Food, as a universal language, offers a unique window into the diverse narratives of cultures interlocking. Italian migrants, yearning for a taste of home in their new land, brought with them cherished culinary traditions and ingredients, even resorting to clever smuggling tactics to preserve their cultural identity. From humble beginnings, Italian delicacies like salami and mozzarella have become pantry staples across Australian households, symbolising not just nourishment but also a profound connection to heritage.

Picture this: a journey filled with obstacles, where Italian migrants, like those at the Bonegilla Migration Centre, faced displacement and a sense of being uprooted from their culinary heritage. But in the face of adversity, their resilience shone through as they fought to keep their cultural identity and culinary traditions alive. Now, shift your gaze to the bustling streets of Melbourne, especially the iconic Lygon Street: here, Italian migrants worked their magic, transforming the culinary landscape by bringing the flavours and traditions of their homeland to life. Suddenly, delis and cafes became more than just places to grab a quick coffee; they evolved into vibrant cultural hubs where language barriers faded away over plates of pasta and cups of espresso. Let's not forget the delightful debate that ensued: pineapple on pizza! This playful argument between Italians and Australians perfectly captures the fusion of cultures and flavours, reminding us that food is not just about sustenance—it's a source of joy and companionship.

In narrating the story of Italian migration and its impact on Australian cuisine, we must pay homage to the challenges faced by migrants while celebrating their resilience and cultural contributions. Through the lens of food, we gain a deeper understanding of the human stories behind the flavours that enrich our lives. So, whether you're on Team Pineapple or a traditionalist, let's raise a slice to the delightful blend of Italian zest and Australian creativity that defines our culinary landscape. Buon appetito!

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Reflection

This research project explores the culinary journey of Italian migration to Melbourne and its impact of Australian food culture. By analysing historical sources, oral histories and newspaper articles, I traced the evolution of Italian cuisine in Australia – from contraband salami to pantry staples. Growing up in a Greek – Italian household, I was surrounded by rich culinary traditions that painted a vibrant picture of tradition and resilience. My Nonno arrived in Australia in 1956, before officially settling with his family, including my father in 1959, I always wonder how my Nonna and Nonno navigated a land where salami wasn't a pantry staple and pizza was a foreign concept.

In my research, I explored the transformative power of food in shaping migrant experiences and fostering cultural integration, particularly focusing on Italian migration. By highlighting the resilience of Italian migrants, from their challenges at the Bonegilla Migration Centre to their enduring culinary legacy, I aimed to illuminate how traditional cuisine helps maintain cultural identity and adapt to new environments.

Through visual representations, such as photographs and articles, I provided both context and emotional connection, capturing the essence of these migration stories. Balancing rigorous historical analysis with personal anecdotes, my research delved into the vibrant culinary journey of Italian migration, celebrating how food bridges generations and continents, and honouring the rich human stories behind our culinary landscape. Buon appetito!

About the author

Cristina M. Thompson

Cristina M. Thompson, Bachelor of Arts, Majoring in History. Immersed in the vibrant and storied traditions of my Greek and Italian parents, I developed a deep and abiding love for history. Their captivating tales of ancient myths, heroic legends, and cultural heritage fuelled my curiosity and inspired me to delve into the fascinating tapestry of the past. This lifelong love affair with history has shaped my academic journey and continues to drive my exploration of the world's intricate and diverse historical narratives.

Chapter 3: Podcasts

Ubiquitous and accessible, podcasts have emerged as a prolific field of history consumption. Not only breaking down the barriers between who produces and consumes history, they have also redefined the presentation and dissemination of historical content. Students have drawn from the audio-technician's bag of tools to craft their audio histories, including thinking about sounds, transitions and narrative devices often previously reserved for the dramatic and fictional genres.

In this chapter you will find the following digital creations by student authors that exemplify the core qualities of this particular medium:

3.1 Managerialism and the Death of Dissent in Australian Universities

Paul Doogood

Listen to the *Managerialism and the Death of Dissent in Australian Universities* podcast.

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here: https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=322

Reflection

The podcast I produced for the Making History project compares the response to neoliberal higher education reforms introduced in Australia in the late 1980s with reforms along similar lines handed down in 2020. I was drawn to the topic as I happened to be studying at La Trobe University on both occasions and as such witnessed the reception of each of these initiatives first-hand.

I first attended La Trobe in the late 1980s, just as the Hawke government Education Minister, John Dawkins, began reforming the sector in response to the neoliberal global economic dispensation established during that decade under the leadership of UK Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, and US President, Ronald Reagan. Thousands of La Trobe students offered up as militant a response to the proposed reforms as any student body in Australia. I threw myself into the fight to the extent I soon became a leading activist on-campus. A protest group I helped found occupied the University Administration Centre for 11 days, staged countless protests, and filled the student newspaper, Rabelais, with articles railing against the changes.

In part due to the fact I was so consumed by the protest movement, I failed to complete my degree, eventually returning to La Trobe in 2018 to make a second attempt, just in time for the introduction of then Education Minister Dan Tehan's "Job Ready" reforms! As the name suggests, the Tehan reforms furthered the process of aligning the Higher Education sector with the demands of industry begun by Dawkins in 1987. However, unlike in the case of the Dawkins reforms, they were met with little resistance. I set out to gain some idea why, and discovered the answer can be found, at least in part, in the very nature of the earlier reforms – specifically, the way in which neoliberal principles were embedded through changes to managerial practices at the institutional level.

Where the management of Australian universities prior to the Dawkins reforms was collegial and inclusive, the new dispensation introduced a managerial model which saw a small, highly-paid executive elite established at each institution and set not just above, but apart from, the academic and other administrative staff. These core groups have close ties to government and industry and

are more responsive to their wants and needs than to those of the staff and students they notionally serve. This leadership model, dubbed "managerialism", is fundamental to the way neoliberalism operates, and, I would argue, its entrenchment at the institutional level is central to the progressive paralysis that pertains today.

In contrast to the situation pertaining until the 1980s, narrowly-focused economic imperatives as determined by government and industry are now so central to the structure and management of all manner of organisations, including universities, it is almost impossible to mount any argument – let alone a protest movement – that does not first concede their primacy. As such, resistance to policy changes is reduced to focusing on issues at the margins, with any small wins soon swept aside by the next round of reforms. Unless and until progressive resistance to the economic and social depredations wrought by neoliberalism focuses on the way it holds sway at the institutional coalface, it will continue to flounder.

I chose to present my arguments in the form of a podcast primarily because I didn't want to pretend to be a neutral observer. I learned from the Making History course that acknowledging that you approach your topic from a particular perspective is preferable to pretending to a level of objectivity you cannot attain. As outlined above, I actively opposed the education reforms introduced in 1987. I also produced a submission on behalf of the Student Union in 2020 urging the La Trobe University executive to put up more of a fight in response to the Tehan reforms. I have consistently opposed and campaigned against the neoliberal model of the university, and in producing this history felt it was necessary to make clear I am presenting the events from the point of view of an activist, not just an observer. The podcast is a story-teller's medium, with the tone and temper of the delivery making more obvious the position of the person delivering it, adding a layer of meaning not so easily conveyed with mere words on a page. As such it lends itself well to the presentation of history from the participant's point of view.

In terms of the presenting style I adopted, I must confess to being heavily influenced by Marc Fennell's "Stuff the British Stole" podcast. Fennell has a finely-tuned sense of the ludicrous, which he deftly employs to keep his audience engaged at times when the often darkly serious subject matter he presents might otherwise see some listeners switching off in despair. While I don't pretend to have anything like his broadcasting chops, I too can see the funny side of human folly, and as such thought I could do worse than take a lead from his playful presentation style. One rather obvious way in which I emulated Fennell was in teasing my listeners with an unexplained acronym during my introduction, before eventually working my way back to revealing what it stood for in advance of my conclusion. An utterly shameless strategy, no doubt, but an effective way of maintaining audience interest. The lesson I took from Fennell was that while remaining true to your subject matter ought to be the historian's primary concern in producing a podcast, your best efforts are wasted if the manner in which you present it causes your audience to lose interest.

February 2023, Vichy, France

About the author

Paul Doogood

Paul Doogood was born and bred in Dandenong, grew up loving music and literature (and the Richmond Football Club) – and hating high school. He became an apprentice Electrical Linesman with the SEC as a 15-year-old in 1977, but continued to focus on music and literature, playing in a number of loud, weird and angry post-punk bands in the late 70s and early 80s. After his first stint

at La Trobe in the late 1980s, he added theatre to the list of things he loves, somehow falling into a career as a puppeteer with Polyglot Puppet Theatre from 1989 through to the early noughties. Stony broke after 20 years in the theatre, he returned to working as a Linesman for 10 years, before essaying another attempt at getting a degree in 2018. He has just graduated and is considering doing Honours next year.

3.2 The 'Gweagal' Shield

Nicholas Short

Listen to *The 'Gweagal' Shield* podcast.

Figure 1: Gweagal shield. Source: The British Museum used under CC-BY-NC-SA 4.0.

Reflection

For my research project I created a historical narrative podcast on the Gweagal shield. The Gweagal shield was or is a wooden shield that Captain James Cook's landing party stole from a group of Gweagal men when they first landed at Botany Bay in 1770. And it was taken back to England and was lost track of. But in 1978 the British Museum found an Aboriginal shield forgotten in their collection that they assumed to be this shield, and displayed it as such. And it was displayed like that until the late 2010s, when some historians traced the record of the Gweagal shield and realised that the shield in the British Museum was very likely not the same one. And so the location of the actual Gweagal shield is unknown and the origin of the shield in the British Museum is a mystery.

I wanted to create a podcast because with an auditory medium you can play with tension through time really effectively. Podcast scripts are a form of storytelling: there's a narrative that you're leading the listener through. But you have to make sure you're always discussing historical information or methods while still being interesting, which can be difficult. You're always grappling with tension to keep the listener interested, but also providing information to keep them satisfied. And that's just a matter of making sure your editing is really focused. I had a script that I continually tightened again and again. I opened the podcast with a recreation of that original Botany Bay landing to build interest, and jumped off from there.

I chose to discuss the relationship physical objects have with history, and how those two relationships feed into one another. When we see a historical object—usually in a museum—it feeds our understanding of the time period that object comes from. But also, the histories we learn about objects feed into the objects themselves. It's this two-way street of presence and interpretation. But when you have an object with an assumed history that is then proven to be misplaced or just outright wrong—the historical value dissipates, but there's also an unnerving epistemological break that occurs—this whole structure of understanding collapses completely and all that's left is the object. And that's where claims from historical guardians such as museums cause trouble like the British Museum's example: there's an institutional damage that occurs from that unsettling of trust, but also an unsettling of trust with established histories themselves.

This unknown shield has the same effect the Gweagal shield would have if it was that object, but its anonymity allows it to be viewed as one small part of a very complex and a very old structure rather than this lone object it was previously that was overshadowed by a single event. History becomes more of a tool for recognising narrative, it becomes more useful that way. I wanted to capture that feeling in the podcast, I wanted the ending to be a recognition that there are historical narratives happening everywhere. It's always complex and half-missing and unclear. And usually the straight-forward, obvious grand narratives you read are oversimplified or hold some hidden agenda in them. History is always a lot more complex.

January 2023

About the author

Nicholas Short

Nicholas Short is an English student and shoemaker based in Melbourne. He is attracted to topics related to the Modernist movement and more broader studies in human subjectivity. At the centre of

this attraction is an exploration of the definition of 'meaning' and how that concept affects human life.

3.3 Aussie Bites Podcast

Chelsea Roscio

Listen to the *Aussie Bites* podcast.

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here: https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=671

Reflection

For the Making History project, I chose to create a podcast on the far-reaching impacts 'wog humour' has, and continues to have, on Australian society. My interest in the topic was piqued when, in an interview I conducted for an earlier university assignment, my dad briefly mentioned that he noticed how the emergence of wog humour started a shift in how it felt to be Italian in Australia. With this passing comment, my curiosity took me to informal research, further conversations with my dad and others, and 18 months later, this project.

