



UNIVERSITY  
OF WOLLONGONG  
AUSTRALIA

**Colonial and Settler Studies Network Conference  
Colonial Formations: Connections and Collisions  
23 – 25 November 2016  
University of Wollongong, Australia**

**Details of presentations and presenters**

**Invited speakers and keynotes: 2 – 5**

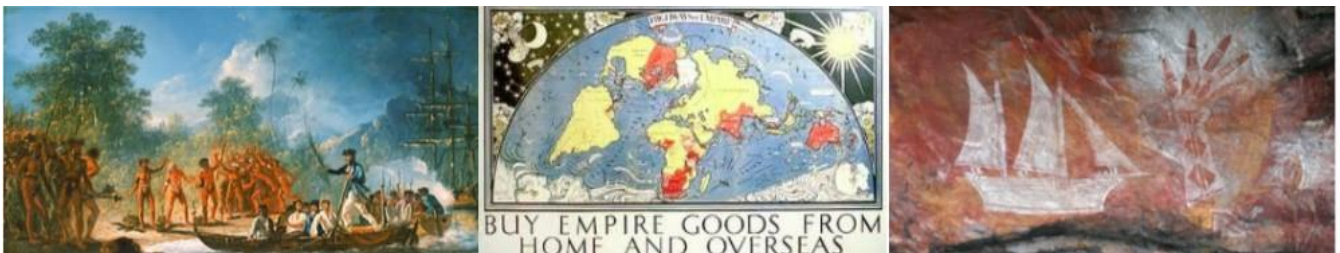
**Individual paper presenters: 5 – 51**

**Panel presentations: 52 - 54**

**Colonial and Settler Studies Network**

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## **Invited speakers and keynotes**

### **Aunty Barbara Nicholson**

Welcome to Country

*Barbara Nicholson is a senior Wadi Wadi woman from the Illawarra. While primarily a poet, Barbara has also published academic writing. Barbara is active across the spectrum of Aboriginal disadvantage: education, criminal justice, land rights and the Stolen Generation. She worked as a lecturer in Aboriginal Studies at UNSW and UOW, has taught course work to inmate students at Goulburn Gaol and is part of both the Human Research Ethics Committee at UOW and the Ethics Committee for the Australian Institute Of Criminology in Canberra. She received an Honorary Doctor of Laws from the University of Wollongong in 2014.*

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### **Professor Clare Anderson**

University of Leicester

Public lecture: Wednesday, 4:30 p.m.

*Convicts, Collaboration and Conflict: connected histories of penal colonization*

This paper will explore the connections and collisions that emerged out of penal transportation from and to a range of British imperial sites in the period since 1789, when the British East India Company first dispatched Indian convicts to the island of Penang. Drawing on case studies from Penang, as well as Bencoolen, Mauritius, the Andaman Islands, Bermuda, Gibraltar and the Caribbean, it will focus on the relationships between convicts and penal colonies, and Indigenous people, migrant settlers, soldiers and slaves. In this it will examine some of the collaborations and negotiations of penal settler colonialism, as well as its resurgences and conflicts.

*Clare Anderson is a professor of history, with interests in colonialism and colonial societies across the British Empire. She joined the Department of Economic and Social History at the University of Leicester in 1997. Professor Anderson's research centres on the Indian Ocean during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and she is especially interested in the history of confinement. She is now PI on the ERC project CArchipelago (2013-18), a member of the British Academy Area Panel for South Asia, and is on the Advisory Council of the Institute for Historical Research. Professor Anderson has held visiting professorships on the Culture and Commerce in the Indian Ocean project, University of Technology Sydney (2009, 2011), and is currently editor of the Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History.*

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### **Professor Jane Lydon**

University of Western Australia

Keynote: Thursday, 9:15 p.m.

*Anti-slavery in Australia: Picturing the 1838 Myall Creek Massacre*

In December 1853 the Tasmanian steamer Culloden made a 'pleasure trip' from Hobart to the Aboriginal settlement at Oyster Cove, where the day-trippers were greeted by 'the Queen',

Mary Ann, aged about thirty. The tourists observed that Mary Ann could read with fluency and had asked for books. She had read Uncle Tom's Cabin and pronounced it 'very much true'. When Mary Ann spoke of the 'truthfulness' of Uncle Tom's Cabin, she showed that she participated in a global community of readers, gripped by the sentimental narrative of slavery in the United States. She was already familiar with ideas about rights and freedom, and humanitarians and officials had often drawn an analogy between slavery and the treatment of her people. Surely, more than most readers of the American novel, when Mary Ann declared its tale of oppression and violence 'very much true', she was speaking from her experience as a black woman.

This address explores the important yet overlooked phenomenon of the influence of antislavery discourse in Australia after abolition in the British Empire in 1833. During the 1830s white settlers in the Australian colonies sought to consolidate their possession of Aboriginal land, prompting tension between colonists and Aboriginal people, and between settlers and British humanitarian interests. In this essay I examine competing representations of frontier clashes, and particularly the 1838 Myall Creek massacre, and their links to larger imperial debates. At the height of their influence, British humanitarians drew upon the discursive strategies of the antislavery movement in seeking to mobilize concern for Indigenous Australians. In a context where Aboriginal people were stereotyped as primitive and non-human, counter-images and strategies drawn from antislavery discourse might constitute them as objects of white compassion. Focusing blame upon the convict perpetrators allowed elite humanitarians to displace responsibility from the system of colonization itself.

*Jane Lydon holds the Wesfarmers Chair in Australian History at the University of Western Australia. Professor Lydon's research centres upon Australia's colonial past and its legacies in the present. Having worked in the heritage sphere for over twenty-seven years, including as convenor of an inaugural heritage program at La Trobe University, she currently leads the Australian Research Council-funded project Globalization, Photography, and Race: the Circulation and Return of Aboriginal Photographs in Europe (DP110100278, funded 2011-15) and partnered with four major European museums (the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum, the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, the Musée de Quai Branly in Paris and the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden).*

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**Dr Virginia Marshall**

University of Wollongong

Keynote: Thursday, 4:00 p.m.

*From deception to delusion: The colonial dynamics of Aboriginal citizenship, water and human rights*

In the late 1800s Australia's Constitutional debates were argued by delegates of the colonies to lay the foundations for a federal system of government, an executive and a judiciary. Sir Henry Parkes extolled his vision of a federated Australia – "being a people of one blood, one faith, one jurisprudence". Clause 53(1) of the draft Australian Constitution provided a federal parliament with the power to make 'special laws' to control the floodgates of 'alien races' but did not "extend to the aboriginal native race" and "Maori race of New Zealand". The construct of a federated government 'of the people by the people' did not include the First Australians. Aboriginal peoples of Australia were not British subjects, could not vote and were not to be counted in the census.

Australia was legally constructed as an unoccupied wasteland upon the British Government's invasion in 1788 and in 1901 the Australian Constitution affirmed the vested control of Aboriginal land and water rights in the colonial states. This paper will focus on why historical events such as these diminish the value of citizenship for Indigenous communities and act to displace the authority of Indigenous Peoples in Australian society. I will examine Aboriginal citizenship through the lens of international human rights in relation to ownership and interests in water and land and the contemporary discourse of Aboriginal citizenship in the national discussion on amending the Australian Constitution to advantage First Peoples.

*Dr Marshall has a PhD in law, awarded in 2014 at Macquarie University for her thesis titled 'A web of Aboriginal water rights: examining the competing Aboriginal claim for water property rights and interests in Australia'. For this she was awarded the National Stanner Prize from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. Dr Marshall is a graduate of the ANU College of Law and a legal practitioner and scholar.*

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**Dr Alice Te Punga Somerville**

Macquarie University

Keynote: Friday, 12:00 p.m.

*'Hope in a time of genocide': reading connections*

How do we read connections between Indigenous people, and how does the specific practice of reading produce opportunities for Indigenous connection? Reflecting on her participation in the First North American Native Writers' Festival, Hawaiian poet and scholar Haunani-Kay Trask wrote "Returning the Gift," in which she describes her connections with specific Indigenous land and people as "hope in a time of genocide." This talk will take as its starting point two very different nodes of Indigenous Pacific connection that have been compelled by ongoing forms of colonialism and, indeed, genocide: the crisis in West Papua, and the forthcoming Disney animated film 'Moana'.

*Alice Te Punga Somerville is a member of the Department of Indigenous Studies at Macquarie University. After teaching Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Literatures in English at Victoria University of Wellington (New Zealand) for several years, she moved to the University of Hawai'i-Mānoa to take up a position as Associate Professor of Pacific Literatures. Dr Te Punga Somerville is at Macquarie for a fixed term position until the end of 2016. Her first book, *Once Were Pacific: Māori Connections to Oceania* (Minnesota) was published in 2012 and she is working on two book projects at present: 'Kānohi ki te kānohi: Indigenous-Indigenous Encounters' and 'Ghost Writers: the Māori books you've never read'.*

## **Presenters**

### **Sibyl Adam**

University of Edinburgh

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Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

### *Colonial Affects: Emotion and Space in Indian Women's Travel Writing about Edwardian London*

This paper will employ theory from the recent 'affective turn' in order to analyse the role of emotions in formations of colonial identity in Edwardian travel writing. Two Muslim women from India, Maimoona Sultan and Atiya Fyzee, travelled to London at the beginning of the 20th Century, writing diaries about their experiences. The former travelled with royalty and observed purdah, whilst the latter was on a government scholarship to train as a teacher. Locating these individuals within colonialism as a capitalist system, this paper will explore their engagement with imperial discourses through their narrations of the everyday. Firstly, by paying particular attention to the relationship between space and objects, I argue that these women were anxious colonial subjects. Their anxiety over mundane entities related to capitalism, such as cleanliness, productivity and money, signals the constant negotiation made by colonial subjects between the global reality of empire and local conditions in the domestic sphere. Secondly, Sultan and Fyzee engaged with the global narrative of empire with their use of symbolic objects. Drawing upon Homi Bhabha's concept of 'nation as narration', I will argue that the women subvert colonial discourses of progress and civilisation with the use of symbols of Indian culture such as food. Their narratives are symbolic reversals of the colonial gaze, wherein migrant experience is written into the historical narrative of London as the heart of the British Empire. Ultimately, from these examples, this paper will argue for the importance of emotion when considering colonial travel writing.

*Sibyl Adam is a PhD student at the University of Edinburgh in English Literature. Drawing upon historical travel writing as well as contemporary novels, her thesis maps conceptions of the affective everyday in literary narratives of Muslim women migrating to the UK since the Edwardian era.*

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### **Margaret Allen**

University of Adelaide

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Paper session: Wednesday, 2:30 p.m. (Panel 1)

### *'I am a British subject': Indians in Australia claiming their rights, 1880-1940*

Historian Alexander Yarwood noted that during the period of the White Australia policy 'the Indians in Australia had been granted a civil status superior to that of any other Asian minority'. He attributed this to 'the pressure of imperial considerations and of their small numbers'. Such a formulation tends to overlook the efforts made by Indians resident in Australia to pressure the Australian federal government and the earlier separate colonial administrations to honour the pledge made to them by the British Crown.

This paper explores how these Indians, sometimes referred to as British Indians, exploited the tensions between the settler colonies and the broader imperial system. They challenged the legitimacy of Australian policies both directly and by appeals to the Crown, the British Government and even to the Privy Council. Aware of the imperial dimensions of their struggles for civil and political rights, they forged links across empire with those in other British colonies and in Britain itself.

While their status as British subjects – which not really honoured in Australia – allowed for trans-colonial and transnational connections with other Indians in the diaspora, it complicated the forging of alliances with others deemed ‘prohibited immigrants’ in Australia. The paper will focus upon a number of examples of individual protest as well as examining the activities of organisations such as the United Asiatic League.

*Professor Margaret Allen (Gender Studies, University of Adelaide) has been researching Indian–Australian relationships in the period from 1880 to 1940 for some fifteen years. She has published widely on the area, with a particular focus on the experiences of Indians in White Australia. Professor Allen is a member of the management committee of the Fay Gale Centre for Research on Gender at the University of Adelaide and is a board member of History SA.*

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**Kate Bagnall**

University of Wollongong

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Paper session: Wednesday, 2:30 p.m. (Panel 1)

*Naturalised Chinese in British settler societies of the Pacific Rim, 1860 to 1920*

Among the Chinese who migrated to Australia, New Zealand and Canada from the mid-nineteenth century were men who sought to solidify their place in colonial society through naturalisation. In New South Wales, for example, Chinese were able to be naturalised before 1861 and then between 1867 and 1888, during which time around 950 did so. Naturalisation could bring particular advantages for Chinese settlers — including rights of property, the franchise, and mobility and residence – and many of those who sought naturalisation were members of local Chinese merchant elites.

In this paper I will begin to explore the history of Chinese naturalisation in British settler societies of the Pacific Rim between the 1860s and the early twentieth century. With shared experiences of British colonialism and Chinese migration, comparing Australia with New Zealand and Canada offers a way of understanding how Chinese migration across the Pacific shaped colonial attitudes towards race, citizenship and belonging. Focusing on New South Wales, this paper will survey colonial law, policy and political discourse on Chinese naturalisation and consider the significance of naturalisation in the lives of individual Chinese settlers.

*Dr Kate Bagnall is an ARC DECRA Research Fellow in the School of Humanities & Social Inquiry at the University of Wollongong, where she is working on a comparative study of Chinese colonial citizenship in Australia, Canada and New Zealand. She has published on various aspects of Chinese Australian history and is co-editor, with Sophie Couchman, of *Chinese Australians: Politics, Engagement and Resistance* (Brill 2015). She is @baibi on Twitter and you can find her blog at [www.chineseaustralia.org](http://www.chineseaustralia.org).*

**Adam J. Barker**

University of Leicester

[barker.adam.j@gmail.com](mailto:barker.adam.j@gmail.com)

Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

*Deathscapes of Dispossession: Imperial violence, settler nationalism, and war memorials in Ontario, Canada*

The little town of Stoney Creek, features a prominent deathscape: a cluster of cemeteries, war memorials, and tributes to the glorious dead – British and American – of the War of 1812. In this conflict, an important battle was fought near a place called Smith’s Knoll, now the site of a tiny military cemetery protected under heritage legislation, and the centre of this deathscape. Recently, there has been a move to recuperate the bodies buried there, both materially and discursively, into a nationalist landscape that uneasily claims tangential Britishness. What do dead British soldiers from the 19th century have to say in and through contemporary settler Canadian society? This question is important because it asks us to consider the multiple ways that material and embodied circulations through colonial spaces have contributed to contingent and contested social histories, memories, and cultural meanings. In this paper, I discuss how British imperial soldiers are retroactively re-cast as ‘Canadian heroes’ from a time before Confederation, appropriating the embodied materiality of imperial force in support of settler colonial claims to land. This study extends our understandings of how settler colonial societies appropriate both material aspects of Indigenous cultures, but also the materiality of their imperial antecedents, in the creation of settlement geographies and identities. It further challenges settler colonial studies to consider the ways embodied acts of settlement can and do continue after death, emphasising the significance of putting settler bodies into lands stolen from Indigenous nations.

*Adam J. Barker is a human geographer specialising in space, power, settler colonial theory, Indigenous politics, and social movements. He is a Settler Canadian from the Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabe borderlands, a Managing Editor of Settler Colonial Studies and co-author of Settler: Identity and Colonialism in 21st Century Canada (2015).*

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**Emma Battell Lowman**

University of Hertfordshire

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Paper session: Friday, 2:00 p.m.

