Written Thesis in Submission for the Candidature of

Doctor of Philosophy

RADICAL TASMANIA:

Rebellion, Reaction and Resistance:

A Thesis in Creative Nonfiction:

Volume I: Exegesis

by

Robert Hodder

School of Behavioural & Social Sciences & Humanities

University of Ballarat

PO Box 663

University Drive, Mount Helen

Ballarat, Victoria 3353

Australia

Submitted in September 2009

Copyright © Robert Hodder 2010

Abstract

Radical Tasmania is a political history of radicals in Tasmania theorised and narrated in creative nonfiction. The exegesis analyses radical history, politics and historiography in the context of the "Narrative Wars" ("History Wars" and "Story Wars"). History, it is argued, can be understood as moving through a process of "value" drawn from a play of its meaning in both the social sciences and the arts. This is theorised as a "figurational tension". It suggests a poetics for the imaginative use of literary devices through creative nonfiction for a radical historiography. Such a narrative has considerable potential for academic research in the pursuit of a popular or "vulgar" readership in the urgency of the power struggles which emerged from the Narrative Wars and their implications for a democratic culture. Tasmania, as an island society which has experienced brutal oppression, widespread repression and later vigorous political activism, is a case study for a "storyscape" of radical geo-identity.

This theory is then applied through creative nonfiction in selected histories of radicals in Tasmania. These histories are structured as a geographical "tour" of the island's radicalism. "Gonzo historiography" and other devices narrate the experiences of Aboriginal guerrilla women in the so-called "Black War", tenant farmer resistance in the northern midlands, modern and postmodern communism, sexual liberation, a black Chartist and agitation by Vandiemonian emancipists, recent agitation for penal reform, "accidental champions" of feminism on the east coast, revolutionary unionists on the west coast and a resolution of cultural parapatry between "locals" and "in-movers" in the "forest wars" of Tasmania's north east.

Statement of Authorship

Except where explicit reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma. No other person's work has been relied upon or used without due acknowledgement in the main text and bibliography of the thesis.

Signed:_____	Signed:_____
Dated: _____	Dated: _____
Robert Hodder	Associate Professor Meg Tasker
Candidate	Principal Supervisor

Final Project Report

Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC)

ALL QUESTIONS MUST BE ANSWERED.

Please type your responses into the boxes provided. Boxes will expand to fit your response.

1) Project Details:

Project No:	**A05-163**
Project Name:	Radical Tasmania: Rebellion, Reaction and Resistance: A Thesis in Creative Nonfiction

2) Principal Researcher Details:

Full Name:	**Associate Professor Meg Tasker**
School/Section:	**Behavioural and Social Sciences & Humanities**
Phone:	**5327 9631**
Email:	**m.tasker@ballarat.edu.au**

3) Project Status:

Please indicate the current status of the project:	
[X] Data collection complete Completion date: 09/Dec/2008	[ ] Abandoned **Please give reason:**

4) Special Conditions:

If this project was approved subject to conditions, were these met?	
[X] Yes	[ ] **No** * NB: If 'no', please provide an explanation below:

5) Changes to project:

Were any amendments made to the originally approved project?

Final Project Report

Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC)

6) Storage of Data:

Please indicate where the data collected during the course of this project is stored:
In a locked cabinet in the private premises of the student researcher:

6) Research Participants:

Were there any events that had an adverse effect on the research participants?	
[X] No	[ ] **Yes** * NB: Please provide details:

7) Summary of Results:

Please provide a summary of the results of the project:
Nine persons agreed to be interviewed for the project. Six interviewees were recorded on tape and with notes. Three interviewees were recorded by notes only because: one person refused to be taped, one person nominated a public area which had too much ambient noise for a tape recorder and on one occasion the tape recorder malfunctioned. **All interviewees engaged enthusiastically with the project, offered constructive advice for the use of the material and/or requested amendments to the thesis draft and some offered further assistance.** **It was generally a positive and rewarding experience which provided crucial primary evidence for the project.**

Feedback:

The HREC welcomes any feedback on: · difficulties experienced with carrying out the research project; or · appropriate suggestions which might lead to improvements in ethical clearance and monitoring of research.

9) Signature/s:

Principal Researcher:	**Print name: Assoc. Prof. Meg Tasker**	Date:	**3 Sep 2009**

Other/Student Researchers:	…… **Print name: Robert Hodder**	Date:	**22 Apr 2009**

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere thanks to my principal supervisor, Associate Professor Meg Tasker, School of Behavioural & Social Sciences & Humanities, for the enormous amount of time and patient support she has given me throughout this thesis. I also give sincere thanks to my associate supervisors, Dr Jeremy Smith and Dr Anne Beggs Sunter, who have offered me invaluable advice throughout the research and writing. I am grateful to the School for its support in my successful application for an Australian Postgraduate Award and for further financial assistance for interstate conferences on Australian literature, oral history and creative nonfiction.

My special thanks goes to the interviewees for this project: Max Bound, Rodney Croome, Caroline Dean, Richard Flanagan, Ian Jamieson, Denise Power, Honourable Justice Pierre Slicer, Dr Jeff Sparrow and Julia Weston.

My appreciation also extends to those who have supported me in this research: Dr Ian Syson of Victoria University and Vulgar Press for the idea, Dr Pete Hay of the University of Tasmania for radical conversation, Dr Tom Dunning and Dr Hamish Maxwell-Stewart of the University of Tasmania for their encouragement, Dr John Tully of Victoria University for his list of radical contacts, Kim Pearce for advice on the Tasmania Archives and for his *World of Work* and Brickfields manuscript, Annette Betheras for her William Cuffay thesis, Jim Haas, Una Camplin and Len Miles for their vernacular history of Tasmania's "forgotten valley", Paddy Gorman for inviting me into the archives of the CFMEU, Tim Aulich, Frank Giles, Stephen Bantik and Colin Smart for the St Marys "goss", Tim McManus for showing me Miller's Hill, Dr Frances Daily for her advice on the SOS campaign, Cr David Clement, Ross Quinn, Isa Witton, Di Field, Ashley Mason, Charles Trollope and Melanie Casey for giving me their support on the SOS history, Dr David Leaman for his oral history of SOS and a copy of his *Water*, Amelia and Dr Peter Wilkins for their humour, and Gail and Paul Roberts for putting me up (and putting up with me) so often in Hobart.

Finally, I am forever grateful to my favourite Tasmanian, Maree Roberts, for supporting me in every way through years of research and for sharing in my passion for creative writing and things Vandiemonian.

To Maree and my parents, Colin and Moya.

Table of Contents

Introduction 10
Part 1 15
Radical History, Politics and Historiography 15
A): Radical History 15
History as Struggle 16
History as Praxis 17
History as the Meaning in Praxis 21
The Problem of Radicals in Tasmania 22
Narrative Wars as Contextualised Force 22
History Wars as Force 25
History As Radical Struggle 37
Radical Tasmania? 38
B): Radical Politics 41
History "from below" as Politics 41
Historical Force as the Politics of Radical Praxis 46
The Political "Spectrum" 48
Radicals and Radicalism in Tasmania 50
Radicals and Resistance 62
The Reactionary or Romantic Left 67
Tasmanian Radicals and the New Right 68
The Tasmanian Comprador and the Power of Cringe 70
The "Nature" of Property and Environmentalism as "Middle Class" Politics 72
C): Radical Historiography 81
Historiography with Radical Intent 81
Figurational Tension: Evidence Drawn Towards Meaning 84
Radical Meaning as Story (Aesthetic Emotion) in Radical History 96
Part 2 100
Narrative Struggle 100
Story Wars as Force 102
History warriors counter-attack the "fiction" 104
Fighting from the archival bunker 107
Radical history for a "vulgar" readership 117
Literary Theory, Politics and Marxism 121
Figurational Tension: Narrating Literary "Flesh" onto Evidential "Bones" 125
Poetics 131
Dialectics into Dialogics 132
Poetics as Radical Praxis 138
The Narrative Wars as "People's" Wars 143
A Symbiosis of Academic Historiography and a Popular Readership 149
Verifiable Evidence to Verifiable Meaning 151
Creative Nonfiction 155
Part 3 167
Et In Tasmania Ego 167
Storylines into Storyscape 178
Elements of Identity 182
Patriotism of Place 186
Litscape 190
Extracting a Moral From the Rhetorical Landscape 192
History, Creative Nonfiction and Mimesis 198

Table of Contents

Part 4 202
Radical Tasmania in Reflection 202
All Quiet on the Narrative Fronts? 202
"Gonzo historiography" and other vulgarisms in *Radical Tasmania* 209
Radical Tasmania Abides… 225
Radical Force in Tasmania 230
The Freedom of Necessity 233
Bibliography 235

Introduction

Radical Tasmania is submitted in two volumes, as an exegesis and as selected histories which employ "creative nonfiction" as part of their narrative.[1]

The exegesis explores four broad themes:

1. A history of radicals in Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land) after 1803 and a need for an historiography on such radicals;
2. Radical Tasmania and the political science of activist "praxis" in the parochial context of Tasmania;
3. A theorisation of creative nonfiction for a narration of radicalism in Tasmania;
4. A symbiosis of academic and popular aspirations for a radical narrative genre of Tasmania.

It is important to note that this thesis is cross-disciplinary; that is, it combines theory and method from schools of history, political science and communication studies, especially from the poetics of literary fiction as well as nonfiction and professional writing as an applied art. As different usages of the terms "history" and "historiography" can lead to ambiguity, the meaning of "historiography" here is taken to be the "study and writing of history". In the context of the discussion of historiography, the term "science" is taken to approximate the legacy from Leopold von Ranke of "historical research based on primary evidence subjected to critical evaluation".[2] For the purposes of this thesis, the term historiography is used to emphasise history narratives in text (see *Geschichtsschreibung* below) to distinguish it from the broader notions of history as, for example, in action, in struggle, or "in the making", etc, or historical narratives on cinematic screen (movies and documentaries), in visual art (for example, Pablo Picasso's *Guernica*, 1937) or even opera (for example, Company B's production of

[1] With the development of personal computer software, the referencing convention for notes has tended away from the use of Latin abbreviations (like ibid., op. cit., and loc. cit.) because restructuring of manuscripts with "cutting" and "pasting" facilities can lead to errors, and also confusion for readers if the notes are lengthy and there are many references between the repeated entries for an author or work. So this thesis uses "short form" instead. This can appear a little ungainly, especially for the same consecutive references, when it includes long web site addresses—made more necessary by references to sub-sites attached to "home" sites. However, it makes for easier referencing to the bibliography and also, by using a digital copy of this thesis, the site addresses can be conveniently copied and pasted into the internet and the references quickly downloaded.

[2] See "Historiography" in E. Wright, *A Dictionary of World History* (2000) http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.library.vu.edu.au/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t48.e1701 (31 May 2009). On Ranke as the "crucial figure" in "the development of modern professional 'scientific' history", see A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006) p52.

Keating! The Musical, 2006). However, history is also a story-telling art (hence a certain tension as this exegesis will elaborate), so the second volume of this thesis is titled *The Selected Histories* rather than, say, *The Selected Historiographies*; this is discussed further in reference to Herodotus below.

The volume of creative nonfiction is a selection of "microhistories" (*microstoria*)[3] of radicals in Tasmania. It seeks to articulate the voices of the historical subjects as "transcripts of resistance"[4] and as "storyscape".

The analysis begins with an ostensibly simple question: What is the history of radicals in Tasmania after 1803? This question invites other questions in turn: What is radical history? What is radical politics? What is radical historiography?

Again in turn, and in the context of radicals in Tasmania, each of these topics of theoretical analysis opens to further topics which are broadly investigated. These general outlines are then extrapolated in turn to further theorise the context and particularities which impel histories of Tasmanian radicals towards a political poetics.

Moving on, the exegesis discusses the historical context which impels its questions and so too constructs its analysis toward explicated conclusions. This entails an overview of what is termed here the "Narrative Wars": the cumulative effect of the "History Wars" with, what are termed for these purposes, the "Story Wars"[5] as they are relevant to the problems explored by the topic. This "backgrounding" of the Narrative Wars therefore contextualises the broad theoretical thrust.

The radical politics of Tasmania is then analysed and further elaborated. This entails a practical definition of "radicals" and/or "radicalism" as can be applied to Tasmanian history; for example, it analyses the modern politics of environmentalism[6] as problematic for radical theory, exposing potential strengths and weaknesses for a radical praxis in Tasmania. Also, throughout *Radical Tasmania*, a self-reflexive analysis will be constructed as radical politics.

---

[3] Inspired by the Italian post-Marxist historiography of the likes of Carlo Ginzburg, Carlo Pone, Giovanni Levi and Eduardo Grendi; see G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (1997) p107.
[4] This is a paraphrasing of J.C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990) p2, f.n.1.
[5] Also described as "literature wars"; see G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p26.
[6] For a brief discussion and refutation of the "shades of difference" between "environmental", "ecology" and "green", see P. Hay, *Main Currents in Western Environmental Thought* (2002) p1.

A key theme is history as evidenced meaning. The thesis explores how the historical narrative is drawn out of the evidence into a story when it expresses meaning by eliciting an epistemological truth into an "aesthetic emotion".[7] So history, it will be argued, can be understood as moving through a process of "value" drawn from a play of its meaning in both the social sciences (empirical theory and research)[8] and the arts. The thesis refers to this movement of historical value from evidence into narrative meaning as a "figurational tension".[9]

While the analysis leans on the social sciences in general, it also borrows from a development in Marxism to add that science is a value or norm and so science here also constitutes an historical sociology; that is, the science critically reflects on its historicity towards a dialectic of theory and practice.[10] This gives rise to a tension between empirical evidence and value (ideology), which is to be explored as a second dimension of figurational tension where science is drawn towards an artistic narrative; for example, this is discussed in reference to artistic devices that Karl Marx constructs to bridge his economics towards his politics for revolution ("historical materialism").

The exegesis then moves to a theorisation and analysis of a historiography of radicals in Tasmania for a popular ("vulgar") readership; this is argued as a dialectic of academic history and democratic politics. Dialogics ("dialogism" or "dialogic")[11] is integral to

---

[7] Robert McKee describes "aesthetic emotion" as the fusion of "meaning" and "emotion" through art (story) into "epiphanies"; see R. McKee, *Story* (1999) p111.

[8] The term "science" in this thesis specifies political science and sociology and/or the science of history (*Geschichtswissenschaft*, discussed below).

[9] For a history of the tension in historiography as a "work of science" and as a "work of art", see A. Curthoys & J. Docker, Ch. 4, "History, Science and Art" in *Is History Fiction?* (2006) pp69-89.

[10] For Marxism and science, see Roy Bhaskar, "science" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p435. G.M. Trevelyan dismisses historical "science" by narrowing the term to the "deductive" method of the "physical science" (positivism) and to "direct utility"; this is mostly a problem of a reluctance to recognise the role of ideology in science and an ignorance of the utlitity of science, including that of history ("historical materialism"), in (Marxist) revolutionary *praxis*. See G.M. Trevelyan, "Clio, A Muse", *Clio, A Muse, and Other Essays* (1968) pp142-146.

[11] While Bakhtin's theory was earlier translated into English as "dialogism", the recent trend has been to use the term "dialogic" (probably to form an obvious contradistinction to "monologic", which Bakhtin was keen to overturn) and now more so "dialogics". For example, the Bakhtin scholars, Michael Gardiner and Peter Hitchcock, respectively published the titles *The Dialogics of Critique* (1992) and *Dialogics of the Oppressed* (1993) Also, Lee Honeycutt says of Bakhtin, "This philosophy [is] known as dialogics"; see L. Honeycutt, "Ch. 1 Introduction" in *What Hath Bakhtin Wrought?* (1994) http://www.public.iastate.edu/~honeyl/bakhtin/thesis.html (16 Jun 2005). A Google-Search for "dialogics" produced 32,100 entries (3 Apr 2008).

this relationship.[12] It is examined in terms of a necessity for a literary art of practical application in the section titled, *Volume II: The Selected Histories*. This title is used for *Radical Tasmania* in humble reference to the "Father of history" and a champion of classical history wars, Herodotus, and his *The Histories*, *c.*450-420 BC.)[13] Also, the term is used as a reflexive device in critical reference to the (alleged) rejection of literary (fictional) device in historiography by the "empiricist", or Rankean, school (discussed below). This leads to an analysis of the art of creative nonfiction.

A more complex question can now be constructed for Part 2 of the exegesis:

- Which historiographical art best narrates the meaning drawn from the science of evidence for a history of radical politics in Tasmania after 1803 for academic research and a popular readership?

A theory of poetics as politics for *Radical Tasmania* is then further analysed through adaptation of historical, political and literary trends, some from other regions of the postcolonial "Anglosphere" such as "mainland" Australia and America; for example, storyscape is explored as a narrative element.

An overview of the historical subject is then elaborated with an eye to identifying interconnecting and overarching themes in a parochial context. Both the History Wars and the Story Wars ("the revenge of literature")[14] reached a crescendo in Australia under the Federal Government of John Howard from 1996 until Howard's political defeat and the election in 2007 of Kevin Rudd.[15] While this could be seen as a turning point, it is unlikely to be the end of the struggle for "cultural hegemony".[16] So, to use

---

[12] Dialogics (or the dialogic) originates with Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of text, language and knowledge in the dynamic relations of a collective or public culture; for a selection of four of Bakhtin's important essays on dialogics, see M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* (1981).

[13] In critical reference to Keith Windschuttle's rejection of Simon Schama's literary art in the latter's novella-type *Dead Certainties* (1991) as "a History of stories"; see K. Windschuttle, *The Killing of History* (1994) p228. In turn, for an imaginative criticism of Windschuttle on this point, see C. Bellamy, "The History Wars Continue" (Oct 2003) http://www.craigbellamy.net/2003/11/13/the-history-wars-continue-keith-winshuttle-versus-simon-schama-a-hypothetical-trial/ (19 Dec 2007).

[14] Linda Orr, "The Revenge of Literature, *Studies in Historical Change* (1992) pp84-108, cited in D. Kelley & D. Sacks, "Introduction", *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain* (1997) p4.

[15] Some in the social sciences see Rudd as "a younger doppelgängar of Howard". See G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) pix.

[16] A. Gramsci, "Part Two: Prison Writings 1929-1935: VI Hegemony, Relations of Force, Historical Bloc: 6 [Ethico-Political History and Hegemony]", *An Antonio Gramsci Reader* (2007) http://www.marxists.org/archive/gramsci/prison_notebooks/reader/q10i-12.htm (20 Jan 2008). See a discussion of the opportunity for a "counter-hegemonic struggle" post-Howard in K. Weekley, "The Clever Principle of Similar Difference" (Winter 2008) pp5-9.

the popular headline pun, "Howard's end"[17] is mostly the ending of the analysis in this context for the exegesis, with not so much a dénouement as rather a few reflections on the Narrative Wars after Howard. The exegesis finishes with a summary of its main findings and a general conclusion.

A theory of an historiographical art with which to best narrate the meaning drawn from the science of the evidence of radical politics in Tasmania after 1803 can then be applied to the selected histories.

[17] *Howard's End* (1910), a novel by E.M. Forster on the British class system.

Part 1

Radical History, Politics and Historiography

A): Radical History

History *is* a very powerful weapon.[18] This is not the power of mere mass destruction, it is the primal power of "creative destruction":[19] human change over time lives in stories of a present in radical confrontation with its past and as this present acts towards a realisation of its future.History radicalises itself not because it tells of the past but because it tells the past, it forms and reforms the past; not at the whim of literary trope,[20] "but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past".[21] So too is historiography (*Geschichtsschreibung*) a fundamental confrontation with and reforming of "verifiable evidence"; the "story" is directed by the meaning sourced in the tension drawn out of the oppositional yet defining relationship of the epistemology to the aesthetic. As Alex Miller argues, without the past, there is no story:

> No two things are more deeply connected than our stories and our past. Memory, that most civilising faculty of the human consciousness, is always memory of the past. Without memory, without the past, there are no stories and no novels, no theatre, no poetry. Memory is the source of all our arts. Without memory, without the past, we have no interior life.[22]

---

[18] Alexander Downer, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, is reported to have refused to present the Georgetown University library with Manning Clark's six-volume *The History of Australia* (1962-1988) while in the United States as his Departmental staff had arranged. Instead, Wayne Smith claims, Downer presented the Americans with a biography of Sir John Monash. He is reported to have remarked, "History is a very, very powerful weapon." See W. Smith, "By Order of Lenin" (24 Aug 1996) W1. See this quotation discussed at H. McQueen, *Suspect History* (1997) p2; McQueen goes on to analyse Smith's article in detail. For the APC judgments censuring Smith's article for false accusations against Manning Clark, see Australian Press Council, "Adjudication No. 890" (Nov 1996) & "General Press Release No. 210, Appeal re Adjudication No. 890" (Jan 1997) http://138.25.65.50/au/other/apc/1996/64.html (4 Apr 2008).

[19] The term "creative destruction" can be found across the ideological spectrum in the works of the anarchist, Mikhail Bakunin, the philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche, and the Marxist, Werner Sombart, and was later popularised by the liberal economist, Joseph Schumpeter, who tends to emphasise the "creative…" forces (of capitalism) in contrast to contemporary Marxists, like David Harvey (discussed below), who tends to analyse the forces of "…destruction", albeit with an eye to its potential for revolution; for example, see an archetypal title of Harvey's like his "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction" (Mar 2007) pp21-44. Creative destruction is also adapted in this thesis for philosophy of history and is discussed in the context of dialectics.

[20] A reference to "endless relativism" and H. White, *Metahistory* (1973), discussed below.

[21] "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past"; see K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (2006) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/subject/hist-mat/18-brum/ch01.htm (16 Nov 2006).

[22] See A. Miller, "Truth in Fiction and History"

As will be later elaborated, the radical and the reactionary impel historical narrative; this narrative is the struggle between radical and reactionary forces.

History as Struggle

The resolution of "freedom and necessity" is a compelling quality of history.[23] Marx, for one, in an interview for the popular press, averred this quality of history in one word: "Struggle!"[24]

Of course, history as struggle suggests a "metanarrative" (*die Geschichte*).[25] Yet if the very term "human history" is in any sense valid it is because there is a common element defining the descriptor "human" and so this, in turn, necessitates a continuum, even a changing continuum (dialectic), which sustains the term for history. Otherwise, at some point, so-called human history has ceased to exist. This is not to proclaim an over-arching teleology for history,[26] rather it re-proclaims Herodotus's classical notion of history as "human achievements"[27] and it proclaims this in stories of teleological form.[28] In the context of a political history, achievement can be as singular as mere

---

(30 Nov 2006) http://www.rage.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2006/1800785.htm (16 Dec 2006).

[23] "…the true resolution of the strife between existence and essence, between objectification and self-confirmation, between freedom and necessity"; see K. Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (1977) p97.

[24] This was Marx's answer to the question, "What is?" See the interview with Karl Marx by John Swinton (*New York Sun*, 6 Sep 1880) in F. Wheen, *Karl Marx* (1999) p383.

[25] G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (1997) p142; metanarrative as used by Jean-Francois Lyotard in his *La Condition postmoderne: Rapport sur le savoir* (1979) for the incredulity of postmodernism towards the "language games" of the "Myth of Liberation" and the "Myth of Truth" in the claims of science and the Enlightenment tradition for progress; see J.-F. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition* (1997); see also "post-modernism" in J. Scott & G. Marshall, *A Dictionary of Sociology* (2009) http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.library.vu.edu.au/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t88.e1767 (1 Jun 2009).

[26] "It was Marx's view that history itself had no meaning beyond that which men in their varying degrees of development assigned to it." See David McLellan, "historicism" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p211.

[27] From the famous opening line: "Herodotus of Halicarnassus here displays his enquiry, so that human achievements may not become forgotten in time, and great and marvellous deeds – some displayed by Greeks, some by barbarians – may not be without their glory; and especially to show why the two peoples fought with each other." See Herodotus, "Book One" in *The Histories* (1954) from the Penguin Classics translation by Aubrey de Selincourt; other publications, including revised editions of Penguin Classics, use an alternative translation to the phrase "human achievements"; see Herodotus, "Book One" in *The Histories* (1972) p41.

[28] "Stories are intrinsically teleological forms, in which an event is explained by the prior events or causes that lead up to it." See W. Cronon, "A Place for Stories" (1992) p1370.

survival; not in a basic physical sense, as that is not, of itself, political; rather it can be survival in, at least, a moral sense. Stories of moral survival can form into a history of "great and marvellous deeds".[29] This underpins the notion of struggle in *Radical Tasmania*.

History as Praxis

As flagged by Herodotus, human deeds constitute an element which is common to all "social history". R.G. Collingwood coined a pun on history: "What kinds of things does history find? I answer, *res gestae*: actions of human beings that have been done in the past."[30] Marx and Frederick Engels enunciated a view of a peculiarity, even a definition, of human activity which they saw as common throughout history.

> *History* does *nothing*, it 'possesses *no* immense wealth', it 'wages *no* battles'. It is *man*, real, living man who does all that, who possesses and fights; 'history' is not, as it were, a person apart, using man as a means to achieve *its own* aims; history is *nothing but* the activity of man pursuing his aims. [31]

Again, this is not to proclaim here an historical metanarrative (though it will be later used in a literary sense similar to "metafiction"), yet this is to look to the "heroic culture",[32] to the protagonist who "can be destroyed but not defeated",[33] to the champions of history as a type. To be a champion of history and also to champion history, as shall be argued, is a defining quality of radical history and therefore of *Radical Tasmania*.

---

[29] Also translated as "astonishing achievements"; see Herodotus, "Book One" in *The Histories* (1972) p41.

[30] R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (1946) p9. The pun is in the Latin *res gestae*, meaning "things done"; it is also a legal term for the exception to the rule against hearsay evidence, statements as evidence which are, in themselves, credible.

[31] See K. Marx & F. Engels, Ch. VI, "2) Absolute Criticism's Second Campaign, a) Hinrichs No. 2. 'Criticism' and 'Feuerbach'" in *The Holy Family* (1997) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/holy-family/ch06_2.htm (20 Apr 2008).

[32] E.P Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1968) p915.

[33] E. Hemingway, *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952) p103. This is also a Hemingway "double dicho": a statement which remains the same back to front; e.g., defeated but not destroyed. In Spanish, *dicho* means utterance or (old, wise, etc.) saying. However, a double dicho is contingent on context; see "Fellow Slaves!" in *The Selected Histories*. Also see Hemingway's "double dicho" discussed by A.E. Hotchner, *Papa Hemingway* (1999) p73.