I constructed the podcast by first engaging with said wog humour, using the film *The Wog Boy* (2000) as my main building block. From this, I read articles on both the positive outcomes and the potential harm that this form of 'ethnic humour' brings about. I conducted interviews to gain insight into how Italian Australians, both young and old, feel about being Italian Australian.

I chose to present my project as a podcast to correctly convey the tone and invite casual conversation about the topic, as that is exactly the way I developed an interest in how such a seemingly unimportant thing managed to make a real difference in how Southern-European Australians are perceived in Australian society.

About the author

Chelsea Roscio

Chelsea Roscio is a Bachelor of Arts (History and Linguistics) student at La Trobe University, living in Adelaide. Her interest in history started at a young age with Ancient Rome and Egypt and has morphed into a fascination with social history and the lives of everyday people. She is especially interested in how migration shapes people and societies, and in particular, Italian migration to Australia.

3.4 Michael Cooney - Podcast

Michael Cooney

Listen to Michael Cooney's podcast.

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here: *https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=679*

Reflection

Early in the semester of HIS3MHI, we were examining monuments as a means of representing history. As a long-time resident of Moonee Ponds, I was drawn to a particular monument that sits in a somewhat inaccessible position on the median strip of Mount Alexander Road. Marking the first camping site of the doomed Burke and Wills expedition from the 1860s, the monument got me wondering about my own family history and what impact their arrival may have had on the First Nations people of Victoria. As a result, I felt compelled in this podcast to examine the impact of colonialism in Victoria on the Wurundjeri, who have inhabited this area in which I grew up for thousands of years. What I learned was a story of disease and colonial condescension, but also perseverance.

While the podcast itself covers the first, difficult century of occupation for the Wurundjeri, their story does not end there. Indeed, that story of resilience in the face of institutional abuse deserves a podcast of its own. In the meantime, I would encourage listeners to read the 1997 "Bringing Them Home Report", and the ongoing Yoorook Justice Commission in Victoria, to hear First Nations people's experience from their own perspective.

About the author

Michael Cooney

Michael Cooney grew up in Moonee Ponds and spent much of his early adulthood engaged in the local music and art scenes of the northwestern suburbs, playing prog-rock and metal in various dive-bars around Brunswick and Fitzroy. After a long stint in logistics, Michael returned to La Trobe University to pursue his primary interests in English literature and global history. His study of history comes with a personal focus on how the actions of the past ripple into and affect the present day.

3.5 Ned Kelly: The Man Behind the Metal

Stephanie Trew

Listen to the *Ned Kelly: The Man Behind the Metal* podcast.

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here: https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=681

Reflection

It was important to choose a topic that I was motivated to research. I had been interested in Ned Kelly's story for years before undertaking this research project, and it was a great excuse to learn more about him. I wanted to gain a better understanding of why Kelly is such a polarising figure in Australian culture. I wanted to investigate both sides of his story, while remaining aware of my own inevitable biases. I made a conscious decision to try to humanise Kelly as much as possible to see if the character he'd presented himself to be would stack up fairly against the many accusations linked to his name. I intentionally discussed Kelly's historical accounts before addressing the questions surrounding Kelly's character, and the potential issues in doing so. I hoped to create an authentic narrative for Kelly that listeners could empathise with, rather than only present a theoretical idea of a person through the opinions of others. Ned Kelly's story illustrates brilliantly how multiple different ideas or perspectives of a person can be true; can co-exist. That's what makes his story so fascinating. We still don't have an answer to who he really was, and probably never will.

About the author

Stephanie Trew

Stephanie Trew is a Bachelor of Arts undergraduate student from the city of Bendigo on Dja Dja Wurrung Country, who is currently undertaking majors in both Archaeological and Heritage Studies and in Psychological Science. Stephanie developed an interest in history from reading historical fiction novels throughout her schooling, and from watching historical documentaries from a young age. Stephanie will complete her Bachelor of Arts undergraduate degree at the end of 2024, and wishes to continue to expand her knowledge and follow her passion for history in her future endeavours.

Chapter 4: Wikipedia entry

Wikipedia's fortunes as a less-than-honourable reference in undergraduate assignments are put under the spotlight by projects in Making Public Histories. Students adopting this format must follow Wikipedia's own rules – of engagement, referencing and accessibility of sources – which in turn provokes students to think differently about questions of plagiarism. Embracing the unique task of writing (potentially) for the entire English-speaking corner of the Internet, students explore knowledge-making in the public domain in ways that no other assessment format can allow.

In this chapter you will find the following digital creations by student authors that exemplify the core qualities of this particular medium:

4.1 Early 20th Century Calls by First Nations Activists for "Voice" within Australia's Parliamentary Institutions

4.1 Early 20th Century Calls by First Nations Activists for "Voice" within Australia's Parliamentary Institutions

Madeleine Gome

Content Note: This article contains images of Aboriginal people who have died. It includes offensive language when quoting from historical sources.

Aboriginal Voice to Parliament (1900-1950)

The Voice to Parliament is a proposal to establish a body of Aboriginal peoples to advise the Australian Government on matters concerning Aboriginal people and issues. In 2017, the Uluru Statement from the Heart and Referendum Council Final Report called for the implementation of a new representative body. The concept of Indigenous representation in Parliament is not new. Aboriginal activists have sought such action since the early 20th Century.

Background

Activism by Aboriginal people has occurred since Britain first settled Australia.[1] The first politically active Aboriginal organisation was established under the leadership of Fred Maynard in 1924.[2] Other bodies such as the Australian Aborigines' League and Aboriginal Progressive Association soon followed.Indigenous activism in the 1920s and 1930s centred on the need for Aboriginal affairs to be federally administered, and opposition to the oppressive powers of state Protection Boards which implemented policies of child removal and dispossession of land.[3] Activists such as Bill Ferguson, Faith Bandler, Jack Patten, Pearl Gibbs and William Cooper campaigned for equal citizenship rights.Many
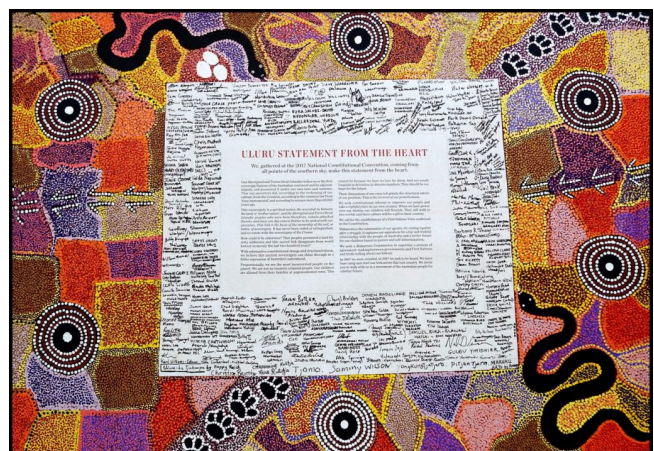

Figure 1: Uluru Statement from the Heart, May 2017, Aboriginal Convention, Central Australia. Source: Wikimedia Commons used under CC BY-SA 4.0.

Aboriginal leaders of the early 1900s also sought an Indigenous voice to parliament. While the Uluru

1. Maynard, John (1997). "Fred Maynard and the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association (AAPA): One God, One Aim, One Destiny". *Aboriginal History.* **21**: 1.

2. Maynard, John (2003). "Vision, Voice and Influence: The Rise of the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association". *Australian Historical Studies.* **34** (121): 91.

3. Maynard, John (1997). "Fred Maynard and the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association (AAPA): One God, One Aim, One Destiny". *Aboriginal History.* **21**: 1-13.

Statement from the Heart has reignited public debate about a representative body, the proposal stems from a hundred-year history. Although the exact form and functions of such representation differed between activists and across time, the consistent message has been a call for empowerment and self-determination of Aboriginal affairs.[4]

1920s

Fred Maynard

Maynard was a Worimi man who founded the first Aboriginal political activist organisation, the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association (AAPA), in 1924. The group's activism focused on the forced removal of Aboriginal people from reserve land in New South Wales, and the removal of Aboriginal children from their families by the New South Wales Aboriginal Protection Board. The organisation also led the call for Indigenous people to have determination over Aboriginal Affairs.[5] In 1927 Maynard stated:[6]
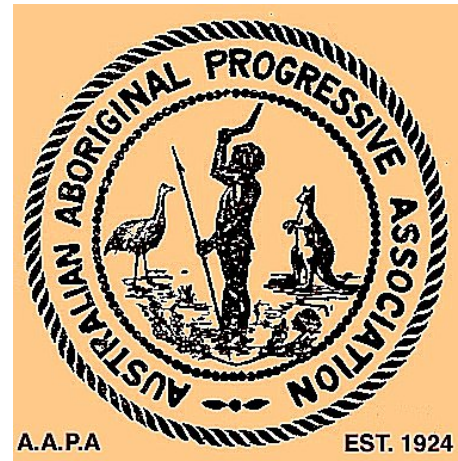

Figure 2: The Australian Aboriginal Progressive Society Logo. Source: Wikimedia Commons used under CC0.

Our request to supervise our own affairs is no innovation. The Catholic people in our country possess the right to control their own schools and homes, and take pride in the fact that they possess this privilege. The Chinese, Greeks, Jews and Lutherans are similarly favoured and our people are entitled to precisely the same conditions

–Fred Maynard, Letter to the Premier, 1927

1930s

Shadrach James

Shadrach Livingstone James was a Yorta Yorta man, the son of renowned teacher and activist Thomas Shadrach James. He was a law student, lobbyist, legal advisor, activist and central figure of

4. Davis, Megan; Langton, Marcia (2016). *It's Our Country: Indigenous Arguments for Meaningful Constitutional Recognition and Reform*.

5. Maynard, John (1997). "Fred Maynard and the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association (AAPA): One God, One Aim, One Destiny". *Aboriginal History.* **21**: 1-3.

6. Maynard, Fred, 1927, [Letter to the Premier], NSW Premiers Department Correspondence Files, A27/915 in Maynard, John (1997). "Fred Maynard and the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association (AAPA): One God, One Aim, One Destiny". *Aboriginal History.* **21**: 9.

the Aborigines Progressive Association of Victoria. James was a prolific campaigner, renowned for his remarkable handwriting.[7] In one 1930 article written for the *Herald*, James proposed 'a native representative in Federal Parliament'.[8] This is the first known example of an Australian newspaper publishing a call for Aboriginal parliamentary representation.
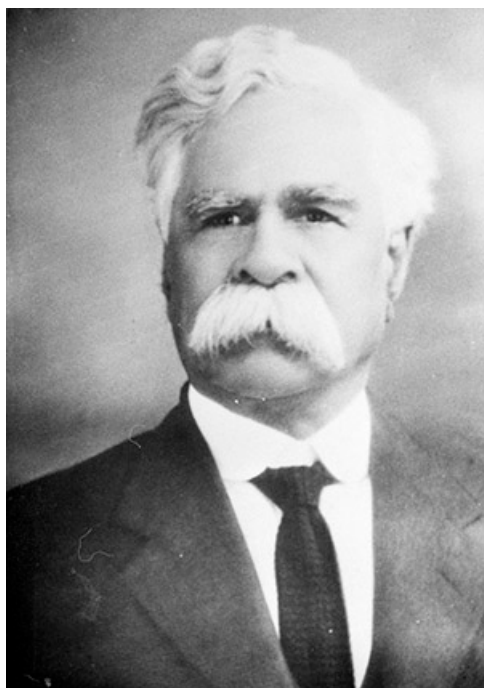
William Cooper

Figure 3: William Cooper (c. 1861-1941), c. 1937. Source: Wikimedia Commons used under CC0.

Yorta Yorta Elder William Cooper established the Australian Aborigines' League (AAL) in 1934.[9] The organisation called for an end to all forms of discrimination against Aboriginal people. One of the AAL's main demands was for parliamentary representation.[10] In 1932 Cooper began seeking signatures for a petition to the King requesting intervention for the betterment of Aboriginal people. He spent six years circulating the petition across Australia.