*From Sojourner to Settler: The experiential and affective process of becoming Canadian/Canadian becoming in the early 20th century*

Settler colonial theory has generally argued that settler colonial formations emerge from earlier imperial and colonial projects, broadly framed by isopolitical shifts from subject colony to sovereign settler authority. However, the finer detail of these transitions still requires attention – to improve historical specificity and settler colonial theory, but also to understand the intensely personal and affective aspects of this transition. In particular, multi-scale investigations are required, and this is why I propose a sustained critical examination of one such ‘moment’ of transition: the life of a colonial sojourner who, through a complex series of choices, events, and relationships, became a (settler) Canadian. The individual is the Rev. Stanley Eaton Higgs (1909-1983), a Church of England missionary who left Britain in 1928 to

take up a post among the Nlaka'pamux and Secwepemc peoples of the South Central Interior of British Columbia (Canada). What makes Higgs such an intriguing and useful historical figure is not only the extensive writings he left on his time as an “Indian missionary” but because of what the examination of his life and experiences says about those who did not “come to stay” (Veracini 2010) but nonetheless became settlers. By investigating Higgs’ motivations, justifications, and self-perceptions as he ‘becomes settler’, in addition to exploring his conflicted, contingent, and companionable relationship with Indigenous people, this life becomes a lens through which to examine larger processes of individuation, as Canadian society transformed in the 20th century, embedding settler colonialism in the social and political fabric of this nation.

*Emma Battell Lowman is a social and cultural historian (19th-20th century North America; 18th-20th century Britain) who holds a PhD from the University of Warwick, is Managing Editor of Settler Colonial Studies, and is the author (with geographer Adam Barker) of Settler: Identity and Colonialism in 21st Century Canada (2015).*

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**Catherine Bishop**

Australian Catholic University

[Catherine.Bishop@acu.edu.au](mailto:Catherine.Bishop@acu.edu.au)

Paper session: Wednesday, 2:30 p.m.

*Crossing Boundaries: a female missionary negotiates Australian colonialism*

Missionary Annie Lock worked on ten missions to Aborigines across four states for nearly forty years (1903-1942), when government and missionary policies towards Aboriginal people were changing radically. As a female missionary working for much of her life ‘alone amongst naked blacks’, as one screeching newspaper headline put it, she attracted controversy. She was the unlikely ‘whistle-blower’ who brought about an official enquiry into the Coniston Massacre in Central Australia in 1927, yet she also removed children from Aboriginal families. Her life illuminates the intersection of government and mission, the roles of women in religion and work, and the complex legacy of Christian intervention in Aboriginal lives.

This paper will investigate the connections and collisions that made up Lock’s daily experiences as she negotiated across numerous colonial boundaries among Indigenous Australians, government officials and local settlers.

*Dr Catherine Bishop is a historian at the Australian Catholic University and New York University and is the 2016 Australian Religious History Fellow at the State Library of NSW. The author of Minding Her Own Business: Colonial Businesswomen in Sydney, she is currently writing a biography of missionary Annie Lock.*



**Helen Bones**

Western Sydney University

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Paper session: Thursday, 2:00 p.m.

*Trans-Tasman literary anthologies: Australasian mess or colonial world collaboration?*

In 1948 the New Zealand poet Allen Curnow wrote of his objections to the publication of a compilation of Australasian verse by Oxford University Press, referring to it as “an Australasian mess with a famous imprint on the side”. Anthologies of poetry and short fiction claiming to be Australasian in scope were relatively common throughout the twentieth century but are often regarded with suspicion by New Zealanders who suspect “Australasia” really just means “Australia”. But the Australian and New Zealand literary worlds of the early twentieth century were more closely connected than they are now – writers saw the whole Tasman world area as their domain, as well as the rest of the interconnected colonial world. This has scarcely been noticed alongside the dominant nationalist rhetoric that sees only the story of New Zealand literature’s subjugation to that of its bigger neighbour. This paper is the result of looking at the conversations surrounding Australasian anthologies at the time of publication throughout the twentieth century, in the form of letters between publishers and authors and critical appraisals that appeared in newspapers. An analysis of the stated aims of the collections and reactions to them enables conclusions to be drawn about the nature of the Tasman literary world and the reasons for its decline, giving further insight into the workings of the colonial world and competing national and local identities.

*Dr Helen Bones is currently a Research Associate with the Digital Humanities Research Group at Western Sydney University, working on an Australian National Data Service-funded project linked with the State Library of New South Wales. Helen’s doctoral thesis, completed at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, employed empirical methods to question the dominance of cultural nationalist thinking in New Zealand literary history. Recent publications include ““A book is a book, all the world over”: New Zealand and the Colonial Writing World 1890-1945” in the Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History (2015).*

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**Mark Brown**

University of Tasmania

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Paper session: Friday, 9:30 a.m. (Panel 4)

*Making digital maps of sites of violence*

Dr Mark Brown and Dr Bill Pascoe will explain the methods they used to develop a digital map of sites of violence and the technical issues involved.

*Dr Mark Brown recently completed the cartography and online mapping for the Aboriginal Tasmania Story Map project. He is currently working in visualisation of sensor data for the ARC Adaptive Water Management Sense-T project. His interests are in designing interactive mapping applications on touch tables to motivate and inspire early preparation by general public for natural disasters. [m.t.brown@utas.edu.au](mailto:m.t.brown@utas.edu.au)*

**Melanie Burkett**

Macquarie University

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Paper session: Thursday, 2:00 p.m.

*Shifting and colliding conceptions of 'respectability': Why single female emigration to New South Wales was doomed to disappoint*

In the early 1830s, the British government launched a pilot program in assisted emigration, paying the passages of poor, single women to the Australian colonies. Despite the vocal desire of elite colonists in New South Wales for emigration, these single women were deemed unacceptable and of 'poor character'. Yet, an interrogation of both British and colonial committee reports on emigration as well as of discourses about emigration in the colonial press reveals that the disapproval was about much more than the women themselves, as this papers argues. At stake were the very preconditions which determined 'respectability' and the perception of the moral worth of the colony.

Discourses surrounding emigration deployed the concepts of 'morality' and 'redemption' in opposing ways. The Emigration Commission, which instigated the scheme, thought single female emigration could redeem the individual emigrants as well as the colony and its troubling sex imbalance. In New South Wales, however, where a battle raged over whether former convicts should ever be accepted into respectable circles, strands of public discourse implied the impossibility of redemption; according to the wealthiest colonists, once 'respectability' was lost, it could not be regained. Such a stance defended the elites' own respectability while ironically impeding the home government's project of improving the morality of the colony as a whole.

The single female emigrants who arrived via the government scheme were caught in the middle of this web of meanings, meanings which were shifting within each locality as well as diverging between colony and mother country.

*Melanie Burkett is a PhD candidate at Macquarie University under the supervision of Tanya Evans. She completed her MA in History at North Carolina State University with a focus on the British Empire. She holds a Bachelor's degree from Duke University and an MBA from Ohio University.*

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**Naomi Calnitsky**

Carleton University

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Paper session: Friday, 2:00 p.m.

*The Tonkinese Labour Traffic to the Colonial New Hebrides: The Role of French Inter-Colonial Webs*

Vanuatu, formerly the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides, is a small Pacific Island nation that forms a Y-shaped archipelago that sits to the West of Fiji and to the Northeast of New Caledonia and is comprised of more than 80 islands. William Miles referred to the Condominium as a "co-sovereign experiment." Between 1921 and 1940, some 21,922 Indochinese indentured workers, most from the densely populated Tonkin region, arrived in the colonial New Hebrides, at the time an island chain under the joint rule of British and French colonists as of 1906, a colonial structure that would last until Vanuatu's independence

in 1980. Under the terms of the 1906 Condominium, a joint administration governed the islands and implemented varying forms of judicial control and repression. Prior to the arrival of political colonialism, a number of agreements were reached between British and French interests, including an 1878 pact respecting the independence of the islands and a Joint Naval Commission set up in 1888. Themes of interest in this paper will include French Indochina and its rendering of Tonkinese labour available for indenture to Melanesia, the joint colonial climate of the New Hebrides, the limited role played by New Hebridean plantation labour, and the nature of indentured Tonkinese labour on French plantations. Drawing on the work of Margaret Rodman, I take a spatial approach to the emergence of colonial space in the New Hebrides, including an exploration of the role of domestic work labours performed by Tonkinese in the islands.

*Naomi Alisa Calnitsky completed a B.A. Hons. in History at the University of Manitoba and a M.A. in Pacific colonial history at the University of Otago. She is an ABD candidate in the department of history at Carleton University in Ottawa.*

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**Jane Carey**

University of Wollongong

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Paper session: Thursday, 2:00 p.m. (Panel 3)

*Jane Carey is Lecturer in History at the University of Wollongong, formerly a Monash Fellow and ARC postdoctoral fellow at Melbourne. She is the editor of several collections about settler colonialism, indigenous pasts, race and whiteness including *Re-Orienting Whiteness* (Palgrave, 2009) and *Creating White Australia* (Sydney University Press, 2009), and is currently completing a monograph on Australian women and science.*

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**Rosalind Carr**

University of East London

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Paper session: Thursday, 2:00 p.m.

*Polite sociability and violence in early New South Wales, 1788-c.1815*

In 1793, Watkin Tench, officer of the NSW corps, observed, “Whether plodding in London, reeking with human blood in Paris or wandering amidst the solitary wilds of New South Wales--Man is ever an object of interest, curiosity and reflection.”

Tench reminds us that New South Wales was part of a global European world, and this study of sociability treats the ruling naval elite as mobile colonial Britons rather than early Australians. First Fleet officers served elsewhere in the colonial world, including North America, and they brought experiences and discourses with them to NSW. This world was connected through a pan-European practice of polite sociability, and this paper will illuminate how politeness underpinned the imposition of British colonial power in Eora country.

As a penal colony engaging in frontier warfare we might expect the naval elite to display harsh tyrannical attitudes, but published accounts by First Fleet officers demonstrate a self-perception of polite enlightened civility. I will show how sociability, such as officers’ dinners held by Governor Phillip, aided the maintenance of a polite identity. Foregrounding

violence against convicts and Eora people, this paper will demonstrate that this was not incompatible with politeness. Instead, the cultural practice of politeness could itself be violent, particularly with respect to 'friendly' encounters between Britons and Eora. Ideas of politeness and friendship were informed by Enlightenment moral philosophy, and this paper will also illustrate how Enlightenment ideas influenced the culture of early NSW beyond notions of the 'noble savage' and Lockean conceptions of 'terra nullius'.

*Rosalind Carr is a cultural historian of the eighteenth-century British world. Senior Lecturer in History at the University of East London, she is the author of Gender and Enlightenment Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland (Edinburgh UP, 2014). She has held fellowships at Edinburgh and Sydney universities, and lectureships at Sheffield and Glasgow.*

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**Kirstie Close-Barry**

Deakin University

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Paper session: Friday, 9:30 a.m.

*Aisoli Salin: From the Edges to the Centre*

This paper uses a biographical approach to explore the ways in which one New Guinean man, Aisoli Salin, engaged with anthropologists and administrators to assert his own position in the colonial systems of governance. His work as an informant for researcher William Groves, as well as his work as translator during World War Two, set Salin on a path that eventually led to his being nominated to represent New Guineans in the Legislative Council.

While the paper's title suggests a neat movement made by Salin from the peripheries of the mandated territory to its administrative 'centre' - Port Moresby - its contents will not subscribe to such a tidy portrayal of Salin's life, as his actions were not always focused entirely on Port Moresby as the core of colonial power. The paper draws attention to the sustained importance of other administrative localities such as Rabaul and Kavieng, even after the German administration withdrew from the Islands. Moreover, the importance of home and community will be considered, particularly in relation to how and where Salin has been remembered. Questioning the perceptions and drivers of centralized governance, still a contentious issue in Papua New Guinea, Salin's case study will illuminate some aspects of provincialism in PNG politics.

*Dr Close-Barry is currently working with Dr Lalen Simeon and Ms Stefflyn Frumpui on the Aisoli Salin Biography Project, part of a larger collaborative venture led by Deakin University and the PNG National Museum and Art Gallery to record Papua New Guinean memories of World War Two.*

**Deirdre Coleman**

University of Melbourne  
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Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

*The Flycatcher: Science, Slavery and Sociability on the Windward Coast*

Yorkshireman Henry Smeathman was a self-taught naturalist who attempted to rise in the world through success as a natural history collector. In 1771 he travelled to the Windward coast (Sierra Leone, West Africa) to collect naturalia for wealthy London patrons spending five years on the coast at a time of dramatically increased British slave trading. The paper addresses the conference's concern with local and regional colonial dynamics by examining the flycatcher's efforts to maintain an English gentleman's demeanour amidst the coast's mixed, cosmopolitan society of ship's captains, seamen, slave traders (white and black), domestic slaves, the mulatto trading dynasties into which he married, and the enslaved waiting to be shipped across the middle passage. It touches on the complex relationship between colonial slavery and metropolitan science.

*Professor Deirdre Coleman completed Honours in English at The University of Melbourne before going to the University of Oxford where she graduated with a BPhil (1979) in Victorian literature and a DPhil (1986) on Coleridge's journalism. Since returning to Australia she has taught at the Universities of Wollongong, Adelaide and Sydney. While at The University of Sydney she was awarded the Vice-Chancellor's Award for Excellence in Research Supervision. In 2007 she returned to The University of Melbourne as the Robert Wallace Chair of English, and served as Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Arts from 2010-2013. She is currently completing a biography of the entomologist Henry Smeathman (1742-86) entitled The Flycatcher: Science, Slavery and Empire in the Age of Reason.*

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**Liz Conor**

La Trobe University  
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Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

*The Comic Misadventures of Eric Jolliffe's Witchetty's Tribe*

In 1980 cartoonist Eric Jolliffe was the subject of a Federal Anti-Discrimination Board case over a cartoon published in the Permanent Building Association's monthly magazine, Corroboree. The cartoon depicted a voluptuous young woman wearing only a bra on her bottom and was captioned 'It's a white man's garment she got from the missionary's wife'. Jolliffe's 'mates' had jumped to his defense, including A.P Elkin and Ted Egan, but Jolliffe stopped drawing his Witchetty's Tribe characters. Jolliffe's Aboriginal characters were interspersed with portraits, and anecdotally they were enjoyed by Aboriginal and well as white readers in the Northern Territory. Jolliffe claimed to have a photo of an Aboriginal audience at an Aboriginal Olympic Games in Arnhem Land admiring and enjoying the same cartoon within an exhibition of his Saltbush Bill and Witchetty's Tribe cartoons. He had imagined his 'very accurate' depictions of tribal living countered the denigrating cartoons of drunken ragged fringe-dwellers that featured in the interwar magazines he drew for including The Bulletin, Smith's Weekly, Pix and The Sun. While his humor worked from the incongruity of traditionally-living people mouthing white domestic platitudes about fashion, parenting and even anthropology it

sometimes pilloried the later rather than the former. This paper will situate Jolliffe's cartoons in the assimilation era and argue the romanticism Jolliffe attached to the 'tribal hunter' and his revival of the 'Native Belle' and 'Piccaninny' types expressed settler ambivalence about the loss of a particularly masculine 'outback' circulating print culture postwar. Within this bush nostalgia 'tribal' Indigenous Australians were cast as emblematic of an outback authenticity which in this instance came to clash with the cultural activism of Aboriginal activists demanding self-determination.

*Liz Conor is an ARC Future Fellow at La Trobe University. She is the author of *Skin Deep: Settler Impressions of Aboriginal Women*, [UWAP, 2016] and *The Spectacular Modern Woman: Feminine Visibility in the 1920s* [Indiana University Press, 2004]. She is the editor of *Aboriginal History*, a columnist at *New Matilda*, and has published widely in academic and mainstream press on gender, race and representation.*

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**Tamara Cooper**

University of Wollongong

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Paper session: Wednesday, 2:30 p.m.

*British Missionaries, Activism, and Reform in Hong Kong's Mui Tsai Controversy*

Hong Kong's Mui Tsai Controversy of the 1920s and 1930s saw increased tension between the British metropole and the colonial government in Hong Kong. Throughout the controversy different parties used competing ideals to frame the mui tsai; the colonial government in Hong Kong tended to characterise their employment as domestic servants as part of a traditional Chinese custom, whilst reformers in the metropole used the rhetoric of slavery. At the heart of this controversy were allegations of trafficking in women which were used by British activists and missionaries to justify their intervention into local customs. While many scholars have examined the role of other British activists in this campaign the role of missionaries in this campaign is still largely unexamined.

This paper will examine the role that missionaries played in the anti-mui tsai campaign in Hong Kong during the 1920s and 1930s. It will also examine the various strategies that these women used to achieve reform – both in the British metropole and on the ground in Hong Kong. British missionaries were motivated by their own brand of activism that inadvertently supported and resisted colonial policy in the metropole and the colony. By examining the motivations of missionaries it is possible to discern the instances in which their campaigns supported colonial policy, and those instances which were resistant.