Human activity is elemental to history and is yet, of itself, insufficient for history. Struggle, at least in the historical traditions of concern here, is one aspect of human activity, and perhaps the most forceful.[34] Yet struggle without meaning denies that "Men *make* their own history" [emphasis added];[35] it devolves to the banality of "natural history".[36] Tom Crick, Graham Swift's protagonist in his novel *Waterland* (1983), opines that history cannot make sense (reason) of the sensual (material perception, appetite, emotion, psyche, etc.): "Children, there's something which revolutionaries and prophets of new worlds and even humble champions of Progress…can't abide. Natural history, human nature."[37] Precisely! It is because a recurring story in history is the role of primal human qualities changing and being changed by socialised nature,[38] more properly termed "species-being" (*Gattungswesen*),[39] as the subjective and objective forces of human relations over time. The resolution of human society with human nature is the resolution of freedom and necessity; it is history and it is so because it develops out of its radical impulses. Unresolved, it remains the ahistorical infant of non-linear and therefore un-narratable (unconsultable)[40] "time"; it is, as Crick (Swift) naively implies of the antagonist to his "man man",[41] childish humanity.[42]

---

[34] Struggle here is not a synonym for a quasi-Christian "suffering producing history" or for history as mistakes; see Timothy Farrell's error on this, along with Graham Swift's, at T. Farrell, "Rethinking the End of History" (2002) http://www.scholars.nus.edu.sg/post/uk/gswift/wl/farrell5.html (7 Jan 2007).

[35] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (2006) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/ch01.htm (16 Nov 2006).

[36] For a discussion on "natural history" as ahistorical or cyclical narrative in reference to *Waterland*, see G. Landow, "*Waterland*" (n.d.) http://www.scholars.nus.edu.sg/post/uk/gswift/wl/wlintro.html (7 Jan 2007).

[37] G. Swift, *Waterland* (1983) p178.

[38] "the essence of man...is the ensemble of the social relations." See K. Marx, "Thesis 6" in *Theses on Feuerbach* (2002) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/theses/index.htm (2 Apr 2006).

[39] "Man is a species-being, not only because in practice and in theory he adopts the species (his own as well as those of other things) as his object, but – and this is only another way of expressing it – also because he treats himself as the actual, living species; because he treats himself as a *universal* and therefore a free being." See K. Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (1977) p72. Marx borrows the term "species-being" from Ludwig Feuerbach and critiques Feuerbach in turn; for example, see K. Marx, "Thesis 6" in *Theses on Feuerbach* (2002) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/theses/index.htm (2 Apr 2006).

[40] Inga Clendinnen's investigation of history and "consultable" narratives discussed below; see I. Clendinnen, "The History Question" (Oct 2006) p38.

[41] "Children, only animals live entirely in the Here and Now. Only nature knows neither memory nor history. Man man — let me offer you a definition — is the story-telling animal." See G. Swift, *Waterland* (1983) p53.

[42] For an analysis of the "end of history" in Swift's novel *Waterland*, while also uncritically accepting a misprision of the "end of history" in Marx as constructed by Francis Fukuyama and also the "Grand Narrative" thesis, as well as purporting to the misleading simplification that "Marx would agree that human suffering produces history", see T. Farrell, "Rethinking the End of History" (2002) http://www.scholars.nus.edu.sg/post/uk/gswift/wl/farrell5.html (7 Jan 2007).

While the "nature" in *Homo sapiens* is also a problematic relativism, Aristotle's dictum has it "that man is by nature a political animal".[43] For *Radical Tasmania*, this political "end" is not "by nature" but is "by history", and while politics is an end of a sort, a teleological realisation of a potential (as Aristotle would have it), politics acts for and on history and therefore expresses an endlessness because it pursues a human universality. The critical element of historical struggle is what E.H. Carr simply summarises through Marx as "conscious action" or self-conscious action; "the corresponding development of thought through a dialectical process; and corresponding action…which reconciles and unites the theory and practice of revolution" and to "reshape society, and the individuals who compose it, by conscious action".[44] For science more broadly, the radical historical geographer, David Harvey, in a retort aptly titled "A Commentary on the Comments" (1972), demanded that science as "revolutionary theory" must be "validated through revolutionary practice".[45] Of course, these notions of theory as the practise of historical change have their genesis in Marx's famous "Thesis 11" on Ludwig Feuerbach: "Philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it."[46] At its most developed, historical struggle is praxis:[47]

> [It refers] in general to action, activity; and in Marx's sense to the free, universal, creative and self-creative activity through which man creates (makes, produces) and changes (shapes) his historical, human world and himself; an activity specific to man, through which he is basically differentiated from all other beings. In this sense man can be regarded as a being of praxis, 'praxis' as the central concept of Marxism, and Marxism as the 'philosophy' (or better: 'thinking') of 'praxis'. The word is of Greek origin, and according

[43] "If the earlier forms of society are natural, so is the state, for it is the end of them, and the nature of a thing is its end. For what each thing is when fully developed, we call its nature... Hence it is evident that the state is a creation of nature, and that man is by nature a political animal"; see Aristotle, *The Politics* (1996) http://www.humanities.mq.edu.au/Ockham/y6704.html (6 Dec 2006).
[44] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) p136 & p137.
[45] D. Harvey, "A Commentary on the Comments" (Jul 1972) p36. While still wrestling with the shortcomings of positivism a few years earlier, before he had embraced Marxist dialectics, Harvey mounted the barricades of the mind: "Harvey exhorts us 'to pin up on our study walls…the slogan…"By our theories you shall know us"'". As attributed to Harvey's *Explanation in Geography* (1969) p486, see T. Barnes, "Between Deduction and Dialectics" in N. Castree & D. Gregory, *David Harvey* (2006) p31.
[46] K. Marx, "Thesis 11" in *Theses on Feuerbach* (2002) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/theses/index.htm (16 Nov 2006).
[47] For Marx's early theorisation of the "human senses" as praxis for revolutionary socialism, see K. Marx, "Third Manuscript: Private Property and Labor" in *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (1993) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/epm/3rd.htm (5 Dec 2006). Marx then later employs the term praxis for "Thesis 11" after flagging it in "Thesis 1" as "human sensuous activity, practice"; see K. Marx, "Thesis 1" in *Theses on Feuerbach* (2002) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/theses/index.htm (16 Nov 2006).

> to [Nicholas] Lobkowicz 'refers to almost any kind of activity which a free man is likely to perform; in particular, all kinds of business and political activity'.[48]

It is added here that praxis is not just the activity of free humans, but that it is in the making of society that humanity finds freedom, in that praxis is the conscious pursuit of freedom; it is the activity of realising the ideal into the actual, the concrete. This is an historical act. In Shlomo Avineri's succinct paraphrase, "*Praxis* means man's conscious shaping of the changing historical conditions."[49] As E.P. Thompson notes on his selected title at the very beginning of the "Preface" to his now classic work on history from below, *The Making of the English Working Class*:[50]

> This book has a funny title, but it is one which meets its purpose. *Making*, because it is a study in an active process, which owes as much to agency as to conditioning. The working class did not rise like the sun at an appointed time. It was present at its own making.[51]

In this sense, history is not simply an idea.[52] History is made. As praxis is interpretation and action, so praxis is the making in this history. The "purpose" of the "agency" is the "conditioning" and the purpose of the conditioning is the agency. The relationship, the "active process", between subject and object is in the making and the re-making at the most fundamental level, it is in radical activity; that is, it is praxis. So, to borrow a pun, revolution is best praxis; it is applied theory.[53] For *Radical Tasmania*, praxis is the driving act; it is historical force. Therefore praxis is radical action. In this sense, radical is the subject and object of this thesis.

---

[48] G. Petrovic, "Praxis" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p384; Petrovic's reference is Nicholas Lobkowicz, *Theory and Practice: History of a Concept from Aristotle to Marx* (1967) no pagination.
[49] S. Avineri, *The Social & Political Thought of Karl Marx* (1968) p138.
[50] For an essay on the relevance of class analysis in Tasmania, see S. Breen, "Class" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) pp408-414.
[51] E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1968) p9. For an approbation of class analysis as "popular struggles from below" in Thompson's history, see H. Kay (1995) p51.
[52] R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (1946).
[53] So, for example, Antonio Gramsci referred to V.I. Lenin as "the greatest modem theorist of the philosophy of praxis." See A. Gramsci, "Part Two: Prison Writings 1929-1935: VI Hegemony, Relations of Force, Historical Bloc: 6 [Ethico-Political History and Hegemony]", *An Antonio Gramsci Reader* (2007) http://www.marxists.org/archive/gramsci/prison_notebooks/reader/q10i-12.htm (20 Jan 2008).

History as the Meaning in Praxis

Freedom is the recognition of necessity.[54] This is not to ascribe an inevitability to history. It is that in understanding necessity (including structures and limitations), human society understands its choices; that is to say, society understands it can make its choices. Willie Thompson explains it simply as an "engineering" in history: "in order to fly, it is essential to understand the necessities of aerodynamics".[55] Left to this, it might mean that history is merely didactic; people learn from history. But if "learn" is only a matter of utilitarian instruction then, for example, there would be no need for the History Wars. However, the necessity of history has created the History Wars because society makes itself in the image of its own creation; it reflect*s* on its past and finds identity; the "lesson" of history is exactly its meaning; the meaning of history is just that, meaning. This is not a tautology; the apparent circularity is a dialectic. History, here, is the historical subject making itself in objective affirmation of its activity, and as the subject understands this activity in remaking itself and, so again, remakes itself anew.

Those who ignore the lessons of history are doomed to repeat them.[56] Also, rather than repeat, history "turns". What happens, or at least what is abstracted, is a patterning. This is an outcome of the need to conceptualise and narrate in generalisations; it is often critical imagination as "theory".[57] As the proverb has it, "History does not repeat itself, it rhymes."[58] This underscores the observation of the prolific historian and poet, A.L. Rowse, that "History is a great deal closer to poetry than is generally realised."[59] As stated, history is more than literary trope, yet the meaning in history is dependent on an artistic rendering of the epistemology (the science in the verifiable evidence) because it needs a device to comprehend those nuances which lie at the edge of intuitive understanding, of emotional and spiritual yearnings, etc. This is to construct a "logic", a similarity, a pattern, a parallel, a correspondence, an affinity, a pun or an image, and so on, of the past in the present because it finds the present in the past. In this sense, to

[54] Willie Thompson credits this observation to Frederick Engels, but does not reference it; see W. Thompson, *What happened to history?* (2000) p133.
[55] W. Thompson, *What happened to history?* (2000) p133.
[56] A common rephrasing of George Santayana, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it," from his *The Life of Reason: Vol. I: Reason in Common Sense* (1905).
[57] See R. Connell, *Southern Theory* (2007) p225.
[58] Folklorists sometimes credit this to Mark Twain, though this is in dispute; see it in hyper-folklore at "Mark Twain" in *Wikipedia* (13 Apr 2008) http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Mark_Twain (20 Apr 2008).
[59] Rowse is quoted in F. Szasz, "The Many Meanings of History, Part 1" (Aug 1974) p559.

quote Benedetto Croce on history as a structured narrative of freedom, all history is "contemporary".[60] Yet in this turning around itself, this self-centredness, the historical subject is also objectified in a teleological linearity because the evidence is understood through the "rules" of representation in art.[61] This is the art of story. (This does not imply that the past itself necessarily has the same structure.)[62] This is how history bespeaks, so to speak, its meaning. (Nor is this the same as history in "two directions at once".)[63] The point here is that as the history at the centre of focus, a history of Tasmanian radicals, is driven by praxis then it follows that the historical meaning is found in this praxis. The praxis is in story and the story is in praxis because praxis is at the core of the history and history with meaning is the narrative praxis of story.

The Problem of Radicals in Tasmania

Narrative Wars as Contextualised Force

Radical Tasmania begins with a problem of history and yet, as shall be demonstrated, the apparent simplicity of this problem will reveal profound issues for political theory and, in turn, for historiography. Put another way, while the problem begins with history, its resolution is implied in a theorisation of an "interface" between a research for academic or "professional" history and a potential, indeed necessary, relationship with a popular readership and, in this relationship, as political praxis. It demands a critical analysis of a symbiosis of social science with literary art and so suggests that an applied poetics (creative nonfiction) is an avenue towards knowledge as power: a bridge between epistemological research and an organic, democratic politics.[64] The problem grows out of a crisis of legitimacy for "traditional" (Rankean) history to show "how it really was" (*wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*);[65] a crisis which will be argued is in the

---

[60] B. Croce, *History as the Story of Liberty* (1941) p19. This is also discussed in E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) p21.
[61] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p134.
[62] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p134.
[63] G. Swift, *Waterland* (1983) pp135-136. See Swift's theme discussed as a rejection of "high modernist lingo" in S. Eron, "Once Upon a Time" (2004) http://www.scholars.nus.edu.sg/post/uk/gswift/wl/eron26.html (7 Jan 2007).
[64] Raewyn Connell aspires to "help social science to serve democratic purposes on a world scale" and then posits the domination of the production of social theory by a "Northern" (Anglo and European) metropolis; see R. Connell, *Southern Theory* (2007) pvii.
[65] E.H Carr, *What is History?* (1964) p8. The German term, also translated as "the past as it essentially was" or "the past as it actually was" is from Leopold von Ranke's *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations from 1494 to 1514* (1824); see L. Ranke, *Leopold von Ranke* (1981) p58

narrative art of the tension between fact and meaning, and which seeks a resolution of that crisis in popular culture. This, it must be stated at the outset, is not a return to poststructuralist relativism, rather it is posited as an advance towards democratic politics.[66] This also offers a possibility to revise the Foucauldian "problematic of '*pouvoir-savoir*' [power and knowledge]"[67] in that it challenges the Nietzschian pessimism which characterises Michel Foucault's historicisation of power-knowledge with a democratic optimism re-ignited by Marx's clarion call for a symbiotic praxis of science and art as revolutionary politics.[68]

So one begins not with a beginning but with a rhetorical "end":[69] an end of history which begins in the so-called History Wars and the many dimensions to the meaning of the term. This, as shall be demonstrated, is essentially a battle for the control of the present through a "possession" of the past, and not as "fact" so much as narrative. It is an ideological, and very much a political, struggle between "history warriors":[70] largely left wing (mostly left liberal) academic historians, and the "black armband brigade",[71]

---

[66] "I'm an unabashed Old Leftist who never quite understood how deconstruction was supposed to help the working class." See Alan Sokal and the "*Social Text Affair*" discussed below; refer A. Sokal, "Transgressing the Boundaries" (Fall 1996) http://www.physics.nyu.edu/faculty/sokal/afterword_v1a/afterword_v1a_singlefile.html (15 Dec 2006).

[67] C. Gordon, "Preface" in M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge* (1980) pvii. See also Foucault's use of the phrase "power and knowledge" as a summary of his concern with "the political status of science and the ideological functions it could serve" at M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge* (1980) p109.

[68] Foucault's criticisms of Marxism, particularly his attempt to separate his theory of "discourse" from ideology, can be read as a reaction to the Stalinist dogma of the French Communist Party (*Parti Communiste Français* or *PCF*); for example, see M. Foucault, "Truth and Power" (1980) p110, p116 & p118.

[69] This is to make a metaphorical pun on those "bookends" of Western historical theory: Marx's theory of communism as "the solution of the riddle of history" (the "end" and "beginning" in the resolution of class struggle) and his self-defining and (lapsed) neoconservative antagonist in Francis Fukuyama (liberalism as the "end" of history); see K. Marx, "Private Property and Labor" in *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (1993) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/epm/3rd.htm (5 Dec 2006), and F. Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992). Marx deals with bourgeois triumphalism as "vulgar economy"; for example, see K. Marx, "Afterword to the Second German Edition" in *Capital Vol. I* (1999) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/p3.htm (1 Feb 2007); N.B., this is sometimes referenced as the "Preface". Also see Engels's anticipation of the Hegelian "smother" of revolution in the likes of Fukuyama (despite also the latter's Nietzschian pessimism) at F Engels, "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy: Part 1: Hegel" (1994**)** http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1886/ludwig-feuerbach/ch01.htm (5 Dec 2006).

[70] S. Macintyre in S. Macintyre & A. Clark, *The History Wars* (2003) p12; Macintyre employs the term as a pejorative of the right, yet it has since tended to a general description for all the participants. Also, Macintyre argues that the History Wars have become "an argument for control of the past as a political resource"; see S. Macintyre, "The History Wars" (9 Sep 2006) http://evatt.labor.net.au/news/253.html (24 Oct 2006). The term "culture warriors" is also used by some commentators; see G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) pxi.

[71] G. Blainey, "Australia - Two Peoples, Two Nations?" (12 Jun 1993) p2, and "Drawing Up a Balance Sheet of Our History" (Jul-Aug 1993) pp10-15; also see M. McKenna, "Different Perspectives on Black Armband History" (10 Nov 1997) http://www.aph.gov.au/Library/pubs/rp/1997-98/98rp05.htm (13 Feb 2006). In reverse discourse , The Black Arm Band is a reclaiming of the phrase by an Aboriginal group, winning the 2008 Deadly Award for indigenous "Band of the Year"; see The Black Arm Band, "Home" (2008) http://www.blackarmband.com.au/ (22 Oct 2008).

and right wing "public commentators"[72] and politicians, or the "white blindfolds".[73] It is appropriate here to refute the naivety in the assertion that the History Wars is a "politically loaded but intellectually somewhat lightweight" term.[74] Because they are so much more than a scholarly debate, because the History Wars articulate an intense power struggle, the term could only be "lightweight" if abstracted from its political context; as the ancient Greeks would have had it, such indifference to the political ramifications is idiocy (*idiotès*).[75] Indeed, it is the wrestle to de-intellectualise history which has partly given rise to the power of the conflict.[76] Melissa Nobles, in researching an elemental quality of the History Wars, the phenomenon of the "official apology", tellingly refers to this not as a particular history so much as "apology politics"[77] because the relevant historical revisionism is a function of ulterior strategies to alter political identity; in turn changing expectations about history as past, present and future. Yet the History Wars is only one "front" of an ideological struggle which, here in Australia, has forced open a second arena of contest. For the purposes here, this "second front" is termed the Story Wars. This is a struggle over history and, very importantly, access to a popular readership, between academic historians and authors of fictional history positioned as they are on their mutual "open boundary".[78] As mentioned above, the sum total of the History Wars and the Story Wars leads to an overarching term: the Narrative Wars. This is a contextualised force for *Radical Tasmania*.

---

[72] A list of the Howard Government's "most loyal friends" includes Janet Albrechtsen, Dennis Shanahan, Andrew Bolt, Piers Akerman, Gerard Henderson, Kevin Donnelly and Greg Sheridan; see G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p27.

[73] See B. Attwood & S.G. Foster, "Introduction", in B. Attwood & S.G. Foster, *Frontier Conflict* (2003) p13. Also see an early use of the term "white blindfolds" in R. Devetak, "Blind to Their Armbands" (6 Mar 2002) http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2002/03/05/1014705048445.html (9 Jun. 2006).

[74] S. Byers, "Anna Clark 'Teaching the Nation'" (2006) http://www.ias.uwa.edu.au/the_new_critic/archives/issue_2/anna_clark_teaching_the_nation__susie_byers (22 Apr 2008).

[75] The *idiotès*, from which is derived the English word "idiot", were indifferent to politics; see J. Colaiaco, *Socrates Against Athens* (2001) p102. "From about 500 BC to 321 BC the city-state of Athens was a direct democracy. Any citizen could (and all public-spirited citizens were expected to) attend the sovereign Assembly…a relic of the democratic enthusiasm for participation survived in the language we inherited from the Greeks; in classical Greek, *idiotes* means 'private citizen' and the pejorative meaning which gives English 'idiot' derives from democratic ideals." See "Athenian democracy" in I. McLean & A. McMillan, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics* (2009) http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.library.vu.edu.au/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t86.e74 (31 May 2009).

[76] Anna Clark argues that the perception of the History Wars as intellectually lightweight is a function of the Blainey's metaphor, "black armband", which seeks to render "radical dissent to a pejorative catch-all for revisionist history" and that "the abject failure of the debate to properly accommodate history as inherently revisionist reveals its own narrow conception of historical interpretation"; see A. Clark, "History in Black and White" (n.d.) http://www.api-network.com/main/index.php?apply=scholars&webpage=default&flexedit=&flex_password=&menu_label=&menuID=homely&menubox=&scholar=115 (22 Apr 2008).

[77] M. Nobles, *The Politics of Official Apologies* (2008) p2.

[78] Suzanne Gearhart, *The Open Boundary of History and Fiction* (1984), cited in D. Kelley & D. Sacks, "Introduction", *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain* (1997) p2.

History Wars as Force

History is a proven tool of ideological persuasion in the various strategies for cultural hegemony (discussed below). The well-worn proverb, "history is written by the victors", is a reminder that historiography is a function of the struggle for the domination of ideas. As Marx and Engels famously observe, "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling *material* force of society, is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* force."[79] Ideological struggle implies political struggle, and vice versa.

This thesis is impelled by the History Wars, a struggle to control "national identity",[80] and a fear of a "gangrening of oblivion":[81] the rise of history denied and the "politics of irrationality".[82] So there is a need here for a brief overview of the struggle of the black armbands against the white blindfolds.[83]

Over 30 national governments have initiated justice and reconciliation processes in recent decades.[84] Melissa Nobles lists 72 "official apologies" made by governments, religious institutions and corporations since 1945.[85] With the politics of apology goes the co-defining contra-politics for a strategy to block an official apology,[86] including the concomitant battles waged online.[87] In Germany for example,[88] this achieved headline

---

[79] See K. Marx & F. Engels, *The German Ideology* (1970) p64.
[80] See Nancy Green discuss national identity for the French History Wars at M. Rayner, "History Under Siege: Battles Over the Past: Pt. 4, France" (27 Apr 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/hindsight/stories/2008/2206114.htm#transcript (28 Apr 2008).
[81] From the title of Benjamin Stora's history of the Franco-Algerian war, *La gangrène et l'oubli* (1998); see this discussed by Stora at M. Rayner, "History Under Siege: Battles Over the Past: Pt. 4, France" (27 Apr 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/hindsight/stories/2008/2206114.htm#transcript (28 Apr 2008); also see interview with Stora at R. Moussaoui, "Benjamin Stora on French Colonialism and Algeria Today!", (5 Aug 2006) http://www.humaniteinenglish.com/article259.html (29 April 2008).
[82] T. Taylor, *Denial* (2008); also hear Taylor discuss this at F. Kelly, "Denial" (2 Sep 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/breakfast/stories/2008/2352724.htm (26 Jan 2009) and see his comments on Howard's proposals for teaching history at "Howard's way fails school test" (14 Jan 2008) http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2008/01/13/1200159274540.html (21 Jan 2008).
[83] See the terms discussed by B. Attwood & S.G. Foster, "Introduction", in B. Attwood & S.G. Foster, *Frontier Conflict* (2003) pp13-17.
[84] C. Tatz, *Genocide in Australia* (1999) http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/5747/DP08.pdf (21 Apr 2008) p45.
[85] M. Nobles, *The Politics of Official Apologies* (2008) p4.
[86] Nobles describes Turkey's refusal to apologise (or even acknowledge) the genocide of the Armenians in 1915 as the "most notorious"; see M. Nobles, *The Politics of Official Apologies* (2008) p5.
[87] Tony Taylor broadens the terms to note not only denials by Marxists about Stalin, and Serbians about atrocities in the 1990s Balkans, yet also to include the postmodern culture wars phenomenon of online denial sites which use blogging, the diversion of readers from sites of an ideological type to their opposite and the jamming of sites; see T. Taylor, *Denial* (2008).

debate in 1986-1989 as the *Historikerstreit* ("Historians' Debate" or "Quarrel").[89] Commentators in the Anglosphere seeking to summarise left accusations against the right in Germany have regularly used the phrase "whitewash".[90] (A term subsequently applied by left historians to Australia's right.)[91] The *Historikerstreit* now reads as a foreword to broadly similar ideological disputes which emerged in the United States of America (USA) and Australia in the following decade. However, the Anglo equivalent of *Historikerstreit* suggests that there is more at stake than the reputations of scholars.[92]

The term History Wars is a derivative of "culture wars"[93] (or "culture war"); [94] sometimes described as "a Cold War by other means".[95] In 1969, U.S. Vice President, Spiro Agnew, was sent on a speech circuit by President Richard Nixon and Republican Party tactician, Pat Buchanan, to deride the left liberal media as "this small and unelected élite".[96] Having honed the tactic by 1992, Buchanan, then Republican Presidential nominee, coined the term "cultural war" to describe "a religious war going

---

[88] Germany's payments to the Nazi's victims are estimated to total "100 billion DM" (*sic.*); see M. Nobles, *The Politics of Official Apologies* (2008) p6. As well as the public debates in Germany, USA and Australia as detailed, other major examples include Japan, France, Argentina and Turkey.

[89] The main antagonists included Jürgen Habermas, Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Jürgen Kocka, Hans Mommsen, Martin Broszat, Heinrich August Winkler, Eberhard Jäckel, and Wolfgang Mommsen on the left against Ernst Nolte, Joachim Fest, Andreas Hillgruber, Klaus Hildebrand, Rainer Zitelmann, Hagen Schulze, and Michael Stürmer on the right; see D. Art, "The Historians' Debate" in *The Politics of the Nazi Past in Germany and Austria* (2006) pp74-77.

[90] S. Best, *The Politics of Historical Vision* (1995) p179.

[91] R Manne, *Whitewash* (2003).

[92] "The West German historian's dispute (*Historikerstreit*) of the mid-1980s generated a bibliography of hundreds of articles, but arguably resulted in little or no advance in historical knowledge per se. The Australian history wars have had a similarly thin outcome in terms of the advancement of historical scholarship." See A. Bonnell & M. Crotty, "Australia's History under Howard, 1996-2007" (May 2008) p163. As argued above, the History Wars have to be analysed within the political context; without it, "historical knowledge per se" is naive.