The finalised petition, presented to the government in 1937, held nearly 2,000 signatures.[11] It asked that Aboriginal people be granted 'representation in the Federal Parliament' by 'one of our own blood' or by a white person 'known to have studied our needs and to be in sympathy with our race'.[12] The government under Prime Minister Lyons never sent the petition to the King. In 2014, Cooper's grandson Uncle Alf "Boydie" Turner facilitated its presentation to Queen Elizabeth.[13]

Joe Anderson

King Burraga (Joe Anderson) was a Dharawal man who lived along the Salt Pan Creek in New South

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7. 'Shadrach Livingstone James' (2021). *First Peoples Relations* [website] https://www.firstpeoplesrelations.vic.gov.au/shadrach-livingstone-james. Accessed 28 April 2022.

8. James, Shadrach L. (24-03-1930). "Help my People!". *Herald.* In Attwood, Bain; Markus, Andrew (1990). *The Struggle for Aboriginal Rights: A Documentary History.*

9. Darian-Smith, Eve (2013). Review of Barbara Miller, *William Cooper Gentle Warrior: Standing Up for Australian Aborigines and Persecuted Jews. Aboriginal History.* **37:** 193; Foster, Robert (2018). "Contested Destinies: Aboriginal Advocacy in South Australia's Interwar Years". *Aboriginal History,* **42**: 73.

10. Markus, Andrew (1983). "William Cooper and the 1937 Petition to the King". *Aboriginal History.* **7** (1): 48, 55.

11. Markus, Andrew (1988). *Blood From a Stone: William Cooper and the Australian Aborigines' League;* Thorpe Clark, Mavis (1965). *Pastor Doug: The Story of an Aboriginal Leader.*

12. Cooper, William (15-10-1933). "Petition to the King". *Herald.* In Attwood, Bain; and Markus, Andrew (1990). *The Struggle for Aboriginal Rights: A Documentary History*.

13. Jacks, Timna (4-10-14). "Queen Accepts Petition for Aboriginal Rights, 80 Years on". *Sydney Morning Herald.* Retrieved 2022-04-29. https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/queen-accepts-petition-for-aboriginal-rights-80-years-on-20141003-10ksh6.html.

Wales. Because his parents owned the land on which the family lived, it was an area not controlled by the Protection Board. The 'Salt Pan Camp' became a haven for those seeking to escape government control. King Burraga was one of the first Aboriginal people to use film as part of his activism.[14] In 1933 he told a Cinesound production that 'all the black man wants is representation in Federal Parliament.'[15]

1940s

Sir Douglas Nicholls

Yorta Yorta man Sir Doug Nicholls was a beloved footballer, soldier, pastor, and activist.[16] As a mentee of William Cooper, Nicholls was a central figure of the Australian Aborigines' League in Victoria. He was closely engaged in contemporary activism such as the Day of Mourning and the 1967 Referendum campaign. Nicholls went on to be a founding member of the Victorian Aborigines' Advancement League and the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders.[17]

Figure 4: Doug Nicholls of Melbourne speaking at an Aboriginal-Australian Fellowship conference in Sydney, October 1965. Source: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales and Courtesy SEARCH Foundation. Used under CC-BY 4.0.

On 1 July 1949 Nicholls wrote to Prime Minister Chiefly seeking parliamentary representation of Aboriginal people and outlining how such a process might work:[18]

I write to ask your support on behalf of my fellow members of the Australian Aboriginal race for our request that we be accorded representation in the Australian National Parliament.

The request is that provision should be made for the election to the House of Representatives of a representative of the Australian Aboriginal race to be elected upon the vote of all aborigines enrolled under the current Commonwealth franchise…

14. 'The Burraga Story', *The Burraga Foundation* [website]. Retrieved 2022-04-28. https://www.burraga.org/about.

15. NITV (2017). "King Burraga". *Facebook* [website]. Retrieved 2022-04-29. https://www.facebook.com/NITVAustralia/videos/10154771387477005/.

16. Thorpe Clark, Mavis (1965). *Pastor Doug: The Story of an Aboriginal Leader.*

17. Broome, Richard. (2012). *Australian Dictionary of Biography: Nicholls, Sir Douglas Ralph (Doug) (1906-1988)*. Retrieved 2022-04-29. https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/nicholls-sir-douglas-ralph-doug-14920.

18. Nicholls, Doug (1949-07-01). Letter to Prime Minister Chifley, R Menzies and A Fadden. In Attwood, Bain; Markus, Andrew (1999). *The Struggle for Aboriginal Rights: A Documentary History.*

We feel that we are not asking more than the minimum to which we are entitled in requesting one spokesman for the native Australian race to sit in the Australian National Parliament.

–Sir Douglas Nicholls, Letter to the Prime Minister, 1 July 1949

While there have been Indigenous parliamentarians and Ministers for Aboriginal Affairs since the time of writing, there remains no person or body elected by Aboriginal voters for the purpose of representing Aboriginal interests.

Progress

From the late 1950s onwards, the focus of Aboriginal activism shifted to land rights. Key examples of such activism include the Yirrkala Bark Petitions and the campaign leading to the Mabo decision.

Multiple Aboriginal representative bodies have been established and subsequently disbanded, including the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (FCATSI) and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC).

The Voice proposed by the Uluru Statement from the Heart was initially rejected by the Turnbull Government. In 2019 the Morrison Government initiated a co-design process with the formation of a Senior Advisory Committee co-chaired by Marcia Langton and Tom Calma. The Committee's work is ongoing.

See also

Constitutional Recognition

Referendums in Australia

Reflection

I produced my Making History project on unceded Wurundjeri land. My Wikipedia-style article provides an overview of calls by First Nations activists for representation in the first half of the 20th Century. The purpose of my article was to contextualise public debate surrounding the introduction of a Constitutionally enshrined First Nations Voice to Parliament. This national conversation was sparked following the release of the Uluru Statement from the Heart in 2017, and heightened after the election of the Albanese government in mid-2022.

Having previously read Professor John Maynard's work, I knew there is a relative scarcity of academic writing on First Nations' activism in the early 20th Century, and what has been written is often kept behind a paywall. I chose to write a Wikipedia-style article because this format is synonymous with succinct, easily understandable information. Given there was no Wikipedia page

dedicated to the topic, this was the appropriate format because it aligns with Wikipedia's requirement that information shared on the website be "noteworthy".

The main challenge I faced was scrutinising the concept of "reliable" and "authoritative" sources. At university the bastion of reliability is the peer reviewed academic journal. While I could find such content on some key figures such as Uncle William Cooper, there was little or no academic literature on other activists. This challenged me to closely examine my perspective on what constitutes "relatable" information. Ultimately I chose to include sources which were produced by or drew from the knowledge of First Nations people directly, even if the information was presented in a less formally academic format, such as a website.

I had to make editorial and ethical decisions about language. Firstly, I struggled to adopt the "neutral" language required by Wikipedia. To align with this policy I chose to use language such as "child removal" instead of "forcibly removed" or "stolen". Secondly, I decided to include out-dated language when quoting directly from First Nations activists. However, I included a content note so readers who did not feel comfortable with this type of language could choose to avoid it. I also placed a content note at the beginning of my article warning that the article contained images of First Nations people who have died. The simplest but most impactful ethical and editorial decision I made was to ensure that the majority of my sources were by First Nations authors.

January 2023, Philippines

About the author

Madeleine Gome

Madeleine Gome is a history and law graduate currently working in the Victorian Government. Her Honours thesis examined the likelihood a referendum on a First Nations' Voice to parliament would succeed. Madeleine enjoyed completing part of her studies in Norway and Hong Kong. She lives and works on Boon Wurrung and Wurundjeri Country.

4.2 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People in the First World War

Matilda Murray-White

First Nation Australians fought in Australia's Imperial Forces (AIF) during the First World War especially in the Australia and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC). These servicemen initially could not enlist in the AIF due to being Aboriginal, but as the war progressed over 1000 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders enlisted to serve a country they were not yet recognised as citizens of.

Background

First Nations Australians

Australia has been home to its Indigenous population for over 65,000 years.[1] This population is the oldest surviving culture in the world with over 500 language groups and nations that cared for country. British colonisation began in January 1788 with the landing of Captain Arthur Phillip and the First Fleet and the establishment of the colony of New South Wales. In the following 120 years, Australia was federated in 1901 and became an established country in the British Commonwealth.

World War I

The First World War broke out with the assassination of Franz Ferdinand on the 8th of July and the Austrian declaration of war on Serbia in late July. Following this, Britain declared war on Germany following its invasion of Belgium in support of Austro-Hungary. With Britain's declaration of war on Germany, this pulled Australia and other British colonies in the Commonwealth were pulled into the War.

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1. Chris Clarkson et al., "Human Occupation of Northern Australia by 65,000 Years Ago," Nature (London) 547, no. 7663 (2017): 306–310, doi: 10.1038/nature22968. 1.

Enlistment

Exclusion

At the outbreak of World War I, Australia sent troops to fronts in Europe in the First Australian Imperial Forces. General enlistment was used, allowing for volunteers to sign up to join the Forces. The Defence Act of 1903 prohibited the enlistment of any Aboriginal people into the Australian Imperial Forces, citing that only people of "substantially of European origin or descent"[2]. could enlist. Despite this, around 1000 First Nations people managed to enlist to fight with the Australian Imperial Forces.[3] While the discrimination that Indigenous Australians faced when trying to enlist was widespread, First Nations people were able to find loopholes to enlist and some enlistment officers allowed them to enlist despite their aboriginality. Due to the Protection Act from each state's Protection Board, which controlled the lives of Aboriginal people, they needed to obtain permission to try and enlist. Figure 1 shows a consent form from the South Australian Chief Protector allowing Everett Luke Sumner, a Ngarrindjeri man who enlisted in 1916.[4]

Motivation

The motivations for Aboriginal people to enlist were wide ranging. Early understandings of the First Nations motivations to go to war were mainly surrounding
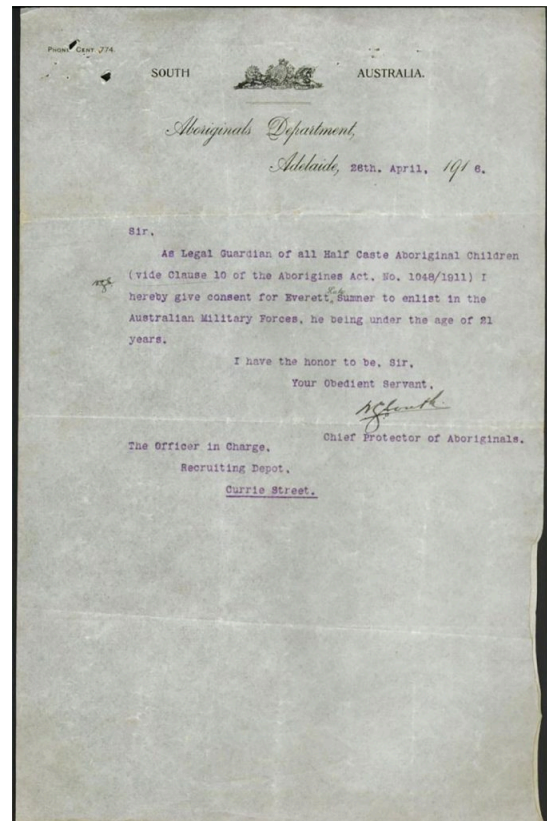

Figure 1: Consent form needed to enlist, April 1916. Source: Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office, National Archives of Australia, B2455, SUMNER EVERETT LUKE.

financial gain, with privates earning 5 shillings a day plus a shilling of deferred pay that they would receive following their discharge. This was a generous wage compared to that of a First Nations worker in Queensland of 7 shillings a week.[5] Yet, focusing on the financial motivations of going to war fails to highlight the agency of First Nations people. Going to fight in the war provided an opportunity for mobility and travel out of Australia, something that was not afforded to Aboriginal Australians.[6] Furthermore, the want to enlist may have been fuelled by friend or family also enlisting,

2. Alick Jackomos, Forgotten Heroes: Aborigines at War from the Somme to Vietnam (South Melbourne, Vic: South Melbourne, Vic : Victoria Press, 1993). 10

3. Noah Riseman, "Introduction: Diversifying the Black Diggers' Histories," Aboriginal History 39 (2015): 137–142, doi: 10.22459/AH.39.2015.06. 137.