*Tamara Cooper is a PhD candidate in the School of Humanities and Social Inquiry at the University of Wollongong. Her research focus is on the British Women's Missionary Movement and its involvement in debates on the trafficking in women and children in China and Hong Kong during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. She is also a member of the University's Centre for Critical Human Rights Research.*

**Anne Coote**

University of New England

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Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

*Connecting for Advantage: Product Sourcing and Indigenous Cooperation in Colonial New South Wales*

As Anne Moyal reminds us, Aboriginal people 'were a constant presence in the scientific reconnaissance of nineteenth century Australia'. They also played an integral role in the global natural history trade. Indeed, the success of field collectors in sourcing specimens of natural history could depend very much on the relationships they were able to build with Aboriginal people. This paper examines the experience of several field collectors working in eastern Australia during the nineteenth century, exploring what collectors and their Indigenous assistants stood to gain from making such connections.

*Anne Coote is an adjunct lecturer in the School of Humanities at the University of New England. Her research interests are in Australian colonial history, particularly the history of colonial science.*

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**Sharon Crozier-de Rosa**

University of Wollongong

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Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

*The Anti-Colonial Irish Women: Constructing a feminist ethics of violence*

Early twentieth century Ireland was a hotbed of political violence as those on both sides of the nationalist debate armed for war. Combatants would soon find a variety of outlets for their violent activism, including the Easter Rising, the Great War, Irish War of Independence, and the ensuing Irish Civil War. The liberated Irish nation would later remember these revolutionary years as a time when Irish manhood finally proved itself by standing up to the imperial oppressor. Yet, men alone did not win autonomy for what would become the Irish Free State. Notorious women, like Constance Markievicz, played their part. Markievicz co-founded the Na Fianna Éireann (the Irish National Boy Scouts) and personally trained many of the boys for combat. She was also the only woman sentenced to be executed for her leading role in the 1916 uprising. Less infamous or celebrated Irish women also advocated violent resistance or participated in violent anti-colonial struggles. In this paper, I explore how these female activists understood the gendered dimensions of their violent activism. How, for example, did they confront and negotiate contemporary feminist constructions of Woman as pacifist? How did they respond to anti-feminist claims that they were emotionally ill-suited to perform the supremely masculine role of combatant? On the nationalist front, how did they react to claims emanating from England that Irish women were only turning to violence because their stronger, radical British sisters – exemplified by the disruptive Suffragettes – were exerting an undue influence on them? Where did gender, emotions, anti-colonialism, and nationalism sit in Irish women's construction of their ethics of violence?

*My university career began when I migrated from Ireland to Australia. After arriving in Adelaide, I completed a BA (Hons) and then a PhD (History) at Flinders University. My PhD thesis*

*examined the emotions of Late Victorian and Edwardian British women through the lens of popular culture, particularly bestselling fiction. Following the completion of my doctorate, I worked as an historical consultant for a parliamentary inquiry into the sexual abuse of state children. After returning to university life, I was employed by Flinders University and The University of Adelaide. I was then awarded a postdoctoral fellowship at Deakin University. From there I joined the University of Wollongong as a lecturer in History (British and Settler Societies) in 2012.*

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**Jennifer Debenham**

University of Newcastle

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Paper session: Friday, 9:30 a.m. (Panel 4)

*The perils of translating historical data into digital data*

Professor Lyndall Ryan and Dr Jennifer Debenham will show how in preparing the data for the digital maps, new patterns of frontier violence were identified and new estimates made of casualties.

*Dr Jennifer Debenham is Senior Research Assistant in the Centre for the History of Violence at the University of Newcastle. Her publications include *The Australia Day Regatta*, with Christine Cheater (2014) and the ground breaking article with Jo May, 'Making Connections: a dialogue about learning and teaching in a tertiary enabling program' in *Australian Journal of Adult Learning* (2005). She is currently completing a monograph, *Celluloid Lives: The Representation of Aborigines in Australian Documentary Film* for Aboriginal Studies Press.*

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**Holy Rafika Dhona**

Islamic University of Indonesia

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Paper session: Thursday, 2:00 p.m.

*The making of Sundanese: the production of difference in early 20th century colonial Java*

This paper discusses Sundanese ethnicity as a product of colonialism in Java Island, Indonesia. I argue that Sundanese ethnic subjectivity was introduced by colonial at the early of 20th century by developing modern spatial knowledge. Sundanese is the second largest ethnic in Indonesia after Javanese. According to the modern account, the Sundanese is native to western part of Java Island whereas the Javanese is native to middle and to eastern part of the island. Many scholars in the field of Sundanese study argued that Sundanese subjectivity, as opposed to the Javanese subject, had been already formed in the pre-colonial Java. This paper challenge this notion with spatial perspective. Using Foucauldian genealogical analysis, I argue that the transformation of spatiality from Mandala spatiality to colonial modern spatiality formed a new subjectivity of Sundanese. This transformation can also be seen as the birth of the Sundanese as an collective group that different from the Javanese in the early 20th century.



*Holy Rafika Dhona is a lecturer in Communication Department, Islamic University of Indonesia, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. He teaches culture and media theories, audience research, and political communication. His research interests are communication geography, nationality and media studies.*

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**Katherine Ellinghaus**

Monash University

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Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

*Micro-Mobility and Assimilation Policy in Alice Springs: The Gap Community in the 1950*

In 1953, as part of a broad nationwide push toward cultural assimilation policies, the federal government enacted a new Ordinance for the Indigenous peoples of the Northern Territory which attempted to hasten their assimilation. This paper explores how assimilation worked in the contested spaces of the Alice Springs township. In the 1950s Alice Springs was a town divided by invisible, racial borders. The township itself was originally prohibited to Indigenous people, but in the 1940s, the Army and government had built a housing development inside the prohibited area, for the ‘part-coloured’ people who provided a cheap labour force in walking distance of town. Residents of the Gap found themselves in breach of the Ordinance simply by stepping out of their front door. Eventually the town was dotted with several “Part-Coloured Housing” developments of varying kinds, and families were scrutinised by welfare officers, police and government administrators and assessed as to where their level of acculturation entitled them to live. Using maps, surveillance reports and instructions to builders and contractors, this paper will explore various spaces in Alice Springs, and explore how they reveal the tensions between local practices of segregation and assimilation policy. How did official anxieties about the poor quality of the housing, overcrowding and the views of white neighbours impact on the broader goal of assimilation? How exactly was that goal embodied by the fibro two-roomed houses provided by the Department of Native Affairs? How did the Gap community shape, refuse, re-use and resist the spaces they were allocated?

*Kat Ellinghaus holds a Monash Fellowship in the School of Philosophical, Historical and International Studies at Monash University. She 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 of Mixed Descent and Assimilation Policy in the United States, 1880s-1940s* (University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming Spring 2017). In 2014 she was awarded an Australian Research Council Discovery Project grant to write a history of exemption policies in Australia. Kat writes and researches in the areas of colonial history, transnational and comparative history, interracial relationships and the social and cultural history of the United States and Australia.*

**Anne Faithfull**

Deakin University

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Paper session: Thursday, 2:00 p.m.

*Hair and the construction of difference*

Human hair is frequently understood and described in contradictory terms. It sits at the junctures of cultural and natural, sacred and profane, living and dead. Hair has also been instrumental in the construction and maintenance of difference. From the time of colonial settlement until the mid-twentieth century, evolutionary biology, racial science, and salvage anthropology paradigms would see the bodies and body parts of Indigenous Australians displaced and then re-placed in museums around the world as embodiments of difference. Hair was especially significant. It allowed for an almost immediate identification of 'race', and it was simple to acquire: a renewable site of analysis that could be amassed and exchanged with ease. Samples of hair collected in this period were central to the formation of the 'Dark Caucasian' theory in the early 1900s, and in the first sequencing of Indigenous Australian DNA a hundred years later.

Today museums across Australia and beyond retain possession of countless locks of hair, but their ontological status is unclear. Is hair a human remain or is it a biological specimen? Is it a secret/sacred object, a cultural artefact, or is it perhaps not a thing at all? Should it be returned, or retained? This paper will explore how the hair of Indigenous Australians was collected and used as a tool to create difference, and how the complex perceptions of hair both in the past and present have impeded the formation of a clear understanding of the status of hair in museums today.

*Anne Faithfull is a PhD Candidate in Museum Studies and Anthropology at the Alfred Deakin Institute of Citizenship and Globalisation at Deakin University. Her research explores the ontology of biological samples of hair from Indigenous Australians in museums and how these understandings have continued and discontinued across space and time.*

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**Matthew P Fitzpatrick**

Flinders University

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Paper session: Friday, 2:00 p.m.

**Disentanglements: The Disintegration of Intercommunal Accord in German Samoa**

Via an examination of the position of German Samoa in the broader constellation of German and European imperialism, this paper maps the shift in colonial relations there from seemingly exceptional harmony towards colonial antagonism.

Often viewed by contemporaries as particularly polyethnic and unusually sympathetic in its approach to indigenous people, to its liberal governors German Samoa offered a model of a more benign form of empire. While it is true that the scale of intercommunal violence there was comparatively low, the cultural, political and familial harmony of German Samoa was predicated on three conditions: the preservation of relative Samoan social and cultural autonomy; the unquestioned control of the political and economic commanding heights of Samoa by Germans; and the insulation of what was essentially a plantation colony from the demographic and political pressures of settler colonialism.

As these sustaining features of German rule broke down, political unrest and violence became more commonplace. German attitudes to race, mixed marriages and indigenous labour practices hardened, as did Samoan attitudes towards German economic, educational and political restrictions. With German-Samoan relations becoming increasingly antagonistic, the advent of World War One and the occupation of Samoa by New Zealand arguably halted the escalation of tensions into widespread violence.

*Matthew P Fitzpatrick is an Associate Professor in International History at Flinders University. Winner of the Chester Penn Higby Prize in 2014, he is the author of Purging the Empire: Mass Expulsions in Germany, 1871-1914 (OUP 2015) and Liberal Imperialism: Expansionism and Nationalism, 1848-1884 (Berghahn 2008)*

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**Meg Foster**

University of New South Wales

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Paper session: Wednesday, 2:30 p.m.

*What's in a name? Sam Poo- 'Australia's only Chinese bushranger?'*

White, male bushrangers are well known in Australian history and contemporary popular culture. As Australia's unique brand of highwaymen, these 'gentlemen of the road' are lauded as national icons, associated as they are with daring, bravery and ridiculing inept or corrupt authorities. But not all bushrangers were celebrated white men. In Mudgee, NSW in 1865, there was a Chinese bushranger named Sam Poo...

This is the standard way that I introduce my PhD on the "other" bushrangers (those who were not white and male). The first step is always to show that these forgotten figures existed, and to challenge the assumptions, prejudices and silences that have seen them marginalised for so long. Recovery is an important first step— but it is not the only one. The terms that we use to approach these figures also need to be interrogated. This paper explores the importance of naming. By investigating Sam Poo, a man described as 'Australia's only Chinese bushranger', it will become clear that naming is not just some benign or simple act. Even in the nineteenth century, the term bushranger was laden with cultural connotations and this, alongside colonial ideas about racial difference, shaped how Sam Poo was treated by European Australians. By recognising the constructed nature of the colonial gaze, this paper examines the power of naming to shape our understanding of historical actors. It also explores the possibility of an alternative history when historians ask themselves, 'what's in a name?'

*Meg Foster is a PhD candidate in History at the University of New South Wales. Under the supervision of Grace Karskens and Lisa Ford, Meg is investigating the 'other' bushrangers (those who were not white men) in Australian history and memory. As well as her PhD, Meg is working as a research assistant for Lisa Ford and an historical consultant for Genepool Productions.*

**Kate Fullagar**

Macquarie University

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Paper session: Thursday, 2:00 p.m. (Panel 3)

*Kate Fullagar is Senior Lecturer in History at Macquarie University. Her books include The Savage Visit: New World Peoples and Popular Imperial Culture in Britain, 1710-1795 (Berkeley, 2012) and (as ed.) The Atlantic World in the Antipodes (Newcastle, 2012). She is currently working on a monograph about a Pacific Islander traveler, a Cherokee warrior, and the British artist who painted them both.*

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**Samuel Furphy**

Australian National University

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Paper session: Thursday, 2:00 p.m.

*Aboriginal protectors in trans-colonial perspective, 1835-1850*

Recent scholarship on the British Empire has highlighted the complex and dynamic relationship that existed between the metropole and the colonial periphery. This has been particularly the case in histories examining British attempts to implement regimes for the protective governance of indigenous peoples in its settler colonies. This paper will explore this relationship through a comparative analysis of three Aboriginal protectorates, created between 1837 and 1840 in the Port Phillip District of New South Wales, South Australia, and Western Australia. It will focus particularly on the establishment of the protectorates and the appointment of their key personnel, investigating how local and imperial concerns shaped these processes. The paper draws from a larger project which utilises the techniques of collective biography to examine the history of protective governance in early colonial Australasia. Collective biography is a particularly fruitful methodology in this context because, by the very nature of their positions, Protectors of Aborigines sat at the nexus of imperial, settler and indigenous interests, and were required to negotiate a difficult and conflicting confluence of demands and expectations. The varied responses of individual protectors to this challenge reflected the personal connections they maintained and developed with individuals and networks around the empire. As a result, their activities and experiences are illustrative of wider colonial processes.

*Dr Samuel Furphy is a Research Fellow in the National Centre of Biography, School of History, at the Australian National University. He has worked as a research editor for the Australian Dictionary of Biography and is currently the recipient of an ARC Discovery Early Career Research Award.*

**Marguerite Gibson**

Curtin University

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Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

*Eugene von Guerard and the Colonial Sublime within the Australian Landscape of Western Victoria*

Australian art history has long relegated the use of the Romantic and Sublime in colonial art as simply a tool by European artists to reform the Australian landscape into a European mould. Yet, the concept that the Sublime was used as a means for artists to process and comprehend the extreme 'newness' of the landscape has been completely neglected within Australia's art expression. Notions of the Sublime, and more specifically, the colonial Sublime, have recently been applied to the experiences of people in colonial nations as a means of creating a dialogue of narrative relating to their extreme emotional responses. To date, theory of the colonial Sublime has only been applied to other colonial nations, such as India and Ireland, and in literary contexts.

The research aims to investigate and define what and how the colonial Sublime has framed colonial art expression and experience within the unique Australian colonial experience. Themes of settler-Aboriginal relations, invasion, violence, displacement, fear, awe and an overwhelming sense of nature and 'newness' of landscape will be explored and applied with specific focus given to the Western Victorian artworks of Eugene von Guerard. The theories of the Sublime and colonial Sublime are adapted and applied to the Australian art dialogue to answer the primary question: How could a theory of the colonial Sublime add value to our understanding of the artist Eugene von Guerard (1811-1901) in his depiction of Australian landscape in Western Victoria?

*Marguerite Gibson is a graduate of Curtin University of Technology with a Bachelor of Arts (Visual Culture) 2015. Currently undertaking her honours year, Marguerite holds a keen focus for Australian art history, uncovering neglected links of the Australian art dialogue, investigating themes of the Sublime, colonial Sublime, landscape and identity.*

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**Peter Gibson**

University of Wollongong

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Paper session: Friday, 9:30 a.m.

*Bankrupted by 'White Australia'?*

Chinese Furniture Factory Bankruptcies in Sydney, 1890s-1910s The proprietors of over 40 Chinese furniture factories in Sydney went bankrupt in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Established by Chinese migrants in Australia's metropolitan centres after the gold rushes of the 1850s and often outnumbering their European equivalents, Chinese furniture factories were regularly seen as a threat to European workers and were subject to anti-Chinese legislation. The bankrupt Sydney factory operators, then, appear to have been victims of a 'white' Australia. Yet, not a single one of these Chinese businesspeople mentioned anti-Chinese discrimination as a factor in the closure of their furniture factories at their bankruptcy hearings. Using their testimony, this paper explores how they accounted for their misfortune

and offers new insights into Chinese experiences in 'White Australia', and into the character of 'White Australia' itself.