[93] Some analysts date the arrival of the culture wars in Australia from 1988 when, as leader of the opposition in Federal Parliament, John Howard announced the New Right with his attack on the then bi-partisan approach to immigration policy while also purging the left ("wet") Liberals from his party. See N. Hollier, "John Howard: Tweedledum(b) - Or Not So?" (2002) http://aspen.conncoll.edu/politicsandculture/page.cfm?key=155 (8 Jan 2008); Hollier is paraphrasing Guy Rundle, "The Opportunist: John Howard and the Triumph of Reaction", *Quarterly Essay*, Black Ink Press, Melbourne, 2001.

[94] Possibly borrowed from the German *Kulturkampf* ("culture struggle") which was used to describe Chancellor Otto von Bismarck's policies for a Protestant Germany against the influence of the Catholic Church (1871-1878). John Bodnar describes the "politics of culture" as partly "an argument about the interpretation of reality"; see J. Bodnar, *Remaking America* (1992) p14.

[95] For example, see P. Pierce, "Our write of passage" (10 Jan 2009) p21.

[96] G. Packer, "The Fall of Conservatism" (26 May 2008) http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2008/05/26/080526fa_fact_packer?currentPage=all (7 Dec 2008). For a satirisation of Agnew's attacks on the media, see H.S. Thompson, *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* (2005) p190 & p200. Agnew especially targeted the *Washington Post*, which retaliated with the Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein stories on the "Watergate" conspiracy from October 1972, leading to Nixon's resignation from the White House in August 1974; see M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p253.

on in our country for the soul of America".[97] In the same year as Buchanan's speech, the American Congress mandated education standards for the national curriculum.[98] Some soul-searching followed in 1994 with the denouncement by the right of the then to-be-released National History Standards (NHS) for history pedagogy in American schools.[99] This sparked a controversy with the allegation from the left that American students were taught "history" which was wrong in its claims to facts and unrepresentative of other American histories.[100]

Concurrently, "History Wars" as a specific term was popularised by Edward Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt in their edited collection of essays under the title, *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past* (1996). The essays use a controversy to reflect on American history as a national ideology and its effect on political debate and cultural identity. The curators of the Smithsonian Institution's National Air and Space Museum planned an exhibit for 1994 centred on the Enola Gay, the airplane used to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima in World War II. The American right saw this as a fuse to a *casus belli*, claiming that the exhibit would portray the Enola Gay's crew as nuclear terrorists. Under an "attack" of a different sort, the museum was forced to change the planned exhibit and its director resigned. (The controversy was replayed in Australia when "Howard's cultural commandoes"[101] successfully lobbied against the tenure of the Aboriginal curator of the National Museum, Dawn Casey, over the museum's alleged exhibits of "political correctness" and "political bias".)[102] The essays in the *History Wars* tend to a consensus that myth

---

[97] P. Buchanan, 1992 Republican National Convention Speech (2009) http://buchanan.org/blog/1992/08/1992-republican-national-convention-speech/ (10 Feb 2009); Buchanan may have borrowed the term from James D. Hunter, *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America* (1991).

[98] G. Nash, "Lynne Cheney's Attack on the History Standards, 10 Years Later" (8 Nov 2004) http://hnn.us/articles/8418.html (25 Apr 2008).

[99] G. Nash, *National Standards for History Basic Edition* (1996) http://nchs.ucla.edu/standards/ (25 Apr 2008). L. Cheney, "The End of History" (24 Oct 2002) http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/767974/posts (25 Apr 2008). H. Love & M. Mills, "Sisters: Lynne Cheney's Feminism" (Summer 2007) http://www.rhizomes.net/issue14/lovemills.html#_ftn18 (25 Apr 2008) f.n.16.

[100] This controversy was inflamed by James Loewen's *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (1996).

[101] S. Meacham, "Powerhouse Dawn" (22 Mar 2008) http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/powerhouse-dawn/2008/03/21/1205602658624.html (19 Apr 2008).

[102] For analyses respectively from the right and the left, see K. Windschuttle, "How Not to Run a Museum" (2005) http://www.sydneyline.com/National%20Museum.htm (19 Apr 2008), and B. Attwood, "Contesting Frontiers" (Sep 2006) http://recollections.nma.gov.au/issues/vol_1_no_2/papers/contesting_frontiers/ (19 Apr 2008); for an updated overview of this issue in the populist press, see K. Murphy, "Making Over the Story of Us" (9 Aug 2008) p5.

triumphed over history. Rather than merely repeat itself, history, to rephrase Marx, would be mimicked as both tragedy and farce in Australia.[103]

Though Humphrey McQueen dates the origin of Australia's History Wars more or less with the election of Howard as Prime Minister and the infamous attempt by the *Courier-Mail* to smear Manning Clark as a Soviet spy a few months later in 1996,[104] the term has been grafted onto an intellectual and then political struggle which, in Australia, predates the origin of the term in the USA. (This is not to forget Prime Minister Paul Keating's politicisation of Australian History.)[105] However, it is the explicit politicisation of Australian history, especially as produced by academia,[106] which demands attention.

Before the History Wars, the Australian school of "critical history",[107] perceived by its detractors as a left history ("ideological barrackers for regimes of oppression opposed to Australia and its interests"),[108] found a champion in Manning Clark. He had been in a heated debate with Cold War warriors like Malcolm Ellis when the former published his first volume of *History of Australia* (1962).[109] The politicisation of Australian history clearly emerged with Clark's public embracing of the Whitlam Labor Government in the 1970s. (He was also critical of the Robert Menzies Government and gave qualified support to specific aspects of Soviet socialism—which Howard later derided as "philo-communism".)[110] His public relationship with the Australian Labor Party (ALP) was

---

[103] "Hegel remarks somewhere that all great world-historic facts and personages appear, so to speak, twice. He forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce." See K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (2006) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/ch01.htm (25 Apr 2008).

[104] H. McQueen, *Suspect History*, (1997) pp1-2, and W. Smith, "By Order of Lenin" (24 Aug 1996). Also see Australian Press Council, "Adjudication No. 890" (Nov 1996) & "General Press Release No. 210, Appeal re Adjudication No. 890" (Jan 1997) http://138.25.65.50/au/other/apc/1996/64.html (4 Apr 2008).

[105] Especially in reference to Keating's agenda for closer ties to Asia, an Australian republic, his portrayal of conservatives as Anglophiles, and Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal reconciliation— notably Keating's "Redfern Park Speech" (19 Dec 1992); see A. Bonnell & M. Crotty, "Australia's History under Howard, 1996-2007" (May 2008) pp151-152.

[106] For example, see Keith Windschuttle's views on this in his "The Politicisation of Academic History" in *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) pp5-7 & pp400-404.

[107] McKenna lists its main proponents as J.A. La Nauze, W.E.H. Stanner, C.D. Rowley, Bernard Smith, John Mulvaney, H.C. "Nugget" Coombs, Andrew Markus, Anne McGrath, Bain Attwood , Don Watson and, of course, C.M.H. (Manning) Clark.; see M. McKenna, "Different Perspectives on Black Armband History" (10 Nov 1997) http://www.aph.gov.au/Library/pubs/rp/1997-98/98rp05.htm (13 Feb 2006). The likes of Raewyn Connell, Terence Irving and Ian Turner can also be added to this list.

[108] J. Howard, "A Tribute to Quadrant" (Nov 2006) http://quadrant.org.au/php/article_view.php?article_id=2290 (24 Apr 2008).

[109] S.G. Foster, "Contra Windschuttle" (Mar 2003), http://www.quadrant.org.au/php/article_view.php?article_id=252 (16 Nov 2007).

[110] J. Howard, "A Tribute to Quadrant" (Nov 2006) http://quadrant.org.au/php/article_view.php?article_id=2290 (24 Apr 2008).

perceived as influencing party ideology, if not Federal Government policy. His historiography is even credited with influencing the High Court and its "judicial activism"[111] in its decisions to overturn *terra nullius*[112] and recognise some Aboriginal claims to land rights through the *Mabo* case (1992) and the *Wik* case (1996).[113] (A similar accusation was later made against Henry Reynolds.)[114] Mabo was a "flashpoint" for conservatives,[115] and *Wik* so infuriated Geoffrey Blainey that he referred to the court which adjudicated the case as "that black armband tribunal".[116]

The right previously had some voices of protest against critical history, earlier bemoaned as the "black school" of Australian history.[117] Blainey was almost a lone public voice for the right in academia, particularly amongst historians, with his turn to anti-Asian immigration as announced in his controversial speech to Rotary at Warrnambool in 1984[118] and his title published in the same year, *All for Australia.*[119] Nonetheless, for some years the right largely ignored, or could not muster,[120] an intellectual confrontation in preference for the logistical strategy of de-funding history education. Conservative educationists offered the distracting explanation that the subject's decline was mostly a symptom of falling academic standards.[121]

---

[111] A. Bonnell & M. Crotty, "Australia's History under Howard, 1996-2007" (May 2008) p158.
[112] *Terra nullius* is derived from Roman Law to construct space as "nobody's land"; it had the effect of refusing recognition of Aboriginal occupation of Australia until the *Mabo* and *Wik* decisions implied an exception for certain Aboriginal claims under very specific legal conditions.
[113] M. McKenna, "Different Perspectives on Black Armband History" (10 Nov 1997) http://www.aph.gov.au/Library/pubs/rp/1997-98/98rp05.htm (13 Feb 2006).
[114] A central argument in M. Connor, *The Invention of Terra Nullius* (2005). For Reynolds's response, see H. Reynolds, "A New Historical Landscape? (May 2006) http://www.themonthly.com.au/tm/node/217 (18 Jun 2008). For a rejection of Connor's thesis by the High Court Chief Justice Anthony Mason, see a report by D. Hope, "Smokescreen nullius" (25 Feb 2006) http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,18263940-28737,00.html (18 Jun 2008).
[115] "…the whole *Fabrication* project is really an exercise in post-Mabo damage control…" See G. Lehman, "Guest Editorial" (Autumn 2004) p7. Also see D. Hope, "Smokescreen nullius" (25 Feb 2006) http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,18263940-28737,00.html (18 Jun 2008).
[116] G. Blainey, "Black Future" (8 Apr 1997) p22.
[117] M. McKenna, "Different Perspectives on Black Armband History" (10 Nov 1997) http://www.aph.gov.au/Library/pubs/rp/1997-98/98rp05.htm (13 Feb 2006).
[118] K. Haley, "Asian Entry Threatens Tolerance: Blainey" (19 Mar 1984) p1.
[119] Blainey also dons the garb of the sociologist; see his critique of Immigration Department statistics for Asian intake into Australia at G. Blainey, *All for Australia* (1984) pp65-71.
[120] The right lobbied for academics to publicly oppose Manning Clark but failed; hear Stuart Macintyre at M. Rayner, "History Under Siege: Battles Over the Past: Pt. 3, Australia" (20 Apr 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/hindsight/stories/2008/2206111.htm (24 Apr 2008).
[121] A. Clark *Teaching the Nation* (2006) pp5-6.

In 1983, as Swift was asking if society can live without history,[122] Australian governments were peering into what the historian, Inga Clendinnen, would later call "the ravine" between academic history and fiction (discussed below).[123] They decided that they preferred the legend of economic "relevance" to evidence of the past and so urged educators to step towards this proverbial edge. Along with the humanities more generally, history departments in Australian universities contracted from a peak of 750 academic staff in 1974 to about 451 academic staff by 2003.[124] Since the "Dawkins Revolution"[125] of the Hawke Labor Government of the 1980s and 1990s and then with Education Ministers of subsequent Federal Governments**,** universities have been directed to maintain a "relevance to public expectations" (the economic and cultural goals of capitalism) or face the threat of losing research funding to be replaced by funding for vocational training.[126] The tendency to strengthen the "user-pays" model since it was introduced under the ALP in the 1980s has weakened the humanities.[127] The current "Education Revolution" of Minister Julia Gillard[128] promises more funding while "targeting resources to areas of skill shortage",[129] and so signals a continued emphasis on vocational training.

But the strategy to reduce funding for history teaching became obsolete. (Though under the Howard Government, public expenditure on tertiary education overall dropped by 7 per cent.)[130] Some on the right turned to recapturing public debate on Australian history. Shortly before regaining leadership of the Liberal Party, Howard inverted George Orwell's provocative observation, power is the control of history for the past, future and

---

[122] Some readings of *Waterland* have it that Swift is arguing for story over history because the latter "enslaves men"; See B.J. Fishman, "The Nature of History in Waterland" (1989) http://www.scholars.nus.edu.sg/post/uk/gswift/wl/history2.html (7 Jan 2007).
[123] I. Clendinnen, "The History Question" (Oct 2006) p20.
[124] S. Macintyre in S. Macintyre & A. Clark, *The History Wars* (2003) p26.
[125] Named after Education Minister John Dawkins (1987-1991).
[126] S. Macintyre in S. Macintyre & A. Clark, *The History Wars* (2003) p26. Some also bemoan the trend in Australian universities towards (commercially-sponsored) research in preference to allocating resources for teaching, especially in the humanities; see P. Singer, "We must nurture the humanities" (27 Jul 2009) http://www.theage.com.au/national/education/we-must-nurture-the-humanities-20090726-dxg1.html?page=-1 (27 Jul 2009).
[127] A. Bonnell & M. Crotty, "Australia's History under Howard, 1996-2007" (May 2008) p153.
[128] Federal Labor Minister for Education, Minister for Employment & Workplace Relations, Minister for Social Inclusion and Deputy Prime Minister.
[129] J. Gillard, "A Higher Education Revolution" (13 Mar 2008) http://mediacentre.dewr.gov.au/mediacentre/Gillard/Releases/AHigherEducationRevolutionCreatingaProductiveProsperousModernAustralia.htm (16 Apr 2008).
[130] Other countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) increased public expenditure on tertiary education by an average of 48 percent over the same period; see these OECD figures cited and discussed in the context of the Cultural/History Wars at A. Bonnell & M. Crotty, "Australia's History under Howard, 1996-2007" (May 2008) p153 and G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p78.

present,[131] to construct a logic of power as a history of patriotic pride yesterday, today and tomorrow.[132] Then in speeches in 1996, the newly elected Prime Minister Howard attacked critical history as "an abuse of the true purpose of history" in constructing "a disgraceful story" while he declared Australian history as "one of heroic achievement".[133] Aboriginal activists had declared Australia Day a day of "mourning" in 1938[134] and black armbands appeared at Aboriginal protests with increasing frequency from 1970.[135] Howard used Blainey's phrase, "black armband history",[136] to distance himself from a perceived left-wing bias in Australian historiography, particularly in reference to violence between Aborigines and non-Aborigines.[137]

As though answering a call to arms, Keith Windschuttle (an antagonist for this narrative) disrobed from his quasi-socialism ("New Left")[138] and, after some prior soundings with his third edition of *The Media* (1988)[139] which was followed by his revisionist essays in *Quadrant* (2000),[140] flew at his erstwhile allies in an acerbic attack

---

[131] "'Who controls the past,' ran the Party slogan, 'controls the future: who controls the present controls the past.'"; see G. Orwell, *1984* (2003) http://www.george-orwell.org/1984/2.html (15 Nov 2006).
[132] J. Howard, "Some Thoughts on Liberal Party Philosophy in the 1990s" (Jul-Aug 1994) p21.
[133] J. Howard, *Sir Thomas Playford Memorial Lecture* (5 Jul 1996) and "The Liberal Tradition" (18 Nov 1996) http://web.archive.org/web/19970212063226/http://www.nla.gov.au/pmc/pressrel/menzies.h (1 May 2007); see the latter lecture discusses at see A. Bonnell & M. Crotty, "Australia's History under Howard, 1996-2007" (May 2008) p152.
[134] J. Patten & W. Ferguson, *Aborigines Claim Citizen Rights!* (2007) http://www1.aiatsis.gov.au/exhibitions/DOM/PDF/m0011348_a.pdf (12 May 2008), p3 & p12.
[135] M. McKenna, "Different Perspectives on Black Armband History" (10 Nov 1997) http://www.aph.gov.au/Library/pubs/rp/1997-98/98rp05.htm (13 Feb 2006).
[136] "I made up the phrase the 'black armband view of history'," Blainey recalls, which he contrasts against, "the 'three-cheers!' view"; hear Blainey in interview at M. Rayner, "History Under Siege: Battles Over the Past: Pt. 3, Australia" (20 Apr 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/hindsight/stories/2008/2206111.htm (24 Apr 2008).
[137] J. Howard, "Racial Tolerance" in *Official Hansard (*30 Oct 1996) http://www.aph.gov.au/hansard/reps/dailys/dr301096.pdf (11 Feb 2006) p6158. McKenna claims that Howard "prefigured" this in the latter's fourth Headland speech as Opposition leader in December 1995; see M. McKenna, "Different Perspectives on Black Armband History" (10 Nov 1997) http://www.aph.gov.au/Library/pubs/rp/1997-98/98rp05.htm (13 Feb 2006).
[138] K. Windschuttle, "Why I Left the Left" (Jun 2006) http://quadrant.org.au/php/archive_details_list.php?article_id=2063 (3 Jan 2008). See criticisms from former activist comrade, B. Gould, "Deconstructing the 1960s and 1970s" (30 Jun 2000) http://www.gouldsbooks.com.au/ozleft/windschuttle.html (1 Jan 2007).Gould and Windschuttle were comrades at the *Old Mole*, a Sydney students' editorial collective, May 1970 to Mar 1971; see H. McQueen, "Keith Windschuttle" (n.d.) http://home.alphalink.com.au/~loge27/aus_hist/aus_hist_windshuttle.htm (2 Jan 2007).
[139] Windschuttle dates his turn to the right from about ten years after the "revelations about the Pol Pot regime"; see K. Windschuttle, "Why I Left the Left" (Jun 2006) http://quadrant.org.au/php/archive_details_list.php?article_id=2063 (3 Jan 2008).
[140] Gerard Henderson dates Windschuttle's "the-God-that-failed" turn from the latter's essays in *Quadrant* in 2000 (even though Windschuttle has earlier essays in *Quadrant*), observing that most of those on the right in today's History Wars began their ideological careers on the left; see G. Henderson, "The battle is not to be left behind" (24 Dec 2002) http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2002/12/23/1040511005690.html (2 Jan 2008). As Windschuttle had five essays published in *Quadrant* in 2000, Henderson is probably referring to Windschuttle's titles on

from the right with his self-published *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History, Volume One: Van Diemen's Land 1803-1847*, (2002).[141] It provoked a host of negative and positive critiques from the left and the right. The essence of Windschuttle's homily is that the violence perpetrated by whites against blacks in Van Diemen's Land is exaggerated by left historians and that, in principle, the moral degradation which he alleges characterised traditional Aboriginal society necessitated the tragic fate which befell the Aborigines.[142] Given Windschuttle's spurious scholarship[143] (variously detailed by his critics)[144] in the context of the History Wars and especially in the wake

---

"The Myths of Frontier Massacres" published in Oct, Nov & Dec, and which are now available online through *The Sydney Line*; see K. Windschuttle, "The myths of frontier massacres in Australian history [Parts I-III]" (2005) http://www.sydneyline.com/Massacres%20Part%20One.htm (30 Dec 2006), http://www.sydneyline.com/Massacres%20Part%20Two.htm (30 Dec 2006), http://www.sydneyline.com/Massacres%20Part%20Three.htm (30 Dec 2006). For an index of Windschuttle's publications in *Quadrant* 1998-2007, of which some are available online, see K. Windschuttle, "Archives" (1998-2007) http://quadrant.org.au/php/result.php?Submit=search&author=windschuttle&category=+&title= (3 Jan 2008). For an early response to Windschuttle's essays on Aboriginal history, see B. Gould, "McGuinness, Windschuttle and *Quadrant*" (23 Nov 2000) http://www.gouldsbooks.com.au/ozleft/windschuttleblack.html (3 Jan 2007); Gould had organised a debate in his bookshop (Gould's Book Arcade, Newtown, Sydney) with himself and Henry Reynolds against Windschuttle and P.P. McGuinness.

[141] It was "reprinted with corrections" in 2003 and reprinted "with corrections and revision" in 2005; see K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) edition notice. James Boyce asserts that *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* is "a racist theory of Aboriginal culture…[which] represents nothing more than a failed attempt to justify a contemporary political agenda that seeks to remove any right of Aborigines to compensation or redress based on past wrongs." See J. Boyce, "'Better to be Mistaken than to Deceive'" (2004) p33. Ironically, Windschuttle's thesis on Australian racism *per se* (of which he also claims that left-wing historians have exaggerated), *The White Australia Policy* (2004), is not generally criticised as racist by the left, rather it is reviewed as "self-defeating"; for example, see H. McQueen, "Keith Windschuttle" (n.d.) http://home.alphalink.com.au/~loge27/aus_hist/aus_hist_windshuttle.htm (2 Jan 2007).

[142] For a methodical critique of Windschuttle's allegations against traditional Aboriginal culture in Van Diemen's Land, see J. Boyce, "'Better to be Mistaken than to Deceive'" (2004) pp22-26. Also see Boyce's critically lauded overview chapter, "Fantasy Island" (short-listed for a Victorian Premier's Literary Award in 2004), in R. Manne, *Whitewash* (2003) pp 17-78.

[143] For example, Windschuttle uncritically accepts that Tasmanian (VDL) Aborigines "could not make fire, a skill that even Neanderthal Man had mastered." Though Windschuttle sources G.A. Robinson, this is a myth perpetrated by James Calder in his *Some Account of the Wars, Extirpation, Habits, etc of the Native Tribes of Tasmania* (1875) which was later contradicted by H. Ling Roth (1899) with elaborated graphics of Aboriginal fire drills and socket sticks. (The Calder theory was rejuvenated by a note about Robinson's journals in Brian Plomley's *Friendly Mission*, 1966, p260, n5, and then popularised by Rhys Jones with his much referenced paper, "The Tasmanian Paradox" in R.S.V. Wright, *Stone Tools as Cultural Markers*, 1977.) For a note that the fire sticks in the Roth graphic were sourced through G.A. Robinson, see I. McFarlane, *Aboriginal Society in North West Tasmania* (2002) p288. Yet Windschuttle flippantly dismisses Roth with the footnote comment of only "implausible rationalisations"; see K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p377, f.n.88, and H.L. Roth, *The Aborigines of Tasmania* (1899) pp83-84. Also see criticisms, presumably with Windschuttle in mind, of this "implausible but persistent hypothesis" in J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p102, and a dismissal of the "fireless" Aborigines thesis in Rebe Taylor, "Reliable Mr Robinson and the Controversial Dr Jones" in A. Johnston & M. Rolls, *Reading Robinson* (2008) pp118-123. For an example of the lingering notions of "the most primitive race known to modern man" in twentieth century popular culture, even from someone who lived and worked with "thanks" amongst the Cape Barren Islanders (white sealer-Aboriginal heritage) for twelve years, see P. Adam-Smith, *Moonbird People* (1970) p42 & p5.

[144] *Whitewash* (2003), edited by Robert Manne, scores a number of telling points against Windschuttle yet the latter's allies claim it does not match its intent with rigour; for example, see J. Dawson, *Washout*

of the *Mabo* and *Wik* court decisions, it is reasonable to infer as Reynolds has done that Windschuttle is seeking the re-instatement of *terra nullius* by other means;[145] and this remains a nagging conclusion despite Windschuttle's later and very explicit denial.[146] However, rather than engage with the whole fray between Windschuttle's "The Sydney Line"[147] and its enemies on the left, the aim here is to account for the consequences of Windschuttle, as well as Howard, *et. al.*, in reference to a history of radicals in Tasmania.

The representatives of late critical history (post-Clark), now derided as the "orthodox" school,[148] then responded to Howard and those who followed his call with witticisms such as white blindfolds.[149] The so-called orthodoxists set about defending themselves as they best knew with rigorous research and erudite writing, trying to construct a vigorous science. Albeit with some inconsistencies, they have generally succeeded. But Howard's speech had taken the debate out of the quiet halls of academia and into the noisy scrum of national politics; the History Wars were then fought in an arena under public gaze, which Blainey describes as the "the great court of appeal".[150] In contradistinction to academics in Germany's *Historikerstreit*,[151] the relatively gentle

---

(2004) and also "The Pentium Primitivism of Greg Lehman" (Mar 2004) http://quadrant.org.au/php/archive_details_list.php?article_id=703 (1 Jan 2008). For a response to the latter article, see G. Lehman, "Guest Editorial" (Autumn 2004) pp6-7. Windschuttle debated Manne at the Melbourne Writers' Festival, 27 Aug 2003; see "an expanded version of the opening remarks made by Keith Windschuttle" at K. Windschuttle, "*Whitewash* confirms the fabrication of Aboriginal history" (2005) http://www.sydneyline.com/Manne%20debate%20Quadrant.htm (1 Jan 2008). Taylor describes "denial" history as "neurotic" and explicitly Windschuttle's historiography as "straw-man reasoning"; see F. Kelly, "Denial" (2 Sep 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/breakfast/stories/2008/2352724.htm (26 Jan 2009). Windschuttle is even called "an inconsequential Australian polemicist"; see W. McFadyen, "Unflinching dissection of history denials" (17 Jan 2009) p24.

[145] H. Reynolds, "Terra Nullius Reborn" in R. Manne, *Whitewash* (2003) pp-109-138.

[146] K. Windschuttle, "*Whitewash* confirms the fabrication of Aboriginal history" (2005) http://www.sydneyline.com/Manne%20debate%20Quadrant.htm (1 Jan 2008).

[147] K. Windschuttle, "About" (2005) http://www.sydneyline.com/About.htm (31 Dec 2007).

148 K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p26-28. Macintyre lists Windschuttle's target group historians Henry Reynolds, Lyndall Ryan, Lloyd Robson, N.J.B. (Brian) Plomley, Sharon Morgan and archaeologists John Mulvaney and Rhys Maengwyn Jones; see S. Macintyre in S. Macintyre & A. Clark, *The History Wars* (2003) p164. Windschuttle nominates Plomley as the "most scholarly and reliable of the orthodox historians"; see K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p27. For criticism of Windschuttle's use of the term "orthodox"; see J. Boyce, "'Better to be Mistaken than to Deceive'" (2004) pp27-33, and S.G. Foster, "Contra Windschuttle" (Mar 2003) http://www.quadrant.org.au/php/article_view.php?article_id=252 (16 Nov 2007).

[149] B. Attwood & S.G. Foster, "Introduction", in B. Attwood & S.G. Foster, *Frontier Conflict* (2003) p13.