4. NAA: B2455, 11605042.

5. David Huggonson, "Aborigines and the Aftermath of the Great War," Australian Aboriginal Studies (Canberra, A.C.T.: 1983) 1, no. 1 (1993): 2–9. 3.

6. John Maynard, "Missing Voices: Aboriginal Experiences in the Great War," History Australia 14, no. 2 (2017): 237–249, doi: 10.1080/14490854.2017.1319743.

or the opportunity for adventure. Another motivation for enlistment for Aboriginal people was very similar to White Australians: patriotism for their country, to serve and protect. This led to the belief that going to war for Australia would aid in the fight for citizenship and recognition.

Enlistment Amendment

In 1917, following the catastrophic losses at Gallipoli and the Somme, and the failure of the 1916 conscription referendum, amendments were made to the 1903 Defence Act.[7] The amendments allowed that "Half-castes may be enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force provided that the examining Medical Officers are satisfied that one of the parents is of European origin."[8]

Experience

The experience in the AIF and on the front lines during WWI for First Nations Australians was both drastically different and similar to the non-Indigenous soldiers who fought besides them. The mentality of war created an attitude of 'brotherhood' and 'us vs the enemy' which allowed for First Nations soldiers to become a part of the 'us', fighting for a common cause. This led to the idea of mateship born from the ANZACs and the creation of the ANZAC legend. First Nations people experienced many new freedoms whilst on the war front and were often equally treated as they received equal pay and often treatment.[9] Aboriginal soldiers were not living under the difficult restrictions of the Protection Acts as they had been in Australia and lived with varying degrees of freedom on the frontlines.

RECUITING.
Brisbane, 22nd June, 1917.

The following regulations have been issued by the Defence Department, Melbourne, regarding the enlistment of friendly aliens. The State Recruiting Committee hope that this will enable quite a number of men who have previously been debarred from offering for A.I.F. to join the Expeditionary Forces :—

"The Minister has approved of the enlistment of Friendly Aliens in the Australian Imperial Force without their being required to be naturalised. The definition of Friendly Aliens will be persons belonging to Allied or Neutral Powers other than aboriginal natives of Asia, excepting Christian Syrians: The previous instructions in regard to the enlistment of Italians in the A.I.F. still hold."

Figure 2: Newspaper cutting from the Bowen Independent (QLD) discussing the new amendment to enlistment, allowing for First Nations individuals to enlist. Source: RECRUITING. (1917, July 14). *Bowen Independent (Qld. : 1911 – 1954)*, **p. 1 from Trove.**

7. John Maynard, "The First World War," in Serving Our Country: Indigenous Australians, War, Defence and Citizenship, by Joan Beaumont and Allison Cadzow (Sydney: New South Publishing, University of New South Wales, 2018). 56.

8. NAA: MP390/10, 1917 PART 1.

9. Richard Broome, Aboriginal Victorians: A History since 1800 (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2005). 199-200.

AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL   P01695.002

Figure 3: Corporal Harry Thorpe MM, one of the few First Nations solider to will the military medal for his actions. He was killed in action on the 8th of August 1918. Source: Unknown photographer, Studio portrait of an Aboriginal serviceman, 5459 Corporal (Cpl) Harry Thorpe MM, c 1916, from Australian War Memorial, P01695.002.

Yet despite this, Aboriginal Australians still faced widespread discrimination and racism on the front lines. The Australian Imperial Forces still reflected the 'White Australia Policy'.[10] Aboriginal soldiers experienced similar racial discrimination to that they experienced at home. This shows how the prejudices of White Australian society were transplanted onto the front lines and ran deep within the AIF.[11] In situations where Aboriginal soldiers were championed for acts of bravery or heroism, their Aboriginality was always highlighted, showing how First Nations men were always first judged by their colour, rather than their achievements.[12]

Coming Home

Following the end of the war in 1918, the experience of Aboriginal service people was starkly different from that of White Australians. Those First Nations men who had risked their lives for a country that still did not see them as citizens, were regarded as heroes to their families

10. Peter Stanley, "'He Was Black, He Was a White Man, and a Dinkum Aussie': Race and Empire in Revisiting the Anzac Legend," in Race, Empire and First World War Writing, by Santanu Das (West Nyack: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

11. Philippa Scarlett, "Aboriginal Service in the First World War: Identity, Recognition and the Problem of Mateship," Aboriginal History 39 (2015): 163–181, doi: 10.22459/AH.39.2015.08. 171.

12. Scarlett. 170.

and communities.[13] A shared experience of the war between First Nations Australians and White Australians was the physical and mental trauma they had all gone through, with many experiencing shell shock and PTSD in the years following.[14] White returned soldiers from World War I were given land in repatriation efforts. Each state had its own Soldier Settlement Schemes, but they all involved the repatriation of land through sale or rent to returned soldiers.[15] First Nations soldiers were not given this option for land. The land that was offered to these returned servicemen was had been from First Nations people with the White settlement of Australia. Returned Aboriginal servicemen were rejected from Returned Service Leagues and omitted from on honour rolls.[16] On their return to Australia following the war, many of the First Nations servicemen went back to live controlled lives on missions and reserves, as well as living under the control of each state's Protection Act, which controlled all aspects of their lives. As Aboriginal activist William Cooper wrote in his 1939 letter to Federal Minister for the Interior, John McEwan:

> **"I am a father of a soldier who gave his life for his King on the battlefield…those that survived were pushed back to the bush, to resume the status of aboriginal…the aboriginal now has no status, no rights, no land… nothing to fight for but the privilege of defending the lank which was taken from him by the white race without compensation or kindness".[17]**

> **—William Cooper, Secretary, Australian Aborigines' League, to the Minister for the Interior, John McEwen, 1939**

One of the main motivations for First Nations people to enlist to fight in World War I was in hope of the acceleration of recognition of citizenship for Indigenous people.[18] Yet, the hundreds of lives sacrificed by First Nations people in war did not aid in the fight for citizenship, and Indigenous people were not recognised as citizens and in the constitution of Australia until the 1967 Referendum.

The ANZAC Legend

World War I led to the creation of one of Australia's largest national identities, the concept of the 'Anzac Legend'. According to this legend, Australia was 'born' on ANZAC Cove . The legend is embodied by the young man, mirroring the young nation, who went to war to defend his country. It highlights ideas of hip, larrikinism and courage, all qualities that embody what it is to be

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13. Maynard, "The First World War".

14. Maynard. 62.

15. D. A. Clancy, "Who Paid the Price? Wider Implications of the Post-Great War Soldier Settlement Scheme in Queensland," History Australia 18, no. 3 (July 2021): 526–543, doi: 10.1080/14490854.2021.1956334.

16. Padraic John Gibson, "Imperialism, ANZAC Nationalism and the Aboriginal Experience of Warfare," Cosmopolitan Civil Societies 6, no. 3 (2015): 63–82, doi: 10.5130/ccs.v6i3.4190. 64.

17. William Cooper, "80: William Cooper, Secretary, Australian Aborigines' League, to the Minister for the Interior, John McEwen, Canberra, 3 January 1939," in Thinking Black: William Cooper & the Australian Aborigines' League, by Bain Attwood, Andrew Markus, and Alfred Turner, 1st ed. (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2004), 112–113, doi: 10.3316/informit.0855754591.

18. Siobhan McDonnell and Mick Dodson, "Race, Citizenship and Military Service," in Serving Our Country: Indigenous Australians, War, Defence and Citizenship, by Joan Beaumont and Allison Cadzow (Sydney: New South Publishing, University of New South Wales, 2018). 35.

'Australian'.[19] The ANZAC legend however fails to recognise and include First Nations despite their crucial involvement in the war effort, therefore erasing them from the ANZAC myth itself.[20] The ANZAC legend is a national identity that White Australia prides itself on and it's a foundational collective identity that all Australians should feel like they can subscribe to. Yet, the legend fails to consider experience of First Nations soldiers both during and after the war, as well as the treatment of Aboriginal Australians since settlement, especially as the legend neglects to reflect on First Nation population prior to British Settlement.

Legacy

Figure 4: First Nations veterans march in ANZAC Day Parade, 2007. Source: *"Honour recognition respect, lest we forget"* *banner, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ANZAC march in Redfern, 25 April 2007*, **from http://nla.gov.au/ nla.obj-137298458. Photo by Karl Sharp.**

In the decades following World War I, recognition of the First Nations participation in the war has slowly grown through physical representation in monuments as well as in the public understanding of the ANZACs. ANZAC Day has seen an increasing amount of First Nations veterans march, in representation of the Indigenous Australians who have risked their lives for Australia. These marches have allowed First Nations servicepeople to receive recognition of their sacrifice as well as showing

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the broader Australian community the impact that First Nations people had in the ANZACs and in the wider Australian defence community.[21]

See also

- [Indigenous Australians](#)
- [Australian and New Zealand Army Corps](#)

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Reflection

My project surrounded First Nations involvement in World War I, and particularly the ANZACs. I chose this topic as I have an interest in 20th century history particularly the World Wars, and First Nations history. The public knowledge of these major world events is often very Eurocentric, and I even saw this within my own education and tertiary research. I wanted to consider the stories of First Nations individuals who fought in World War I and the aftermath and how they have been silenced. I was drawn further into this topic by how divisive it was and the power it held to challenge vast issues within the nation. The ANZAC legend was born from the First World War. Throughout my research of this topic, I noticed how much the lived experience of First Nations soldiers challenged the legend. This topic made me to challenge my own thinking of World War I and allowed me to continue to consider the voices not heard when researching areas in the future.

About the author

Matilda Murray-White

I have grown up and live in Brunswick on Wurundjeri land. I have recently completed my Bachelor of Arts majoring in History, yet I initially began my tertiary education in Sport and Exercise Science. I am a passionate member of my local sporting clubs and I both play and coach AFL and netball. I hope to become a history teacher one day, with my special interest areas within history being First Nations history and 20th century history. I am passionate about being able to communicate history in a way that people can actively engage and find interest in.

Chapter 5: Exhibition display

Utilising the exhibition format requires students to construct narratives in three dimensions and to understand how different audiences from differing backgrounds and abilities might encounter their displays. Rather than requiring a physical display, students prepare a proposal for an exhibition. This has the added appeal of allowing students to situate disparately located objects together in a hypothetical dialogue.

In this chapter you will find the following digital creations by student authors that exemplify the core qualities of this particular medium:

5.1 Fire Response in Bendigo

5.1 Fire Response in Bendigo

Jose Manga

In the early hours of August 26th 1871, the city of Sandhurst (now Bendigo) woke up to the sound of the fire tower's bells and dense smoke coming from a fire that had broken out at the Beehive Building in the city centre. Located on Bendigo's main street, the Beehive is an iconic building that in the nineteenth century was the commercial hub of the city, surrounded by the most important colonial government buildings, banks, offices, and storehouses. That morning, the fire threatened to consume the resources that had sustained the growth of the city and, in many ways, the success of the colonies. The fire was a reminder of the severe conditions in which these emergent societies had chosen to establish. In Australia, fire events caused by extreme weather have defined the natural landscapes and have shaped human interaction with the environment.

Fire is an essential natural element for all living creatures. It would be impossible to conceive human development without fire. However, fire is usually seen as a threat and a devastating event. Local Aboriginal peoples learnt to live with this phenomenon, successfully adapting to the varying nature of fires throughout millennia. With the arrival of European settlers, the pristine landscape suffered a dramatic change. Pastoralist settlers cleared vast forest areas and established cattle stations in the country. These enterprises were the starting point to the formation of colonial villages and towns. By the mid-19th century, these settlements were growing in size and population, as new waves of migrants moved to the bush, attracted to the land opportunities.