*Peter Gibson is a PhD candidate at the University of Wollongong. His thesis is on the history of the Chinese furniture industry in Sydney and Melbourne. He can be contacted at [pcg33@uowmail.edu.au](mailto:pcg33@uowmail.edu.au).*

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**Mahesh Gopalan**

St. Stephen's College, University of Delhi

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Paper session: Friday, 2:00 p.m.

*The Birth of a New Order: Reconfiguring the English presence in Early Modern Madras*

In its first one hundred years (1638-1738), the urban settlement of Madras controlled by the English East India Company expanded to include surrounding villages and settlements. The English Company had to reorient the nature of its presence in the region, to explore the limits of its sovereign powers and to renegotiate its relations with the residents of the settlement. Upon renewal of the company's charter every 20 years by the English Parliament, the Company administrators with new responsibilities like maintaining a City Corporation, administration of justice and the maintenance of the Protestant character of the factory. This paper intends to examine the transformation in the English presence during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Madras against the context of the transition from the first to the second British Empire. It shall inquire into what this transition meant to the residents and administrators of urban settlements in early modern south Asia, the shift in their own conceptualisation of their presence, and newly coined ideas of polity and authority in circulation at that time. It will enunciate the various ways in which the local came to engage with early colonial order and how existing administrative and civic relationships came to be redefined.

*Dr. Mahesh Gopalan is Assistant Professor in the Department of History, St. Stephen's College, University of Delhi. My research focuses on the socio-cultural and religious history of early modern south India. I was awarded the Charles Wallace Short Term Fellowship in 2014. I have co-edited a book titled The English East India Company: Essays on Anglo-Indian Connection. This volume will be published by Routledge later in 2016.*

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**Michael R. Griffiths**

University of Wollongong

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Paper session: Friday, 9:30 a.m.

*The Distribution of Settlement: Notes on The Politics of Visibility*

Recognition has become a normative mode of redress in many settler colonial contexts. The status of the representation and politics of Indigenous identity in Australia today is increasingly predicated on questions of recognition, which, I argue is (at least in part) a question of visibility. Who makes what political through the act on revealing a shared world.

From mutual recognition of sovereignty through a treaty to constitutional recognition questions of vision and visibility pervade the contestation of indigenous politics in settler colonial governmental and public spheres. Scholars in indigenous studies across the global have begun to challenge the normativity of this strange formation (among them Glen Coulthard, Audra Simpson and Aileen Moreton-Robinson). As Moreton-Robinson argues, “[t]he patriarchal state reinforces the invisibility of a possessive investment in patriarchal whiteness,” while “[v]isibility is reserved for Indigenous people and their native title rights, which are objects of scrutiny and divestment.” What these scholars contest is the “governance of the prior:” the tacit assumption that Indigenous peoples are objects of recognition rather than subjects of sovereignty. What Jacques Rancière calls the “policing” of the “distribution of the sensible” does not operate by state calculations of recognition, counting, or even political representation through such democratic practices as elections. Rather, politics is the moment a social collective “make[s] visible a shared world the other does not see.” For Rancière then, revelation of collectivity is a political act. Politics arises as the event of articulation, when the disenfranchised articulate presence: we are here and we count too. Yet, the politics of the visible, in the Indigenous context, is fraught with risk. To reveal one’s shared world of kinship and belonging precipitates both potential emancipatory politics—in Rancière’s sense—even as it is predicated on the reification of the settler state as a entity prescribing recognition. Indigenous worlds are not only concealed, occluded, or disenfranchised, they are also sometimes hidden actively from the settler subject. In light of this claim, we might reflect that any revelation of the visibility of these Indigenous worlds may not always be a good in the context of Indigenous peoples inhabiting spaces where settler sovereignty remains the normative basis for the distribution of the sensible and modes of enumerating Indigenous peoples as subjects can be the ground for new kinds of biopolitical threat. This paper outlines this framework for thinking the distribution of (un)settlement through moments in the history of literary representation of and by Indigenous people in Australia. It contrasts the history of rendering visible Indigenous worlds through appropriation in the work of Xavier Herbert and Katherine Susannah Prichard with subsequent strategies of rethinking visibility in the work of Koori and Murri writers such as Melissa Lucashenko and Tony Birch.

*Michael R. Griffiths is Lecturer in the English and Writing Discipline at the University of Wollongong. He received his PhD in English from Rice University in 2012 and was INTERACT Postdoctoral Fellow at the Institute for Comparative Literature and Society at Columbia University from 2012 to 2014. He has published on topics ranging from settler colonial biopolitics to indigenous life writing to the critical theory of decolonizing poetics, and much besides. This work has appeared in such venues as Settler Colonial Studies, Discourse, Postcolonial Studies and Postmodern Culture amongst many others. Griffiths edited the book Biopolitics and Memory in Postcolonial Literature and Culture (Ashgate 2016) and coedited a special issue (with Bruno Cornellier) of Settler Colonial Studies titled: “Globalising Unsettlement.” His current monograph project, tentatively entitled The Distribution of Settlement: Indigeneity, Recognition and the Politics of Visibility (under contract, UWAP) is about the politics of recognition and appropriation in Australian literature and argues that much Indigenous Literature can be read as critical of the normativity of recognition politics.*

**Jane Haggis**

Flinders University

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Paper session: Friday, 2:00 p.m.

*A Quaker Gandhian and a 'brown Englishman': interfaith, cross-cultural friendships and the end of empire*

Sometime in the 1980s two elderly people, Marjorie Sykes (1905-1995) and Jehangir P. Patel (1905 – n.d.) embarked on a collaboration; a collaboration that affirmed half a life time of political fellowship and personal friendship. The result was an English language book *Gandhi. His Gift of the Fight*. The two authors gain historical timbre in the interstices of the larger tale they seek to tell. Two lives take shape in ways that unravel the binaries informing taken-for-granted assumptions about the colonial. They offer a case study of cosmopolitanism friendship. These provincial cosmopolitanisms did not need to reject a sense of patriotism as a pernicious parochialism. Instead they inscribed patriotism and nationalism into universalisms that challenged the assumed universalism of European imperialism.

*JANE HAGGIS is Associate Professor in the School of History and International Relations at Flinders University. She has published widely in development and culture; historiography of gender and colonialism and in critical race and whiteness studies. Her current projects are Beyond Empire: transnational religious networks and liberal cosmopolitanisms 1860-1950 with Prof. Emerita M. Allen, Prof. C. Midgley and Prof. F. Paisley, from which a co-authored volume, Cosmopolitan Biographies, is forthcoming. Recent publications include "White Australia and Otherness: The Limits to Hospitality" Cultures in Refuge: Seeking Sanctuary in Modern Australia edited by Anna Hayes and Robert Mason, 2012, Routledge; True Friends or False? The changing nature of relationships between Indian and British missionary women in the imperial contact zone of India, c1880-1940" Outskirts Vol.28, May 2013 and "Situated Knowledge or Ego (His)toire?: Memory, History and the She-Migrant in an Imaginary of 'Terra Nullius'" in Castejon, Vanessa. Ngapartji Ngapartji: In Turn, in Turn: Ego-histoire, Europe and Indigenous Australia. ANU Press, 2014. She is also writing a monograph Storying the Borderlands. Panics of whiteness and modernity in Australia 1996-2007 drawing from an ARC Discovery Project 2006-2007.*

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**Amanda Harris**

University of Sydney

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Paper session: Friday, 9:30 a.m.

*"Anthropologist's curiosity" or "artistry & heritage": performing the Australian settler colony after WWII*

In Possessions, Nicholas Thomas writes about the Australian Museum's juxtaposition of 'old' and 'new' Aboriginal art at David Jones in 1941. While the works of non-Indigenous artists were promoted, and those of Aboriginal painters given short shrift, critics saw greater value in the Aboriginal paintings, which seemed to offer an authenticity that the hybrid creations lacked. A similarly uneasy collocation was happening in the performance arts in the decades after World War II. Compositions by non-Indigenous composers such as John Antill and Clive Douglas and expositions of "Aboriginal dances" by American Beth Dean and Latvian Vija Vētra



occupied the same stages as newly formed companies of performers from Arnhem Land in the guise of the Aboriginal Theatre. While the non-Indigenous works reached large audiences and attracted considerable support from the Arts Council of Australia, the Aboriginal performers were received with an unmatched wonder and enthusiasm by audiences in the south. These different expressions of an emerging Australian performance tradition were characterised by disconnection, and only came to collide as the post-war assimilation era gave way to policies of self-determination in the 1970s. This paper will explore the unresolvability of cultural practices in which borrowing and appropriation co-existed with Aboriginal representation in the 1950s and 1960s and suggest that the legacy of these early explorations of cultural identity has proven remarkably persistent in the Australian performance arts.

*Amanda Harris' research focuses on gender, music and cross-cultural histories. Her current project examines intersections of Indigenous and non-Indigenous identities in Australian music and dance in the decades following WWII. Amanda's edited book *Circulating Cultures: Exchanges of Australian Indigenous Music, Dance and Media* was released by ANU Press in 2014.*

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**Sianan Healy**

University of Melbourne

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Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

*'From Riverbank Humpy to White House': Segregation and Assimilation at Rumbalara in 1950s Victoria*

The 'spatial turn' in the humanities has led to important scholarship on the ways in which colonial social spaces were produced as reinforcers of racial ideology and practice. Given the fundamental role of land in the process of settler colonisation, the construction of Australian urban space has been a key aspect of this process; however, architecture and urban studies have been slow to develop these ideas in studying the built environment. Although often cast as 'necessary yet neutral', 'action is structured and shaped by streets, walls, doors and windows; it is framed by the decisions of designers. As a form of discourse, built form constructs and frames meanings' (Dovey, 2014).

Guided by architectural historian Kim Dovey's imperative to look for the way the built environment mediates, constructs and reproduces power relations, I examine a case study of Aboriginal housing in Victoria in the late 1950s. Built by the Housing Commission and Aborigines Welfare Board in response to public outcry over Aboriginal living conditions in the regional town of Mooroopna, Rumbalara settlement was to be a form of 'halfway' housing: a point on the journey Aboriginal people were being induced to make towards full assimilation. The tenants, not yet considered 'civilised' enough for housing within the town proper, were kept segregated in basic, 'indestructible' houses where, it was hoped, they would learn the tenets of civilised living. The project quickly became mired in controversy due to the substandard quality of the houses and their segregated nature, and within a decade of its opening its residents had successfully campaigned for its closure and to be moved into houses in the township.

In telling this story, I reveal the way that the spaces in and around a Victorian town were utilised in the project of assimilation. Further, those spaces and the houses on them, and the ways in which they could be entered and used, were carefully controlled in order to prevent their unsettlement by people who were seen as needing pedagogic instruction in how

to live in 'white' spaces. Lastly, I look at the ways in which the Yorta Yorta people who lived at Rumbalara worked to unsettle those settler spaces through negotiation, adaptation and resistance, challenging efforts to segregate and police.

*Sianan Healy is a historian in the fields of settler colonial history and assimilation policy, with a focus on histories of mobility, space and the built environment. She is currently undertaking a University of Melbourne Research Fellowship in the Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning, on a study of the built environment and Aboriginal assimilation policies in Australia from the postwar period to the 1970s.*

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**Jessica Hinchy**

Nanyang Technological University

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Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

*Gender, sexuality and province-centric colonial governance in north India*

This paper examines a provincial experiment in regulating gender and sexuality and asks what it tells us about the local particularities of colonial governance. In 1871, an 'Act for the Registration of Eunuchs' was passed into law in British India. This 1871 law particularly targeted the hijras, male embodied people who identified as feminine and had a social role as performers. For the following four decades, hijras and other so-called 'eunuchs' would find their gender embodiment, domestic arrangements, and livelihoods scrutinised and policed in new ways. The regulation of eunuchs was a part of broader efforts after the 1857 rebellion to mould the Indian population into one that was governable and knowable. In the colonial vision, a governable population would be sedentary, productive and structured by a proper constitution of private and public spheres, making domestic arrangements, sexual relations and gendered behaviours key problems of governance. However, the official anxiety about eunuchs was largely confined to the white, male official circles of a single province: the North-Western Provinces, a huge British territory that spanned across the Gangetic belt in north India. This paper asks why eunuchs became a key problem of governance for officials in the NWP, but not in the other provinces of British India. This 'microhistory' highlights that there was not a unified or singular imperial project; instead, the policing of morality and criminality was localised and highly contextual.

*My research investigates gender, sexuality and criminal law in colonial India. This research has been published in journals such as Gender & History and Asian Studies Review. My book project examines the colonial regulation of gender and sexuality through a microhistory of the transgender hijra community in north India. After I received my PhD from the Australian National University in 2013, I relocated to Singapore, where I am an Assistant Professor in History at Nanyang Technological University.*

**Nicholas Hoare**

Australian National University

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Paper session: Friday, 2:00 p.m.

*Anticolonialism and the Politics of Friendship in New Zealand's Pacific*

Leela Gandhi has argued that friendship is the lost trope in anticolonial thought (Affective Communities, 2006). Arguing against a parochially-minded, homophilic conception of friendship between fellow citizens, Gandhi's politics of friendship is based on a more welcoming model which, in her study, is encapsulated by the radicalism of metropolitan figures who renounced the privileges of imperialism to identify with the anticolonial project. Though her thesis rests primarily with Victorian England and the British Empire, her insights are useful for understanding the nascent anticolonial cultures in early-twentieth century New Zealand and its Pacific Islands empire. Following Gandhi's lead, this paper highlights a series of cross-cultural friendships between what were mostly palagi or pākehā, metropolitan citizens and Sāmoan and Cook Island colonial subjects. In doing so, this paper not only sheds new light on the well-trodden histories of inter-war resistance in Sāmoa (the Mau) and post-WW2 agitation in the Cook Islands (the CIPA), but suggests that these cross-cultural connections are indicative of a broader critique of overseas and domestic colonial culture; the existence of which points towards the emergence of cosmopolitan culture within early twentieth-century colonial New Zealand. On the other hand, while the existence of these friendships illustrate the permeability of Partha Chatterjee's rule of colonial difference, the marginality of the metropolitan figures involved serves as a reminder that crossing the colour line in support of anticolonial struggles was a political act unbecoming to those who conformed to mainstream, settler society.

*Though partway through a history of phosphate mining on Makatea, French Polynesia in the School of History at the ANU, the following paper is based off research undertaken for my MA thesis titled 'New Zealand's 'Critics of Empire': Domestic Opposition to New Zealand's Pacific Empire, 1883-1948' (VUW, 2014).*

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**Leila Koivunen**

University of Turku

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Paper session: Friday, 2:00 p.m.

*Balancing between Local, Global and Colonial. A Troupe of Australians in Finland in 1886*

In June 1886 a group of three Australian aboriginals arrived in Helsinki, the capital of Finland which, at that time, was an autonomous part of the Russian empire. The group was led by the showman R. A. Cunningham who had 'recruited' what was originally a group of nine in North Queensland in 1883. He first exhibited the group in the United States and then moved to Europe where he toured with the Australians for several years. By the late 1880s, exhibitions of living human beings brought from colonies had become a commonplace in imperial metropolises but this was the first time such an exhibition reached Finland – en route to the next metropolis, St. Petersburg.

Roslyn Poignant, who has examined the route of this particular troupe and the fates of the individuals involved, has suggested that the journalists in big cities were inclined to

emphasize the sensational when writing about the group whereas those in the provinces reported more perceptively and critically. This paper focuses on the ways in which such an unforeseen event was described and made meaningful for the Finnish public. Due to its subordinate position within the Russian empire, Finland did not have an active role in the colonial projects of the age but this did not prevent the Finnish people from being impacted by the mainstream colonial culture. In fact, many sought for western influences to resist the Russian rule. This ambivalence affected the encounter with the Australians and generated interpretations that were tightly connected to local circumstances but, at the same time, tried to associate Finland with the wider western world.