[150] "...the important thing about history, to my mind, is that it is the great court of appeal in so many debates. There are so many debates of public interest which are largely or partly appeals to history." See G. Blainey, "Writing Australian history" (26 Jan 2009) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/counterpoint/stories/2009/2471051.htm (6 Mar 2009).

[151] Two key articles which initiated the *Historikerstreit* were Ernst Nolte's "The Past That Will Not Go Away: A Speech That Could Be Written but Not Delivered" in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (6 Jun 1986) and Jürgen Habermas's "A Kind of Settlement of Damages" in *Die Zeit* (11 Jul 1986). See D. Art, "The Historians' Debate" in *The Politics of the Nazi Past in Germany and Austria* (2006) pp74-77.

debating conventions of professional scholars in Australia withered under the assault of the history warriors.[152] Broadly, the "New Right"[153] sought nothing less than cultural hegemony, the control of the ideas and spirit ("regime") of public life.[154] This is what some on the left describe as Howard's "passive revolution".[155] Howard was to eventually make it explicitly clear as to who are his real targets: "…we should not underestimate the degree to which the soft-Left still holds sway, even dominance, especially in Australia's universities, by virtue of its long march through the institutions."[156] Regardless of the virtues of academic historiography, it was pushed to find a new mode of communication, a new voice, a new narrative, to defend its claim to legitimacy.

> Historians are ill prepared for such public controversy. They are accustomed to argument — their whole training prepares them to deal with different interpretations of the past — but not to the forms of unilateral assertion that they encounter in the History Wars, where motives are impugned and personal aspersions levelled…They are less familiar with the media, unused to the *polemical* style it practices…Since 1996 they have found it increasingly difficult to put their side of the argument in this milieu, so that the prejudices of the columnists and the commentators who dominate the national media pass largely unchallenged. [emphasis added][157]

Tony Taylor, crossing over from the Windschuttle camp, claims that his history of the History Wars, *Denial* (2008), is about "the battle…now in the popular arena, and…to get the battle won for objectivity in history and [for] authentic history what we need to do is get it [academic history] out to a broader public…".[158] Bain Attwood is even more

---

[152] S. Macintyre in S. Macintyre & A. Clark, *The History Wars* (2003) p12. Windschuttle's public allies also include Michael Duffey, Alan Jones, *Quadrant*, News Limited and The Sydney Institute. For more on the "debate" between the left orthodoxists and the right warriors see R. Evans & B. Thorpe, "The Massacre of Aboriginal History" (Winter 2001) pp21-40, R. Manne, *Whitewash* (2003); S. Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia* (2004) and his edited *The Historian's Conscience* (2004), B. Atwood (2005), J. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006), and J. Hirst, *Sense and Nonsense in Australian History* (2006).

[153] The New Right's "celebrated father" in Australia is Friedrich von Hayek; see G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p119.

[154] G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p91; for a brief discussion of the New Right's political tactics based on the intellectual conference or magazine "circulated among targeted groups", see also p53.

[155] The Gramscian notion of the "passive revolution" is that "which comes from above, through the state, instead of from below…" See K. Weekley, "The Clever Principle of Similar Difference" (Winter 2008) p9; for Weekley's application of the term to Howard, see pp5-6 & p7.

[156] J. Howard, "A Tribute to Quadrant" (Nov 2006) http://quadrant.org.au/php/article_view.php?article_id=2290 (24 Apr 2008).

[157] S. Macintyre in S. Macintyre & A. Clark, *The History Wars* (2003) p12.

[158] F. Kelly, "Denial" (2 Sep 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/breakfast/stories/2008/2352724.htm (26 Jan 2009).

committed to the view that history is politics, adding that "vernacular history"[159] (the mixture of orality[160] and the visual, including text, in historiography) gives rise to "champions" of ideology.[161] Some historians, like Clendinnen, express a disquiet for the profession in general with this politicisation of scholarly vocation.[162]

As well as the intrusion of the super-polemical narrative of history warriors like Windschuttle, representatives from the highest levels of the two dominant political parties, the Liberal Party of Australia and the ALP,[163] pushed for a purge of left historians (the alleged "orthodox" school), or at least its influence, under Howard's euphemism of a "structured narrative".[164]

But what sort of history do the right warriors want? What is their history? Howard, perhaps inspired by the legislation of the French *Parlement* in February 2005 for the teaching of a "positive" colonial history,[165] the reworking of "memory work",[166] built on his 2006 Australia Day Speech to initiate a "History Summit" to debate pedagogic technologies for history in those "purveyors of the past",[167] Australian schools (and by implication, Australian universities). Stereotyped by opponents as an "Americanisation"

---

[159] Attwood could be building on Bodnar's theorisations of "vernacular culture" and "vernacular loyalties" in their struggle with "official culture" and its "dogmatic formalism"; see J. Bodnar, *Remaking America* (1992) pp13-14. Bodnar's notion of vernacular culture has some parallels with Bakhtin's theory of "heteroglossia" (discussed below).

[160] This is to broaden Walter Ong's notion of orality to include verbal expression (speech) in literate culture; see W. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (1982).

[161] Attwood is referring to his book, *Telling the Truth About Aboriginal History* (2005), from which this lecture is titled, and he credits the term "vernacular history" to Alan Atkinson (without reference); For vernacular history, Attwood also uses the term, "memorial discourse": "forms of history-making which depend more on the oral and the visual than just the written". See B. Attwood, "Telling the Truth about Aboriginal History" (5 Sep 2005) http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/public-history-institute/annual-public-lecture/lecture-2005/index.html (22 Oct 2006).

[162] I. Clendinnen, "History Here" (15 Oct 2003) http://www.arts.nsw.gov.au/awards/HistoryAwards/2003Hist/2003awards.htm#address (19 Jan 2007).

[163] For a common ground of history pedagogy shared by Howard and the ex-ALP Premier of New South Wales, Bob Carr, see "PM calls for history teaching overhaul" (25 Jan. 2006) http://www.theage.com.au/news/National/PM-calls-for-history-teaching-overhaul/2006/01/25/1138066843328.html (6 Feb 2006) and P. Adams, "Bob Carr-History Coalition" (31 Jan 2006) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/talks/lnl/s1558578.htm (1 Feb 2006).

[164] J. Howard, "Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Address to the National Press Club" (25 Jan 2006) http://www.pm.gov.au/news/speeches/speech1754.html (6 Feb 2006) http://www.pm.gov.au/news/speeches/speech1754.html (6 Feb 2006).

[165] Known as the "Law of February 2005" (Law 2005-158 of 23 February 2005); see Article 4 discussed in C. Liauzu, "At War with France's Past" (Jun 2005) http://mondediplo.com/2005/06/19colonisation (30 Apr 2008).

[166] This was partly rescinded by President Jaques Chirac; see discussed by Robert Aldrich at M. Rayner, "History Under Siege: Battles Over the Past: Pt. 4, France" (27 Apr 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/hindsight/stories/2008/2206114.htm#transcript (28 Apr 2008). Bodnar theorises "the struggle for supremacy…[over] the creation of public memory" in the USA such that public memory "emerges from the intersection of official and vernacular cultural expressions"; see J. Bodnar, *Remaking America* (1992) p13.

[167] For a brief overview of this "unlikely coalition", see A. Clark *Teaching the Nation* (2006) p4.

of history with names and dates to be learnt by rote,[168] the proposed reform was viewed with deep suspicion.[169]. No doubt to Howard's chagrin, the pedagogic opposition successfully defended the status quo because, according to its own ideology, Howard's scheme was "resisted on commonsense grounds by the majority of summiteers";[170] a "history lesson" itself for the Prime Minister.

Despite Attwood's criticism of him above, Robert Manne, who learnt intimately the strategic mindset of the right as one of its once most public commentators and as editor of *Quadrant*, suspects that what the right, or at least Howard, wants is history as a function of cultural domination, after the model of what is taught in the schools of that font of the History Wars, the USA "[Howard] really likes the idea that there is a kind of history that American students are meant to learn which is a sort of patriotic history, a patriotic story."[171] Manne's point is that the right history warriors know that to get the history that they want then their task is to first politicise history so that historians, especially of the left, are less able to, as Clendinnen frames it, "own the past".[172] With his usual tenacity, Howard persisted and had published his redrafted *Guide to the Teaching of Australian History in Years 9 and 10* for his (unsuccessful) 2007 election campaign.[173]

Like Reynolds, Clendinnen sees a political application for history, and she is inspired by one of the twentieth century's most notable historians on radicals:

> …while the past is past, it is not dead. Its hand is on our shoulder. As for what is to be done — I end with the words of the great British historian, E. P. Thompson: 'This is not a question we can ask of history. It is, this time, a question history asks of us.'[174]

---

[168] "…it is difficult not to suspect that blocking the development of independent thinking in young Australians about their history was actually the point of the prime minister's [*sic.*] extraordinary exercise." See G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p163.
[169] T. Taylor, "Howard's way fails school test" (14 Jan 2008) http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2008/01/13/1200159274540.html (21 Jan 2008).
[170] T. Taylor, "Howard's way fails school test" (14 Jan 2008) http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2008/01/13/1200159274540.html (21 Jan 2008).
[171] See M. McKew "Historians wary of history summit outcomes" (18 Aug 2006) http://www.abc.net.au/lateline/content/2006/s1718847.htm (2 Jan 2006).
[172] Clendinnen's essay, "The History Question: Who Owns the Past?", is discussed in detail below; See I. Clendinnen (Oct 2006) pp1-72.
[173] See the implications of this for history pedagogy discussed in A. Clark, "Learning About Stuff Outside the Box" (Winter 2008) pp16-19 and her more detailed *History's Children: History Wars in the Classroom* (2008); also see it discussed in S. Scalmer, "A Postscript, A Prospect" (Winter 2008) pp27-29.
[174] Clendinnen reference is E.P. Thompson, *Beyond the Frontier: The Politics of a Failed Mission, Bulgaria 1944*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1997, p.103; see I Clendinnen, "True Stories: "Lecture 6: What Now?" (19 Dec 1999) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/boyerlectures/stories/1999/74430.htm (22 Jan 2007).

So it is the political character of the History Wars which contextualises *Radical Tasmania* and forces its history.

History As Radical Struggle

Marx's conceptualisation of history includes a struggle with nature. But this is not, for example, like Carr's "long struggle" of reason "upon nature"[175] nor Jacob Burckhardt's history as "the break with nature".[176] It is the struggle to overcome the objectification of nature, the struggle to resolve human existence with natural existence. In a famous passage, Marx articulates a definition of history:

> This communism, as fully developed naturalism, equals humanism, and as fully developed humanism equals naturalism; it is the genuine resolution of the conflict between man and nature, and between man and man, the true resolution of the conflict between existence and being, between objectification and self-affirmation, between freedom and necessity, between individual and species. It is the solution of the riddle of history and knows itself to be the solution.[177]

Marx's argument is that history emerges when humanity struggles not so much "against" nature but when humanity struggles against itself. (This is not to be confused with Thomas Hobbes's *bellum omnium contra omnes*.)[178] History begins as society develops the forces of production for the exploitation of human action (labour), as the exploitation of one social group by another, and yet, dialectically, this exploitation is, at one and the same time, resisted. History begins with class struggle. At the point at which this resistance realises the most radical objective in practice, a revolutionary overcoming of exploitative technologies, does one history end and another history, yet fuller and more profound, begin.

---

[175] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) p134.
[176] J. Burckhardt, *Reflections on History* (1959) p31; see cited in E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) p134.
[177] K. Marx, "Private Property and Labor" in *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (1993) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/epm/3rd.htm (5 Dec 2006)
[178] Humanity's "state of nature", speculates Hobbes in his *Leviathan* (1651), is "the war of all against all"; see a rejection of this in favour of history as class struggle in F. Engels, "Engels to Pyotr Lavrov In London (Abstract)" (2000) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1875/letters/75_11_17-ab.htm (6 Apr 2009).

Against charges of "economic determinism",[179] the retort is borrowed from E.P. Thompson that historical materialism is not merely a notion of the mode of production, etc., it is a claim to "a way of life" and, as such, rejects economic determinism as "a capitalist definition of human need".[180] For example, James Boyce, who also cites Thompson in this context, argues that freedom rather than mere economic impulse is a major consideration for early Tasmanian history because the "Van Diemonian[181] poor were not the wealth-maximising units commonly postulated by economic theory."[182] Also, to anticipate poststructuralist objections, this is not a so-called metanarrative, it is a dialectic of history which conceptualises a dynamic process or processes of mutually defining and annihilating ends and beginnings in the actual, concrete, sensual human realm of productive and reproductive activity, in labour.

Radical Tasmania?

When Windschuttle decided to launch his attack against what he terms the "orthodox" school of historians, he chose Tasmania as the central focus of his *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History*. Evidence of the island's so-called "Black War" (1824-1831),[183] along with its history as a penal colony, challenge contemporary views of it as some sort of arcadia or eco-dreamtime or otherwise a physically, morally and historically "clean" culture. Windschuttle's rejection of historical descriptions which apply the

[179] Marx rejects determinism (the "materialist doctrine") and proclaims in its place "*revolutionary practice*"; see K. Marx, "Thesis 3" in *Theses on Feuerbach* (2002) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/theses/original.htm (1 Jul 2009). Also see Engels on vulgar economic determinism in "Engels to J. Bloch in Königsberg" (21 Sep 1890) at K. Marx & F. Engels, *Marx and Engels on Literature and Art* (n.d.) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1890/letters/90_09_21.htm (16 Jan 2009).

[180] E.P. Thompson, "Agenda for a Radical History" (Winter 1995) p302.

[181] Rather than use the construction "Van Diemonian", as Boyce does here, *Radical Tasmania* uses the "dissident" "Vandiemonian" to likewise seek "the restoration of the 'tainted' nomenclature, 'Van Diemen's Land', at the expense of the prettifying, shame-derived, 'Tasmania'."; see P. Hay, *Vandiemonian Essays* (2002) pix. Curiously, even though he was a postgraduate student of Hay's, Boyce mistypes Hay's title as "*Van Diemonian Essays*"; see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p352-353, endnote 15 & p364.

[182] J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p255.

[183] The dates for the Black War vary amongst historians as the first year of recorded violence between Aborigines and colonials in Van Diemen's Land was 1804 (Risdon Cove massacre) and the last was 1846 on land appropriated by the Van Diemen's Land Company; the years 1824-1831 are the period of most frequent violence. The Risdon Cove massacre was commemorated 200 years later and a bemused press observed its role in the History Wars; for example see A. Darby, "Debate exposes 200-year-old massacre" (4 May 2004) http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/05/03/1083436539543.html?from=storyrhs (1 Jan 2007).

notion of genocide[184] or Aboriginal guerrilla resistance to Tasmania[185] is an echo of when Van Diemen's Land changed its name in 1856 as though it could simply expunge the brutality of its history (and so attract labour and capital, which it mostly failed to do). [186] Ray Groom, Premier of Tasmania (1992-1996), sought to refute the island's violent history to Parliament in 1994 and so, according to Colin Tatz, "making him, in effect, Australia's foremost genocide denialist in the 1990s".[187] Tasmania is conspicuous for its lack of economic "good times",[188] but the ruse to forget its history soothed its collective conscience until the late twentieth century.[189] After the decline of its emancipist population as the nineteenth century "progressed", its middle class, including its intellectuals, garnered the image of a society marked by a lack of division in any profound sense. For example, Lloyd Robson's second volume of *A History of Tasmania*, subtitled *Colony and State from 1856 to the 1980s* (1991), a well-referenced title by one of Tasmania's most reputable historians,[190] is marked by a banal narrative more preoccupied by economics than social friction, apart from the occasional excursion into Parliament and some accounts of unrest worthy of no more than a passing digression from the overarching theme of government and corporate development.[191] Robson's narrative reflects an absence of drama because if it is not history without struggle then it is history where radicals are largely quiet.

---

[184] The term "genocide" was coined by Raphael Lemkin from the Greek γένος *genos* (family, tribe or race) and the Latin *-cide* (from *occido*, to massacre); see also a discussion of genocide, its implications for historiography and its use in the History Wars in Australia at A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006) pp111-112 & pp231-232.

[185] K. Windschuttle, "Doctored evidence and invented incidents in Aboriginal historiography" (2005) http://www.sydneyline.com/National%20Museum%20Frontier%20Conflict.htm (27 May 2007). Shayne Breen argues that Windschuttle is "paranoid about the word genocide"; see S. Breen, "Criminals and Pimps" (15 Nov 2005) http://evatt.labor.net.au/publications/papers/101.html (3 Jun 2007).

[186] R. Haynes, "Van Diemen's Land" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p501.

[187] Tatz, *Genocide in Australia* (1999) http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/5747/DP08.pdf (21 Apr 2008) f.n.76.

[188] "Tasmania has never had good times." R. Flanagan in interview with R. Hodder (29 Nov 2006). "Tasmania" is itself a category of measure in welfare data: "The people most likely to be trapped on welfare for long periods are those who are married or partnered to an existing welfare recipient, the disabled and Tasmanians." See G. Megalogenis, "Welfare" (29-30 Mar 2008) p1; also see H. Buddelmeyer, "Some Observations on Labour Market Transitions and Welfare-to-Work" (27-28 Mar 2008) http://www.melbourneinstitute.com/conf2008/Presentations/Session%204B/Buddelmeyer,%20Hielke.pdf (30 Mar 2008).

[189] Also allegedly extended to "Australia at large…[because there] is a legacy of national self-hatred among intellectual Australians…" See B. Smith, *Australia's Birthstain* (2008) p7.

[190] Macintyre refers to Lloyd's history as a "large-scale narrative of great moral force"; see S. Macintyre, "Robson, Leslie Lloyd" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p311.

[191] Robson is famous for pioneering techniques in quantitative history and his method intones his later historiography.

Instead, this thesis seeks a history and a politics in response to that which Richard Flanagan calls Tasmania's "sickness", the intimidation of its democratic impulse.[192] In taking up the derision from the barracks of the right history warriors, a history of radicals is sought where they might be least considered, outside of the major metropolitan centres of Australia and in a relatively decentralised state with a more provincial society, much dwarfed by the political power and culture of the rest of the country. This is a search for a radical history in a state whose business and government sectors advertise it as serene and gentle, and which has lagged behind other Australian states in implementing universal adult male suffrage, the women's vote, the rights of unions, sexual rights and other planks in the platform of liberal democracy. Tasmania is an historically conservative state. *It is a state which changed its name to forget its history*. So can a history of radical Tasmania be located, analysed and narrated in utility for academic learning and important public debates like that of the History Wars?

Further, in view of the tactic of the (right) history warriors, whether they be academics, politicians or "public intellectuals",[193] in propagating their views through the popular media, *Radical Tasmania* explores an interface of academic research and a popular readership with a view to academic historiography entering the popular arena to answer those which Macintyre politely refers to as "columnists and commentators". Such an historiography must be very mindful of its ambitions as a science and as an art. In doing so, the potential for the historian to take academic research "up" to a "polemical style" will be pursued.

[192] R. Flanagan, **"**Battle Cry for Our Tasmania" (2008) http://tasmaniantimes.com/index.php?/weblog/article/battle-cry-for-our-tasmania/ (6 Apr 2009).
[193] M. McKenna, "Different Perspectives on Black Armband History" (10 Nov 1997) http://www.aph.gov.au/Library/pubs/rp/1997-98/98rp05.htm (13 Feb 2006).

B): Radical Politics

Tasmanian radicalism is "counter-narratives", "history from below"[194] and histories of the "other".[195] And just as the word "radical" is also nineteenth century Tasmanian vernacular for a mischievous child,[196] so too is *Radical Tasmania* a "disobedient history".[197] It evidences "arts of resistance"[198] as "microhistories" which engage with "macrohistories". A radical teleology aims to impose a history of the everyday (*Alltagsgeschichte*)[199] on "grand history" [200]—what, in the vernacular**,** is called "the big picture".[201] And because radicals seek to change the "flow" of grand history, because they challenge institutional power *par excellence* (property and the state), *Radical Tasmania* is political history.

History "from below" as Politics

The H.R. Nicholls Society, committed to curbing union power and named after Henry Richard Nicholls (editor of Tasmania's Hobart newspaper, *The Mercury*, 1883-1912), because he opposed the High Court's Justice Higgins for legally sanctioning organised labour, is fond of the maxim, "There is nothing so powerful as an idea whose time has come."[202] Indeed, the Howard Government's Tasmania Senator Eric Abetz had recourse to just these words when the anti-union legislation, Work Choices (2005), was passed

---

[194] Also called history "from the bottom up", especially as written by E.P. Thompson and the left "school" of history which he inspired and which included such luminaries as Rodney Hilton, Christopher Hill and Eric Hobsbawm; see H. Kaye, "Towards a Biography of E. P. Thompson" (1995) p52. Also see E. Hobsbawm, "On History from Below" (1988) in E. Hobsbawm, *On History* (1997) pp201-216. It is also credited to the French Annales School, though with a broader meaning.

[195] George Rudé and E.P. Thompson are usually credited as the "pioneers" of radical history in the Anglophonic diaspora; for example, see E. Hobsbawm, "On History from Below" (1988) in E. Hobsbawm, *On History* (1997) pp201-216. Alex Miller credits fiction with being the art about the "history of the so-called losers" (discussed below); see A. Miller, "Truth in Fiction and History" (30 Nov 2006) http://www.rage.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2006/1800785.htm (16 Dec 2006).

[196] L. Robson, *A Short History of Tasmania* (1997) p129.

[197] K. Jenkins, *Refiguring History* (2003) pp2-3 & p61.

[198] J.C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990).

[199] "the history of everyday life (*Alltagsgeschichte*)"; see G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (1997) p114; Iggers references Ald Lüdtke, ed., *The History of Everyday Life*, Princeton 1995.

[200] See a history of the terms "microhistory" and "macrohistory" in G. Iggers, Ch9, "From Macro- to Microhistory: The History of Everyday Life" in *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (1997) pp101-117.

[201] The term "big picture" is used here in a much broader context than Paul Keating's spin for his "'Big Picture' for a new Australia" when he became Prime Minister (1991); see G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p66.

[202] For example, see G.O. Gutman, "Arbitration In Contempt" (n.d.) http://www.hrnicholls.com.au/archives/vol1/vol1-12.php (25 Oct 2008).

through Parliament.[203] At first instance, the phrase seems to be merely a banal example of idealism. However, even though Work Choices was a factor in Howard's political undoing, it is also argued that this is an example of how the right is learning from the left that culture, including ideological domination, is a key to power.[204] Hence the currency of "culture wars".

Radical Tasmania theorises issues of cultural hegemony[205] as derived from Antonio Gramsci's analysis of consensual rule whereby the ideology of the ruling class has pervaded the consciousness of the "subaltern" classes,[206] especially workers. When this fails, the ruling class might turn to state violence. To combat hegemony, Gramsci calls for a culture war ("war of position") as a prelude to revolution ("war of manoeuvre").[207] While this is already implied in classical Marxism,[208] Gramsci adds a complexity to Marxist praxis which is often overlooked by those who presume that it is obsessed with "cataclysmic revolutionary struggle" rather than the "quiet revolution…in favour of change in cultural spheres"[209] so beloved by reformists.[210]

---

[203] Sen. E. Abetz, "Workplace Relations Amendment (Work Choices) Bill 2005" in *Hansard* (10 Nov 2005) http://www.aph.gov.au/hansard/senate/dailys/ds101105.pdf (25 Oct 2008) p165; please note, "Work Choices" sometimes appears as "WorkChoices" in other publications.

[204] See "Cultural hegemony and the instrumentalisation of culture" in G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) pp125-129.

[205] "Hegemony is best thought of in terms of the institutional and cultural conditions for uninterrupted [capital] accumulation." See R.W. Connell & T.H. Irving,, *Class Structure in Australian History* (1992) p19.

[206] While now a term of postcolonial studies to identify groups which are oppressed by and/or resisting neoliberal globalisation, "subaltern history" is originally credited to Antonio Gramsci's notion of oppressed groups which have not developed a revolutionary (class) consciousness; for example, see A. Gramsci, "The Modern Prince" (2007) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/gramsci/prison_notebooks/modern_prince/ch15.htm (19 Jan 2008). For New Right allegations of postmodern "Subalterns" finding inspiration in terrorism, see K. Windschuttle, "The Cultural War on Western Civilization" (2005) http://www.sydneyline.com/War%20on%20Western%20civilization.htm (28 Dec 2007).

[207] Gramsci credits Lenin for opposing a praxis of hegemony to narrow "economism"; see A. Gramsci, "Part Two: Prison Writings 1929-1935: VI Hegemony, Relations of Force, Historical Bloc: 6 [Ethico-Political History and Hegemony]", *An Antonio Gramsci Reader* (2007) http://www.marxists.org/archive/gramsci/prison_notebooks/reader/q10i-12.htm (20 Jan 2008). The editor, David Forgacs, attributes Gramsci's use of the term "hegemony" to a line from Lenin's *Two Tactics of Social Democracy* (1905): "Bolshevism is the first movement in the history of class struggle to have developed the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat." See note 6 to Gramsci above at http://www.marxists.org/archive/gramsci/prison_notebooks/reader/notes.htm#vi[6] (20 Jan 2008).

[208] For example, on the possibility that socialism can attain its "goal by peaceful means", see K. Marx, "La Liberté Speech" (2008) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1872/09/08.htm (4 Nov 2008).

[209] P. Hay, *Main Currents in Western Environmental Thought* (2002) p280; "The Quiet Revolution" is also the title of a chapter in Mark Davis, *The Land of Plenty* (2008), which describes the rise of neoliberalism in Australia.

[210] Similarly, spruikers for Greens Senator Bob Brown prefer to call up images of a cultural transformation rather than those of confrontation at the barricades; for example, note the sub-title in J. Norman, *Bob Brown: Gentle Revolutionary* (2004).