The discovery of gold in Victoria and New South Wales in the 1850's not only transformed the landscape of rural Australia, but also brought enormous wealth and development to the emerging cities. Bendigo became one of the richest cities in the world thanks to its vast mineral resources. The Victorian gold rush would have a big effect on the way people responded to disastrous events. In order to respond to these urgent issues, the first Bendigo fire brigades were formed in 1855, with the purpose of protecting the city and the wealth produced in the area.

The Beehive Building fire exposed the risks of settling on a region that is surrounded by a dense forest that could prove fatal during the harsh summer season. But more importantly, the fire exposed the settler's lack of preparedness against new environmental challenges. Days after the fire, a local resident wrote to the Bendigo Advertiser: "…our gallant band of firemen worked with a good will, but in an unfortunate way. Much of their vigorous exertion resulted in helpless confusion; but what could you expect when all gave orders, and each followed his own." At the fire scene, the valiant efforts of the volunteers were countered by the evident lack of organisation. For the colonial authorities, it became clear that rural communities had much to learn from the environmental conditions in which they lived, and the way communities organised themselves in order to respond to these adverse situations.

The selection of objects displayed on 'Fire Response in Bendigo' show the evolution of the fire threat and the local response to these events in the Bendigo area. The chronological sequence starts with an acknowledgement of the relation between First Nations people, nature, and fire; followed by the establishment and development of the Bendigo Volunteer Fire Brigade throughout the twentieth century. This display is an invitation to reflect about the growth of Australia as a nation, the relationship of the Australian people with their environment, and the formation of an Australian rural identity.

An interactive H5P element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=334#h5p-1

To view in full screen, click the maximize button in top right corner of the H5P window.

Reflection

The idea for this project came after a history article was published in the Bendigo Advertiser in July 2021. The article described a fire event that destroyed an emblematic building in the Bendigo city centre in August 1871. However, the focus of the article wasn't on the fire event itself, but on the performance and the behaviour of the firefighters.

As a volunteer firefighter for nearly twenty years, I wanted to know more about the history of the local fire services. I joined the Bendigo Fire Brigade (BFB) in 2015, and in 2021 I was involved in the development of a small cataloguing project with the support of the brigade. We met regularly to register photos, artworks, documents, historical equipment, and memorabilia acquired by the brigade throughout the years. This project highlighted the importance of the brigade's historical heritage. Volunteers understood that the cataloguing project went beyond preserving the objects, it was about preserving our identity as a brigade.

I also worked as a tour guide for more than sixteen years in Peru. During this time, I regularly visited museums, galleries, and archaeological sites. This activity gave me a better understanding of the important role of museums, not only as tourist attractions, but also as places where people reconnect with the past, and where community identity is developed. There is a strong connection between the exhibited objects and the viewer, and museums facilitate that connection providing neutral spaces where identities converge.

The exhibit project uses six objects arranged chronologically in the form of a timeline. The display tells the history of the response to fires, focusing on the creation and development of local fire brigades, and different historical episodes that had an influence on the local fire services.

The first object is a Bottlebrush (Callistemon spp.). This plant is endemic to Australia and is part of the natural landscape. This object acknowledges the connection between First Nations people, the landscape, natural events, and how people learnt and adapted to the challenges of the environment.

The second object is a hand-coloured photo from 1857. It shows the visit of Victorian Governor Henry Barkly to Bendigo. The Victorian gold rush had transformed the landscape of Bendigo (known as Sandhurst in those years). As the city grew, the emerging community and colonial authorities worked together in the formation of fire brigades, as a response to the urgent necessity to protect the lives and the assets of their citizens.

The third object is a smoke protector mask from 1875. This modern device was purchased and used by the newly formed Bendigo Fire Brigade in 1899. Towards the end of the 19th century,

technological innovations were essential for the different productive activities in the colonies. Authorities realised that firefighting was an extremely dangerous activity and that they needed to acquire adequate protective gear for the volunteers.

The fourth object is a roll of honour with the names of the BFB members who served in the armed forces during the Great War. This object acknowledges the impact of the world wars on rural towns, and how these events helped in the construction of a new emerging Australian identity.

The fifth object is a photograph from 1963. The picture shows six members of the BFB running team that represented the brigade in competitions around the state. The post-war era was a time for the consolidation of the fire services within rural communities around the state and nationwide.

The last object is a modern thermal imaging camera used by fire crews in search and rescue operations. This device uses infrared radiation to capture temperature variations, and translates them into coloured images. For the display, the object faces the viewer, while connected to a small screen. The viewer can see the device as well as their own thermal image on the screen.

In this way, the display starts with an organic object that is a potential threat during the fire season, and finishes with an electronic device that captures the viewer's own temperature.

The newspaper article that motivated me to do this project tackled some issues that perhaps not everyone is aware of. During the events of the 1871 fire, internal conflicts among members, lack of professionalism, and even social issues (like alcohol consumption) had a serious impact on the fire response. Over the years, volunteer brigades have developed and become professional institutions. However, there are still problems affecting the operational activities and the institutional image of the brigades. Political interference, lack of cultural and gender diversity, and a decrease of volunteer participation are some of the issues affecting the fire services these days. In many ways, the history of the Bendigo Fire Brigade is reflected on the history of rural Australia.

Lima, November 2022.

About the author

Jose Manga

Jose Manga was born and raised in Peru where he worked in the cultural tourism sector for sixteen years, before migrating to Australia in 2014. In 2018, Jose started his studies at La Trobe University, graduating in 2021 as a Bachelor of Arts, majoring in History. He lives in Bendigo, Victoria, and currently works at the Bendigo Art Gallery. Jose plans to further his studies in the Museums and Cultural Heritage field. Jose has also been a volunteer firefighter in Peru and Australia for more than twenty years.

5.2 1965 Freedom Ride

Verity Paddon

Note: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people should be aware that this exhibition may contain images and names of deceased persons.
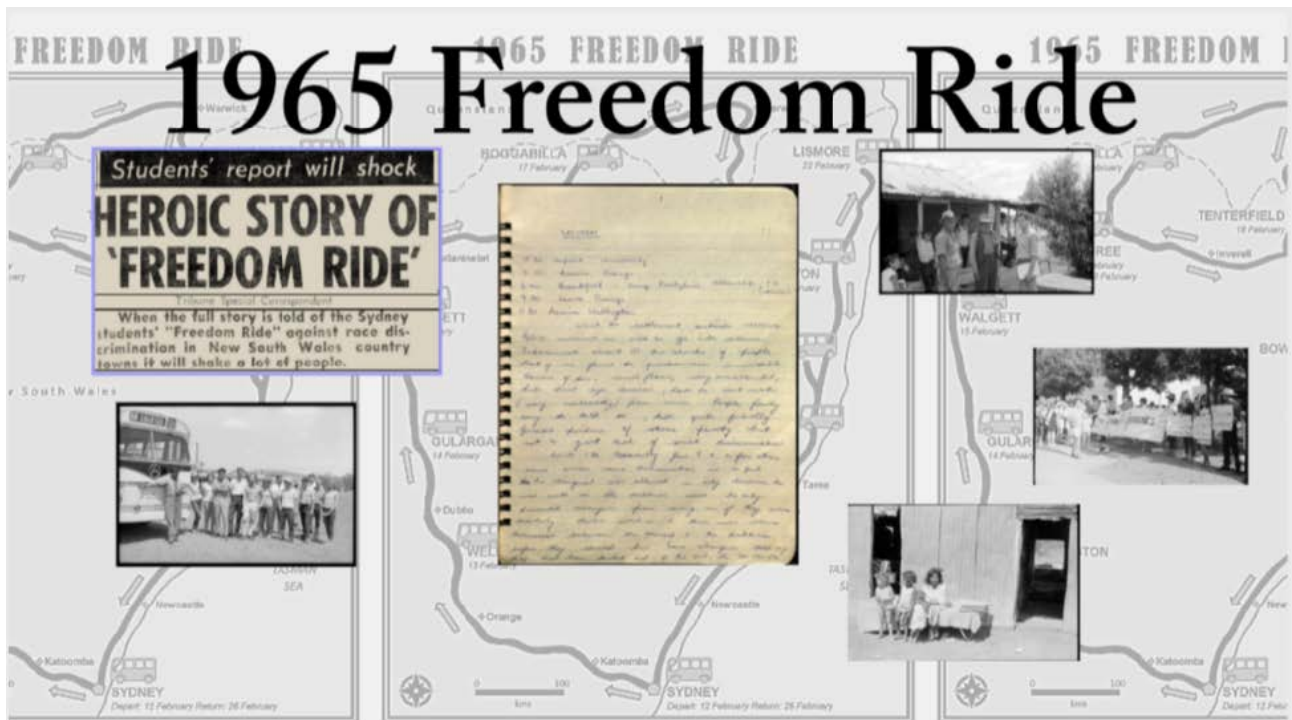
Freedom Rides are a form of protest seen worldwide throughout the latter half of the 20th century and into the 21st century. A notable example in Australian history is the 1965 Freedom Ride organised by a group of students at the University of Sydney. With growing awareness of the injustices, prejudice and racism that Indigenous Australians experience combined with changing political views, the students formed a club called 'Student Action For Aborigines' or SAFA for short. It is through these students' perspectives combined with newspaper articles and images that this exhibition has provided insight into the ongoings of the 1965 Freedom Ride.

It should be noted by all viewers that there is a crucial voice missing in these historical records. That is the voice of the Indigenous Australians themselves. While learning about the past, we must remember who we were fighting alongside and why. While Ann Curthoys does mention some interviews and specifics, her diary (which was likely not written with the intention of becoming a historical artifact) does not supply a comprehensive and unbiased view of the lives of the Indigenous peoples she met along the way. As there are no written records preserved of the Indigenous peoples' views and opinions, we must make do with the sources the 'Freedom Riders' as well as those who both supported and abhorred their cause have given us in the historical record.

Viewers must remember that the 1960s was 60 years ago and many social justice movements were just beginning, particularly in the outback of New South Wales. Therefore, there is language in Ann Curthoys' diary and throughout other sources as well as a general approach that would not be accepted in today's society. Let that be a reminder of how far the social justice movement for equality

has come, and how far we have yet to go as even today individuals, including scholars, continue to ignore Australia's long history of segregation.

This exhibit contains images taken during the 'Freedom Riders' travels taken by *The Tribune* newspaper. *The Tribune* was the Communist Party of Australia newspaper and closely followed the 'Freedom Riders' during their tour. These images are only a part of the media frenzy around these protests as it is likely the Freedom Ride is the largest form of protest these communities had ever seen at the time. While the 1965 Freedom Ride was not the first 'Freedom Ride' (for example, the American group 'The Freedom Riders' held a similar protest in 1961 and inspired the 1965 protests in Australia), the 1965 'Freedom Ride' had not only the attention of New South Wales but of the whole country. It has even been referenced in international communities and has inspired protests to this day.

Also included in this display is an excerpt of Ann Curthoys' journal that she kept throughout the 'Freedom Ride'. This journal not only provides details of their route as well as insights into the group's decision-making, but it also names key players in and against the protests such as the Mayor of Moree who had not supported the protest and the suggestion that segregation should no longer be practised. This journal also shared experiences of what would now be considered assault that the 'Freedom Riders' faced while peacefully protesting such as having produce thrown at them and being spat on. This journal highlights the rage of those who hold the challenged ideals and at times offers disconcerting parallels to the protests of modern times. Can you perhaps think of an example?

That is the purpose of this exhibit. To not only recount history but to remember its importance today. The 'Freedom Riders' are an example of a group of young adults who used their privilege to fight for what they believed to be the moral thing, facing down those who are practised in hate to ally with those who are discriminated against.

Figure 1: Negatives from the Tribune (Communist Party of Australia newspaper) featuring the Freedom Rides SAFA (Student Action For Aboriginals) at Moree 17- 26 February, 1965 FL449161. Source: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales and Courtesy SEARCH Foundation, used under CC BY 4.0.

This image was taken in February 1965 and shows the 'Student Action for Aborigines' (SAFA) group protesting outside the Moree Artesian Baths.