*I am a professor of history, with interest in the history of colonialism and the European imagination and representation of the non-western world during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In my research, I have dealt with European visualization of Africa, the concept of "exoticism" and the culture of display. My current project focuses on the Finnish involvement in colonial projects abroad.*

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**Skye Krichauff**

University of Adelaide

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Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

*'He lived with them [Aboriginal people] for a while – to find water': the framing of settler descendants' narratives through a settler colonial historical epistemology*

This paper begins with a brief analysis of the public spaces of South Australian mid-northern towns as a means to demonstrate (in a tangible way) the settler colonial historical epistemology which orientates and frames rural South Australians' knowledge, understanding and representation of the colonial past. This way of knowing and relating to the past has its roots in a historical epistemology which emerged in Europe in the late eighteenth century and is comparable with (but subtly distinct from) the historical epistemology which prevails in other settler colonial societies. I draw on interviews conducted with a specific group of settler descendants – namely people whose families have lived continuously on land occupied by their forebears in the nineteenth century – to illustrate if and how the dispossession of Aboriginal people is remembered and narrated by members of this group. Stories of settler-Aboriginal interaction are rare amongst mid-northern settler descendants. Utilising the concepts of a 'cultural circuit' and 'cultural composure' (formulated by oral historians) I argue that, because stories of Aboriginal people are made sense of through this dominant epistemological frame, over the years stories of cross-cultural friendship, communication and co-operative coexistence have been dismissed, ignored or downplayed by successive generations. I focus on stories told by two families to show the politics of memory.

*Skye Krichauff is an ethno-historian, historian and anthropologist who is interested in colonial cross-cultural relations, the relationship between history and memory, and how societies live with historical injustices (in particular how Australians live with the enduring legacies of colonialism). Her doctoral thesis (conferred in 2015) investigated the absence of Aboriginal people in the historical consciousness of settler descendants.*

**Claire Lowrie**

University of Wollongong

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Paper session: Wednesday, 2:30 p.m.

*'What a picture can do': Contests of colonial mastery in photographs of Asian 'houseboys' from Southeast Asia, 1880s-1920s*

The archives of colonial Southeast Asia contain hundreds of photographs of masterly white colonisers and their seemingly devoted Asian 'houseboys'. This paper analyses this rich photographic archive, drawing on examples from the Netherlands Indies, Singapore, Hong Kong, the Northern Territory of Australia and the Philippines. The central argument is that photographs of Chinese 'houseboys' tending to their white colonial employers constituted a 'visual culture' of empire. I explore how, through the use of the careful choreography, props and captioning, this visual culture sought to reinforce colonial hierarchies of race, class and gender. At the same time, I analyse how the self-conscious arrangement of these images illuminate colonists' anxieties about the legitimacy and viability of colonial projects. As well as a tool for understanding the assertions and insecurities of colonisers, the paper argues that photographs of Asian male servants can be used to illuminate the working lives of servants and the ways in which they responded to European colonialism. Drawing on a remarkable studio portrait commissioned by three Filipino servants and an oral history account from a Chinese servant-turned-photographer, the paper concludes that both masters and servants used the photographic medium to assert their power in the home and the colony.

*Claire Lowrie is a Lecturer in history at the University of Wollongong, Australia. Her research focuses on the history of domestic service and colonialism in Southeast Asia. Claire is the author of *Masters and Servants: Cultures of Empire in the Tropics, 1880-1930* (Manchester University Press, 2016).*

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**Jane Lydon**

University of Western Australia

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Paper session: Thursday, 2:00 p.m. (Panel 3)

*Jane Lydon holds the Wesfarmers Chair in Australian History at the University of Western Australia. She is the author of *Photography, Humanitarianism, Empire* (London, 2016), *The Flash of Recognition: Photography and the emergence of Indigenous rights* (Sydney, 2012), *Fantastic Dreaming: the archaeology of an Australian Aboriginal mission* (Lanham, 2009), and *Eye Contact: Photographing Indigenous Australians* (Durham, 2005).*

**Paul Macgregor**

Independent Scholar

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Paper session: Friday, 9:30 a.m.

*Ecological racism and imperial agriculture in the Upper Goulburn*

The upper catchment of Victoria's Goulburn River is the country of the Taungurong people. White occupation of this territory has usually been represented in local histories as a benign taming, clearing and settling - the creation of a bucolic, homogenous and self-reliant community living off the produce of the land. In this paper, a deconstruction of local settler mythology will be tied to a close reading of the ecological history before and after white occupation. The violence which dispossessed the Taungurong was mirrored in the violence by which the local ecology was transformed into an agricultural land management system, industrial in scale and concept. This agriculture, progressing through cycles of wool, timber, tannin, dairy, beef and horticulture, was geared to mass production and imperial distribution - an ecologically exhausting resource extraction, feeding the growth of urban society and mass consumption across imperial and international networks.

This 'colonisation' of the ecology, dressed up with euphemisms such as 'clearing' and 'improving', was not just a phase of early white settlement, but continued throughout the colonial period (indeed, continues today). Clearing 'the natives' from the land was mirrored by an ongoing clearing of 'native' flora and fauna. Introduced pasture, crops and stock; ornamental farmyard gardens and arboreal avenues; land titles following global gridlines; fences, towns, roads and the railway - all pushed the native ecology to the precarious margins, barely understood, and defined as 'timber', 'vermin' and 'woody weeds'. Unwanted byproducts of imperial flows, such as introduced weeds, rabbits and Chinese market gardeners, were dealt with through eradication programs and containment strategies. Far from 'settling' truly into the environment and local culture, the colonial farmers of the Upper Goulburn heroicised their ongoing everyday struggle to control the land, and reframed much of the violence, and the diversity of local ecology and culture, out of their histories.

*Paul Macgregor, historian, was curator of Melbourne's Chinese Museum 1990-2005. While his specialty is Chinese Australian history, his occupation of 87 acres of Taungurong land, on the edge of a forest recovering from mass destruction in the colonial era, has quickened his interest in the intersections of ecological and human histories in Australia.*

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**Julia Martínez**

University of Wollongong

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Paper session: Wednesday, 2:30 p.m. (Panel 1)

*Defining Malay pearl-shell workers and Aboriginal women as British subjects*

During the period of the White Australia policy the northern pearl-shell industry was granted special exemption to employ Asian indentured labour. It was a controversial decision that was frequently challenged. A number of arguments were put forward intended to persuade the government to permit workers to stay on in Australia. One of these was that Malay workers in particular should be allowed to come to Australia because they were presumed to have British subject status. For Malay workers who married Aboriginal women it was further argued that

they should be granted permanent residence in Australia. Until the late 1950s both arguments were dismissed as dubious by Australian officials who equated the terms 'British' and 'Australian' with whiteness. Added to this was the problem that marriage to an Australian woman was not sufficient to confer citizenship rights on her husband. This paper examines the debates surrounding the benefits of British subject status in Australia and notes how often there were conflicting views as to who might be termed 'British'.

*Associate Professor Julia Martínez is a historian and ARC Future Fellow at the University of Wollongong, researching 'traffic' of women in Southeast Asia and Australia; colonial domestic service with Claire Lowrie, Victoria Haskins and Frances Steel; and Chinese Australian women with Kate Bagnall. Her monograph (with Adrian Vickers) is The Pearl Frontier: Indonesian labour and Indigenous encounters (University of Hawai'i Press 2015).*

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**Michael A. McDonnell**

University of Sydney

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Paper session: Thursday, 2:00 p.m. (Panel 3)

*Michael A. McDonnell is Associate Professor of History at the University of Sydney. He is author of the prize-winning The Politics of War: Race, Class, and Social Conflict in Revolutionary Virginia (Chapel Hill, 2007) and most recently Masters of Empire: The Great Lakes Indians and the Making of America (New York, 2015).*

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**Annemarie McLaren**

Australian National University

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Paper session: Thursday, 2:00 p.m.

*The Politics of the Feast: Re-assessing Aboriginal-Colonial Relations at the Governor's Annual Native Assembly near Sydney, 1816-1834.*

In 1816, Governor Macquarie called for a general meeting of the 'friendly natives' around colonial Sydney. Held in the social heart of the town, the market-place at Parramatta, this assembly became an annual affair that drew up to four hundred Aboriginal people from hundred of miles around Sydney, some of whom had never interacted with Europeans before. While throngs of Europeans looked on, the Aboriginal attendees feasted upon roast beef, plumb pudding and three-watered grog, brushed shoulders with colonial elite, accepted gifts without reciprocating, and, curiously, gave 'three cheers' to the Governor as he retired from the scene. By tracing the fragmentary records we have of Aboriginal responses to and engagement with this assembly, this paper proposes ways of understanding the cultural occupation of this assembly from the perspective of the many and varied Aboriginal participants. With close attention to language and 'action'—and by harnessing the insights of anthropology and ethnographic history—the newspapers, correspondence and the visual archive for this neglected feast illustrate the politically-saturated nature of this colonial formation, evolving strategies and phases on both sides, as well as the creative tensions of such cross-cultural exchanges.

*Annemarie McLaren is a doctoral candidate in history at the Australian National University. Her research considers the ongoing cultural negotiations between Aboriginal people and Europeans in early colonial New South Wales. Annemarie has been selected as one of eight participants in a three year international and interdisciplinary post-graduate training scheme of the Consortium of Humanities Centres and Institutes funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.*

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**Sayantana Mondal**

University of Hyderabad

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Paper session: Friday, 9:30 a.m.

*Local Hierarchies and the Colonial Print Commerce: The Making of Bengali Literary Domain in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*

Nineteenth century marks the modern beginning of Bengali literature under the influence of colonial patronage and literary sensibility. The scholarship on this suggests the formation of a clear distinction in the vernacular literary domain between English education influenced elite literary culture and the cheap street literature by the middle of this century (The Parlour and the Streets, Sumanta Banerjee). Alternative studies have also confirmed such formations while differing through recognising them as registers of power dynamics within the contemporary indigenous social structure (Power in Print, Anindita Ghosh). However, the enormous successful market of the so called cheap publications denies the cultural codification to be the dictating norm of the nineteenth century Bengali literary domain and also problematises the linear relationship between local power structure and cultural coding of literary output. In this paper, I propose that the modern making of the Bengali literary domain presents a curious case of colonial formation where colonial civilising impetus, local indigenous power relations were significantly mediated by the arbitrary authority of the contemporary print commerce. By probing into the process of book production, its sanitisation, its market relations, creations of readers' circle and documenting its role in the making of the modern Bengali literature, I argue that behind the supposed anomaly between market success and cultural coding of textual production the design of a complex nexus of commodity, ideas and power to be found which at one hand strengthened the fissures of the local hierarchies in the domain of letters and maintained the modern decorum on the other.

*I am Sayantana Mondal, a PhD candidate at the Centre for Comparative Literature, University of Hyderabad, India. I am currently affiliated to The Oriental Institute, University of Oxford as a Erasmus Mundus Visiting Research Fellow. My area of research is "Literature and its People : A Study of Bengali Literary domain in its making and its Public life" where I aim to trace patterns of continuities and alterations in the relationship between literary sphere and the domain of knowledge as registered in the pre-print literary traditions' transition into the print era and in the making and disciplining of the Bengali Literary Sphere through the discursive world of print.*



**Ruth Morgan**

Monash University

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Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

*The colonial violence of environmental encounters: swamp drainage and resistance in British India and the Australian colonies*

Wetlands have a long and unhappy history in Western cultures of fens, bogs, and marshes and these impressions have extended to the peoples who have resided in them. Across the British Empire, colonial authorities drained swamps and planted trees in the hope of making such places healthier and more suitable for agriculture, as well as to alleviate the threat of flooding. In addition to such environmental ‘improvements’, I argue that nineteenth century swamp drainage was a means to contain and control restless indigenous peoples. Using case studies from British India and the Australian colonies, I explore the relationship between colonial efforts to manage the environment and to manage the indigenous population. In this paper, I argue that environmental history can help us to understand the processes of colonisation of peoples, and vice versa- that histories of colonial conflict can help us understand the colonisation of the land and waterscapes of Australia and India.

*Ruth Morgan is a DECRA Fellow at the National Centre for Australian Studies at Monash University. She is the author of the environmental history, Running Out? Water in Western Australia (UWA Publishing, 2015).*

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**Jessica Neath**

Monash University

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Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

*Making visible Indigenous loss: remembrance of frontier violence using comparative approaches*

The lack of public memorials to Australia’s frontier wars and Indigenous loss is often made visible by making a comparison with the abundance of monuments to the Australian soldiers who served in the two world wars and other wars fought overseas. The dominating presence of the Australian War Memorial in the nation’s capital and in formations of the national character contrasts with the absence of remembrance for the first peoples who died defending their country. Even though the Great Australian Silence has been identified it remains tenacious and continues to influence “normative frameworks” that establish whose lives are “worthy of being mourned” (Butler 2009). Subsequently, Indigenous Australians continue to bear the responsibility for the remembrance of the killing times.

Our research project Representation, Remembrance and the Memorial begins with a different comparison by placing Indigenous loss in an international perspective of remembering difficult histories. Recent memorials to state violence in Chile and Argentina, the counter-monument forms of Holocaust memorials, artist responses to the histories of frontier violence in the States and Canada, are all areas of research. It is a comparative approach that indicates the gap in Australia’s memorial landscape but also seeks to learn from these productive forms of memory: how can terms like the Holocaust and the disappeared, and the associated memorial forms, be applied in Australia to generate “new frameworks” to

recognise Indigenous loss? This paper will address this question and the issues around an “ethics of comparison” (Rothberg, 2009).

*Dr Jessica Neath is an educator and researcher in art history with interests in photography, memorialization and marginalised histories. Currently she is based at Monash University where she completed her PhD last year. She is now working on the Australian Research Council funded project Representation, Remembrance and the Memorial with Brook Andrew and Professor Marcia Langton. Email: [Jessica.Neath@monash.edu](mailto:Jessica.Neath@monash.edu)*

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### **Jennifer Newman**

Australian Catholic University

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Paper session: Friday, 9:30 a.m.

#### *Undoing John Howard with Recognition*

Curiously, during his prime ministership, John Howard was committed to both the formal constitutional recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, and the realisation of “a reconciled indivisible nation.”

His first proposition to insert a preamble to the Constitution, which included limited symbolic recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, failed at referendum in 1999. Howard revived this idea in his 2007 election campaign, promising to “put to the Australian people within 18 months a referendum to formally recognise Indigenous Australians in our Constitution”.

I offer a review of the political and bureaucratic moves orchestrated during the Howard years to cement Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people into a monolithic racialized identity within his aspirational “reconciled and indivisible nation”.

While the exercise of the “race power” is readily witnessed upon Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, its impact is rather more far-reaching. Successful and invisible depoliticising of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people has taken place alongside the racialisation of all people in Australia. Motivated by the enduring legacies of the Howard years, I see particular impetus to take up the opportunity to amend section 51 (26) of the Constitution, amongst the suite of proposals championed by the Recognise movement, and grasp some exciting prospects to undo Howard’s settler colonial project. Grown up in Narromine, NSW; descended from long lines of Wiradjuri and Australian yarn spinners; presently residing on Wangal Country.

*Jennifer has worked with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders adult learners in universities and TAFE, and developed and delivered Aboriginal Studies programs in Sydney and abroad. Jennifer is a member of the NSW Civil and Administrative Tribunal, sitting in both the Guardianship and the Administrative and Equal Opportunity Divisions.*

*In the Doctoral Program at the Institute for Social Justice, Jennifer’s research examines the discourse of constitutional recognition in Australia. The form of constitutional amendment presently under consideration is confined to an act of recognition exercised by Australia, to which the responsive role available to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is silent and passive. Through indigenist discourse analysis, with a strong narrative turn, Jennifer proposes an idea of engagement on the strength of reciprocal principles rather than compromising adversarial powers.*

**Bill Pascoe**

University of Newcastle

[Bill.Pascoe@newcastle.edu.au](mailto:Bill.Pascoe@newcastle.edu.au)

Paper session: Friday, 9:30 a.m. (Panel 4)

*Making digital maps of sites of violence*

Dr Mark Brown and Dr Bill Pascoe will explain the methods they used to develop a digital map of sites of violence and the technical issues involved.