That radicals exist in any substantial sense is an expression of the inability of dominant powers to attain a political, cultural or social absolutism. The question, to recontextualise V.I. Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*,[211] is: what is to be done by both the dissenter from the norm and the ruler (enforcer) of the norm? When a realisation of a potential social conflict is actualised as struggle by the dissenter against the ruler then it is history from below as politics. Harvey cites Marxism as a best example:

> The Marxist theory was clearly dangerous in that it appeared to provide the key to understanding capitalist production from the point of view of those not in control of the means of production and consequently the categories, concepts, relationships, and methods which had the potential to form a paradigm were an enormous threat to the power structure of the capitalist world.[212]

Clearly the "victors write history" because the vanquished are silenced. In cultures in which text is a cornerstone of the hegemonic then the silenced are also, in contradiction, amongst the social relations of orality and, that subtext of historiography, readers who cannot be writers.[213]

In what Clendinnen refers to as "what has become the 'light on the hill' passage among historians",[214] E.P Thompson declares a political intent for his history from below in "some of the lost causes of the people of the Industrial Revolution [because] we may discover insight into social evils which we have yet to cure." [215] Immediately prior to this he sounds a note of liberation: "I am seeking to rescue the poor stockinger, the Luddite cropper, the 'obsolete' hand-loom weaver, the 'utopian' artisan, and even the deluded follower of Joanna Southcott, from the enormous condescension of posterity".[216] The "rescue" here is the argument that the subject of his history, the English working class, not only makes history yet can, through its ideological allies, find voice and so become the object of its historiography and hence of its history.

---

[211] V.I. Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?* (1999) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1901/witbd/index.htm (12 Jan 2007).
[212] D. Harvey, "Revolutionary and Counter Revolutionary Theory in Geography and the Problem of Ghetto Formation" (Jul 1972) p5.
[213] Rather than "writing", the term "text" (from the Latin *textus*, "to weave") is sometimes used here because it broadens the focus on historiography's literary art to include a sociology of technology; that is, text as embodied social relations, especially relations of power, in written grammar, grapholect, etc; see W. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (1982).
[214] I. Clendinnen, "The History Question" (2006) p56.
[215] E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1968) p13.
[216] E.P Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1968) p13.

A definitive example of the historiographical genre of the other, Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (1971), seeks to "fashion a narrative of the conquest of the American West as the victims experienced it, using their own words whenever possible".[217] Lyndall Ryan, in her *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (1996), defers to Brown's value-declared history for "reading the voices" of the other,[218] Aboriginal Tasmanian history:

> …[Patsy] Cameron and [Vicky] Matson-Green claim that Pallawah people [Aboriginal Tasmanians][219] must repossess their history from the ownership of 'luta tawin', white people. Only then can Pallawah people challenge the course of Tasmanian history.
>
> So, in 1995, ownership of Tasmania Aboriginal history by Aboriginal people is now firmly on the agenda.[220]

One cannot leave Ryan, at this point, without noting her construction of history as "ownership", as a type of property. (This also occurs in Clendinnen's philosophy of history, discussed below.) Of course, even if history as property is only a metaphor it has profound echoes for a culture, the Palawa (Tasmanian Aborigines),[221] who were usurped of all claims to land and are now struggling to have their identity of place[222] ("earthspeaking" in Melissa Lucashenko's term)[223] recognised in bourgeois property law. Greg Lehman has it, "This is why [Palawa] say that 'the land owns us'."[224] It might suggest a potential embourgeoisment of Palawa politics and/or a necessary yet pragmatic compromise as a strategy of praxis ("'more room for action'")[225] with a

---

[217] D. Brown, *Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee* (1971) pxii.
[218] L. Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (1996) pxxiv.
[219] "The name 'Pallawah' is now used by Tasmanian Aborigines to identify themselves among First Name Aboriginal Groups…" See L. Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (1996) pxxiv. However, "Pallawah" is now more commonly spelt Palawa; see Greg Lehman, "The Palawa Voice" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p264.
[220] L. Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (1996) pxxx. Ryan references Cameron and Matson-Green as writing history "devoted to women in Tasmania…[and] who teach at Riawanna, the Aboriginal Centre at the Launceston campus of the University of Tasmania…" For Ryan's elaborations on the term "Aboriginal Tasmanians" in preference to "Tasmanian Aborigines, see her "The Politics of Naming" in L. Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (1996) ppxviiii-xx.
[221] Greg Lehman, "The Palawa Voice" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p264-265.
[222] "And what do you get when you take a bounded geographical entity and add an investment of human attachment, loyalty and meaning? You get the phenomenon known as 'place'." See P. Hay, "A Phenomenology of Islands" (Mar 2006) p31; see also a brief discussion of the "integrity of place" and the politics of resistance, p33.
[223] "I am earthspeaking, talking about this place, my home…" See M. Lucashenko, "Not Quite White in the Head" (Summer 2003-2004) p13; Lucashenko is descended from the Murri people, Queensland.
[224] Greg Lehman, "The Palawa Voice" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p265.
[225] Greg Lehman, "The Palawa Voice" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p265.

dominant culture which fetishises property. But for *Radical Tasmania*, history as property is an antagonism to the pursuit of the "resolution of freedom and necessity"; such a resolution aspires to overcome the alienation which functions in property relations, including history as property. So for the history of the identity of place, the history of earthspeaking,[226] in Tasmania, *Radical Tasmania* spurns ownership and proclaims instead for a resolution of this history as do the Palawa, *milaythina nika waranta pakana,/ waranta palawa, milaythina nika*.[227]

The parallel between non-authorial groups and those who make yet do not "own" history[228] is more than coincidence; it manifests the relation of history and historiography as "cultural capital"[229] appropriated from and then denied to the historically alienated, exploited and oppressed, the historical other. So for the other to claim history, to reappropriate history, to make history in its fuller sense, is to socialise the means of production, distribution and exchange of historiography. This is not merely a matter of historical literacy (author as well as reader) and of recognising a legitimacy for vernacular history,[230] including orality, it is a fundamental challenge to those social relations which underpin hegemonic history. For example, Lehman argues that "partisan research" is necessary for a reappropriation of Palawa history for contemporary Palawa politics.

> Taking control of history through academic research is one way Tasmanian Aborigines can escape the confines of historically constructed identities which alienated and disempowered us. Partisan research has been successful in finding a new 'imaginable' context for Palawa identity in Tasmania. This context emancipates Palawa from a history of oppression by empowering the community with 'more room for action'.[231]

---

[226] Lucashenko tends to use the phrase "migaloo" as the antithesis of earthpseaking in words or even food; see M. Lucashenko, "More Migaloo Words" (Winter 2001) pp15-16 and "Poor Fella My Pantry", (Autumn 2008) p17.
[227] "This country is us,/ And we are this country." See G. Lehman, "Two Thousand Generations of Place-Making" (2006) http://www.wellingtonpark.tas.gov.au/pdf/welcometocountry06.pdf (15 Mar 2009).
[228] I. Clendinnen, "The History Question: Who Owns the Past?" (Oct 2006) pp1-72.
[229] As developed from Pierre Bourdieu's notion (*le capital culturel*) about how accumulated cultural resources, knowledge (including certain technical skills) and habitus (dispositions of thought, behaviour and taste) can confer power and status; it is complementary to an analysis of cultural hegemony.
[230] B. Attwood, "Telling the Truth about Aboriginal History" (5 Sep 2005) http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/public-history-institute/annual-public-lecture/lecture-2005/index.html (22 Oct 2006).
[231] Greg Lehman, "The Palawa Voice" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p265.

This has a general application for radical history, and it implies a politics of historiography; issues which must be contested through the historiography itself and a theorisation of the historiography as well as in the general arena of political struggle.

Historical Force as the Politics of Radical Praxis

Understanding the past is a "key to the understanding of the present".[232] To "change" history invites a political task because it challenges the "makers" of history both in the sense of the dominant subjects of history and those who write history, those who authorise history because they authorialise history. To change history is to challenge social hegemony (left history), or a challenge of social hegemony (right history), at the level of its material, cultural and political relations.

The recent History Wars in Australia is the historic paradox of the "right" seeking to change history while the "left" seeks to conserve (its) history. (Hence, for example, Windschuttle's charge of "orthodox" against the left[233] is best understood in its ideological context rather than, as Boyce does, the banality of its intellectual analysis.)[234] As this exegesis argues, the History Wars have unleashed another struggle between historians and novelists. The History Wars are occurring with, and are so accentuating, forces which by themselves were already driving academic history to a cusp — which in part Clendinnen calls a "ravine" or "gulf" (discussed below) — where scholarly epistemology is pushing against, and is being pushed back, by other movements which are an outpouring of neoliberal capitalism. As Mark McKenna bemoans:

> The rise of the novelist as historian, of fiction as history, has accompanied the decline of critical history in the public domain. And this is as much a political phenomenon as a literary one…[235]

[232] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) p26.
[233] K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p26-28.
[234] J. Boyce, "'Better to be Mistaken than to Deceive'" (2004) pp27-33, and S.G. Foster, "Contra Windschuttle" (Mar 2003) http://www.quadrant.org.au/php/article_view.php?article_id=252 (16 Nov 2007).
[235] M. McKenna, "Writing the Past" (1 Dec 2005) http://www.humanitieswritingproject.net.au/mckenna.htm (4 Mar 2006).

To use a metaphor, it is the tectonic plate of the discourse of academic history against the plates of new economic imperatives for higher education and a "turn" to literary history (fiction and nonfiction) in democratic politics; for some, the tremors are indeed "shocking" to the very core of their vocational calling. Like the History Wars, the Story Wars are also another chapter in a longer tale. McKenna credits a particular observation to Peter Pierce:

> Between the world wars, and before the consolidation of the academic profession of history in Australia, the national saga…was mostly told by novelists. Now—and despite the 'history wars'— historians are in numerical decline, and novelists may regain control of territory that they never formally ceded.[236]

Such a fundamental change in history implies a radical politics. The intention is to harness these forces of change to the narrative of the historical subjects so that the politics of the Narrative Wars in general is an object of change, an object of radical praxis, for *Radical Tasmania*.

Much of the problem begins in, and is to be developed from, the descriptor "radical". It will be analysed later in further detail, yet at this point it is worth repeating that it is posited as a problem of history and politics and literature. It is to be analysed in application to a particular social context (Tasmania) and it is be analysed as a problem of social context (ideology). Radical here is self-consciously reflected in text and is, therefore, also a problem of historiography and creative writing and polemics. Radical is to be pursued through science and narrated through art.

The point is not just to analyse radicals in Tasmania yet also to explore the potential of articulating a voice for radicals in Tasmania. The intent is as ideological as it is scientific. So in its context of the Narrative Wars, the science of *Radical Tasmania* is a science in pursuit of politics. Rather than compromise the integrity of the science, if the politics is declared as an intent for the science then the politics likewise demands a scientific rigour because it self-consciously reflects on the values which inform its science.

[236] Credited to Peter Peirce in "email writing in *The Age*" without complete reference by McKenna; see M. McKenna, "Writing the Past" (1 Dec 2005) http://www.humanitieswritingproject.net.au/mckenna.htm (4 Mar 2006).

The term radical then has an added meaning in the sense of seeking to challenge, at a fundamental level, both the science and the values of history for Tasmania. If politics is not just the subject but also a goal, then it further requires an analysis not just of the historical subject yet also the narrative means with which to engage democratic processes; this is to seek an historiography which challenges and, if necessary, changes the political actions of the readers.

The Political "Spectrum"

There is a predilection amongst some political commentators to dismiss left and right as hackneyed clichés of yesteryear's ideologies.[237] On the contrary, it is argued here that these terms are still relevant. So on this point there is need to clarify the use of "left" and "right".

The Cold War came to dominate the concepts of left and right .On one hand for the left there was the politics of socialism and those with which it shared an ideological terrain: revolutionary (mostly Marxist), anarchist, left liberal, "reformist", New Left and, that misleading nomenclature from the hurly-burly of Germany's socialism, "social democrat" (*sozialdemokratische*).[238] On the other hand, the right came to dominate the politics of anti-socialism: "conservatives", right liberal, royalists, Fascist, "reactionary" and (some) nationalists; neoconservatism and neoliberalism[239] ("economic rationalism", represented by the "Dry" factions in both Britain's Conservative Party and Australia's

[237] Interview with David McKnight in P. Adams, "Beyond Right and Left" (19 Sep 2005) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/talks/lnl/s1463280.htm (20 Sep 2005); also see D. McKnight, *Beyond Right and Left* (2005). For a criticism of McKnight (and Anthony Giddens) on this, see G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) pp35-36. Richard Flanagan, in interview for *Radical Tasmania*, also remarked that left and right no longer had relevance for him; refer R. Flanagan, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (29 Nov 2006).

[238] A term with which Prime Minister Rudd frequently identifies; for example, see for example, Hon. K. Rudd, "The Global Financial Crisis" (Feb 2009) http://www.themonthly.com.au/tm/node/1417 (4 Feb 2009).

[239] See discussions of the Australian variant at K. Pickering, "Manufacturing Discontent" (29 Oct 2004) p1-8, and N. Hollier, "John Howard: Tweedledum(b) - Or Not So?" (2002) http://aspen.conncoll.edu/politicsandculture/page.cfm?key=155 (8 Jan 2008). Under the Liberal Federal Treasurer, Peter Costello (1996-2007), neoliberalism was pursued in Government policies for "balanced budgets, the removal of public-sector debt, a broad-based consumption tax, an extensive deregulation of the labour market and the lowering of tax rates"; see S. Carney, "End of a dream" (20 Jun 2009) http://www.theage.com.au/national/end-of-a-dream-costellos-unfulfilled-ambition-20090619-cr9h.html?page=-1 (20 Jun 2009).

Liberal Party of the 1980s-1990s)[240] straddles the period from the Reagan/Thatcher era,[241] when right liberalism renewed itself as the New Right, to the "bear" stock market of late 2008 when neoliberalism fell into a crisis of confidence.[242] (Geoff Boucher and Matthew Sharpe describe the New Right, with its Australian version founded by Hugh Morgan,[243] as an oxymoronic "postmodern conservatism"[244] and locate its influence across all the major political parties of capital, including the Hawke-Keating ALP Governments and the "watered-down form" under Kevin Rudd.)[245] As the Cold War came to an end (c1991) and politics entered what the American President George Bush Senior (1989-1993) called a "new world order", a superficial view emerged that so too was the politics of left and right at an end (implied in Francis Fukuyama's "end of history").[246] But this ignores the fact that the terms date back to at least the French National Assembly before the French Revolution (1789)[247] and that it has for even longer been the custom in the British Parliamentary tradition for the government members to literally sit to the right of the speaker while the opposition members sit to the left. So while left and right are relativist terms, they still have application as metaphorical descriptions in the simple sense of the politics for or against the prevailing social, cultural and institutional norms of the times; keeping in mind, of course, that any norm is invariably shifting as various antagonistic groups engage in power struggles.

---

[240] For a discussion of several Australian Dry manifestoes, *Australia at the Crossroads* (1980), partly funded by Shell Australia, and the Liberal Party documents, *Facing the Facts* (Apr 1983), *Future Directions* (1988) and *Fightback!* (1993) see G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p38 & pp65-67; also for a discussion of how Australian neoconservatism "differs from earlier English-speaking forms of conservatism", see p72.

[241] Even before the Chicago School of Economics began exporting neoliberalism, c1973 (N. Holler, "John Howard", 2002), Ronald Reagan, as Governor of California (1967-1975) was attacking expenditure on general welfare, Medi-Cal (medical welfare in California) and free higher education while at the same time bemoaning "what I call the Morality Gap: crime, obscenity, delinquency, and abandonment of law". This has Alistair Cooke observing, "But it is his strength among voters that, in a country with a huge middle class, he so faithfully reflects their bewilderment at the collapse of the old middle-class standards, protections, and, perhaps, shibboleths." In other words, Reagan was a neoconservative before neoconservatism. See A. Cooke, "Reagan: The Common Man Writ Large (1967)" in *Memories of the Great & the Good* (2000) p158 & pp160-161.

[242] K. Pickering, "Manufacturing Discontent" (29 Oct 2004) p5, and D. Harvey, "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction" (Mar 2007) pp21-44.

[243] G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p53.

[244] A term attributed to Andrew Vandenburg of Deakin University Politics; see G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) in "Acknowledgments" (n.p.) & p32. Hear Boucher & Sharpe explain the term at P. Adams, "Post-Modern Conservatism" (7 Oct 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/latenightlive/stories/2008/2384582.htm (8 Oct 2008). Also hear a brief critique of Boucher and Sharpe by self-professed conservatives, Dr. Eduardo de la Fuente and Paul Comrie-Thomson; see P. Comrie-Thomson, "Conservative Sociology" (1 Dec 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/counterpoint/stories/2008/2434725.htm (6 Dec 2008).

[245] G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p51 & p125.

[246] F. Fukuyama, "The End of History" (1989) pp15-25, and *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992).

[247] See "Right" in D. Robertson, *The Penguin Dictionary of Politics* (1985) p291; see also "left" in I. McLean & A. McMillan, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics* (2009) http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.library.vu.edu.au/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t86.e731 (30 May 2009).

Also, the same can be generally said of vocabulary like "reactionary", "conservative", reformist" and "revolutionary". The point is that they must be qualified to be of use, then they can remain in currency. A removal of the terms left and right, rather than move politics "beyond" anything,[248] runs the risk of moving politics into just one camp; it implies that there are no fundamental alternatives: a loss of positive vision.[249] Notions of left and right, because they embody the search for alternatives, champion "the audacity of hope".[250]

Radicals and Radicalism in Tasmania

While "Tasmanian radical" is a problematic term, the focus here is on radicals who perceive the society of Tasmania as the object of their actions. At its simplest, "Tasmania" is defined as "an island State off the south-eastern mainland of Australia".[251] Tasmanian society has a notion of itself as separate, or at least unique, from the rest of Australia, physically and culturally; that is, it has a tendency to see itself as peculiarly "Tasmanian".[252] This is a part of its "islandness" and its "islophilia".[253] (The island society even has its own glossary.)[254] It is a dialectic in the classical sense of identity defined against its opposite or other. This will obviously entail grey areas (if not shades of grey), so, rather than trap the discussion in impossible confines, it will ride the "ups" and "downs" of the waves of colour and nuance as reflected by the topic.

---

[248] D. McKnight, *Beyond Right and Left* (2005); and David McKnight in P. Adams, "Beyond Right and Left" (19 Sep 2005) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/talks/lnl/s1463280.htm (20 Sep 2005);

[249] For a brief critique of "beyond" as a "loss of positive vision" in Anthony Giddens, David McKnight and others, see G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) pp35-36.

[250] A phrase claimed to have been used by Pastor Jeremiah Alvesta Wright Jr. of Chicago's Trinity United Church of Christ, popularised by Barack Obama at the USA 2004 Democratic Convention and which Obama later used as the title for his second book (2006); see B. Obama, *Audacity of Hope* (2004) http://www.librarian.net/dnc/speeches/obama.txt (14 Aug 2009).

[251] See "Tasmania" in A. Delbridge, *The Macquarie Dictionary* (1987) p1739. The description of Tasmania as an "island state" has been frequently used by the Government; for example, see the term used to promote Tasmania as "clean", "green" "…and clever" at International Education Unit, "Tasmania, the island state" (20 Aug 2004) http://www.studyintasmania.tas.gov.au/tasmania.html (16 Mar 2009).

[252] J. Malpas, "Senses of Place" (Summer 2007) p10.

[253] P. Hay, "A Phenomenology of Islands" (Mar 2006) p19 & p20. For a brief discussion of nissology ("the study of islands on their own terms") in the context of Tasmania, see CA Cranston, "Islands" in CA Cranston & R. Zeller, *The Littoral* Zone (2007) pp221-222.

[254] M. Brooks & J. Ritchie, *Tassie Terms* (1995).

As there is insufficient evidence to explore the possibility of Tasmanian Aboriginal radicalism before the British invasion of 1803, and as the Dutch and French explorers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not make a significant contribution to any society which could be construed as Tasmanian, the history here begins with British conquest (the Black War) in Van Diemen's Land—later renamed Tasmania in January 1856.[255]

Radicals who were transported to Van Diemen's Land as political prisoners by the British and did not subsequently engage in an activism for fundamental change in Van Diemen's Land are excluded. In this group are such as rebel Maori chiefs, the American "Patriots",[256] Irish nationalists and all the Chartists transported to Van Diemen's Land with the notable exception of William Cuffay. Such political prisoners either desisted from political activism when they were released from penal control or, if they did return to politics, they did so outside of Van Diemen's Land; most of them could not leave the island soon enough. Cuffay is the exception proving the rule.[257]

The next task is to construct a working definition of the term, radical. This has complex implications for the research and so it needs a more detailed exploration.

Authoritive dictionary definitions of "radical" pertain to the "root" of society, "the metaphor being that radicalism is root-and-branch reform".[258] This is problematic because the perceptions of the base or fundamentals of society vary according to the ideology of the historical subjects.[259] For example, the Marxist insistence that the base

---

[255] The colony's new name of Tasmania was gazetted in November 1855 and took effect, along with the arrival of self-government, on the 1st January 1856; see T. Newman, "Tasmania, the Name" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p353. The first appearances in print of the nomenclature Tasmania appeared in an atlas published by Laurie and Whittle of London in 1808 and then on the first page of the first settle guide, *Van Diemen's Land*, by Charles Jeffrey in 1820; see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p158 & p342.

[256] C. Pybus & H. Maxwell-Stewart, *American Citizens, British Slaves* (2002).

[257] See "Fellow Slaves!" in *The Selected Histories*.

[258] See "radical parties" in I. McLean & A. McMillan, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics* (2009) http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.library.vu.edu.au/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t86.e1129 (30 May 2009). The etymology is Middle English from late Latin, *radicalis*, from Latin, *radix*, *radic*- "root"; see "radical *adj*" in C. Soanes & A. Stevenson, *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (2008) http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.library.vu.edu.au/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t23.e46412 (30 May 2009).

[259] "However, the etymology also leads to a famous satirical comparison between the French Radicals and radishes (*radis* in French)—red outside and white within." See "radical parties" in I. McLean & A. McMillan, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics* (2009) http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.library.vu.edu.au/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t86.e1129 (30 May 2009).

of modern society is the capitalist relations of production as expressed through property and class is not the same as a liberal definition which emphasises individual rights, free trade and parliamentary democracy.

George Rudé wrestled with just this problem in his history of "protest convicts" transported to Australia.[260] Rudé notes that to liberal historians "it is not so much that all protest is a form of crime as that all crime is a form of protest".[261] He develops E.P. Thompson's distinction between common crime, such as a gang of robbers in 18th century London or a bar brawl, and "'social' crimes involving 'common' rights", such as poaching to feed a family.[262] Rudé then elaborates on his notion of protest crime and concludes that any categorisations of crimes "have to be judged, as it were, on their merits".[263]

So Rudé is admitting that any definition of protest crime is a subjective judgment based on open-ended criteria, though it should be subject to a disciplined analysis. This enquiry into radicals is much broader than Rudé's notion of protest crime because it will refer to legal as well as illegal activity, yet it recognises that his problematic admission of a subjective judgment is also relevant to this study of radicals.

One can tighten the definition of radical by looking to Marx's and Engels's observations on crime and what later Marxists call "praxis". Marx and Engels considered most crime, especially property crime, as a protest against the very foundations of capitalism, "for what a man has, he does not steal".[264] Yet this radicalism merely remains latent if it is not harnessed to a political consciousness and organised into a social movement for the annihilation of property along with all the social, including legal and political institutions, which rest upon it. For Marx, this invariably harnesses theory and violent action together:

> …on the eve of every general reshuffling of society, the last word of social science will always be:

[260] G. Rudé, *Protest and Punishment* (1978) pp1-4.
[261] G. Rudé, *Protest and Punishment* (1978) p2.
[262] G. Rudé, *Protest and Punishment* (1978) p3; Rudé references E.P Thompson *Whigs and Hunters: The Origins of the Black Act* (1963) pp142-146, pp172-175 and p196.
[263] G. Rudé, *Protest and Punishment* (1978) pp3-4.
[264] See F. Engels, "Results" in *The Conditions of the Working Class in England in 1844* (1998) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/condition-working-class/ch07.htm (26 Apr 2008); see discussed in G. Rudé, *Protest and Punishment* (1978) p3.

> *'Le combat ou la mort; la lutte sanguinaire ou le neant. C'est ainsi que la quéstion est invinciblement posée.'*[265]

At it most developed, this would be (socialist) revolution.

There is a qualitative difference between legal or criminal protest as the "the struggle of the isolated individual against the prevailing conditions"[266] and radical protest. This is identified through praxis.

> [Praxis refers] in general to action, activity; and in Marx's sense to the free, universal, creative and self-creative activity, through which man creates (makes, produces) and changes (shapes) his historical, human world and himself…The word is of Greek origin, and according to [Nicholas] Lobkowicz 'refers to almost any kind of activity which a free man is likely to perform; in particular, all kinds of business and political activity.[267]

Further to Lobkowicz, it is argued that praxis is not so much the action of the free, rather freedom is realised in action and is not as much a state of being as it is the action of becoming (fulfilling a potential);[268] in this sense, freedom is both subject and object. (In classical Marxism, the concept of freedom derives from "positive" philosophy, the freedom in the relationship of being and becoming,[269] rather than "negative" philosophy, such as liberalism, which is freedom from tyranny or being free to choose, etc.)[270] In any case, the important point to note is that praxis is activity guided by a social, and especially a political, consciousness. More recently, the concept has developed as "practice" to mean the symbiotic relationship between theory and practice as directed at social change.

---

265 "Combat or Death: bloody struggle or extinction. It is thus that the question is inexorably put." See K. Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy* (1975) p161; Marx borrowed the phrase from the "Introduction" to the novel *Jean Ziska* (1843) by feminist Georg Sand (Amandine Dupin, Baronne Dudevant); see G. Sand, *Jean Ziska* (9 Apr 2005) http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15584/15584-h/15584-h.htm (8 Apr 2008).

266 See K. Marx & F. Engels, *The German Ideology* (1970) p107.

267 G. Petrovic, "praxis" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p384.

268 For a discussion of Tasmanian politics of sexuality as an "agency…'in the process of *becoming*'", see B. Baird, "Sexual citizenship in 'the New Tasmania'" (Nov 2006) pp966-967.

269 The term "being and becoming" is borrowed for this thesis from Jean Paul Sartre (discussed below). Though it is often attributed to Martin Heidegger, such as for his *Being and Time* (1927), it is in Sartre's adaptation of the notion for Marxism (albeit noting Heidegger's influence on Sartre) which influences this analysis. Calling up the classical argument of Heraclitus ("Everything flows and nothing abides; everything gives way and nothing stays fixed./You cannot step twice into the same river, for other waters and yet others, go flowing on.", etc.), it complements a dialectics of history (historical materialism) as creative destruction *(Aufhebung*) in a movement towards a point of moral and physical being which is then conserved and destroyed in turning towards another point and so on through another turn; that is, the metaphor of a "gyre" of history (see below). See also its use by Barry Lopez on "ecotone" (discussed below).