The Moree Baths and Swimming Pool located in Moree, New South Wales, Australia was originally opened in 1895. For the next 70 years, Indigenous peoples were not allowed entry and instead had their own swimming pool located on the local reserve. Indigenous people were prohibited from using many council-provided community facilities as segregation was usual in the area until the early 1970s.

The 'Freedom Riders' arrived at Moree on the 19th of February 1965. On the 20th of February 1965, the 'Freedom Riders' first protested outside the council chambers and then out front of the baths themselves challenging what Ann Curthoys called their "discriminatory clause". The 'Freedom Riders' then broke council ordinance and brought 6 Indigenous children into the baths with them, proving that including Indigenous people would not affect the hygiene of the pool facilities as the council had previously claimed to justify their racism.

As of 6th of September 2013 the Moree Baths and Swimming Pool is listed on the National Heritage Register, ensuring that the bravery of the 'Freedom Riders' and the Indigenous children who challenged the ideals of an entire community is remembered.

Figure 2: Shirley Murray with three children outside a house in south Moree. People had to build their own houses with whatever they could find. Source: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales and Courtesy SEARCH Foundation, Yj7dv4L9, photographs by Noel Hazard, used under CC BY 4.0.

Reader discretion is advised. Content warnings – Police Brutality, Assult, Racism

With little written evidence of the living conditions experienced by the Indigenous people of rural Australia by Indigenous people, this summary mostly draws on the observations of 'Freedom Rider' Ann Curthoys. It should be kept in mind that these are the musings of an outsider.

This house shows the poor living conditions that Indigenous people were forced to live in.

In her diary, Ann Curthoys describes her perspective of these abhorrent living conditions as "weatherboard and very overcrowded" and continues to mention that there was no gas, no electricity, no water, and often no doors or windows. Her summations don't stop there. Ann Curthoys also mentions that the police would often enter the houses without knocking, and "did what they liked with the women" and very few of the children continued their schooling past grade 6. This journal entry from Ann highlights and yet only shows a slither of the subpar conditions Indigenous people were forced to live in and the unjust treatment they were forced to receive by non-Indigenous Australians.
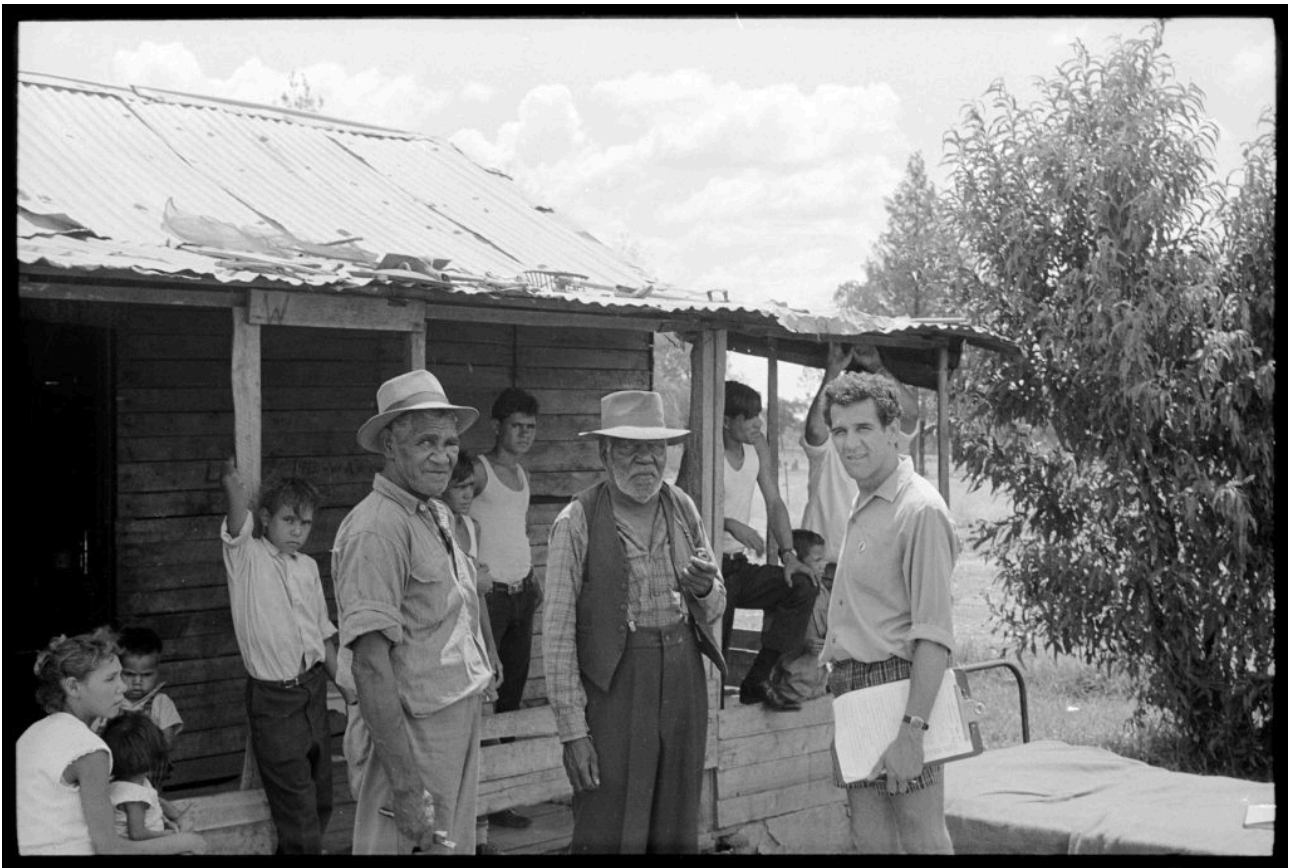
Figure 3: Sandy Fernando (left), Paddy Daley and Charles Perkins (far right). Source: Source: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales and Courtesy SEARCH Foundation, Yj7dv4L9, photographs by Noel Hazard, used under CC BY 4.0.

This image depicts Charles Perkins, the leader of the Freedom Rides alongside Indigenous residents of Moree.

Looking at the photo closely, it provides another example of the poor housing conditions that the Indigenous members of Moree had to endure. The tin roof appears to need repairing and there seems to be a bed in the yard. While there is no way to know for sure if all the people in the photo lived in this house, it is likely that there was overcrowding in residence as well.

Charles Perkins holds a clipboard, likely to record the things he sees and the conversations he has while interacting with people throughout the duration of the Freedom Ride.

There is little information to be found on Sandy Fernando or Paddy Daley beyond their interactions with the Freedom Riders in 1965, despite that, this image continues to be used in news articles around Indigenous rights, such as *The Guardian* article discussing the 2023 referendum.

Whether or not the individuals in the image knew it, this precise moment in history would not only be remembered but used to continually push for progress.

Figure 4: Freedom Riders at Bowraville. People depicted: Gerry Mason, Hat Healy, Charlie Perkins, Bob Gallagher, Ann Curthoys, Norm Mackay, Alan Outhred, Colin Bradford and Louise Higham along with other unnamed Freedom Riders. Source: Negatives from *The Tribune* **(Communist Party of Australia newspaper) featuring the Freedom Rides SAFA (Student Action For Aboriginals) Trip 17- 26 February, 1965 FL465077 [image], https://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/ remembering-freedom-ride, 10 Apr. 2024.**

This image depicts the Freedom Riders at Bowraville NSW, more than halfway through their journey. This photo was taken after the Freedom Riders headed back to Moree to continue their protesting and support the Indigenous children who had taken to protesting outside of the baths, after hearing that the Mayor would enforce the segregationist statute and continue not to allow Indigenous people into the Baths.

Figure 5: 'Heroic Story of 'Freedom Ride'', The Tribune, 24 Feb. 1965, 1, in Trove [online database] accessed 10 May. 2024. Public domain.

This is an excerpt from the *Tribune n*ewspaper dated the 24th of February, 1965. The article discusses the Freedom Ride and suggests that the protesting of these university students will reveal the "shameful treatment" of Indigenous Australians. It provides information that cannot be found in other sources like Ann Curthoys' diary. The article claims that 900 of the 3,000 inhabitants of Walgett in 1965 were Indigenous Australians. And out of those 3,000, hundreds of people Indigenous and not, banded together to discuss and protest the unjust treatment of Indigenous Australians. This article is both a call to action and a shaming for those reading it. The former is for people who support the protests and believe in equality. The latter is for those who themselves have "worked hard to cover up their own racism". However, since *The Tribune* was the official newspaper for the Communist Party of Australia, it is unlikely that the people who it intended to shame would have been reading.

Despite that, this article represents how important media, and in today's age, social media can be when supporting a cause. Much like the Instagram posts that share information on protests, this newspaper article was written by a journalist who believed that change was necessary and who spoke to the students themselves. These newspaper articles were an integral part of raising awareness and combatting injustice and racism in Australia.
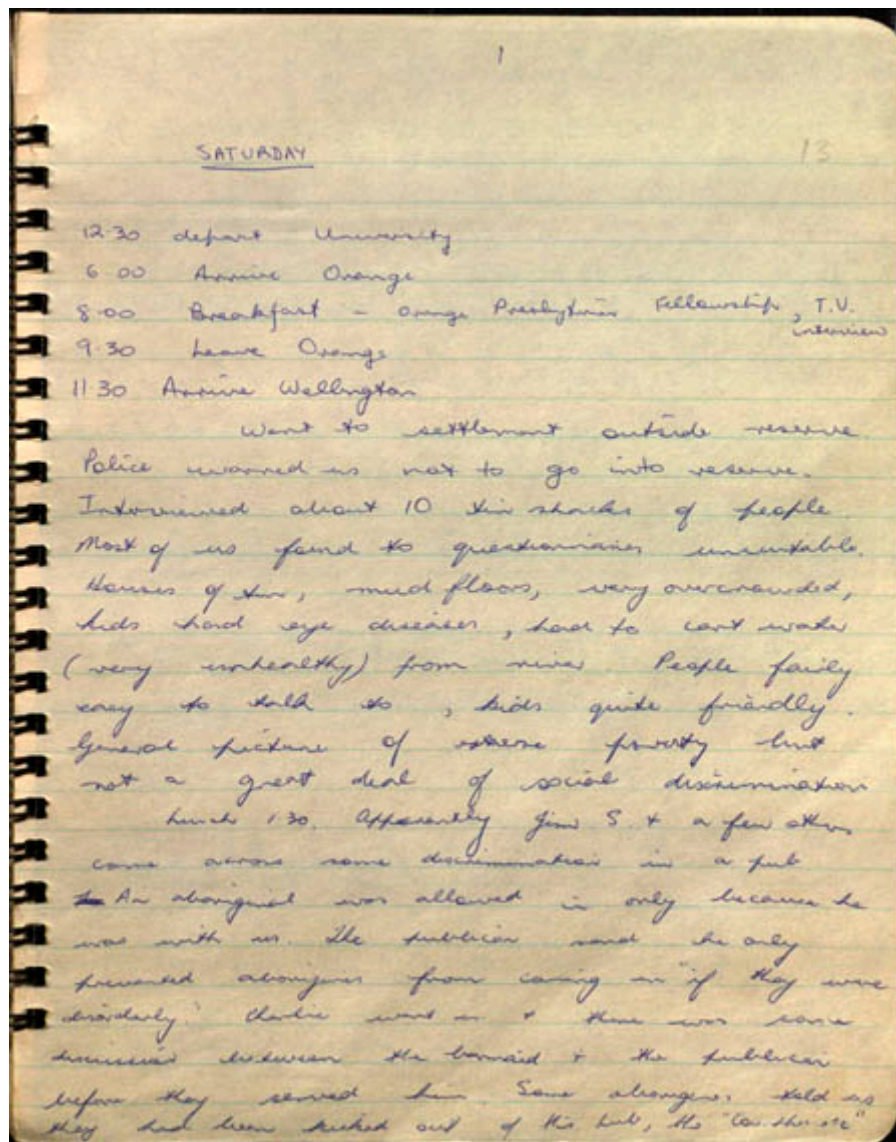
Excerpt from Ann Curthoys' diary. It reads:

> **"Saturday**
> **12.30 Depart University**
> **6.00 Arrive Orange**
> **8.00 Breakfast – Orange Presbyterian Fellowship, TV interview**
> **9.30 Leave Orange**
> **12.30 Arrive Wellington**
>
> **Went to settlement outside reserve. Police warned us not to go into reserve. Interviewed about ten tin shacks of people. Most of us found the questionnaires unsuitable. Houses of tin, mud floors, very overcrowded, kids had eye diseases, had to cart water (very unhealthy) from river. People fairly easy to talk to, kids quite friendly. General picture of extreme poverty but not a great deal of social discrimination.**
>
> **Lunch 1.30. Apparently Jim S and a few others came across some discrimination in a pub. An aboriginal was allowed in only because he was with us. The publican said he only prevented aborigines from coming in "if they were disorderly". Charlie went in and there was some discussion**

between the barmaid and the publican before they served him. Some aborigines told us they had been kicked out of this pub, the "Courthouse".