*Dr William (Bill) Pascoe is a Digital Humanities specialist with the Centre for the 21st Century Humanities and the Centre for Literary and Linguistic Computing at the University of Newcastle. He is also helping to integrate web and HPC systems for the CLARITY Light Sheet Metal microscope project at HMRI. His education is in English, creative writing, semiotics and philosophy and his work is in eResearch focussing on web and software development projects, with experience across finance and engineering, science, health and humanities. Bill.Pascoe@newcastle.edu.au*

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**Jude Philp**

University of Sydney

[jude.philp@sydney.edu.au](mailto:jude.philp@sydney.edu.au)

Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

*Sir William MacGregor and the Bird Trade of British New Guinea*

This paper looks at the intertwined world of the collector, museum taxonomist and the explorer in colonial British New Guinea. For much of his ten year tenure as Governor of British New Guinea MacGregor walked. Generally his journeys were to seek out peaceful partners in the colonial project, in forging armistice he also led battles against those who fought against the kind of peace offered through governance. I follow one instance where the battle he led was not because of indigenous disharmony, but brought about by the bumbling actions of the commercial collector Anthony, himself following MacGregor's previous paths leading to new areas filled with potential new bird species.

*Jude Philp is Senior Curator of the Macleay Museum at The University of Sydney. Her work includes overseeing the curatorial work on the museum's 600,000+ items (many of them insects), researching and writing exhibitions, giving gallery talks and working with researchers investigating the collections. Jude studied anthropology at Sydney and Cambridge Universities and undertook her doctorate on museum collections and Torres Strait Islanders' philosophy of history. Since that time she has worked in a variety of museums where her research has focused on 19th century history and Pacific Islander material culture.*

**Niccolò Pianciola**

Lingnan University, Hong Kong

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Paper session: Thursday, 2:00 p.m.

*Settler Colonialism and the Soviet Union (1916-1933): Kazakhs and Kyrgyz between  
Decolonization and State Violence*

The paper focuses on the Central Asian region inhabited by nomadic Kazakhs and Kyrgyz, along with Russian and Ukrainian agricultural settlers from the great anti-colonial revolt in 1916 to the Stalinist “revolution from above” in the early 1930s. Mass violence was caused first by the settlers (40% of the total population in 1914) in the last months of the Tsarist regime, and then by the Stalinist state, which was expanding its grip on its far off peripheries. The result was a famine that killed more than one third of the Kazakh population (1.4 million people) in 1931-33. Between those two episodes, however, in the early 1920s the Soviet state had implemented decisive anti-colonization measures, evicting tens of thousands of settlers from the lands they had grabbed from Central Asian pastoralists. The relation between Kazakh and Kyrgyz nomads, Slavic peasants and the state in Central Asia is a favourable context for examining the link between colonial and totalitarian state-organized violence, and settlers’ exterminatory actions. To this relates the question of the colonial character of the early Soviet state in Central Asia, a region that had become the centre for Bolshevik support of anti-colonial movements in Asia in the 1920s, and where Moscow successfully coopted large numbers of Central Asians in local administrative bodies. At the same time, crucial Stalinist policies in the 1930s were carried out by local state and communist party structures which still preserved a clear ‘colonial’ character.

*Niccolò Pianciola is Associate Professor of History, Lingnan University, Hong Kong. In addition to articles in such journals as Cahiers du monde russe and Central Asian Survey, his books include Frontier Stalinism. Agricultural Colonization, Extermination of the Nomads and State Building in Central Asia 1905-1936, (Rome 2009, in Italian) and Islam, Society and States across the Qazaq Steppe, 18th - Early 20th Centuries (Vienna 2013, in English), with Paolo Sartori (eds).*

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**Sadiya Qureshi**

University of Birmingham

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Paper session: Thursday, 2:00 p.m.

*Dying Races, Science and Modern Settler Colonialism*

Lamenting the predicament of dying races became an increasingly prominent occupation in the long nineteenth century. Novelists, painters, scientists, politicians, travellers and missionaries all contributed to creating and perpetuating the sense that some peoples were doomed to a speedy extinction. The feelings of imminent change were not unfounded as many societies found themselves ravaged by the new diseases, loss of land and warfare they suffered due to imperial expansion most famously in the case of the Tasmanians. The circumstances leading to this loss sparked and stimulated great discussion over the kinds of political activity that were appropriate for colonising nations and the protection of aboriginal peoples. Early-modern writers had long noted the apparent decimation of some indigenous peoples; however, such discussions took on a new and urgent form in the nineteenth century as

commentators were increasingly able to appeal to a new scientific understanding of extinction as an endemic feature of natural change. For example, in 1871, Charles Darwin's *Descent of Man* naturalised extinction as a feature of intercultural contact arguing that it followed 'chiefly from the competition of tribe with tribe, and race with race.' My paper explores how theories of extinction were both made relevant to and mobilised in the debates over the nature of settler colonialism in the long nineteenth century. In doing so, I hope to address issues of wider importance, such as the relationships between scientific knowledge and political policy-making, competing visions of endangered peoples' lives and the nature of intercultural contact within settler colonies

*I am a Senior Lecturer in history at the University of Birmingham. I am interested in histories of race, science and colonialism. My first book, *Peoples on Parade* (2011) explored commercial exhibitions of foreign peoples and I'm now exploring notions of human extinction within America, South Africa, Britain and Oceania.*

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**Laura Rademaker**

Australian Catholic University

[Laura.Rademaker@acu.edu.au](mailto:Laura.Rademaker@acu.edu.au)

Paper session: Friday, 2:00 p.m.

*White grief in the 'self-determination' era: Jane Goodale's sad friendship with Happy Cook*

When anthropologist Jane Goodale first visited the Tiwi Islands in 1954, she developed a close connection with her main informant, Happy Cook. Cook, a girl of eleven, was bright, curious and articulate. Fond of Cook, Goodale called Cook her 'protégé'. But as Goodale returned over the decades, she watched her hopes for Cook fade. In the 'self-determination' years, Goodale saw the trauma of domestic abuse and alcohol take their toll. She was devastated.

This paper is about grief. I look at Goodale's experience of grief to shed light on 'anti-racist' emotions in so-called 'post-colonial' late twentieth century Australia. I find Goodale was not alone in these feelings. Other anthropologists and researchers described similar experiences of angst and sadness, even what Bonnett (2010) calls a 'post-colonial yearning' for earlier times and relationships. Like other anthropologists, Goodale responded to her grief and guilt by turning to inter-racial female friendship and collaboration, imagining this might offer a less-problematic way of navigating inter-racial relationships in a settler-colonial context. I argue that Goodale's experience shows that the emotional lives of white researchers have been crucial to understanding the way they conceived of their research, their relationships with Aboriginal people and the consequences of their research for Aboriginal people.

*Laura Rademaker is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Australian Catholic University. She was awarded her PhD from the Australian National University for her thesis about language and translation at the Angurugu Aboriginal mission in the Northern Territory. Her current research looks at histories of Aboriginal Catholicism, focusing on the Tiwi Islands.*

**Adam Rankin**

University of Western Australia

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Paper session: Friday, 9:30 a.m.

*'Martial Races' or 'Forgotten Warriors'? : Fijian military service in the Second World War*

My paper addresses the issue of Indigenous conditions of service with special attention to the Fiji Military Forces during the Second World War. Indigenous military participation has been an emerging field, with scholars such as Winegard, Riseman, Killingray, and Barkawi, arguing that Indigenous peoples were mobilised according to necessity and not equality, but also exerted varying degrees of agency. However, these works have not fully addressed the conditions of service under which Indigenous soldiers were recruited, trained and deployed. I will be looking at war diaries, unit histories and other archival material to show that racial theories were instrumental in formulating the terms in which Indigenous soldiers served. I will discuss administrative, organisational and operational conditions of service for Fijian soldiers and juxtapose them against European practices to illustrate how discrepancies were motivated by racial assessments. These assessments were the result of imperial conceptions of Indigenous peoples as embodied by the martial race theory. They were modified by local stereotypes which characterised Fijians first as 'savage cannibals', then 'placid subjects' and last of all 'superb jungle warriors'. I argue that British and New Zealand colonial authorities wished to mobilise Fijians for military participation, but under unequal conditions of service that tried to maintain existing colonial relationships. In conclusion, this paper allows for a better understanding of the lived experience of Indigenous soldiers and how their participation was seen as a war time expedient rather than a fundamental step toward equality.

*Adam Rankin is a PhD candidate at the University of Western Australia. His research focuses on colonial military service in Oceania during the Second World War. Adam was a 2014 Summer Vacation Scholar at the Australian War Memorial and served in the United States Army from 2001-2007.*

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**Jennifer Regan-Lefebvre**

Trinity College (USA)

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Paper session: Friday, 9:30 a.m.

*You are what you drink: Settler Identity and Australian Wine Sales to Nineteenth-Century India*

This paper explores the Australian wine trade with India in the nineteenth century as an example of the creation and affirmation of settler identity through commodity production and consumption. Most wine history has been written from national and regional perspectives, but I argue (expanding widely from the work of Julie McIntyre) that Australia's wine industry was envisioned and created for an imperial market, and not just a local one, even if sales wine to Britain and other colonies were sluggish in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, in common with early South African winegrowers, Australian winemakers viewed wine production as part of a broader civilizing mission: grape cultivation transformed land from terra nullis into profitable vineyards; wine itself had biblical resonance; and wine consumption had potential to civilize working class drinkers who might otherwise consume unsettling beers and spirits.

Both Australian exporters and Anglo-Indian importers thus viewed Australian wine as having great trade potential in nineteenth-century India, where wine was consumed as one way in which the Anglo community imagined itself as maintaining, according to Lizzie Collingham, “a simulacrum of British society”. Consuming wine, a civilized beverage, could reinforce Anglo social distance from native Indians, and consuming Australian wine could both signal trans-imperial settler solidarity and save costs over European importats. Australian winemakers even advertised their willingness to produce for the Indian climate and diet. I draw on correspondence, Indian press coverage, and official trade reports to examine how the Australian wine trade with India had an important role in settler self-perception.

*Jennifer Regan-Lefebvre, PhD, FRHistS is Associate Professor of History at Trinity College (USA) and a historian of modern Britain and the British Empire. Her publications include *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire* (2009). She is writing a history of wine trade and consumption in the British Empire and Commonwealth, c.1800-2015.*

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**Nadia Rhook**

La Trobe University

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Paper session: Friday, 2:00 p.m.

*A triangle of emotion? Charting Colonialism from French Vietnam to Australia to New Caledonia*

In the last decade, settler colonial historians and theorists have consistently employed a triangular framework by which to describe racial structures. Following this lead, a number of historians now agree that the colonizer/colonized binary has failed to account for the logic that fundamentally underpins settler colonialism; the ‘indigenous/settler/immigrant’ triad that Patrick Wolfe and others have compellingly argued provides the guiding logic to settler colonialism. This paper takes triangles seriously, and outlines a new research project to chart the shape of trans-imperial emotion. It does so by tracing the affective, historical connections between a triad of French and British and colonies; Indochina, Australia and New Caledonia. Drawing on snapshot case studies from the 1870s, 1920s and the 1980s, I will discuss the potential to understand the affective dynamics of colonialism via a triangular, trans-imperial frame.

*Nadia Rhook lectures and researches history at La Trobe University. Her PhD thesis explored the nexus between language, race and law in colonial Melbourne and on this she has published in *Postcolonial Studies* and the *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*. She has a background in linguistics and an interest in race, urban space, and British and French settler colonialism(s).*

**Lyndall Ryan**

University of Newcastle

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Paper session: Friday, 9:30 a.m. (Panel 4)

*Defining colonial frontier massacre and investigating the sources*

Professor Lyndall Ryan and Dr Jennifer Debenham will show how in preparing the data for the digital maps, new patterns of frontier violence were identified and new estimates made of casualties.

*Professor Lyndall Ryan is Conjoint Research Professor in the Centre for the History of Violence at the University of Newcastle, Australia. Her most recent books include *Tasmanian Aborigines A History since 1803* (2012), and the co-edited collection with Philip G. Dwyer, *Theatres of Violence Massacre, Mass Killing and Atrocity throughout History* (2012) and is currently completing a book *The Dark Side of Empire* with Professor Phillip Dwyer, Professor Nigel Penn and Professor Barbara Mann; a study of intimacy and violence on settler colonial frontiers in the Anglo Pacific rim with Amanda Nettelbeck, Victoria Haskins, Anna Johnston, Penelope Edmonds and Angela Wanhalla, and a study of colonial frontier violence with Dr Jonathan Richards.*

[Lyndall.Ryan@newcastle.edu.au](mailto:Lyndall.Ryan@newcastle.edu.au)

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**Andrew Shaler**

University of California, Riverside

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Paper session: Thursday, 2:00 p.m.

*Indigenous Peoples and the California Gold Rush: Labor, Violence, and Contention in the Formation of a Settler Colonial State*

The California Gold Rush era is often remembered for the thousands of immigrants who traversed continents and oceans for a chance to gain quick wealth. Lost in this narrative, however, are the rich histories of indigenous peoples that helped to shape the Gold Rush era. California Indians saw thousands of immigrants use and occupy their lands, bringing catastrophic levels of violence to indigenous communities. Native people responded to this settler colonial violence, sometimes with adaptation, sometimes with peaceful negotiation, and sometimes with violent resistance. Recent scholarship has demonstrated the ways in which this settler colonial violence constituted genocide. California's Native people, however, continued to live and adapt within these networks of horrendous violence.

Meanwhile, California Indians were not the only indigenous peoples to experience violence and discrimination in the California Gold Country. Native Americans from outside of California, Mexican Yaquis, Native Hawaiians, and Aboriginal Australians came to California in the Gold Rush era, not always of their own volition. In the California Gold Country a diverse population of indigenous people labored and mined, both independently and for non-Native masters. Even with increasing levels of settler violence, including state-sanctioned militia campaigns, indigenous people in California continued to endure, and reacted to settler colonialism in a wide variety of ways. This paper emphasizes the indigenous agency during the violent formation of a settler colonial state.



*Andrew Shaler is a Doctoral Candidate in history at the University of California, Riverside. His dissertation, tentatively titled “Mariposa: Violence, Settler Colonialism, and Indigenous Histories of the California Gold Rush,” examines the history and memory of Miwok, Yokuts, and Paiute peoples, and their reactions and responses to settler colonial violence.*

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**Ben Silverstein**

University of Sydney

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Paper session: Friday, 2:00 p.m.

*The Heterogeneous Population of Settler Colonialism*

This paper will address a number of debates that took place in the early twentieth century, each of which concerned the position of Chinese people in the Northern Territory. Each debate was sparked by a controversial claim, whether by Chinese merchants claiming the right to employ Aboriginal workers, by white allegations of a vast conspiracy to commit produce fraudulent birth certificates, or by Chinese migrants demanding the right to call Australia home. Through reading these debates I will explore the question of settler colonialism, examining the production of different ideas regarding the proper composition of the settler population and its viable relations with Indigenous peoples. These debates over population were a key arena for generating hope for success in the precarious Northern Territory economy. In this paper, I will address the consequently tight relationships between race and biopolitics, economic success and the viability of the population, migrants and an aspiring yet precarious settler colonialism.

*Ben Silverstein is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of Sydney as part of Professor Warwick Anderson’s ARC Laureate Fellowship project, “Race and Ethnicity in the Global South”. He has published work on sovereignties, settler colonialism, and colonial government, and is currently completing a book titled *Governing Natives: Indirect Rule and Settler Colonialism in Australia’s North*.*

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**Rachna Singh**

Hindu College, University of Delhi

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Paper session: Friday, 2:00 p.m.