270 See S. Lukes, "emancipation" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p146.

> Activity with a means and an end.
> Practice is *active*, rather than being a passive *observation*, and is directed at *changing* something. Practice differs from activity in general, because practice is connected with Theory, which gives its means and end. Practice is only enacted through theory and theory is formulated based on practice. So long as theory and practice are separated then they fall into a distorted one-sidedness; theory and practice can only fully develop in connection with one another.[271]

So radicalism cannot form if the subject's consciousness does not understand the distinction between an activity which merely breaches authority and a consciousness guiding activity (practice) to create fundamental social change.

Tim Thorne, for example, has penned an interesting poem on Tasmania's most "popular" bushranger (the term is claimed to have origins in Tasmania)[272] in which Thorne rejects those histories which have attempted to construct Matthew Brady as a radical, as a sort of Vandiemonian "Robin Hood", and then he ponders the implications of this misunderstanding of radical consciousness for modern Tasmania . It is worth quoting the last stanzas:

> The ladies made a cornucopia of Matt's cell
> Because he never raped and only killed
> Redcoats and turncoats. He was so fastidious
> He baulked at sharing a coach and gibbet with Jeffries, who was sick enough to spill a baby's brains against a gum tree
> Who raped people and then ate them.[273]
> But even he was not a revolutionary,
> Just a progenitor of mainstream Tassie culture,
> As Matt was of its politics:
> Making a virtue of impotence,
> Conning posterity with a flash image.
> What hope for an island when even its bushrangers
> Had no solidarity?
>
> I'll stand here by the tourist coach,

[271] See "Theory and Practice" in "Encyclopedia of Marxism: Glossary of Terms" at Marxists Internet Archives (2006) http://www.Marxists.org/glossary/terms/p/r.htm (8 Mar 2006).
[272] Credited to Rev. Robert Knopwood; see M. Brooks & J. Ritchie, *Tassie Terms* (1995) p23.
[273] Mark Jefferies, a serial killer (including the killing of an infant) and a cannibal, was hanged alongside Brady who protested against having to share the gallows with such company, in Hobart, 4 May 1826.

> Just another wimp who quotes Proudhon
> And laments that guerrilla bands have been
> romanticised to impotence again.[274]

As consciousness by itself might be nothing more than the conviction of one's own opinion, praxis implies not just activity but activism. This involves a self-identification as an "activist".[275] As Sarah Maddison and Sean Scalmer express it, "Struggle is presented as essential to subjectivity".[276] The perpendicular pronoun in "I am an activist" enunciates what Max Weber called the political epiphany's call-to-arms, the political "vocation";[277] it is action determined to make a fundamental difference. This, for example, is the essence of a reflection on the "ethical" imperative for activism in a publication of graphics and text for Tasmanian environmentalism by Matthew Newton and Peter Hay:

> *WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE AN 'ACTIVIST'?*
> *AN ACTIVIST?*
> IT IS TO BE TRULY ADULT; TO INSIST UPON GOOD AND RIGHT BEHAVIOUR, TO BE MORALLY AUTONOMOUS, TO IDENTIFY, NAME AND CONFRONT ALL THAT IS AN OFFENCE AGAINST ETHICAL PRINCIPLE. IT IS TO PARTAKE OF A COLLECTIVELY CONSTRUCTED ETHICAL LIFE — TO THINK ONE'S OWN THOUGHTS, TO MEDIATE THESE IN CONVERSE WITH OTHERS — AND, THE WAY ONCE DETERMINED, TO ACT.[278]

This returns the analysis to the concept of struggle as:

1. The pursuit of freedom in both its "positive" and "negative" philosophical definitions.[279]
2. A key concept in the Marxist sense of "self-determination"[280] with the emphasis on collective identity and action (*species-being*) and the effort for a manifold

---

[274] T. Thorne from "Brady's Lookout" (*Red Dirt*, 1990); see CA Cranston, *Along These Lines* (2000) p204. Thorne's poem begins with a famous quotation from Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, "*La propriéte c'est le vol*" ("property is theft") from Proudhon's *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* (*What is Property?*), 1840. Some potential consequences of "guerrilla bands [which] have been romanticised to impotence again" is explored in reference to the Aboriginal "Amazon", Tarenorerer, in "…so many of them always coming in big boats" in *The Selected Histories*.
[275] For an example of a hypertool for political praxis, see Socialist Alliance & Resistance, *The Activist Toolkit Wiki* (2008) http://activist-toolkit.wikispaces.com/ (27 Oct 2008).
[276] T. Maddison & S. Scalmer, *Activist Wisdom* (2006) p241.
[277] M. Weber, "Politics as a Vocation" (1946) pp77-128.
[278] M. Newton & P. Hay, *The Forests* (2007) n.p.
[279] S. Lukes, "emancipation" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p146.
[280] S. Lukes, "emancipation" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p146. This should not be confused with the "self-determination" of Ludwig Feuerbach and "true socialists" of which Marx and Engels are so critical; for example, see K. Marx & F. Engels, *The German Ideology* (1970) p67.

> cultivation of potential such that the free individual and free society are realised in and achieved through each other.

As politics is the organisation of society, any effort to reform society is necessarily a political struggle. And in the activities of political struggle the activist experiences a metamorphosis towards a new social being, both in social consciousness and in social activity. Radical activism is therefore the struggle to realise a radical potential and, in pursuing it, realise a "higher" social being. To be radical is to struggle and to struggle is to be radical. At certain junctures and at its most developed, it is even revolutionary.

However, "radical" is used with many meanings and nuance of meaning. The politics of "reform" calls for attention. Again, it was Marx and Engels who anticipated the limits of politics which avoids the annihilation of property relations. Their disparaging of "true socialism" and "bourgeois socialism" still informs theory today as to the potential difference between the rhetoric and substance of nominated radicals who pursue "fundamental change" while distancing themselves from the role of an organised proletariat,[281] and who prefer the politics of reform without a fundamental challenge to propertied power. [282]

Yet this is not enough to decide if reformists should be excluded from a history of radicals. Thus far, the discussion of the term radical has defined it as a descriptor of those who struggle to change the fundamentals of society, while being mindful that different activists see social fundamentals differently. So the definition needs to be tightened further to give this analysis a sharper focus.

Is radicalism just another term for any struggle against oppression? History is gorged with movements which fought oppression and yet which were doomed because they were overwhelmed by the circumstances. Yet some must be considered if only to ascertain a fuller understanding of radical potential even in defeat. (For example, see "Fellow Slaves!" and "The Hagley Clique" in *The Selected Histories*.) So "radical" is essentially those who are "in time" with history; those who had or have some realistic chance of achieving their social goals in whole or in a significant part. (In "Sexist Swine

[281] K. Marx & F. Engels, *The German Ideology* (1970) p119-120.
[282] K. Marx & F. Engels, "Conservative or Bourgeois Socialism" at "Socialist and Communist Literature", see *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848), http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch03.htm#b (14 Dec 2006).

of Swansea", this issue of historical synchronicity can be seen in the contrast between the politics of Denise Power, who inadvertently found herself "ahead" of history in a particular place, and the reaction to her by a local branch of the Returned Services League, which, to use a leftist pejorative, was relatively "paleoconservative".)[283] And, harking back to the earlier definition of radical, it means those who are seeking to change society at a fundamental level. The point is that the category of radical here excludes conservatism (so-called "radical conservatives"), atavism, romanticism, utopianism and mere extremism.[284] Liberal reformism has often postured itself as a palliative "radicalism" in a strategy to circumvent fundamental challenges to property and power, such as "John Stuart Mill in his attempt to reconcile irreconcilables",[285] or Germany's Weimar Republic (*Deutsches Reich*, 1919-1933) which gave way to an alliance between industrialists and the Nazis, or the "Great Society"[286] of President Lyndon B. Johnson which, in its failure, brought forth Buchanan's and Nixon's "new majority",[287] America's politics of neoconservatism (New Right).[288] So the distinction between reformism and radicalism is as important as it can be difficult.

The main subjects of Tasmanian history here are extra-Parliamentary movements. (The critical distinction between reformism and radicalism is elaborated below.) Research has indicated that movements for fundamental change in Tasmania begin outside of the Houses of Parliament. Only later might they find support through Parliamentary

---

[283] Paleoconservative is a term of the American left (hence the spelling) used to describe the atavistic and reactionary politics of "traditional" conservatism which is different to neoconservatism.

[284] It was in response to the violent extremism of French terrorists who killed in Marx's name that the latter is said to have responded, "All I know is that I am not a Marxist". See F. Engels, "Engels to C. Schmidt in Berlin (Abstract)" (2000) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1890/letters/90_08_05.htm (12 Mar 2007).

[285] In Marx's view, capitalism's exploitative and oppressive mechanisms cannot be overcome through reformist politics (like Mill's liberalism) because private property is ultimately irreconcilable with the positive freedom associated with the substantive social equality which socialism would bring about; see K. Marx, "Afterword to the Second German Edition" in *Capital Vol. I* (1999) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/p3.htm (1 Feb 2007); N.B., this is sometimes referenced as the "Preface".

[286] A development out of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" and John Kennedy's "New Frontier", the Democrat's "Great Society" was a set of domestic programmes pursued by Johnson on issues such as poverty, race, education, medical care, urban congestion and transportation. Though greatly hindered under Johnson by the cost of the Vietnam War, the Republican administrations of Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford continued some aspects of these programmes despite the paradox of also inheriting Barry Goldwater's agenda of turning back the New Deal; Goldwater's ambition would be realised as neoliberalism.

[287] "'From Day One, Nixon and I talked about creating a new majority,' Buchanan told me recently…"; also referred to as the Nixonian "silent majority" from a speech by Nixon (3 Nov 1969);see G. Packer, "The Fall of Conservatism" (26 May 2008) http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2008/05/26/080526fa_fact_packer?currentPage=all (7 Dec 2008).

[288] On the rise of America's neoconservatism and an alleged concurrent shift in the drug culture, Hunter S. Thompson quips, "…it is worth noting, historically, that downers came in with Nixon." See H.S. Thompson, *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* (2005) p202.

representation. For example, the short-lived and "pro-working class"[289] Gregson Ministry of 1857 and Maxwell Miller, the "radical Member of the House of Assembly",[290] of the same period, enunciated their politics in sympathetic response to the non-Parliamentary agitation coming from the Council for the Working Classes.[291] In modern times, the Greens, a development out of the United Tasmania Group (UTG), were elected into the Legislative Assembly on the back of extra-Parliamentary agitation which preceded their election, such as the highly publicised disputes around the proposed Gordon-below-Franklin dam in the early 1980s and the proposed Wesley Vale pulp mill in the late 1980s. It is this agitation by non-Parliamentarians which, as Amanda Lohrey proclaims, is the "grass roots" (a term also claimed by the logging industry)[292] and "organic"[293] base of electoral support for the Greens in contradistinction to the other parties of Parliamentary representation whose supporters ("blue-ribbon" voters) are not generally profiled in the mass media for on-going public agitation outside of institutionalised power; in other words, the latter draw on a relatively large component of passive support. (In Lohrey's description, they tend to "identikit politics acted out by identikit politicians".)[294] The "Bump-Me-Into-Parliament"[295] ALP and its various conservative "opponents" are almost defined by an antagonism for "street politics",[296] including blockades in forests.[297]

---

[289] A. Betheras, *William Cuffay* (1993) p108.
[290] A. Betheras, *William Cuffay* (1993) p108.
[291] "Working Classes Meeting", no by-line (26 Mar. 1855) n.p.; and "Meeting of the Working Classes", no by-line (2 & 3 May 1855) n.p.
[292] For example, see Timber Communities Australia, "The National Grassroots Community Organisation", *Timber Communities Australia* (2008) http://www.tca.org.au/index.shtml (2 Feb 2009).
[293] A. Lohrey, "Groundswell" (2007) p170.
[294] A. Lohrey, "Groundswell" (2007) p167.
[295] A satirical song on ALP careerism which was written by Bill Casey, later Secretary of the Queensland Branch of Seamens Union, and disseminated by the International Workers of the World ("wobblies"), *c*.1915; see W. Casey, "Bump Me Into Parliament" (n.d.) http://unionsong.com/u005.html (18 Jan 2009) and see another version of the song at V. Burgmann, "The Industrial Workers of the World in Australia" (Jun 2009) http://links.org.au:80/node/1104 (17 Jun 2009).
[296] While the term "street politics" can be a pejorative for proletarian culture, it is used here in the sense of politics organised through informal public spaces — such as roads, shopping malls, parklands and forests — in contradistinction to the formal theatre of a parliament and its attendant media conferences. It is the praxis of taking an issue "into the streets" to gain public attention. See a use of the term for a description of Queensland student activism (1978-1979) in R. Summy, "Nonviolent Politics", (2005) http://www.uow.edu.au/arts/sts/bmartin/dissent/documents/rr/Summy05.pdf (23 Jan 2009) p5. For an example in *Radical Tasmania*, see the history of the Tasmanian Gay &Lesbian Reform Group in "Coming Out, Speaking Out and Marching Out".
[297] For a more recent example of extra-Parliamentary activists in Tasmania's "Forest Wars", see a report on the violence against the group, Still Wild Still Threatened (dubbed "industrial terrorists" by Minister David Llewellyn), at their "Camp Florentine"; see D. Clarke, "Not yet out of the woods" (3-4 Jan 2009) http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,24865691-5006788,00.html (27 Jan 2009). For its part, Camp Florentine refers to its Government opponents (State and Federal) as "carbon criminals"; see Still Wild Still Threatened, *Campaign Update* (Spring 2008).

The discussion of radical has so far been of what one might call "left" radical. There is a traditional association in public commentary between the left and radical; indeed, they are sometimes used as synonyms. This is not scientific rigour. "It makes perfect sense, however, to talk, as is done of the 'radical centre', or even the radical right in political terms."[298] As already alluded to, political dictionaries usually source the terms left and right as arising from the Estates-General shortly before the French Revolution when a (radical) bourgeoisie sat on the left of the chamber to distance itself from the Estates of conservative power, the nobility and the Church. "Hence right wing has come to stand for forces of privilege and traditional authority".[299] To rephrase the salient point here, left and right in any ideological sense are relativist terms; they construct mostly a metaphorical and rhetorical description.

So can *Radical Tasmania* identify a "radical right"? While this is a history which is also an account of some of the politics of reaction, especially from the relevant authorities or the otherwise powerful (for the latter, see especially the history, "Sexist Swine of Swansea"), it is argued that "radical", if used as a catch-all for politics outside of the "centre", can be a phrase of ideological entrapment. A so-called "radical right" can be a force for the further accumulation of wealth and power, by those already privileged, at further cost to the exploited and oppressed through a strategy of social and political chameleonism; an attempt to camouflage the real agenda of power and wealth with the cloth of populist appeal borrowed from other dialogues. At its extreme, for example, this was the strategy of European Fascism from 1919 to 1945.

In his *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990), James Scott nominates his topic as the covert struggle of "disguising ideological insubordination."[300] It is now the place to state explicitly that radical in *Radical Tasmania* means those who struggle against established power, wealth, traditional authority and social privilege. At the core of this is, in Scott's words, "the efforts to thwart material appropriation of their labour, their production and their property". The difference for *Radical Tasmania* is that it seeks a history of these "efforts" not as "disguised" struggle, but as overt struggle; not as "infrapolitics", but, more often than not, actualised as politics; as the social and political struggle of the "powerless". Taking Scott's phrase as a point of reference, material appropriation of labour means compelling people to labour by force of law (slavery) or

[298] See "Radical" in D. Robertson, *The Penguin Dictionary of Politics* (1985) p281.
[299] See "Right" in D. Robertson, *The Penguin Dictionary of Politics* (1985) p 291.
[300] J.C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990) pxiii.

economic manipulation (exploitation) such that their labour is not their own (appropriation) and forces them into a hostile relationship with their economic necessities as well as their psychological, emotional and moral yearnings *(*alienation). This is a function of the reproduction and accumulation of the appropriator's wealth and power through private or state profit (surplus value or *mehrwert*). Production is taken to mean reproduction through the processes of labour and physical reproduction. So the focus is not just on economic struggle, yet also on other issues; for example, gender and sex.

Capitalism does not exist without property. So any movements to shift property relations are potentially radical. This can, of course, be to the left or the right. So the focus here is not on those social movements which merely seek to shift property relations but on those who challenge established property power. This can be a movement of reform, say the recognition of property rights for homosexual couples which equate with those for heterosexual marriages. Or it can be a demand for socialising property, which can have profoundly radical, even revolutionary, implications because it seeks to overcome capitalism at its very base. It can now be acknowledged that the focus of radicalism in *Radical Tasmania*, while admitting that the metaphorical and rhetorical imprecision of the term as discussed above, is left radicalism.

The late twentieth century saw a decline of classical revolutionary socialism, which sought to annihilate property relations and class, and the rise of the politics of race, gender, sex and even animal, as well as environmentalism, amongst others. The New Left, as it was known, shifted the focus away from the fulcrum of bourgeois power (the ownership and/or control of the means of production, distribution and exchange) to issues which sometimes demanded a redistribution of property, such as an equal division of domestic property following divorce, but did not challenge the very concept of property.[301] In the context of "globalisation" and an alleged decline in relative power of the nation state amidst the growth of "dispersed, multitudinous non-centres of power",[302] politics has become characterised by some analysts as "postmodern". Whatever the other outcomes, this means that a core perception of radicalism has

[301] For example, this debate about property and marriage has exposed generational differences between "baby boomers" and "Generation X" (or younger) in the Tasmanian gay law reform movement's demand for full recognition of gay and lesbian marriage in that many older activists are disparaging of marriage in principle; see R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).
[302] T. Doyle, *Green Power* (2000) p197.

shifted.[303] This is against the background of the rise of neoliberalism and the concomitant decline of "social capital" (social networks)[304] resulting in an accelerated atomisation ("There is no such thing as society…"),[305] increased quietism and the severing of the historic partnership between the economic demands of the working class and the liberal agenda of egalitarianism[306] (for example, the betrayal by the Hawke/Keating Prices and Incomes Accord, 1983-1996),[307] luring workers and the petty bourgeoisie to the politics of the disaffected right (the Pauline Hanson phenomenon, later appropriated by the Howard Government).[308] The effect has been to make the left vulnerable to political assault by neoconservatives; not withstanding the challenge to the right in turn with the current recession (notable by the absence of an organised mass workers' movement to take advantage of an historic opportunity).[309]

This raises the question of a history of Tasmanian radicals in defeat. In other words, has the reaction to radicals also shaped Tasmanian society? In an insightful essay in which he takes Russel Ward to task for mythologising Australian egalitarianism,[310] Reynolds argues that Tasmanian society was so fearful of emancipist politics that it created an

---

[303] "The new left's emphasis upon spontaneity left it vulnerable to fragmentation and an eclectic set of groups each with distinct agendas." See "new left" in I. McLean & A. McMillan, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics* (2009)http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.library.vu.edu.au/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t86.e893 (30 May 2009).

[304] A term to describe the normative commitment and moral quality of social networks. Attributed first to L.J. Hanifan (1916), the notion of social capital has been developed in a long line of sociologists, including the influential Pierre Bourdieu (1972), and was then famously disseminated in Robert Putnam's *Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital* (1995) as an explanation of falling "civic engagement" and a debasement of democratic politics. It is also used to explain decline in areas like union membership and church attendance. For an application of the term to a theorisation of the effect of Australian neoliberalism and the rise of neoconservatism, see Ch 7, "Social solidarity or postmodern tribalism" in G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008), especially pp167-174; see also how they relate this to a theory of an "integration crisis", pp123-144.

[305] "And, you know, there is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women, and there are families." British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, *Women's Own* (31 Oct 1987).

[306] This is also discussed below in reference to Marx on "Freedom, Equality, Property and Bentham"; see K. Marx, *Capital Vol. I* (1999) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch06.htm (23 Jan 2008).

[307] Under the Prices and Incomes Accord, unions gave over to wage fixing which stagnated workers' incomes (or worse) in real terms, traded nominal pay increases for "efficiency improvements" (fewer and/or cheaper workers per unit of production), witnessed rising unemployment in the 1990s and demobilised industrial activism; not surprisingly, employers generally saw it as a victory for capital and so condescended to critical political support for the Federal ALP until a more aggressive strategy could be realised under Howard.

[308] For example, see John Howard's successful appeal to Tasmanian logging workers (2004) as elaborated in "Save Our Sisters" in *The Histories*. Also, the xenophobic right won electoral support at the expense of the "centre-left" in the 2009 election for the European Union (EU); see I. Traynor, "Out of the shadows" (10 Jun 2009) http://www.theage.com.au/world/out-of-the-shadows-20090609-c271.html?page=-1 (12 Jun 2009).

[309] The "neosocialism" of Venezuela's Bolivarian Revolution under President Hugo Chavez makes the absence of an organised working class all the more obvious in western politics.

[310] A general theme in Ward's historiography; for example, see R. Ward, *The Australian Legend* (1958).

informal "caste" system which stultified moral progress.[311] The legacy of Georgian oppression has so lingered in Tasmanian history that Martin Flanagan, a Tasmanian journalist writing in Melbourne, comments that it was an obvious difference between the cultures of Tasmania and Victoria until the late twentieth century.[312] So the politics of reaction is analysed alongside that of radicalism to ascertain its "contribution" to Tasmanian history. Indeed, the dialectics of radical and reaction forming and reforming against each other has emerged as a major theme. The evidence is so strong for the conclusion that Tasmania has, in part, been shaped by a bourgeois phobia of the "dirty, half-drunken harridans"[313] that it has given rise to the practical works "Fellow Slaves!" and "The Hagley Clique" in *The Selected Histories*.

It should be noted that this is not an encyclopaedic collation of Tasmanian radicals. The radical histories which are included have been chosen because they tellingly reflect on the contention that the struggle of radicals and reactionaries in Tasmania has been a primary force in the historical development of its politics and culture.

Radicals and Resistance

Histories of radicals are not new in Australian historiography. The topic is noticeable at least to the point that it irritates the right and has become a target of counter-attack for the history warriors.[314] Yet the decline of a radical left in Australian politics and in public debate generally in this era of neoliberalism's creative destruction, and even Howard's disquiet over the low participation of students in Australian history studies, does indicate this might be the age of forgetting; not just the "Great Forgetting" [315] which characterises some national historiographies such as France's "Vichy

[311] H. Reynolds, "'That Hated Stain'" (1971) p23. Also hear a discussion with Angela Woollacott and David Andrew Roberts about Reynolds's response to Ward's historiography; see P. Adams, "The Australian Legend" (10 Dec 2008). http://www.abc.net.au/rn/latenightlive/stories/2008/2441390.htm (15 Dec 2008).
[312] M. Flanagan, "Weasel Words Kill Dissent" (28 Jan 2006) p5.
[313] H. Reynolds, "'That Hated Stain'" (1971) p21.
[314] S. Macintyre, "Research floored by full Nelson" (16 Nov 2005) http://www.theage.com.au/news/opinion/research-floored-by-fullnelson/2005/11/15/1132016792072.html (7 Mar. 2006).
[315] M. McKenna, "Different Perspectives on Black Armband History" (10 Nov 1997) http://www.aph.gov.au/Library/pubs/rp/1997-98/98rp05.htm (13 Feb 2006); also read McKenna on the "culture of forgetting" at B. Brown, "Looking for Blackfellas' Point" (13 Mar 2005) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/history/hindsight/stories/s1318316.htm (21 Jun 2009).

Syndrome",[316] but of forgetting history itself in the traditional Rankean sense. (This is a paradox of the History Wars.) It is also an outcome of neoliberalism's severing of the nexus between economic reform and social reform, alienating the working class from bourgeois culture and, even while creating space for a populist drift to the right, forcing a crisis of cultural hegemony.[317] It reawakens Marx's famous observation that with the aggressive volatility of capitalism, "All that is solid melts into air…".[318] Some analysts now describe this as an "integration crisis"[319] for capitalist economics, culture and politics because the development of a "wedge"[320] between workers and left reform is still problematic for the right if popular culture at large remains sceptical of authority.[321]

As Macintyre observes, historians, certainly on the left, have been forced on to the defensive, they have lost the offensive stride and reformist influence of historians like Manning Clark and Ian Turner. This is not because their history is proven to be flawed. While McKenna considers that the difference between the critical school (the latter so-called "orthodox" historians) and the history warriors of the right is mostly one of emphasis,[322] as much as this overlooks the agenda of the right as analysed, a real value of the "debate" has been that the likes of very reputable historians, such as Reynolds, have successfully defended their research and (mostly) proven their histories.[323] Despite

---

[316] A term derived from Henry Rousso's *The Vichy Syndrome* (1987) to describe a reluctance to confront an uncomfortable history, such as French collaboration with Nazi Germany; hear discussed by Robert Aldrich at M. Rayner, "History Under Siege: Battles Over the Past: Pt. 4, France" (27 Apr 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/hindsight/stories/2008/2206114.htm#transcript (28 Apr 2008).

[317] When a "state of emergency" occurs in the context of domestic politics "…rather than in Third World or developing countries — the utility of culture wars to the project of neoliberal Chicago School economics becomes apparent." See B. Musgrove, "States of Emergency" (Winter 2008) p66.

[318] K. Marx & F. Engels, "Bourgeois & Proletarians" in *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* (2004) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch01.htm (27 Oct 2008).

[319] See G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p8, p25, p66 & ch. 5 "Integration crisis, or, why culture wars now", pp123-144 & p209.

[320] Claimed to have first been described as "positive polarization" by American Republican, Kevin Phillips, when Spiro Agnew affected a Buchanan-Nixon tactic for the Culture Wars in 1969, itself a refinement of Nixon's "Orthogonian" (right-angled) student politics; see G. Packer, "The Fall of Conservatism" (26 May 2008) http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2008/05/26/080526fa_fact_packer?currentPage=all (7 Dec 2008). This also a theme of Rick Perlstein's *Nixonland: The Rise of a President and the Fracturing of America* (2008).

[321] See also a discussion of wedge politics and "semantic wars" in the context of cultural wars in A. Bonnell & M. Crotty, "Australia's History under Howard, 1996-2007" (May 2008) p150.