This except from the first page of Ann Curthoys' diary provides her view as she describes what she sees around her as she visits local communities during the Freedom Ride. This page highlights both the abysmal standard of living in the Indigenous communities as well as the discrimination and racism experienced as Indigenous peoples tried to do basic things such as go down to the local pub. It is important to note that Curthoys uses language that was common at the time, such as 'Aborigines' and did not intend to be offensive. First Nations people have shown a preference for more specific terms that we use today including the name of the nation, Koorie people in and around Victoria and Murri people in parts of NSW and Queensland.

Figure 7: Australian Curriculum, 1965 Freedom Ride Map [image], https://www.australiancurriculum.edu.au/resources/work-samples/samples/exploring-rights-and-freedoms-above/, 10 May 2024.

This image is a map of the path that the 'Freedom Riders' took throughout New South Wales.

For use in the background, its opacity, brightness, highlights and saturation have been edited (see display visual).

This visual representation not only assists people who don't know the area or have a hard time with distance to understand the scope of this undertaking. Not only that but those viewing the exhibit can match up the location of some of the photos to their location on the map which provides an interactive aspect. Images, especially black and white ones from bygone eras can seem distant and separated from modern times, being able to match the images up with the map may remind people of the realness of these events and their importance to this day. It also allows people to connect personally with the story as they might recognise some of the locations as places they might have visited themselves, adding an extra layer to their own personal history and directly connecting with the history of the 'Freedom Rides'.

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Sandy Fernando (left), Paddy Daley and Charles Perkins (far right). [image], (21 Feb. 2020), https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/gallery/2020/feb/21/freedom-ride-1965-protesters-challenge-ban-on-aboriginal-people-at-moree-pool-in-pictures, 11 Apr. 2024.

Shirley Murray with three children outside a house in south Moree. People had to build their own houses with whatever they could find.[image],(21 Feb. 2020), https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/gallery/2020/feb/21/freedom-ride-1965-protesters-challenge-ban-on-aboriginal-people-at-moree-pool-in-pictures, 11 Apr. 2024.

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Reflection

This project was researched and completed on Wurundjeri land.

I curated this example of a museum exhibition on the 1965 Freedom Rides. I chose this topic as social movements protesting inequality continue, and as the focus on Indigenous experiences and voices becomes increasingly prevalent in the media.

When looking for a topic I wanted to choose something I was unfamiliar with. When I came across the 1965 Freedom Rides I was astonished that I had not previously heard of such an important social rights movement and part of Australian history. I immediately knew that this was the topic I should do. When choosing the format to present this information in, I wanted to present it in an engaging way that captured an audience, both young and old alike. Therefore I chose to present it as a museum exhibition/display, as museums are places of learning for students as well as the general public. Also considering that Australian museums have begun to move towards displaying Indigenous history as a focal point. I thought it necessary to acknowledge the struggles faced by Indigenous peoples in recent history as well as the present.

A challenge I faced throughout researching was the lack of secondary sources available for me to access. There were plenty of primary and non-academic secondary sources such as newspaper articles, however, there was a notable lack of academic secondary sources and many that I could find were behind a paywall. This absence of scholarly material is so significant that the scholarly secondary sources I did find noted this conundrum.

I enjoyed writing in a more casual way, as well as designing the exhibit. People often peruse the museum as if shopping and rarely stop to read something plain as it may seem too taxing or boring. Therefore I wanted to create a visually appealing piece that would initially engage the viewer long enough for the interesting story the 1965 Freedom Rides to hold their attention.

About the author

Verity Paddon

Verity Paddon is an Ancient History and Archaeology student with an interest in public history and archives as well as an obsession with museums and osteoarchaeology. With her interest in all things

history beginning at a young age, it was clear what she would choose to study. She began her BA degree at La Trobe in 2022 and will graduate at the end of 2024. Verity has a keen interest in anything from the past, whether it be from 50 or 100,000 years ago, postcards or bones.

Chapter 6: Plan your research for publishing public history

This chapter is based on resources I created to support students in HIS3MHI from around 2016 to 2023 while working as a librarian at La Trobe University by day and my experiences volunteering at the Australian Queer Archives (AQuA) around the same time. Supporting La Trobe University History academics and students and volunteering with the AQuA have both significantly changed the way I think about and support history, research, and open education and scholarship. At the AQuA, we preserve and make research and more knowledge available for and with LGBTIQA+ communities within and beyond the academy in multiple formats (from queer history walks and exhibitions to an Honours thesis prize and beyond). Our collection and work may not be open in traditional academic "Open Access" ways, and it is not safe for our collection to be completely open to all, but we are open in the inclusive sense of the word. La Trobe University History academics similarly make history knowledge open and accessible beyond the academy in diverse ways (from heritage reports, policy and podcasts to history talks, television and beyond). They have both helped me see that research can be collective, generative, and transformative and I hope this chapter helps others see and advocate for this too. I have used some examples from my experiences supporting and doing queer and trans history to help contextualise the advice and activities in this chapter.

6.1 Plan your research

In Making History you are tasked with producing a major research project. The process of researching and presenting your work is a key part of how you connect with the 'history industry', as Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton have termed it.[1] Unpacking recent developments within this field, including in the Gallery, Library, Archive and Museum (GLAM) sector, becomes another valuable avenue for you to witness public history in action. This chapter provides key background to these developments, while also mapping out useful research activities (via H5P) that you can work through during your research process. If you record your reflections within these activities, you can download them as a document at the end of each one. Many of the research activities are contextualised with examples you can learn from and apply to your own topic. You can also find inspiration in the examples of past student projects and reflections in this book.

This chapter explores the different approaches GLAM sector institutions take when expanding access to their collections to help you navigate copyright, Creative Commons licenses and more access considerations for your public history projects. All have relatively recently started doing work with First Nations communities to navigate their important additional access, cultural safety, and sharing considerations. Archives often have additional privacy concerns to consider when deciding what can be made openly available.

Some key points to remember when planning and doing archival research:

- Think about who might have created records on your topic (people, organisations, government departments, and so on)
- Identify and use the language they might have used in the time and place you're researching.
- Record your search strategies and citations as you go.
- Draw on multiple sources and perspectives.
- Look out for finding aids, research guides, reports and/or fact sheets related to your topic produced by librarians, archivists, or historians.
- Browse the collection or start broad and filter down.
- Think critically about what systemic racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia that determined what histories are preserved and the gaps and biases in archives – and about decisions made around what records are digitised.
- Remember that not everything is online (and not everything should be) and that even if something is available online that does not mean you can use it in published work without asking permission.

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1. Ashton, Paul, and Paula Hamilton. The Australian History Industry. Edited by Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton. North Melbourne, VIC : Australian Scholarly Publishing Ltd, 2022.

6.2 Choose and refine your research topic

When deciding on and developing your topic, you should consider:

- Assessment requirements
- Identify the general/broad topic
- Initial research
- Consider the scope of your topic
- Draft a research question
- Further research/refine your question

Find more tips in Developing a research question Achieve @ Uni.

Activity: Brainstorm keywords and more details for your topic

Work your way through the examples and activities in the following module to help you plan and record your research:

An interactive H5P element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=349#h5p-2

6.3 Navigate Copyright, Creative Commons, and the Continuum of Openness Online

Gaining knowledge about and experience navigating copyright, public domain, Creative Commons and more access complexities and considerations will be extremely helpful for your digital history projects if you wish to share them beyond this subject and make history as a historian or GLAM sector professional.

It is very important to think early on about what records are likely to be available for you to use online and what ones might not be available as this will help you determine your project topic, scope, and format. Copyright is one of the main considerations that determine what is available online, but other very important considerations include: privacy, cultural sensitivity, accessibility, and project priorities, funding, or sponsorship.

Watch this short (approximately 10 minute) presentation from Sari Braithwaite – a historian by day and filmmaker by night – on how she has creatively, courageously, and carefully navigated copyright considerations as a historian and creator:

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here: https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=352#oembed-1

In this essay How to think left on copyright, Lizzie O'Shea illustrates the limits of Copyright law in Australia and beyond. O'Shea argues that it tends to help big publishers and corporations more than individual or community creators. She highlights the power and potential of Creative Commons and other licenses as alternatives that give creators more control over how their intellectual property can be used.

Creative Commons licenses

In Australia, there are six standard licenses, each permitting material to be used in a different way.

Read the following to find out more about Creative Commons from the Creative Commons website.

Watch this short video on Creative Commons licenses to help you understand them more:

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here: https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=352#oembed-2

This Creative Commons License spectrum provides a visual representation of the different licenses and how you can use content which uses these licenses along a continuum of openness:
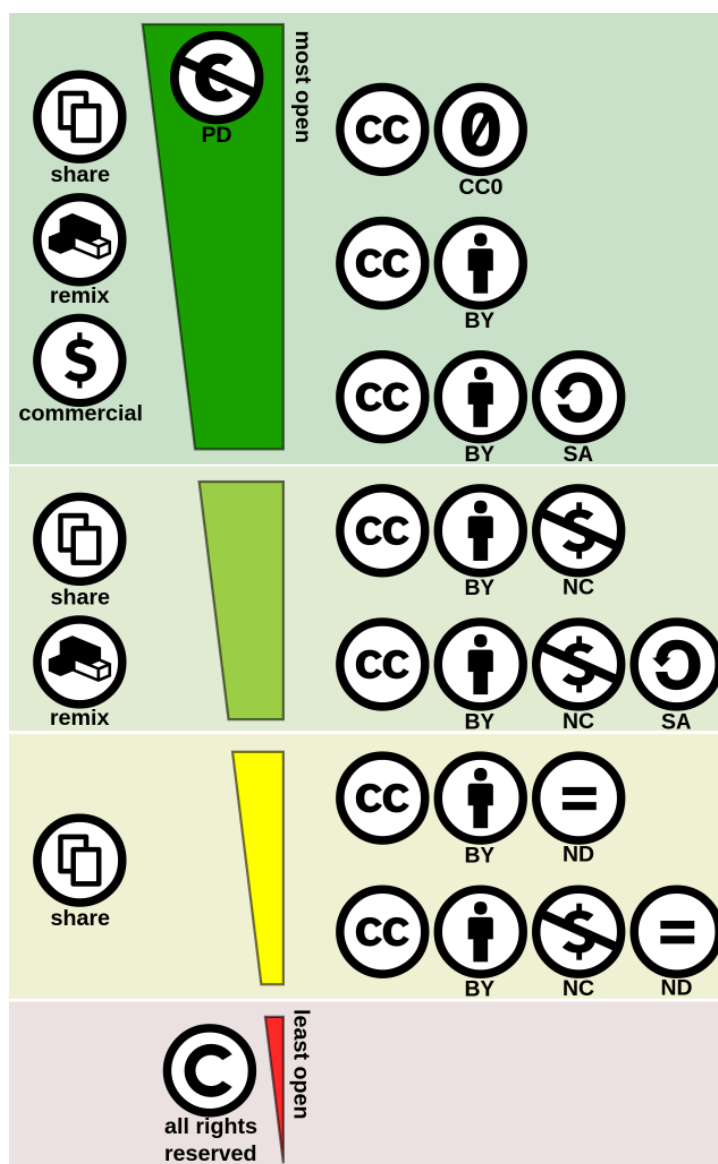
Creative Commons License Spectrum **by Shaddim from Wikimedia Commons used under CC BY.**

Public Domain material is the most open and has the least restrictions on how you can use it. Check out the Australian Copyright Council Factsheet: Duration of Copyright to find out when material enters the Public Domain as this may help you choose a research topic and plan your research – for example: you may want to select a time where you know public domain material should be

easily accessible online. If something is in the public domain, it states: "Public domain" or "No rights reserved" or "CCO".