*The framing of jail dietaries in early nineteenth century South Asia: tobacco, prisoners, power, and punishment*

My paper shall focus on the framing of dietaries for prisoners in South Asia in the early nineteenth century, the bio-politics of food in the articulation of colonial power and a particular colonial embodiment of an (increasingly) global commodity, viz. tobacco. Tobacco initially appeared within jail dietaries as a routine article of diet and was subsequently proscribed. It was variously (and sometimes simultaneously) labeled as a necessity, condiment, luxury, indulgence, narcotic, drug, stimulant, and medicine at different points in time. I examine the debates around the proscription of tobacco within jail dietaries with specific reference to issues of administrative costs, prison discipline, the quorum of necessary

and acceptable pain within punishment, forging a suitable deterrent quotient against crime, permissible patterns of sociability among prisoners, the relative weight of habitual use in raising an article of consumption to the status of either a necessity or a narcotic, contemporary assessments of tobacco as a habit-forming substance in comparison to opium, delineating parameters for measuring health and fighting disease, discourses on medicine and sanitation, enhancing prisoners' labour productivity, combating prisoner resistance, and a bureaucratic quest towards an ethnographic mapping of prisoner populations and 'precise statistical information' about subjects. The paper shall locate these debates within a grid of trans-continental flows of goods, ideas and practices between Britain and her colonies (e.g. the New Poor Law of 1834 in Britain; state responsibility towards the poor, the idle and the criminal; and the calculation by colonial administrators of a minimum necessary dietary intake for bare survival and efficient labour respectively).

*Rachna Singh is an Assistant Professor in the Department of History, Hindu College, University of Delhi. She is currently finishing her doctoral thesis at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi, called Prisons, penological debates and the colonial state in nineteenth century South Asia. Singh was awarded the Charles Wallace India Trust-Short Term Research Grant 2014-15.*

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**Lisa Slater**

University of Wollongong

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Paper session: Friday, 2:00 p.m.

*A meditation on settler discomfort*

To borrow from Irene Watson, this paper is a meditation on discomfort. I begin at a cultural tourism site in northeast Arnhem Land, where Yolngu women were teaching Napaki (non-Indigenous) women about their kinship systems and responsibilities. The tourists were eager to learn: at times insistent and demanding. A senior Yolngu woman, Gulumbu Yunupingu, intervened, referring to Napaki as blind. Napaki eyes look, she said, but cannot see. It remains a galvanizing experience. It disturbed and fascinated me. There was something too familiar about the scene: the settler women's clawing desire for 'Aboriginal culture', only just keeping at bay the anxiety evoked by autonomous Aboriginal political will. Gulumbu was identifying a collective blindness: a sort of cultural trachoma.

There is a conflict in the progressive settler colonial imaginary, which compels and immobilises 'good white women'. Like Yolngu, Napaki entered the space with ethical intentions: a genuine commitment to recognise Yolngu and create mutually respectful relationships. But nonetheless we do so lugging our embodied histories. Most settlers do not have social relationships with Indigenous Australians (although the reverse is not true); there are few opportunities to reinvent racialised imaginaries and fears. Settler anxiety is not a particularly gendered cultural dynamic. Rather, intimate, entangled and highly emotional 'feminised' spaces, often overlooked, are political encounters, which provide insights into the conflicts that produce settler anxiety, or perhaps what Gulmubu was referring to as blindness. I want to stay with this bad feeling to reflect upon what might enable 'good white people' to stay in places of discomfort and be responsive and answerable.

*Lisa Slater is a Senior Lecturer in Cultural Studies at the University of Wollongong, Australia. Lisa's research is driven by a commitment to analyzing the complex field of intercultural*

*Australia, most especially Indigenous and settler Australia, to better our mutual understanding. Her recent projects have a strong focus on remote, rural and regional Australia.*

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**Karin Speedy**

Macquarie University

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Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

*The mysterious 'Arab castaways': mobilities, border protection and White Australia*

In 1901, the year of Australian Federation and the implementation of the White Australia Policy, a small boatload of suspicious, brown, Muslim men landed 'illegally' on the Far North Queensland coast. The reaction to their arrival on the part of locals and the authorities highlights the collision of ideologies in a space where established practices of Indigenous and non-white mobilities and openness to outsiders arriving by sea were being challenged by a new national framework that revolved around the policing of coastal borders and the restriction of movements. This paper will discuss the men's gendered identities and the ways in which they were racialised and criminalised by the authorities and the press before being rejected as undesirables. In this early Federation coastal drama, we recognise the exclusionary discourses that have characterised Australia's fixation with border security and the consequent imperative to keep out non-white others said to pose a threat to the nation on racial, religious or moral grounds. It provides yet another historical echo to the 21st century 'Stop the Boats' discourses and anti-refugee policies.

*Associate Professor Karin Speedy is Head of French and Francophone Studies at Macquarie University, Sydney. Her research centres on places and spaces of contact between diverse populations in the colonial and postcolonial francophone world. Her latest research is exploring trans-imperial networks and non-white mobilities across the Indian and Pacific Oceans.*

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**Frances Steel**

University of Wollongong

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Paper session: Friday, 2:00 p.m.

*Fiji Indian servants in New Zealand, 1890s-1910s*

It is well known that as in other Pacific rim settler societies, the consolidation of a national political community in New Zealand occurred amidst a strident antipathy towards 'Asiatics' both from within and beyond the British Empire. Yet Indians, as well as Chinese, were always present in the colony, framed recently as 'a history of small numbers' (Bandyopadhyay 2009), some of whom had arrived via Fiji as former indentured plantation workers or free migrants (Leckie 2007). In this paper I aim to get beyond the broader politicisation of race and nation, to focus on the recruitment of individual men from Fiji to work as domestic servants and general labourers in New Zealand. In particular I examine the controversies surrounding one repeat employer – George Wilson, a medical practitioner in Palmerston North – to chart the nature of the (often short-term) labour experiences of Indian men, the relationships they

forged in the process, and the nexus between violence and intimacy in this transcolonial labour circuit.

*Frances Steel teaches Pacific and Australian History at the University of Wollongong, where she also co-convenes the Colonial and Settler Studies Network. Her research interests centre on histories of empire, mobility and the sea. She is currently working on a history of the entangled empires of Britain and the United States in the Pacific, framed by transpacific routes of passenger shipping and aviation (ca.1860-1960) and, with colleagues at Wollongong and Newcastle, a book on colonial histories of male domestic service in the Asia Pacific. She is the author of Oceania under Steam: Sea Transport and the Cultures of Colonialism (Manchester, 2011).*

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**Jodie Stewart**

University of Wollongong

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Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

*Cross-cultural encounters: reconceptualising shared histories on the Bundian Way’.*

The Bundian project is an initiative led by the Eden Local Aboriginal lands Council on the far south coast of New South Wales, Australia. Aboriginal elders and activists working on the project are restoring an Aboriginal pathway that stretches from the coast to the high country. The project manager states, ‘the Bundian Way is not just a walking track, that is the least of it, it is the significance of the story and the potential to engage Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people to communicate, and to start that discourse of reconciliation’. This paper examines the experiences of four young Aboriginal men employed to work on the project. Drawing on qualitative research undertaken for my PhD thesis, I analyse how these young men are utilising and reconceptualising settler histories of early cross-cultural encounters to propose new ways of living well in settler colonial Australia and to contest the dominant settler historiography that has positioned Indigenous people as either ‘violent, ignoble savages’ or the fading victims of colonisation. In their rearticulation through the project these stories of early cross-cultural relations are reclaimed as powerful critical histories of settler colonisation. Through this project Aboriginal people are critically interrogating discourses of settler colonisation whilst opening up new more productive historical spaces that speak to the ‘truth’ of Aboriginal lived experience in contemporary Australia.

*Jodie Stewart is a PhD candidate and tutor in the faculty of Laws, Humanities and the Arts at the University of Wollongong, Bega. Jodie is documenting the development of the Bundian Way project as an important and potentially recuperative public history initiative. Pathways into History: Exploring the Contemporary Aboriginal Past on the Bundian Way, examines how various community members and visitors to the pathway, which stretches from the coast to the high country, think about, evaluate and understand the Aboriginal past via tactile and bodily encounters with Aboriginal cultural landscapes.*

**Rebecca Swartz**

University of Cape Town

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Paper session: Wednesday, 2:30 p.m.

*Education, labour and civilisation: Britain, the West Indies and the settler colonies, 1830-1860*

This paper examines the connected contexts of histories of education in the Caribbean, the Cape and Natal, and to a lesser extent, Western Australia, between 1830 and 1860. It focuses on the period following emancipation and the Select Committee on Aborigines (1835-1837), which was characterised by both humanitarian colonial governance and increased colonial expansion and settlement. It studies the extent to which ideas about the relationship between state-aided education, labour and morality that grew out of industrialisation in Britain, and emancipation in the West Indies, informed the provision of education for Indigenous peoples in other parts of the British Empire. Education in the British settler colonies was often used as a tool for ‘civilising’ or ‘amalgamating’ Indigenous people into settler societies. However, education was also used as a way to create, or maintain, an Indigenous labour force. The paper argues that ideas about the use of education both as a force for moral good in society, and as a way of maintaining labour in the colonies, is best understood in relation to developments both in the metropolitan and other colonial contexts. While local and imperial governments promoted mission education for the ‘protection’ and ‘civilisation’ of Indigenous people, this objective was often overridden by economic imperatives, and settler demands for labour. The paper draws on diverse archival material from British mission societies, British Parliamentary Papers and Colonial Office records.

*Rebecca Swartz completed her PhD, “Ignorant and Idle’: Indigenous education in Natal and Western Australia, 1833-1875”, at Royal Holloway, University of London, in 2015. She is currently a Postdoctoral Research Fellow in Historical Studies at the University of Cape Town.*

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**Nikita Vanderbyl**

La Trobe University

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Paper session: Wednesday, 2:30 p.m.

*Savage. Noble. Artist. William Barak and transnational collecting*

During latter life Kulin artist and leader William Barak (c. 1824-1903) produced an oeuvre of works on paper which communicate Wurundjeri ceremonies for non-Indigenous audiences. Several of these works were transported to Switzerland and Germany. This paper focuses on several key artworks which were collected in the 1880s and 1890s by German anthropologists and missionaries. Placing them in the context of cultural collisions and connections formed across divides that were both spatial and cultural I will add to research on mobilities and movements across different colonial spaces. Barak’s artworks do not reside in the British metropole but instead are found in Switzerland and Germany. The narrative of this paper refocuses attention on other metropolises while foregrounding the important work done by Barak as a diplomat and cross-cultural communicator, as well as artist. I base this paper on research carried out in Switzerland and Germany in June 2016 and utilise an interdisciplinary art historical framework to understand the significance of the circulation of Australian Aboriginal art from the south-east. Seeking to unpick how Barak’s artworks are understood

today, as well as in the past, I also investigate the way in which Barak's work is displayed in one Ethnological museum in Germany and the collecting practices of F.A. Hagenauer – a Moravian missionary with an under-researched ethnographic bent. The inclusion of Barak's work in Hagenauer's collection for the Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, Germany, is demonstrative of the connections and collisions between these two cultures during late nineteenth century.

*Nikita Vanderbyl is a PhD Candidate in Art History and History at La Trobe University, her thesis focuses on the life and work of Wurundjeri artist, diplomat and leader, William Barak. She previously received first class honours for a thesis examining Russian national identity in nineteenth century decorative arts.*

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**Andrekos Varnava**

Flinders University

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Paper session: Thursday, 2:00 p.m.

*Resistance, Collaboration and Assassination in Cyprus: The Cold Case of Antonios Triantafyllides*

Antonios Triantafyllides was a prominent lawyer and politician in Cyprus in the 1920s and 1930s until his assassination in January 1934 by an unknown assailant. Who was responsible for his assassination? Why has it been a silenced event in the history of the colonial and anti-colonial projects in Cyprus? Triantafyllides was an advocate of enosis, the union of Cyprus with Greece, but changed how he believed Cyprus was to achieve this goal after Cypriot demonstrations in October 1931 had resulted in the burning of Government House in Nicosia and subsequently to a British crackdown, including the suspension of the constitution and with it the legislative council. In late 1933 the British decided to establish an 'Advisory Council' of leading Cypriots. Triantafyllides accepted the invitation, after arguing that enosis could now only be achieved if the Cypriots worked with the British, which was the advice of the Greek Liberal and Anglophile Prime Minister, Eleutherios Venizelos. Immediately Triantafyllides and several others who joined the Advisory Council received death threats. His was the only one carried out. Nobody byears old. The British believed that Communists were responsible, but the man charged never went to trial. This paper analyses the few sources available, some of which have been redacted, to show that those responsible could very easily have belonged to the nationalist right, which would also explain why the case has been expunged from Cypriot national memory.

*Dr Andrekos Varnava, FRHistS, is a Senior Lecturer in Imperial and Military History at Flinders University. He is the author of *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915: The Inconsequential Possession* (Manchester University Press, 2009; paperback 2012) and of *Serving the Empire in the Great War: The Cypriot Mule Corps, Imperial Identity and Memory*, (Manchester University Press, forthcoming 2017). Since 2009 he has edited/co-edited five volumes, including *Imperial Expectations and Realities: El Dorados, Utopias and Dystopias* (Manchester University Press, 2015). He has published numerous book chapters and peer-reviewed articles, including in *The Historical Journal*, *Historical Research*, *War in History* and *Itinerario*.*

**Lorenzo Veracini**

Swinburne University of Technology

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Paper session: Friday, 2:00 p.m.

*'Killing the Settler, Saving the Man'*

In recent years settler colonial studies consolidated into an autonomous comparative scholarly subfield. The scholarly journal of the same name and the emerging literatures that the settler colonial studies blog has monitored during the last five years are a testament to this strengthening. Patrick Wolfe's seminal *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* appeared in 1998 and offered one of this field's founding statements: 'settler invasion is a structure, not an event'. Wolfe's invitation was to look for settler colonialism in the ongoing subjection of indigenous peoples in the settler societies. The contemporary settler politics, he noted in a passage that was repeatedly quoted, had been 'impervious to regime change'. It was an Australian-produced response to the consolidation and global spread of postcolonial studies as discourse and method (quite interestingly, postcolonial studies was also originally an Australian intellectual export). Aboriginal poet and militant Bobby Sikes captured this paradox with irony: 'What? Postcolonialism? Have They Left?' However, possibly an indication of its relative success, settler colonial studies as interpretative framework has more recently been the object of sustained critique. This criticism was not coordinated and emerged from quite different settings. This paper's first section presents a provisional and partial rejoinder to this criticism. The second section reflects on the possible uses of settler colonial studies to further decolonising agendas.

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**Simon Ville**

University of Wollongong

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Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

*When Commerce, Science and Leisure Collided: the Nineteenth-Century Global Trade Boom in Natural History'*

Natural history specimens were traded globally in the nineteenth century. Doing so faced considerable challenges – trading long distance to remote areas, uncertainty about the nature and value of products, and exchanges between different groups of scientists, commercial traders, and private collectors, unfamiliar with each other's practices and mores. We survey the trade, clarify these challenges, and explain how they were addressed. Building trust-based networks, exploiting developments in taxonomy and taxidermy to facilitate fair exchange, and tapping into existing and new supply chain logistics all helped. Our paper, more broadly, speaks to current developments in global history, imperial networks, and the history of science.

*Simon Ville is Professor of Economic and Business History, School of Humanities and Social Inquiry in the Faculty of Law, Humanities and Arts. Since joining the University of Wollongong in 2001 he has variously served terms as Head of School of Humanities and Social Inquiry in the Faculty of Law, Humanities and the Arts, Head of School of Economics, Associate-Dean Research, and Acting Dean in the Faculty of Business.*

*He previously worked at the Australian National University, and the universities of Auckland and Manchester, with visiting positions at Harvard Business School, University College London, London School of Economics, the Universities of Glasgow and Melbourne, and the Australian National University.*

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**Eve Vincent**

Macquarie University

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Paper session: Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

*Humanitarian intervention and the colonial racial order in an outback Australian town*

In the rural South Australian town of Ceduna, an intra-Aboriginal distinction is key to the reproduction of contemporary social life. Here a pervasive racialised social hierarchy normalises Indigenous subordination and the hegemony of ‘possessive whiteness’, in Aileen Moreton-Robinson’s terms. Local discourses further distinguish between Nungas, whose colonial history centres on a nearby mission and participation in the agricultural economy, and Anangu, Pitjantjatjara-speaking visitors from the region’s ‘remote communities’. This paper inquires into the everyday reproduction of this colonial racial hierarchy by way of two case studies. Anangu draw first, discourses of moral opprobrium and a repressive response: since 2008 a private security firm has been charged with removing from view their socially aberrant otherness. In this first case study, guard dogs are used to enforce local by-laws, which are seen to enshrine ‘civilised’ norms. Second, Anangu especially draw discourses of humanitarian compassion, which, as it turns out, justify further repressive interventions in the form of stringent welfare quarantining. Ceduna is currently the first trial site for the ‘cashless welfare card’, the latest iteration of Australia’s racialised experiments in welfare reform. This second case study is productively understood using Didier Fassin’s critical account of humanitarian reason. Finally I note that Anangu are invested with a more positive valence—they embody a cultural otherness that is respected, even revered, by some Nungas for their perceived closeness to ‘traditional’ Aboriginality.