[322] M. McKenna, "Different Perspectives on Black Armband History" (10 Nov 1997) http://www.aph.gov.au/Library/pubs/rp/1997-98/98rp05.htm (13 Feb 2006).

[323] For example, see H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) ppxxi-xxii, and see Ryan's counter-attack on Windschuttle in L. Ryan in B. Attwood & S.G. Foster, *Frontier Conflict* (2003) pp34-35 & p43; on Ryan's "minor infractions", see R. Taylor, "Whitewash" (25 Oct 2003) http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/10/24/1066631621572.html?oneclick=true (8 Feb. 2005). For a correction of the "history" by Cassandra Pybus in reference to the Tasmanian Aborigines, Pevay (Peevay) and "Timmy" (Tunnerminnerwai, "Jack of Cape Grim", dubbed "Napoleon Jack" by a hostile colonial press), who were hanged in Melbourne (1842), see R. Cox, *Steps to the Scaffold* (2004) p154, f.n.11.

this, creditable academic historiography is finding it difficult not to drown in the bile of the history warriors. Leslie Cannold summarises the issue under the light of the "Sharon Gould" affair (discussed below):

> At the heart of the culture wars was a conflict over different ways of knowing. Against the 'elites', trained to use careful and critical discourse to make their point, were those deploying more traditional ways of asserting authority: fear, force, ridicule, exclusion.[324]

One can conclude that this is not just an issue of science, of just the historical method itself, but of the narrative strategy. So there is a need to look at radical history which aims not so much at academic readership, but rather circumvents the howling of the history warriors and directly seeks a popular readership.

Characterisations of rebels have long been a vehicle for protest in popular culture. Obviously some stories, both as history and as fiction, of rebel-victims have been constructed for popular audiences in Australia; the stories of Ben Hall, Ned Kelly and Tasmania's Matthew Brady and a host of other bushrangers come to mind. But "wild freedom"[325] is often an outlet for admiration and fantasy of oppressed popular consciousness rather than concrete resistance. As Alan Atkinson observes, Australian convicts idolised the bushrangers and other public refusals of official authority as though there was a shared principle: "'I *rebel*—therefore we *exist*'."[326] Yet generally it stopped there because, as Cassandra Pybus and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart observe, "Convicts understood that the bushrangers were always caught."[327] In the mix are police spies and traitorous "rats" which ensure that rebellion rarely catches social elites by surprise, continuously throwing doubt on non-elitist social relations which might otherwise be presumed as reliable in conflict. (The core of the social elites in capitalism is the capitalist class and the state— executive, legislature, judiciary, bureaucracy and armed forces; in Van Diemen's Land, the Anglican clergy also wielded considerable power.)[328] It also moves resistance to a social space, an "underground", which is

---

Ryan tenaciously sides with Pybus's "retribution" thesis; see her argument in M. Shirrefs, "Truganini, bushranger" (8 Feb 2009) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/hindsight/stories/2009/2477053.htm#transcript (11 Feb 2009). Also see a defence of Windschuttle in J. Dawson, *Washout* (2004).

[324] L. Cannold, "All's fair in battle of ideas" (8 Jan 2009) http://www.theage.com.au/opinion/alls-fair-in-battle-of-ideas-20090107-7bym.html?page=-1 (8 Jan 2008).

[325] C Pybus & H. Maxwell-Stewart, *American Citizens, British Slaves* (2002) p184.

[326] A. Atkinson, "Four Patterns of Convict Protest" (1979) p50.

[327] C Pybus & H. Maxwell-Stewart, *American Citizens, British Slaves* (2002) p184.

[328] Tom O'Lincoln describes "networks" of elites: "A business elite is , moreover, by no means the whole ruling class. Although it is the most important single grouping, it also intersects with other elites,

difficult for the powerful to suppress and yet, by itself, is unlikely to force regime change. Radical histories can function, like William Blake's "doors of perception",[329] between hidden or otherwise disguised anti-authoritarianism and a public challenge to hegemony.

Scott's seminal research on "transcripts of resistance"[330] both embraces a definition of resistance as radical politics and as a broader and subtle civil resistance by "nonhegemonic voices"[331] against oppressive authority. Scott identifies "four varieties of political discourse among subordinate groups", which include a deference to "the flattering self-image of elites", "the hidden transcript itself",[332] and "a politics of disguise and anonymity that takes place in public view but is designed to have a double meaning or to shield the identity of actors."[333] For *Radical Tasmania*, Scott's first three categories can have a role but only if they overlap with his fourth, which he describes as "the rupture of the political *cordon sanitaire* between the hidden and the public transcript."[334] The difference with Scott here is that, while he is analysing a broad arena of resistance to hegemonic authority, this thesis is seeking the point beyond which, to use Scott's Gramscianism, hegemony is impeached. This qualitatively changes what might be a strategy of resistance by a subject group to one of radical confrontation with an objectified power. To mix the scientific descriptions from Weber to Gramsci, the challenge to the legitimacy of a power group means not just a challenge to its authority (no legitimacy then no authority) yet also that its capacity for hegemonic domination is compromised because its claim to moral ascendency is, as Scott would have it, "ruptured". If the challenge is ideologically successful or even perceived as a significant threat, then the counter-strategies for a power group are invariably reduced from that of a pervasive cultural hegemony to unveiled political oppression, often realised in violence as "necessary force" rather than an option of "last resort". In a sense, to remake

containing their own networks, of which the state bureaucracy is probably the most important." See Tom O'Lincoln, "The Ruling Class" in R. Kuhn & T. O'Lincoln, *Class and Class Conflict in Australia* (1996) p11.

[329] "If the doors of perception were cleansed everything would appear to man as it is: Infinite." William Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (c1790-1793).

[330] J.C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990), p2, f.n.1. Scott's historical research is mostly on peasant's and slaves of the Americas, Europe and Asia; also see his *Weapons of the Weak* (1985).

[331] J.C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990) p19.

[332] On "public transcript" see J.C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990) p2 &p2, f.n.1; on "hidden transcript" see p4.

[333] J.C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990) pp18-19.

[334] J.C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990) pp18-19.

a Marxist joke about Hegelianism,[335] this turns Gramsci "on his head" (or back on his feet!) because it brings the core of the focus away from the subtle ideological dominations of the cultural arena (which so rightfully concern both Gramsci and Scott) back to the classical Marxist notion of the state as a coercive instrument of the ruling class.[336] Put simply, it means that the focus here is narrower than Scott's as this thesis is specifically analysing political resistance rather than also exploring apolitical cultural resistance; the former is self-consciously radical.

However, the overlap which Scott's fourth category of "rupture" can have with his other three categories invites a consideration of the subtle and countless variations that interplay between political radicalism and cultural resistance. The "issue of hegemonic incorporation", as Scott puts it, [337] the mode by which a subject group accepts its condition of domination by another group, is an indicator of potential political struggle as per Gramscian theory. Moving on to Foucauldian conceptualisation, Scott argues that "sequestered social sites",[338] that is social space where technologies of resistance are developed, can be a starting point for what might grow into unambiguous radical confrontation. In this context for example, labour resistance to technologies of control can be as important as struggles for better wages.[339] Organised labour might argue with corporate management around issues like "security" cameras, dress codes or "offensive" language, which might in themselves seem trivial and not worth the time for either side and yet which, in essence, are about the limits for employers seeking cultural as well as economic domination of employees—out of the work place as well as in it. This means that seemingly trivial confrontations between a subject group and a social power can indicate a potentially profound social struggle and so cannot, out of hand, be dismissed.

[335] K. Marx, "Afterword to the Second German Edition" in *Capital, Vol. I* (1999) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/p3.htm (2 May 2008); N.B., this is sometimes referenced as the "Preface".
[336] Ralph Miliband, "State, the" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) pp464-468.
[337] J.C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990) p19.
[338] J.C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990) p20.
[339] J.C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990) p23.

The Reactionary or Romantic Left

However, many movements like those out of "traditional bush communities"[340] and others on the rhetorical left of politics raise the problematic of those oxymorons, a "reactionary left" or "romantic left". These are movements opposed to, say, capitalist development, especially the commodification of space such as land, air,[341] water and "wilderness",[342] and the introduction of new technologies which threaten established economic relations and other social relations. While traditionalists are resisting the "enclosure" to reserves or sale of Crown Land (freehold property title), other political movements, especially in conservation, often employ ideologies of romanticised atavism[343] ("virgin rainforest", "old growth forest", "WildCountry",[344] "wild rivers", "Gondwana Link Project", etc.)[345] to resist the encroachment of big business into relatively under-exploited dimensions of Tasmania's socio-ecology. This type of resistance is characterised as left wing because it opposes (though not always in principle) that fulcrum of bourgeois power, the reproduction of capitalist profit; albeit in a limited context, without the aspiration of revolution which is the hallmark of, say, socialist radicals. Yet, like seminal movements of disempowered reaction to capitalism, such as the English Luddites (1811-1813)[346] and the Swing Rioters (1830), it straddles a fine line between the anguished reaction of the powerless who can see a way of life or ideal threatened and the radical potential of a previously powerless, like organised labour, feminism and gay activists to name some, who are able to exploit an historical opportunity to force a significant compromise on the power of dominant groups. Each

[340] For example, see the "bush politics" to save the Blue Tier in "Save Our Sisters" in *The Selected Histories* and also see P. Hay, "The Moral Economy of the Bush"(2009) http://www.thefreelibrary.com/The+moral+economy+of+the+bush%3a+debates+about+logging+and+forestry+are...-a0153362714 (2 Feb 2009). Ancillary movements like the Tasmanian Shackowners Association and Anglers Alliance are also an outcome of resistance to neoliberal restructuring of the "bush". For an account of what was Tasmanian "shackocracy", see S. Thomas, *Shacks: Episode 1*, (2002) & *Shacks: Episode 2* (2003).

[341] Bottles of "fresh air" were once sold as souvenirs of Tasmania. For other examples, see "Fresh air - at a price" (28 Sep 1998) http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/health/182052.stm (31 Dec 2007), and I. Scott, "A breath of fresh air?" (7 Mar 2007) http://www.abc.net.au/victoria/stories/s1842216.htm (31 Dec 2007).

[342] Once "wildness"; see R. Haynes, "From Habitat to Wilderness" (2003) p81.

[343] On the role of "neo-Wordsworthian" ideology in Tasmania, see R. Haynes, "From Habitat to Wilderness" (2003) p103.

[344] See a brief history of WildCountry in W. Lines, *Patriots* (2006) p338.

[345] See links to these terms at The Wilderness Society, "Home" (n.d.), http://www.wilderness.org.au/ (13 Oct 2005). For biblical connotations (discussed below), see R. Flanagan, *A Terrible Beauty* (1985) p64.

[346] Neo-Luddites are a contemporary echo; see M. Ryder, "Luddism, Neo-Luddites and Dystopian Views of Technology" (n.d.), http://carbon.cudenver.edu/~mryder/itc_data/luddite.html (7 Feb 2008).

case of "radical" aspirant has to be judged against its capacity to struggle with or against the "current" of history.

Tasmanian Radicals and the New Right

In the masterful novel on Italian political history, noting particularly its acerbic satire on class struggle ("Leopards, jackals, and sheep…"),[347] Guiseppe di Lampedusa's *The Leopard*, (*Il Gattopardo*, 1958), the cynically opportunist Tancredi Falconeri remarks, "If we want things to stay as they are, things will have to change."[348] This is Lampedusa's pun on both politics as the art of compromise while pursuing power (*realpolitik*)[349] and politics as the dialectics of conserving power with the rhetoric of change (an ironic shadow of "sublation").[350] It is a useful metaphor to call up when describing today's New Right.

The New Right is a strategy which emerged from the USA in the 1970s and which combines reformist neoliberal economics (economic rationalism), much inspired by the Monetarist theories of Milton Friedman, with conservative social ideologies.[351] Nathan Hollier claims that Monetarism was given a formal introduction, as it were, to the then Federal Treasurer, John Howard, and the then Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, when the New Right heavyweights of Friedman himself and no less than Henry Kissinger (National Security Advisor and Secretary of State in Washington, 1969-1977) arrived in Australia to directly lobby Canberra.[352] In essence it is a recalling of the classical liberal ideology that a *laissez-faire* market leads to a utilitarian democracy. One hundred years earlier, Marx had sneeringly damned this as a bourgeois "garden of Eden of innate human rights…[for market] freedom, equality, property, and Bentham."[353] In this sense, the New Right is not "new". What it also does is cloak aggressive economic restructuring with an appeal to conservative political and cultural ideologies, so-called

---

[347] G. di Lampedusa, *The Leopard* (1963) p152.
[348] G. di Lampedusa, *The Leopard* (1963) p28.
[349] See *realpolitik* discussed below.
[350] See "sublation" discussed below. As irony, this mirrors Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852); also discussed below.
[351] K. Pickering, "Manufacturing Discontent" (29 Oct 2004) p5, and D. Harvey, "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction" (Mar 2007) pp21-44.
[352] Hollier does not provide a date; see N. Hollier, "John Howard: Tweedledum(b) - Or Not So?" (2002) http://aspen.conncoll.edu/politicsandculture/page.cfm?key=155 (8 Jan 2008).
[353] K. Marx, *Capital Vol. I* (1999) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch06.htm (23 Jan 2008).

neoconservatism. This fits Marx's description of capitalism as a system of an inverted and illusionary relationship between social ideologies and economic forces. The difference, so to speak, made by the New Right is that it convinced western capitalism, especially in the Anglosphere, to junk Keynesian economic doctrine and to turn down the role of the welfare state. (Though there is now the phenomenon of neoKeynesianism with the advent of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC).) This is a scenario which would have been far less possible if the left itself had not splintered in the 1970s between proponents of classical socialism and the New Left.[354]

The ALP has overseen, somewhat by roundabout politics, the introduction of a New Right agenda in the mainland states while the conservative parties have played the most aggressive roles. In Tasmania, it has largely been the ALP as the main instrument of the New Right in the 1990s and 2000s. It was partly pursued by Michael Field's Government (1989-1992), including the Labor-Green Accord (1989-1990),[355] as it used the 1990s recession to implement massive cuts in expenditure on social services.[356] It was subsequently a more obvious element of policy with the Governments of "Emperor" Jim Bacon[357] (1998-2004) and Paul Lennon (2004-) which oversaw a rapid increase in privatisation (or "metagovernance" in neoliberal ideology).[358] The Liberal Governments of Ray Groom (1992-1996) and Tony Rundle (1996-1998) vigorously espoused New Right policies, yet found themselves retarded by the duration of the 1990s recession in Tasmania which had the electorate wary of neoliberal economic restructuring. For instance, the Rundle Government, which had already privatised the

[354] Hunter S. Thompson, through his alter-ego, Raoul Duke, regrets the left's waste of an historic opportunity as he bemoans the rise of anarchist back-to-Jesus "Spirit and Flesh" movements and the "break between Greasers and Longhairs"; see H.S. Thompson, *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* (2005) p179.

[355] There was also a short-lived Liberal-Greens coalition under Liberal Premier Tony Rundle and Greens Christine Milne (1996-1998); Labor and Liberal voted together in 1998 to change the Hare-Clark electoral system to affect a reduction of Greens in Parliament.

[356] The Government's austerity drive included a proposal to downgrade the Rosebery hospital to a health centre. This was fought by miners in Australian Workers Union; see "Keeping Labor Out of Town" in *The Selected Histories*. During this recession in Tasmania, "wage earnings fell 20 per cent short of the composite national averages"; see Bruce Felmingham, "Economy" in A. Alexander *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p424.

[357] R. Flanagan, "The selling-out of Tasmania" (22 Jul 2004) http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/07/21/1090089215626.html (22 Oct 2006).

[358] Metagovernance is the neoliberal theory that the state must withdraw from business control; see G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p56. For a brief overview of neoliberalism and the Bacon Government, see B. Baird, "Sexual citizenship in 'the New Tasmania'" (Nov 2006) pp978-979. With the crisis of the current recession and the re-emergence of Keynesianism as well as the public outcry against the performance of some privatised industries, the ideology of metagovernance is on the retreat.

retail distribution of Tasmania's hydro electricity, lost the 1998 election to the ALP on the former's policy of privatising the hydro-electric production facilities.

The Tasmanian Comprador and the Power of Cringe

Boyce observes that there is a longing in Tasmania, for something akin to the earthspeaking of Aboriginal culture[359] and which the emancipists fleetingly experienced before the land was usurped by a colonial elite. "The truth is that, for most people, something new began here, the result of a deep integration with the land and its Aboriginal owners."[360] What concerns this analysis in particular is the notion of "Tasmanian" or even "Vandiemonian" as a clarion call for the island's left wing.[361] It is an attempt to construct a radicalism out of a patriotism of place. (There are parallels with a left nationalism in Ward's *The Australian Legend*, 1958.) This inquiry shall return to patriotism of place. At this point, what needs to be noted is how it is used to distinguish the objectified other of Tasmania's left: not only the reactionary politics of power (the right) yet also of the "foreign" entity or, perhaps even worse, the "unTasmanian" intruder.[362]

Hay, recently a reader in Political Economy of Place and Environment ("ecopolitics of islands") with the University of Tasmania, describes himself as a "native Tasmanian".[363] After finding empathy with Boyce's ideal of place for modern and ancient Tasmanians alike, he identifies the other in terms which are not far removed from classical Marxist identities of a class enemy as a "national" enemy, a comprador bourgeoisie; a term which hissed contempt through the Maoist pejorative, the foreigner's "running dog" (*zǒu gǒu*).[364]

---

[359] William Lines, a borderline econihilist, is contemptuous of "the myth of the Ecological Aborigine"; see W. Lines, *Patriots* (2006) p269. News Limited's exploitation of this is discussed above; see the extract in W. Lines, "Black and White lies" (14-15 Oct 2006) p21.
[360] J. Boyce, "Journeying Home" (1996) p40; this becomes an expanded theme for Boyce's *Van Diemen's Land* (2008).
[361] A typical example of left Vandemonianism is P. Hay, *Vandiemonian Essays* (2002).
[362] In the publisher's blurb, Cassandra Pybus and Richard Flanagan are introduced to the reader as respectively "sixth generation Tasmanian" and "seventh generation Tasmanian"; see the first leaf in C. Pybus & R. Flanagan, *The Rest of the World is Watching* (1990).
[363] P. Hay, "Dr Pete Hay's Profile" (n.d.) http://fcms.its.utas.edu.au/scieng/geog/pagedetails.asp?lpersonId=340 (2 Apr 2007). Hay is now an Honorary Fellow with UTAS.
[364] A comprador is a domestic elite which does the bidding of a foreign power; also see "comprador" in J. Scott & G. Marshall, *A Dictionary of Sociology* (2009) http://0-

> The most radical, the most contentious, the most ideologically in-yr-face [sic.] aspect of Boyce's theory is his insistence that the key social division set in place in the 1820s…has remained a potent divide through subsequent phases of Tasmanian history. On the one hand there is a powerful, monopolistic elite. It is my extrapolation rather than Boyce's own that this elite is sustained by a hidebound, mediocre official culture, one characterised by a mentality of cringe, seeing the source of all cultural value and human ingenuity to lie elsewhere, and defining its role as 'agent' to distant economic and social 'betters'. It is an elite (perhaps an interlocked series of elites) that remains profoundly out of whack in time and space, still alienated, never truly home.[365]

Like Richard Flanagan also,[366] Boyce[367] and Rodney Croome[368] add their voices further to the perception that this bullying elite has betrayed and subsequently divided Tasmania even deeper than the schisms which pervade capitalist Australia in general and that the past has to be confronted with a special courage drawn from the belts and shadows of the island's identity if the present is to be resolved; it is a cry for a reconciliation of a peculiarly Vandiemonian quality.

Identity is dialectical and the counter-strategies of reactionary power are integral to defining radical politics. So specific aspects of the Tasmanian right, as it responds to the Tasmanian left, are analysed. As Boyce and Hay indicate, this includes a struggle over a problematic of parochialism and "ownership" (in its various meanings across the political spectrum) of place.[369] Essential to this is how historical subjects "see" themselves and see themselves against their historic other. It is a maxim of politics that perception is critical. As political perception cannot operate without ideology, it is the latter which informs the former.

---

www.oxfordreference.com.library.vu.edu.au/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t88.e354 (1 Jun 2009).

[365] P. Hay, *Vandiemonian Essays* (2002) pviii.

[366] R. Flanagan, "…an Invisible Contraband of Revolt" (2001) and "The selling-out of Tasmania" (22 Jul 2004) http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/07/21/1090089215626.html (22 Oct 2006).

[367] J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) pp251-258.

[368] Tasmania is "not generally conservative", it is a "culture deeply riven and divided on many issues"; see R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

[369] P. Hay, "Subversive History: A Plea for the Primacy of Home", *Vandiemonian Essays* (2002) pp5-9.

The "Nature" of Property and Environmentalism as "Middle Class" Politics

The seminal reference for "class" as both an analytical concept and object of politics is Marx's.[370] He asserts that an "infinite fragmentation" of society is distilled into "great social groups" and these groups will then be essentialised by the "continual tendency and law" of capitalist development into hostile classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.[371] In science, art and politics, the concept of a bourgeoisie tends to use between descriptions for a capitalist class proper (as in Engels's use of the term, *Mittelklasse*, "the possessing class differentiated from the so-called aristocracy")[372] and for an omnipresent, yet oscillating, middle class (as in Marx's use of "petty bourgeoisie") which can include, for example, small business or higher salaried workers;[373] the ambiguity is historical.

Class is a fluctuating political force, both as a "class in itself" and as a "class for itself" (as a scientific abstraction and as the political consciousness of a class).[374] The reification of class relations by bourgeois society into a self-identity as "middle class" has proven to be stubbornly problematic for (western) Marxism.[375] But middle class (or "middle classes") is not just a relativist notion, a class between two other classes. It is,

---

[370] Beginning with his over-turning of idealism, Marx "…arrived at the point of seeking the idea in reality itself." Tom Bottomore describes this as Marx's "discovery of the proletariat". See K. Marx, "Letter from Karl to his Father In Trier" (1998) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1837-pre/letters/37_11_10.htm (2 Jun 2007), and Tom Bottomore, "class" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p74. Engels developed a similar conclusion: "The condition of the working-class is the real basis and point of departure of all social movements…"; see F. Engels, "Preface to *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*"(1998) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/condition-working-class/ch01.htm (3 Jun 2007). For Marx's famous definition of class as the relations of "hostile opposition" as against class-less "identity", see K. Marx, "Ch. VII: Summary" in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (2006) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/ch07.htm (3 Jun 2007). Raymond Williams's methodological bifurcation of class as "category" and "formation" in discussion of Marx's passage here, leading Williams to conclude that class has "variable meanings…usually without clear distinction", is an ahistorical abstraction; in a word, it is "Marxism" without politics. See R. Williams, *Keywords* (1983) p68.

[371] K. Marx, *Capital, Vol. III* (1959) pp885-886; also see (2007) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1894-c3/index.htm (2 Jun 2007). The term, bourgeois, is from the Old French, *burgeis*, meaning a town dweller. Similar terms are the Middle English, *burgeis*, Middle Dutch, *burgher*, and the German, *bürger*.

[372] F. Engels, "Preface to *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*"(1998) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/condition-working-class/ch01.htm (3 Jun 2007).

[373] Also *petite bourgeoisie* or *petit-bourgeoisie*; see a brief discussion on the different uses of "middle class" by Marx and Engels in Tom Bottomore, "middle class" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p333. It is claimed that Orwell described his family as being "lower-middle-upper class"; see M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p14.

[374] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1975) pp159-160.

[375] Tom Bottomore, "bourgeoisie" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p54.

as Marx observes, also a bulwark for the ruling class.[376] Gramsci's "war of position" as a strategy against the cultural hegemony of a capitalist ruling class ("counter-hegemony") is a theoretical precursor of today's culture wars; to wit, the opposing tactics of both the left and the right in the History Wars.[377] Here in Australia, "conservative" Prime Ministers like Robert Menzies and John Howard have exploited populist notions through the idiolect[378] of "the forgotten class",[379] "middle class", "aspirational voters" and even "battlers".[380] The ALP has followed with Mark Latham's "middle Australia" (a shameless echo of "middle America") and currently Kevin Rudd's "working families".[381] Conservative politics has sought a submergence of working class identity into vague notions of "middle class", yet much of this is an attempt to disguise the fact that, as Boyce argues, "while the terms have changed, the need to distinguish persists."[382] So while the right serves its own interest in trying to confuse class identity, fundamental structures persist, including in Tasmania.[383] (There are other group identities, such as ethnicity, gender, sexuality, etc., which complement class and which will later be considered.)

The twentieth century witnessed the rise of the "professional middle class" (PMC) defined by "white collar" employment which draws on the cultural capital of higher education, developed public manners and skilled orality for responsibilities which include administration and management in a career structure offering promotion with relatively higher income and status. While the term "radical middle class" occasionally makes appearances in the ideological utterances of the body politic, the politics of the PMC is characterised by a tendency to liberalism (conservative or reformist) because its economic existence demands that it adhere to the "individualistic professional career model";[384]—itself a function of property relations and a competitive labour market.[385]

---

[376] K. Marx, Ch. XVIII, "Ricardo's Miscellanea. John Barton. [A.] Gross and Net Income" in *Theories of Surplus-Value* (n.d.) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1863/theories-surplus-value/index.htm (3 Jun 2007).
[377] "…to declare culture wars on the New Left"; see G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p73.
[378] See B. Musgrove, "States of Emergency" (Winter 2008) p67.
[379] Menzies used the phrase "the forgotten class —the middle class" in a seminal speech broadcast on radio, 22 May 1942, seeking a constituency alienated by class politics; see R. Menzies, "The Forgotten People" (n.d.) http://www.menziesvirtualmuseum.org.au/transcripts/ForgottenPeople/Forgotten1.html (6 Aug 2008).
[380] B. Nicholson & J. Koutsoukis, "Howard's Battlers a Broad Church" (19 May 2004) http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/05/18/1084783513331.html?from=storylhs (4 Jun 2007).
[381] A term called over from the USA with its leftist Working Families Party, and with Rudd's double-edged intent to parry the conservative rhetoric of the Family First Party.
[382] S. Breen, "Class" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p411.
[383] S. Breen, "Class" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p412.
[384] C. Derber & K. Ferroggiaro, *What's Left?* (1995) p209.