If you decide not to publish your work, you can use more material for private research or study under fair dealing. Find out more about Fair dealing in the Fair Dealing: What Can I Use Without Permission – ACC – INFO079 fact sheet by the Australian Copyright Council.

Libraries and archives in Australia frequently stress that digitising material does not change the copyright status of material. In fact, several have adapted the following statement in response to the question Do I need the Library's permission as well as the copyright owner's permission? from the National Library of Australia, so it is a good one to be familiar with.

Activity: Quick Creative Commons and Public Domain image searching

These activities will help increase your familiarity with Creative Commons and Public Domain image searching and give you a broad idea about what is out there on your topic that you can use in published work.

You will need to dig deeper in the archives, but these sources covered are good starting points for your research and what you find (or do not find) here may help you decide on the scope and/or format of your search project.

Record links and information about the images you've found as you go through it and download as a document after you complete it.

You may find it helpful to use Deakin University Library's Creative Commons Attribution Builder to learn how to appropriately attribute any images you use.

An interactive H5P element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=352#h5p-3

6.4 Contextualise collections by considering cultural sensitivity and privacy

Cultural sensitivity, safety and privacy are important ethical considerations connected to but distinct from copyright to keep in mind when working with collections. The digital environment brings great power and potential for expanding access to collections, but with this power comes great responsibility and risk.

In Open as in dangerous, Chris Bourg warns that one potential danger is that providing open access to collections can potentially lead to a loss of local, personal context particularly where it involves making tacit, embodied knowledge more formal and therefore disembodied that is then extracted and shared in diverse ways without consent. Similarly, in Does Information really want to be free? Indigenous knowledge systems and the question of openness, Kimberley A Christen argues that information wants to be contextualised rather than 'free' through different kinds of licenses and a complex, community-driven content management system. Kirsten Thorpe and colleagues have been doing related work adapting this content management system at the State Library of New South Wales and beyond. Find out more about Kirsten Thorpe's work in Speaking back to colonial collections: Building living Aboriginal archives. In Sacred data, Jazz Money provides a powerful introduction to Indigenous data sovereignty and the many legal and ethical dimensions around collections, research and policy data storage, ownership, access, consent as well as intellectual property in the digital environment.

See this Indigenous Cultural and Intellectual Property (ICIP) Information Sheet from Arts Law for further information.

6.5 Publish your work

If you would like to publish your project and share it with people and communities you have done research with or about, you must pay close attention to copyright and access considerations from the planning stage. If you do not want to publish your work, you can use additional material for private study or research under the fair dealing rule in Australian Copyright law. Copyright and access considerations may help you determine the format that is right for you and your audience. If you are finding copyright, Creative Commons and access restrictions too limiting and/or confusing for your topic, think about how the format you choose might enable you to tell histories without reproducing images, audio or film or otherwise breaching copyright, cultural sensitivity, or privacy. Think about the format that might be most accessible to and appropriate for the communities connected to your research. If you can, ask those communities what format they would like rather than assume you know what is best. If you cannot ask them directly, you can do some research to see if you can find examples of history projects led by those communities.

For example:

- Wikipedia articles use existing online sources to construct biographies and topic entries without requiring archival access.

- Podcasts enable you to describe visual sources rather than reproduce them and will also enable you to protect privacy, avoid deadnaming or misgendering people, and minimise risk of collections used in your research being decontextualised.

- Museum displays and illustrated essays might enable you to tell a story based on a selection of objects that you are permitted to share under Copyright and Creative Commons provisions.

Another publishing consideration you need to make is to decide on the Creative Commons licence you want to use.

Activity: Interactive licensing tool

Use the following Licensing choices tool to help you decide on the Creative Commons license that works best for your project:

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here: https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=356

This Licensing choices tool contains elements of the CC License Chooser (beta) by The University of Newcastle is licensed under Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0) and elements of the CC licensing flowchart by Creative Commons Australia licensed under Attribution 2.5 Generic (CC BY 2.5).

Note that some collections may specify the kind of license you can use if you want to use those collections without asking permission. For example, see Copyright and permissions | British Museum.

Read the following blog posts from people who changed their Creative Commons licenses to more open ones if you need help deciding on a Creative Commons license that may work for your research project:

- why, oh why, CC-BY? – Bethany Nowviskie
- Creative Commons, Open Access, and hypocrisy

6.6 Dig deeper in the archives

The first thing to think about when digging deeper in the archives is who might have created records on your topic as this will help you determine where to look.

Community collections

Community archives and other collections provide an important antidote to silences and absences in mainstream government and media collections. They collect, describe, and share communities' histories in their own words.

- Victorian Collections – a gateway to community GLAM collections, including some of those from the Australian Queer Archives, many multicultural heritage groups and RSLs, and so much more. See their reuse and more policies.

- Collections NSW– Collections of objects and photographs from regional areas in NSW.

- Living Histories at Newcastle -Collections from the University of Newcastle and community history groups in Newcastle

- Reason in Revolt: This database contains digitised primary source documents of Australian radicalism. We recommend browsing by events, institutions, people, places, and subjects. These sources are primarily licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-Non-commercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 Australia License. There are some exceptions to this license on the platform, so always check the collection item you want to use.

- Digital Transgender Archive – search across a variety of collections related to trans history. Check out their comprehensive and thoughtful copyright, privacy and takedown policy and more policies.

Government archives

Government libraries and archives are often a traditional starting point for archival research and may have useful perspectives, but they represent dominant values at the time the materials were collected.

Remember to think critically about what systemic racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia that determined what histories are preserved and the gaps and biases in these collections and about decisions around what records are digitised and how they are described.

Try to find personal and community-led histories to complement this government perspective.

One of the first things to think about is which **level of government** (local, state, or federal) is most likely to have been involved in creating records about this topic. This determines where the records are stored. There is some overlap of responsibility and funding for most Federal and State government issues, so you may need to check both Federal and State-based Libraries and Archives.

- [Australian archival research guide – Public records page](#): Find and use Australian records and archives online and at the library.

- [Public Records Office of Victoria (PROV)](#): Divorce records, Criminal/Court records, Prison records, Health records and Education records. See [Copyright for researchers | PROV.](#)

- [National Archives of Australia](#) : Records of defence/war, migration and citizenship, and security and intelligence. See [Copyright | naa.gov.au.](#)

Local governments work with local communities, including around local history, arts, culture, parks, recreation, environment, and sustainability and beyond. Local libraries are increasingly supporting digital history projects, so if you are interested in histories related to a particular place, the local library could be a good starting point.

Querying Trove

Trove is a platform you can use to search across multiple library collections in Australia. It is particularly well known for its digitised newspaper collection.

News search tips

- Use the names of people involved.

- Try to think of your topic in media language used at a particular time (different publications may use different language just as they do today).

- You need to use the terms /language used at time.

- Note that many traditional, mainstream media sources have a history of not reporting, under-reporting and/or misrepresenting race, gender, and sexuality, so you will often need to think creatively about the language used and even look beyond them to compare with alternative news sources. We have provided some alternatives for you on this page.

- Compare reporting in broadsheets (e.g., the Age) to tabloids (e.g., [Truth](#)).

- Restrict the search to the approximate date of a particular incident or refine a simple search by Decade to see the historical specificity of a term or issue.

If you have not used Trove before or need a refresher, watch this quick guide to Trove Newspapers search:

[Trove Tip | Trove Newspapers Search](#)

If you would like to dig deeper in Trove newspapers, you can watch this webinar on Trove's newspapers:

[Webinar: Discover Trove's Newspapers – July 22, 2020](#)

Activity: Browsing and querying community collections, government collections

and Trove

An interactive H5P element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/making-public-histories/?p=358#h5p-4

6.7 Conclusion

In this chapter planning your research has been situated within Australia's public history industry to demonstrate that the work you do at university has the potential to reach beyond it, and to highlight the important role you play as the historian making public histories.

The skills presented in this chapter will help you record and build on your searching, ensure you have checked a range of databases, navigate the complexities of copyright, Creative Commons and more access and sharing sensitivities, restrictions and requirements, and attribute collection items you use in your project. Your audience and the access and sharing sensitivities, restrictions and requirements on the material you find will help you decide what license and format will be most appropriate to use when publishing your research beyond the university.

Further reading

Ann Curthoys and Ann McGrath, *How to Write History That People Want to Read* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2009), 1-12.

Tony Birch, 'If we are to recognise heroes, where are the stories of Aboriginal courage?', *Guardian,* 8 September 2017.

Maria Nugent & Gaye Sculthorpe, 'A Shield Loaded with History: Encounters, Objects and Exhibitions,' *Australian Historical Studies* 49, no.1 (2018), 28-43

Matthew R. Keynes, "History Education for Transitional Justice? Challenges, Limitations and Possibilities for Settler Colonial Australia." *The International Journal of Transitional Justice* 13, no. 1 (2019): 113-33. https://doi.org/10.1093/ijtj/ijy026.

Natalie Harkin 'Weaving the Colonial Archive: A Basket to Lighten the Load', *Journal of Australian Studies* 44, no. 2 (2020), 154-66.

Clare Wright, 'Sex, Lies and History on TV', *Australian History Now,* ed. Anna Clark and Paul Ashton (NewSouth, 2013).

Elizabeth Pente, Paul Ward, Milton Brown and Hardeep Sahota, 'The co-production of historical knowledge: Implications for the history of identities, *Identity Papers: A Journal of British and Irish Studies* 1, No. 1 (2015), 32-53.

Andrew Flinn, 'Independent Community Archives and Community-Generated Content: Writing, Saving and Sharing Our Histories,' *Convergence* 16, no. 1 (2010), 39-51.

Clare Crowe, Helen Morgan and Mary Tomsic, 'Women, History and Wikipedia Editing,' *Agora* 56:1 (2021), 50–53

Eleanor Casella and Conlin Fennelly, 'Ghosts of Sorrow, Sin and Crime: Dark Tourism and Convict Heritage in Van Diemen's Land, Australia,' *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 20, no. 3 (2016), 506-20.

Versioning History

This page provides a record of changes made to this textbook. Each set of edits is acknowledged with a 0.01 increase in the version number. The exported files for this toolkit reflect the most recent version.

If you find an error, please contact eBureau@latrobe.edu.au

Version	Date	Change	Details
0.9 (beta version)	29/03/23	Beta version of the book made available to 2023 Making History students.	Beta version made available to 2023 Making History students to support assessment work in Semester 1. These experiences and feedback will inform v1.0.
1.0	07/09/23	First edition published	

Review Statement

La Trobe eBureau open publications rely on mechanisms to ensure that they are high quality, and meet the needs of all students and educators. This takes the form of double peer review.

Peer review

Two rounds of peer review were completed for this publication on 20/06/2023 by:

- Michael A. McDonnell, The University of Sydney
- Caroline Wallace, La Trobe University

The peer review was structured around considerations of the intended audience of the book, and examined the comprehensiveness, accuracy, and relevance of content, as well as longevity and cultural relevance.

Changes suggested by the editor and reviewers were incorporated by the author in consultation with the publisher.

The authors would like to thank the reviewers for the time, care, and commitment they contributed to the project. We recognise that peer reviewing is a generous act of service on their part. This book would not be the robust, valuable resource that it is were it not for their feedback and input.