*Eve Vincent is a lecturer in the Department of Anthropology, Macquarie University. She is the co-editor of *History, Power, Text: Cultural Studies and Indigenous Studies* (UTS E-Press, 2014) and *Unstable Relations: Indigenous People and Environmentalism in Contemporary Australia* (University of Western Australia Press, forthcoming).*

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**Lynley Wallis**

University of Notre Dame

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Paper session: Friday, 9:30 a.m.

*An archaeological study of Indigenous and cross-cultural exchanges at Boralga Native Mounted Police Camp, Cape York Peninsula, Queensland*

Despite recent vast investment in historical research to understand the actions and consequences of the Queensland Native Mounted Police (NMP), we still understand very little about the lives of the Aboriginal troopers themselves. This includes their cultural identities,



domestic, workforce and disciplinary organisation, the expression of hierarchical yet collaborative relationships between Aboriginal troopers and European officers, the roles played by Indigenous women, and connections between the NMP, local Aboriginal groups and non-Aboriginal transients and settlers. An historical archaeology of the NMP provides a means to bridge these gaps.

The ARC-funded Archaeology of the Queensland Native Mounted Police project is the first broad-scale investigation of the tangible and intangible evidence for NMP life and seeks to provide a more balanced and nuanced account of frontier dynamics. This paper presents archaeological data from the Boralga Native Police camp, Cape York Peninsula, to explore the lives and relationships of the troopers at both a local and district level. Here, as elsewhere, with colonial documentary records so incomplete and selective, detailed analysis of the material, oral history and memory traces of the police is crucial to investigating Boralga's Indigenous and cross-cultural exchanges in the context of the wider formation of the NMP.

*Lynley holds a Bachelor of Science (Honours) from the University of WA and a PhD from the Australian National University. She joined the Nulungu Research Institute at Notre Dame University in March 2016 with a long-standing interest in Indigenous heritage and a commitment to collaborative research partnerships with communities. She has previously worked at James Cook University, Flinders University and the University of Queensland, as well as for the ACT Government and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. She also runs her own heritage consulting business.*

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### **Sera Waters**

University of South Australia

[seradan@dodo.com.au](mailto:seradan@dodo.com.au)

Paper session: Friday, 9:30 a.m.

#### *Spectral Rubbish: Unearthing three buried pasts from colonised South Australia*

This paper, led by genealogical methodology, examines the waste of three settler families, my ancestors. Investigating their rubbish, as well as how historical rubbish affected their conception of specific sites, shows how buried pasts not only haunted these ancestors but how they haunt these spaces. The first investigation uses findings from an archaeological dig undertaken in Port Adelaide where from the 1840s the McKay's resided. The exhumed Victorian, gendered and domestic rubbish reveals the consumption of imported material goods and performing housework duties; settler colonial practices of simultaneous homing and unhoming. The second examination is of the Bell family who in the 1880s in York operated and lived within a pughole; a large chasm caused by the mining of clay for brickmaking. Pugholes eventually became the city's dumping grounds, and today haunt and contaminate west Adelaide regions. Finally, I will discuss the reception of Lake Fellmongery in Robe, situated alongside the Hann's family home. Though popular today, this lake unintentionally became an industrial site in the 1860s and was mysteriously a no-go zone by my ancestors in first half of the 1900s. Collectively these dumping-sites demonstrate some spatial consequences of the production and consumption drives inherent in settler colonialism. Affecting generations, they substantiate the haunting properties of inherited waste in South Australia and in colonised regions more generally. Waste, despite being culturally or literally buried (and often both), has agency and eventually enforces remembering of the discarded, and in doing so reveals the ineffectiveness of disavowing unwanted pasts.

*Sera Waters is a South Australian based artist, writer, lecturer and PhD candidate (University of South Australia). Her provisional thesis title is Genealogical Ghostscapes: a visual arts enquiry into repetitive acts of settler colonial home-making in Australian regions since 1838. Waters exhibits nationally and is represented by Hugo Michell Gallery.*

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**Ian Willis**

University of Wollongong

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Paper session: Thursday, 2:00 p.m.

*'Just like England', a colonial settler landscape*

In this paper I will argue that the early European settlers were the key actors in a place making exercise that constructed an English style landscape aesthetic on the colonial stage in the Cowpastures district of New South Wales. The aesthetic became part of the settler colonial project and the settlers' aim of taking possession of territory involving the construction of a cultural ideal from familiar elements of home in the 'Old Country'. The new continent, and particularly the bush, had the elements of the Gothic with its grotesque and the demonic, and the landscape aesthetic was one attempt to counter these forces. Settlers used the aesthetic to assist the creation of a new narrative on an apparently blank slate and in the process dispossessed and displaced the Indigenous occupants. The new colonial landscape was characterised by English placenames, English farming methods and English settlement patterns, with only cursory acknowledgement of Indigenous occupation.

*Dr Ian Willis is an honorary fellow at the University of Wollongong, and a member of the Professional Historians Association (NSW & ACT), Independent Scholars Association of Australia and History Council of New South Wales. He has a particular interest in local studies and place making in the Cowpastures and the role of the Red Cross in the war at home.*

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**Wei Chin Wong**

University of Macau

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Paper session: Friday, 2:00 p.m.

*The Making of "Chinese Secret Societies": The Formation of British Ideas about Chinese Migrant Labourers in Nineteenth-Century Malaya*

Based on a judicious examination of contemporary colonial office records and indigenous newspapers, this paper explores the formation of early British perceptions about the Chinese migrant labourers and its locally formed organisations during the British overseas expansion in nineteenth-century Malaya. Although most previous scholarship on secret societies in British Malaya have depicted them simply as criminal and outlaw organisations, this paper instead argues that the real meaning of the "secret societies" in Malaya was actually created by the early British perceptions as an alternative to control the distribution of Chinese migrants in the colony. In fact, the British colonial government had spent more than a half century to change their attitudes and policies toward the Chinese secret societies from welcome,

toleration, to stringent official control and suppression in 1890. In other words, the real meaning of the “secret societies” should be best understood in the processes of how the British engaged and responded to the Chinese organisations in nineteenth-century Malaya.

*Wong Wei Chin received her Ph.D. from the University of Macau in 2014 and currently teaches Southeast Asian history and migration history at the University of Macau. Her research interests include Southeast Asia History, Colonial History, and Overseas Chinese History (especially Malaysia and Singapore). She is recently publishing her book Chinese Secret Societies: Interrelations between Chinese Secret Societies and the British Colonial Government in Nineteenth-Century Malaya with Brill. She can be contacted at either [weichinwong@umac.mo](mailto:weichinwong@umac.mo) or [wongweichin24@gmail.com](mailto:wongweichin24@gmail.com).*

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**Yichi Zhang**

University of Technology Sydney

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Paper session: Friday, 2:00 p.m.

*Sprouting from Various Flags: The Development approach of British Settlements in Shanghai and Tianjin, China*

Spanning the globe, the British sailed to China in the second half of the nineteenth century and founded its settlements in Shanghai and Tianjin. Shanghai covered south China and the central, Tianjin the north. The British settlements in these two cities framed the twin hub of Britain in the mainland China, headquartering the operation of the all British in China. Nevertheless, the simultaneous juxtaposition of various foreign settlements in these cities created chaotic effects on the existence of the British settlements, and drove the British settlements to shape a both competitive and cooperative relationship with the other foreign statements. Consequently, the states of the British settlements in Shanghai and Tianjin formed two distinct development approaches: British settlement in Shanghai amalgamated with the American settlement to become a British-directed International Settlement in 1863, while the British settlement in Tianjin maintained the independent, constantly conspired with the states of the other foreign settlements to expend its territories, and finally evolved into the biggest independent British settlement in China. Hence, this essay attempts to explore how the British settlements in Shanghai and Tianjin interacted with the other foreign settlements to shape the different circumstance, and how the varied circumstances in these cities affected these British settlements to adopt different development approaches. This research would not only contribute to study the influence of the presence of multiple settlements on the development of a particular settlement, but also contribute to understand the development approaches of the foreign settlements in China.

*Yichi Zhang is a Ph.D. candidate at University of Technology, Sydney, and has been a research fellow in Garden and Landscape Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University. His academic interests are urban and landscape history of the foreign settlements in China, and historic landscape conservation.*

## **Panel and Roundtable descriptions**

**Panel 1: Wednesday, 2:30 p.m.**

**Speakers: Margaret Allen, Kate Bagnall and Julia Martinez.**

*'Coloured' British subjects in Australia and the Empire*

The status of British subject for colonised peoples was paradoxical. It signified that they were defeated and conquered but also brought a slate of rights with which they could challenge the colonial power. Colonial British subjects were among the 'coloured' migrants who established lives in the settler colonies of the British Empire, while other 'coloured aliens' who migrated to the colonies sought to become British subjects through naturalisation. This panel considers the interplay of race and British nationality in Australia and the British Empire from the 1860s to the 1950s through the examples of naturalised Chinese, British Indians, and Malay pearl-shell workers and their Aboriginal wives.

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**Panel 2: Wednesday, 2:30 p.m.**

**Commentators: Katherine Ellinghaus, Jane Carey, Liz Conor, Nadia Rhook, Lorenzo Veracini**

*Roundtable: 'The State of the Field of Settler Colonial Studies: Historical Perspectives'.*

This roundtable discussion will reflect on the current state of the field of settler colonial studies in the light of its recent exponential growth internationally. It particularly picks up on various controversies and critiques that have accompanied this growth as well as new directions taken in Native American scholarship and work on migrants & settlers of colour. The historical focus of the panel in part reflects some of the disciplinary foundations of a field that is now distinctly interdisciplinary. Where once studies of settler colonialism were strongly associated with historians this is no longer the case. It also reflects the fact that some of the most strident critiques of the field have come from historians (some of whom are seemingly unaware that the critiques they raise have already been widely aired in existing scholarship). It is timely to stop and reflect on the state the field when it is seemingly both under attack and flourishing - taking off in new and exciting directions. At the same time, the shadow cast by Patrick Wolfe's untimely death earlier this year is keenly felt. Patrick's absence remains a matter of profound grief for all who continue to work in this area.

The panel will provide specifically historical perspectives on the recent discussions/assessments/critiques of the field (in conversation with the wider disciplines which have taken up this paradigm). It is a history-led Australian response to both local critiques and US debates about the utility of the framework of settler colonialism.

Each panellist will speak briefly (5-7 mins) on what they see as some of the defining features of the current field of settler colonial studies. The panel will then respond to a series of key questions from the facilitator, who will also invite comments from the audience. This will be followed by general questions and discussion.

**Katherine Ellinghaus** will address questions of Indigenous agency, a recurrent critique of settler colonial studies. Can we write histories that simultaneously pay attention to settler colonial strategies *and* indigenous agency and experience?

**Jane Carey** will speak on the topic of ‘Settler Colonialism and its Discontents’ – from two perspectives. Firstly some of the key critiques that emerged in the 1990s, and later from historians in both Australia and North America. And secondly how Native American scholarship has used the framework of settler colonialism as a vehicle to consolidate discontent, as well the new critiques it has raised.

**Liz Conor** will speak from her perspective as the current editor of the journal *Aboriginal History*, and her significant work on the visual cultures of settler colonialism. How does settler colonial studies intersect with the project of *Aboriginal History*?

**Nadia Rhook** will discuss intersections between settler colonial theory and histories of coloured migration. Settler colonial theory has often focused on the binary relations between Indigenous people and white settlers, even while conceiving the pervasive operation of a triangular ‘indigene – settler – “exogenous other”’ structure. New histories of coloured migration and settlement, attentive to British settler colonial structures, pose conceptual challenges for the field.

**Lorenzo Veracini** will reflect on recent critiques of settler colonial studies by taking them seriously and by engaging with the issues they raise. He will also report on similar discussions that are to take place at the American Studies Association conference in Denver (Nov 17-20).

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**Panel 3: Thursday, 2:00 p.m.**

**Speakers: Jane Carey, Kate Fullagar, Jane Lydon and Michael McDonnell.**

*Comparative Indigenous Histories: Problems and Opportunities*

Though an unconventional format, we’d like to run this panel as a roundtable, with a discussion from the presenters on their published and forthcoming edited collections on comparative indigenous histories. In 2014, Jane Carey and Jane Lydon edited a collection entitled *Indigenous Networks: Mobility, Connections, and Exchange*. It was one of the first of its kind to draw on the insights of the transnational turn and new indigenous histories to think about the historical role of colonized and subaltern communities across empire and explore its legacy in the present. At the same time, Kate Fullagar and Michael McDonnell have been assembling a collection entitled *Facing Empire: Indigenous Histories in a Revolutionary Age*. The collection includes fourteen chapters by senior and emerging scholars, which together offers a comparative indigenous history of experiences of the British Empire during the Age of Revolution (roughly 1760-1840). Both collections put indigenous peoples front and centre as the primary participants and historical actors.

Both these publications made – and will make – the case that such an enterprise is timely, and necessary. While many scholars have looked at the era of expanding imperialism and noted its links with globalisation, they have usually done so from European perspectives. Even as an increasing number of historians recognise the crucial roles indigenous people played in this process, few have tried to think comparatively about indigenous experiences within and across expanding imperial borders over the course of the revolutionary and later era. The result is that too often when thinking comparatively or transnationally, indigenous peoples become distant and passive players in a largely European-driven game.

Granted, one reason for the scholarly neglect has been a reluctance to perpetuate the European framing that such comparative work must entail: to place indigenous peoples from vastly different spaces into historical relation is to give some special privilege to the European

empires that encountered them separately. Yet this reluctance has also come at a cost: it has missed an opportunity to understand how indigenous people shared some common means of accommodating, repelling, complicating and even ignoring the European encounter, and also how indigenous peoples themselves shaped and made use of the kinds of imperial networks and connections that were in development. In doing so, indigenous peoples in turn shaped and influenced the modern world in significant ways.

In this roundtable, each participant – Jane Carey, Jane Lydon, Kate Fullagar and Michael McDonnell, will speak for approximately ten minutes each on what they see as the main problems and opportunities inherent in such a historical project. Drawing on the essays and findings of their respective edited collections, the panelists will comment on the pros and cons of assembling and drawing together different analytic scales, methodologies, and regional histories and historiographies. They will discuss the challenges they faced when making choices about selection, scope, and aims, and the insights gained from putting individual historians of disparate peoples and places into conversation with each other. The panelists will then respond to each other, invite contributions from the audience, and reflect on where we should go from here.

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**Panel 4: Friday, 9:30 a.m.**

**Speakers: Lyndall Ryan, Jennifer Debenham, Mark Brown and Bill Pascoe**

*Unlocking Hidden Histories: How Digital Mapping Can make Colonial Frontier Violence Visible*

How was violence constructed on the Australian colonial frontier and how can we know? In recent years the debate about evidence for frontier violence has focussed on the integrity of sources and the need for a coherent method of approach. In 2014 Prof Lyndall Ryan and Dr Jonathan Richards were awarded an ARCDP to conduct an Australia wide study of violence on the colonial frontier and upload the findings on a digital map. They have since been joined by Dr Jennifer Debenham as Senior Research Assistant, cartographer Dr Mark Brown and digital humanities expert, Dr Bill Pascoe. The panel presents the research group's preliminary findings into frontier violence in four colonial jurisdictions: Van Diemen's Land 1804-1834; Port Phillip 1836-1859; New South Wales 1788-1859; and Queensland 1859-1905. In particular the findings will show how the techniques of digital mapping have impacted upon the data collection process and produced new insights about the characteristics of frontier violence.

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