The Tasmanian neoleft, especially its environmentalism, has tried to reinvent class identity as a mono-class consciousness, also "middle class".[386] The environmentalists were successful in the 1980s. Richard Flanagan berated the stereotype, claiming it was peddled by the ALP that the Greens are a "middle-class, single-issue pressure group…[and] that the Greens lack the solid basis of the ALP and that the ALP will, in time, swallow the Greens through a combination of behind-the-scenes manoeuvring, and public posturing in the form of a few environmental policies appended to the party platform."[387] (This was an about-face from his earlier views,[388] discussed below, and to which, with some revision, he returned, so earning an ambiguous relationship with the Greens until a recent rapprochement.)[389] The irony is that this almost came to pass. The Greens fell prey to the politics of a reactionary counter-attack of the "old order" ("resource-based, high volume, low-value economy")[390] in the name of the "working class", led by the ALP, particular union affiliations, sections of the public service, big business and, during the 2004 Federal election, Howard's Liberal-National Government. It says much of the limits of middle class "radicals" and the emergence of the politics of a postmodern cultural hegemony exploiting the fears of a neo-lumpenproletariat (reactionary workers in the logging industry). So Tasmania offers a valuable case study of radicals in a recent historic context.[391]

---

[385] For a view on the PMC's "inability to contest dominant class relations", see Verity Burgmann & Andrew Milner, "Intellectuals and the new social movements: New social movement radicalism and late capitalism" in R. Kuhn & T. O'Lincoln, *Class and Class Conflict in Australia* (1996) pp123-126.

[386] Lines attempts to dismiss this with the pejorative, "inventory of abstract determinants", and to crush left ideology (social science) with an essentialised political will; so one abstraction replaces another. See W. Lines, *Patriots* (2006) p220.

[387] See R. Flanagan, "Masters of History" in C. Pybus & R. Flanagan, *The Rest of the World is Watching* (1990) p128.

[388] R. Flanagan, *A Terrible Beauty* (1985) p93.

[389] R. Flanagan, "Battle Cry for Our Tasmania" (2008) http://tasmaniantimes.com/index.php?/weblog/article/battle-cry-for-our-tasmania/ (6 Apr 2009). In the period since his interview for *Radical Tasmania* (29 Nov 2006), Flanagan has entered closer political ties with Greens such as Senator Bob Brown, the Tasmania Parliamentary leader— Nick McKim (MHA), Cassy O'Connor (MHA) and the Wilderness Society campaign organiser— Geoff Law.

[390] Christine Milne, "Green Politics" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p167. Wanting it both ways, the newly appointed Tasmanian Premier, David Bartlett, borrows language from Milne to speak of moving Tasmania on to an economy of "low volume, high value", such as saffron farming, wineries and ecotourism, shortly before extending the Sovereign Risk Agreement ($15m compensation against loss of wood supply) for the controversial Gunns pulp mill; hear podcast at P. Mares, "New Broom or Lennon Lite?" (27 Jun 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/nationalinterest/stories/2008/2287885.htm (30 Jun 2008) and see D. Bartlett, "Cabinet Decision On Sovereign Risk Agreement" (30 Jun 2008) http://www.media.tas.gov.au/release.php?id=24138 (1 Jul 2008).

[391] For example, see "Save Our Sisters" in the histories.

Environmentalism confronts the relationship between human society and its objectified self, nature, and so nurtures a radicalism at its most profound because it provokes a confrontation with human existence at its very essence. In an adroit passage written more than 150 years ago, Marx links the "logic" of capitalist relations with issues which remain at the forefront of politics: nature, the compulsion of business profit, imperialism, globalism, consumerism, science, alienation, economic fetishism, illusionary power and revolution. Capitalism's urge towards a "world market", he observes, will also become a global intolerance of "primitive" economies, an "exploration of all of nature" with a concurrent development of "natural sciences to their highest point", and so the "general exploitation of the natural and human", subsequently positing nature as merely a human object of utility without "power for itself". This illusion of bourgeois idealism (domination over nature) is in contradiction with reality, and the "universality" for which capitalism "irresistibly strives encounters barriers in its own nature, which will…allow it to be recognized as being itself the greatest barrier to this tendency, and hence will drive towards its own suspension."[392]

This might have put Marxism at the centre of environmentalism as the latter developed in the last decades of the twentieth century up to the present. As the activist Dick Nichols has it, "Marx and Engels did not produce a worked-out, comprehensive presentation of the interrelationship between a young and expanding capitalism and the environment , but the *general* human-nature relationship haunts all their work, and the *specific* impact on the environment of different civilisations and modes of production is a recurring theme."[393] However, while Western environmentalists did form early alliances with established movements of radicals such as Marxists and other socialists (the so-called "red-green"[394] or "ecosocialist" party tickets),[395] subsequent environment organisations have generally disavowed left radicals and mostly moved to the right;

[392] K. Marx, *The Grundrisse* (2000) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1857/grundrisse/ch08.htm (9 Apr 2007).
[393] D. Nichols, *Environment, Capitalism & Socialism* (1999) p76.
[394] A pejorative for red-green politics is "watermelon" while for conservative green politics, "blue-green", there is the pejorative of "algae bloom" as in *cyanobacteria*.
[395] These were often ideologically inspired by the theories of the likes of Donald Lee and Rudolf Bahro, the critique and poetry by Hans Enzensberger, and the journal, *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*; see P. Hay, *Main Currents in Western Environmental Thought* (2002) p272 & p276. As well as his poetry (discussed above), see the historically influential H. Enzensberger, "A Critique of Political Ecology" (1996) pp17-49. In Australia, *Green Left Weekly* is the dominant journal for radical ecosocialism.

even as they deny the vocabulary of left or right politics; as Hay observes, relations "remain vexed."[396]

The politics of environmentalism brought Tasmania to the forefront of a growing global movement in the late twentieth century ("Think globally, act locally");[397] the island's environmentalism became the "canary in the [world's] mine".[398] The election of five Green Independents[399] into Tasmania's State Parliament in 1989 and their participation as a minor yet necessary bloc, however tentative, for a Government majority (the Labor-Greens Accord, 1989-1990)[400] was a world-first for environmentalism. On the surface, especially given the reaction of conservative opposition, it seemed to herald the emergence of a new radical force in politics. Red-green alliances have since formed, dissolved, reformed and again dissolved in western politics. It is the self-flagellation of a politics which is unsure whether it should form from "below" or from "within",[401] whether its strategy should be a counter-hegemonic struggle or a passive revolution.[402] The Parliamentary movements in Tasmania as well as elsewhere in Australia, Britain, Europe and the USA (Congress) have tended to purge themselves of their radical left under the euphemism of "professionalising" their party machines,[403] called for a "third way" politics (no left wing or right wing explicitly against or for capitalism), disavowed previous radical ideologies like socialism and all class politics, constructed an ideology of "green capitalism", and, in the strategic language of the German Green "realos" (*realpolitik*), pursued parliamentary representation through alliance and compromise between minority social movements and traditional institutions of bourgeois power and its politics.

The Tasmanian historian and environmental activist, Richard Flanagan, bemoaned the very middle class politics of environmentalism soon after its notable success in stopping the Franklin-below-Gordon scheme in the early 1980s; in which he also eagerly

---

[396] P. Hay, *Main Currents in Western Environmental Thought* (2002) p276; also see Hay's summary of tension explicitly between environmentalists and Marxists at pp292-300.
[397] P. Hay, *Main Currents in Western Environmental Thought* (2002) p285. Lines dismisses this slogan as "fatuous"; see W. Lines, *Patriots* (2006) p255.
[398] A. Lohrey, "Groundswell" (2007) p168.
[399] Reverend Lance Armstrong, Gerry Bates, Bob Brown, Di Hollister and Christine Milne.
[400] The Parliamentary Tasmanian Green first called themselves The Independents and then The Green Independents; though the Labor-Greens Accord broke down as a formal alliance, the Greens supported the ALP as a minority government until the 1992 election when the ALP won a majority in its own right.
[401] P. Hay, *Main Currents in Western Environmental Thought* (2002) p280.
[402] K. Weekley, "The Clever Principle of Similar Difference" (Winter 2008) pp5-9.
[403] For example, see D. Hutton & L. Connors, "The Professional Movement" in *A History of the Australian Environmental Movement* (1999) pp165-239.

participated. He castigated it for alienating Tasmania's rural proletariat and so missing an opportunity to build a broader and more powerful conservation movement.[404] It is a theme to which Flanagan returns in his first novel, *Death of a River Guide* (1994).[405] Boyce argues too that, "There remains in the back-blocks of Tasmania and in collective memory an experience of homemaking that will be important to honour if the constructed divisions between environmentalists and 'ordinary people' (particularly evident in the debate of forests) are to be overcome".[406] But, as Flanagan tells it in his narrative text on display in the Strahan Information Centre, it was this self-consciously middle-class attribute of environmental politics in Tasmanian in the 1980s which drove much of its success, especially in recruiting activists and media support from the major metropolitan centres on the mainland and even internationally.[407]

Therefore the question arises (as it also does with other "radicals" such as feminists and gay activists for example) as to what are the differences between the ideological aspirations and historical limits of a politics which seeks reform from "within" rather than confrontation from "without" the dominant institutions of power and property?

The mining union activist, Ian Jamieson, tells of how he approached Bob Brown and another Greens Parliamentarian, Christine Milne, to form a red-green alliance on Tasmania's west coast, only to be rebuffed after an initially enthusiastic response from Brown.[408] As the 1990s recession bit, the Tasmanian Greens, in their Labor-Greens Accord, witnessed their supporter base demobilise as the Greens voted with the Field Labor Government to substantially reduce spending on public infrastructure while, in the same period, Field betrayed an early agreement with the Greens on forestry conservation,[409] known as the Salamanca Agreement.[410] Despite the claim that some

---

[404] R. Flanagan, *A Terrible Beauty* (1985) p93; Greens leader, Bob Brown, distances himself from Flanagan's disquiet; see Bob Brown, "Foreword" in R. Flanagan, *A Terrible Beauty* (1985) pvi.
[405] Also see *Death of a River Guide* briefly discussed in this context in R. Haynes, *Tasmanian Visions* (2006) p310.
[406] J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p258.
[407] Flanagan has echoed the tactic with a public call for a "new politics" for "ordinary Tasmanians"; see R. Flanagan, "Battle Cry for Our Tasmania" (2008) http://tasmaniantimes.com/index.php?/weblog/article/battle-cry-for-our-tasmania/ (6 Apr 2009).
[408] I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).
[409] "The wood chip quota was a nonsense and we shouldn't have signed [the Accord]…it was a means to break the Accord". Michael Field in interview with Andrew Dodd; see A. Dodd, "Premiers Past: Michael Field" (19 Jan 2007) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/summer/2006/premiers/20070115.htm (2 Feb 2007).
[410] For a view of the dispute from the side of the Greens, see Bob Brown, "The Labour-Green Accord and Resource Security" in H. Gee, *For the Forests* (2001) p300. For a view, from an exponent of traditional selective logging, on why "The Greenies won the battle and lost it…", see an interview with Darrell James Brown, "The Battler" (9 Mar 1994) by Greg Borschmann in G. Borschmann, *The People's Forest* (1999) p109. For a geohydrological criticism of conservation resistance to "some subtle and gentle land

Greens realised they were "ensnared in the parliamentary process",[411] the result was a slow dwindling of votes for the Greens in Tasmanian Parliament elections until 2002, a reduction of the number of their representatives[412] (after Labor and Liberal reached agreement to restructure the Hare-Clark electoral system, with precisely a view to reducing the number of Greens in the Lower House in 1998)[413] and a succession of defeats on the environmental front, especially against the might of Tasmania's biggest industry, logging and wood chipping.[414] This gave rise to a mood of defeat as the left despairingly sneered at Tasmania—"the clearfell state", [415] a particular "monoculture"[416] with the alleged influence of Gunns on the State "gunnerment".[417] Much of this regression can also be attributed to a publicly perceived Greens indifference to the working class ("bumpkin proletariat", later theorised by Hay as a potential "third cohort")[418] and a subsequent drift of workers ("forest folk" in logger-speak)[419] to the politics of the new right with its "greenie-baiting".[420] This latter

---

uses" of forestry reserves and criticism of the lobbying for plantations to replace logging in "old growth" forests, see D. Leaman, "Appendix 4: The Conservation Error in Tasmania's Forest Debate: An Essay", *Water* (2007) pp159-161.

[411] R. Flanagan, "Masters of History" in C. Pybus & R. Flanagan (1990) p129.

[412] Perhaps ironically, the Greens achieved the balance of power in 1996 with a Liberal minority government.

[413] For the Greens' view on this electoral restructuring, see Christine Milne, "The Political Power Structure of the 1990s" in H. Gee, *For the Forests* (2001) p344. By 1998, the Greens were reduced to one seat in Tasmania's Legislative Assembly; by 2002 they had rebuilt their representation to four seats and then survived a swing of 1.5% against them without loss of seats in the 2006 election. In 2008, they courted the Liberal opposition to reinstate the pre-1998 Hare-Clark system.

[414] Forestry released figures attributed to Dr. Jacki Shirma, *Forestry, Jobs and Spending: Forest Industry Employment and Expenditure in Tasmania, 2005-06* (2008), that total expenditure by the Tasmanian forest industry in 2005-06 was between $1.42-1.6 billion and that 6,300 people were employed in the industry in 2005-06, which represented 3% of Tasmania's employed labour force in August 2006; see Cooperative Research Centre for Forestry, "Comprehensive survey provides accurate figures on forestry, jobs and spending in Tasmania" (26 Jun 2008) http://www.crcforestry.com.au/publications/downloads/Forest-Industry-Survey-media-release_26Jun08.pdf (27 Jun 2008).

[415] R. Flanagan, "Out of Control" (May 2007) p23 & p30.

[416] CA Cranston, "Islands" in CA Cranston & R. Zeller, *The Littoral* Zone (2007) p255.

[417] R. Flanagan, "Out of Control" (May 2007) p24. Also, the Government slogan, "Tasmania: Your Natural State", is countered by the protest bumper sticker, "Tasmania: Your Corrupt State"; see CA Cranston, "Islands" in CA Cranston & R. Zeller, *The Littoral* Zone (2007) p219.

[418] D. Nichols, *Environment, Capitalism & Socialism* (1999) p15. "The Left has often scorned [rural workers] as hopelessly romantic and anti-progressive." See "third group" and "largely invisible cohort" in P. Hay, "The Moral Economy of the Bush" (2009) http://www.thefreelibrary.com/The+moral+economy+of+the+bush%3a+debates+about+logging+and+forestry+are...-a0153362714 (2 Feb 2009), and "third cohort" in his "Bushers', 'fallers' and the tenacity of the moral economy: can pre-modern values flourish within late modernity? [abstract]" (23 October 2006) http://www.geol.utas.edu.au/geography/documents/FULL%20PROGRAM%20with%20abstracts.doc (17 Mar 2009).

[419] R. Flanagan, "Out of Control" (May 2007) p29.

[420] For an ecosocialist view on this, see D. Nichols, *Environment, Capitalism & Socialism* (1999) p14. This view is supported by ex-Tasmanian mining union activist, Ian Jamieson; see I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).

phenomenon was a significant influence on the Tasmanian vote and Howard's triumph in the 2004 Federal election.

Yet, even if the Greens paid a political price for their middle-class image, "green politics" has a universal relevance. As Lohrey notes, the most vulnerable to irresponsible environmental practice are the working class (in her bourgeois-speak, those who are "disadvantaged financially") and, to coin an oxymoron, the omnipresent "local"[421] because global crises are distributed unequally.[422] Hence, environmentalism tends to a potential mass movement. So Lohrey was able to predict a resurgence for the Greens in 2002.[423] The successful tactic, used by Peg Putt in Tasmania and Senator Brown at a Federal level, was to disrobe the middle class suit (so far only partially) by pitching a broader rhetoric to connect environmentalism with other social issues (to the chagrin of "nature" purists like William Lines,[424] who echoes the American Earth First!)[425] The politics of "climate change" in this decade has fuelled this process. The critical opportunity arose at the state level when the ALP Bacon Government, after two-and-a-half years of public consultation, launched its *Tasmania Together* plan in September 2001 as an integrated blueprint containing 24 goals and 212 benchmarks to achieve a "shared vision"[426] of a "New Tasmania"[427] by 2020. It ran aground with a benchmark to phase out old-growth logging in high conservation forests by January 2003. This was not in the Government's Regional Forest Agreement (RFA).[428] The Wilderness Society[429] publicised a survey by Dr Richard Herr which claimed to show

---

[421] See the ramifications of "local" and "in-mover" for environmental politics in "Save Our Sisters" in *The Selected Histories*.
[422] A. Lohrey, "Groundswell" (2007) p248.
[423] This is Lohrey's general theme in her essay, "Groundswell" (2202); see A. Lohrey, "Groundswell" (2007) p165-256.
[424] Something which the UTG had been unsuccessful in attempting in the 1970s; see G. Buckman, *Tasmania's Wilderness Battles* (2008) p26. However, it is the opposite of Line's anti-humanist "nature" puritanism; for example, see W. Lines, *Patriots* (2006) pp121-122 & p312.
[425] "Guided by a philosophy of deep ecology, Earth First! does not accept a human-centred worldview of 'nature for people's sake.' Instead, we believe that life exists for its own sake, that industrial civilization and its philosophy are anti-Earth, anti-woman and anti-liberty. Our structure is non-hierarchical, and we reject highly paid 'professional staff' and formal leadership. To put it simply, the Earth must come first." See Earth First!, "About EF!" (n.d.) http://www.earthfirstjournal.org/AboutEF.shtml (8 Jan 2007).
[426] C. Althaus, *Calculating Political Risk* (2008) p117.
[427] A term heavily propagated by the ALP Bacon Government (1998-2004); see the controversial anti-vail of Jim Bacon in R. Flanagan, "The selling-out of Tasmania" (22 Jul 2004) http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/07/21/1090089215626.html (22 Oct 2006). Also see B. Baird, "Sexual citizenship in 'the New Tasmania'" (Nov 2006) pp964-987.
[428] Signed by the Commonwealth and Tasmanian Governments on the 8th November 1997, the RFA stipulates as to which and how forests can be logged. Environmentalists are very critical of it.
[429] Originally the Tasmanian Wilderness Society (TWS).

that 69 per cent of the Tasmanian public supported the benchmark.[430] Bacon attempted to fudge the issue with an argument around the definition of "old-growth" and then refused to amend the RFA.[431] Putt exploited what the public came to see as an obvious sham, and pinned the whole plan on the RFA controversy. So, by insisting that the test of process for the 212 benchmarks was in the Government's failed action on the three forestry benchmarks,[432] she linked broader social issues to those of the environment and began the political renaissance of the Greens in Tasmania.

For *Radical Tasmania*, a task is to analyse the problematic of a movement which is potentially radical yet which has positioned itself as middle class.[433] It is this contradiction which demands attention in reference to the Tasmanian environmentalists. So one aim of *The Selected Histories* is to narrate the history of the politics of a (mostly urban) middle class with an eye to its potential to radically challenge or reform power and privilege (property relations) through environmentalism in Tasmania. With relevant adjustments as necessitated by the historical subject, this analysis can also be applied as a conceptual template to other movements designated, in one way or another, as radical.[434]

---

[430] The Wilderness Society, "Opinion Poll Backs Tasmania Together Plan on Oldgrowth Forests" (19 Apr 2005) http://www.wilderness.org.au/articles/20010911_mr/ (2 Jan 2008).
[431] Premier J. Bacon, *Tasmania Together – Forestry Benchmarks*, Government Media Statement (11 Dec 2002) cited in C. Althaus, *Calculating Political Risk* (2008) p120.
[432] C. Althaus, *Calculating Political Risk* (2008) p120.
[433] Senator Brown trumpets Parliamentary politics as a central plank of Tasmanian environmentalism; see B. Brown at L. Shannon, "Activism Changes" (27 Jun 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/stateline/tas/content/2006/s2288225.htm (16 Jul 2008).
[434] Rodney Croome disparages a description of himself as radical, claiming, "I am not particularly radical", while accepting that his activism has wrought a fundamental change because "The rigidity of [sexual] issues in Tasmania means that the outspoken were forced to the edge"; refer R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

C): Radical Historiography

Just as a disobedient history is not just a history of disobedience, so too is a radical history (political disobedience) not just a history of radicals; it is the "radical and critical disobedience" of the historic other in political struggle against the oppressing norm.[435] It is not enough to move the epistemology from the macrohistory to the microhistory, from the abstract to the concrete,[436] because, to articulate the political in a history of radicals, the evidence must be analysed with "understanding" (reasoning as narrative) and understanding cannot be political unless it speaks with meaning and "moves" the audience. The science of history (*Geschichtswissenschaft*) constructs and is constructed in the writing of history, its historiography (*Geschichtsschreibung*). This is the poetics which lifts the history to narrative meaning: the aesthetic emotion of story. So the history of Tasmanian radicals is a "multi-faceted flow" of narratives which articulate meaning; it is stories in a force for history.[437]

Historiography with Radical Intent

There is radical historiography in the simple sense of an evidential analysis informing a narrative of radicals of the past, and there is radical historiography in the fuller sense of a history of radicals which also challenges the normative values of the present. Radical histories are hardly new; indeed, one can argue that history itself is a radical idea or even that historical societies make for a radical history because at the core of history is always change—an overturning of norms; a past without an overturning of norms is ahistorical stagnation.[438] Taken to an extreme then, "radical history" could be viewed as a tautology. The substance of the argument will invariably pursue definitions of "radical" (as discussed above).[439] Building on this, attention is now drawn to historiography which narrates an empathetic, and sometimes sympathetic, account of its radical subject with a view to challenging the normative values of the present.

---

[435] K. Jenkins, *Refiguring History* (2003) p6.
[436] G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (1997) p103.
[437] G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (1997) p103.
[438] For example, see Marx's discussion of Indian villages as "Asiatic despotism and stagnation" in K. Marx, "Marx To Engels In Manchester" (2000) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1853/letters/53_06_14.htm (29 Jan 2008).
[439] See "Radicals and Radicalism in Tasmania"

It is an argument here, in contradistinction to Clendinnen (discussed below), that better historiography is invariably empathetic. The questions arises, are empathetic histories of radicals necessarily radical historiographies? The conclusion here is in the negative because many histories of radicals are, at the time of the historian's research and writing, a confirmation of the normative values of the present, at least at a fundamental level. For example, many liberal histories of the American War of Independence, The French Revolution and the English Civil War are histories of radical subjects yet they often tend to enforce a conservatism of the present because they construct an ideological legitimacy, an historical justification, of the institutions, customs, politics, culture, society, etc., which is the legacy of such histories; which is also to say that they imply an approval in principle of the liberal democratic institutions of America, France and England.

Marx and Engels, as the founders of historical materialism, obviously lean heavily on historical analysis as well as other social sciences (and sometimes the natural sciences).[440] At the core of their science is politics and at the core of their politics is science. In their now modern classic of Marxist analysis of Australian history, R.W. Connell[441] and T.H. Irving explain why radical historiography (in their case, particularly class analysis) must, itself, be located in political struggle:

> Class analysis is concerned with the political nature of the entire social structure. *And it is therefore itself political.* Structures of power are not just objects of academic research, they define the fate of actual people — realities of oppression and exploitation, possibilities of liberation, questions of life and death. To understand them or misunderstand them has profound consequences: in the final analysis, it is a question of whether history can be brought under human control. [emphasis added][442]

In this tradition, ideology has been developed beyond a term for a self-serving false consciousness,[443] such as in Marx's scathing attacks on what he called "vulgar

---

[440] For a discussion of historical materialism as an "empirical theory" rather than a philosophy and therefore that "Marx and Engels frequently underscore the scientific character of their enterprise", see W.H. Shaw, "historical materialism" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p206.
[441] Robert William Connell is now Raewyn Connell; "R.W." designates the same person.
[442] R.W. Connell & T.H. Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History* (1980) p1. For their reassertion of class analysis and class politics in postmodern capitalism, see "Theoretical problems: class and gender, economic determinism, and the end of class" in R.W. Connell & T.H. Irving,, *Class Structure in Australian History* (1992) pp20-26.
[443] "False consciousness" is a term credited to Engels rather than Marx; for example, see "Engels to Franz Mehring" (2000) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1893/letters/93_07_14.htm (6 Jun 2008).

economy".[444] The definitions of "ideology" as simply reflection which is unscientific (for example, the "epistemic thesis") or as a reflex of mere economic "determinants" (for example, the "genetic thesis")[445] are rejected here as hackneyed dichotomies. The view that because "Marx's concept of ideology is the world of class struggle…[so a] form of consciousness is ideological if and only if it serves, by an 'intelligible inner connection', some class interest in a context of an ongoing class struggle"[446] is also rejected here as an over-simplified syllogism. Rather, what is embraced is the argument that ideology can be a science informed by the values of a class or group and that the rigour, method and logic of a science can maintain a rational validity in the service of such values. This accepts that there are subjective structures and limits established by the peculiarities of the science's historical context. In other words, the "class interest", etc., of a science, its ideology, does not of itself necessarily move consciousness from valid science to false-consciousness; though this spectrum of intellect can be described as ideological. Hence, as Roy Bhaskar credits to Marx, "there is no contradiction between the *historicity* of the knowledge and the *reality* of their objects – rather they must be thought of as two aspects of the unity of known objects."[447]

There is more to ideology than the utility of consciousness.[448] So Marx attributed a radical ideology to the economic theories of David Ricardo despite Ricardo "naively taking [class] antagonism for a social law of Nature…[because] the theory of Ricardo already serves, in exceptional cases, as a weapon of attack upon bourgeois economy — [and this] is explained by the circumstances of the time."[449] Simply, despite the limits of its class function, Ricardo's economic analysis was radical for its time.[450] The critical point is that the theorisation of praxis, as a dialectic of intellect and action, derives from the argument that not only do values inform science yet that science informs values and so informs politics. This also means that flawed science leads to flawed politics in theory and in action. Both Lenin and Georg Lukács criticised Marxists for their

---

[444] K. Marx, "Afterword to the Second German Edition, 1873" in *Capital, Vol. I* (1999) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/p3.htm (2 May 2008); N.B., this is sometimes referenced as the "Preface". See also Meghnad Desai, "vulgar economics" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) pp515-516.
[445] Richard Hudelson on Joe McCarney's *The Real World of Ideology* (1980); see R. Hudelson, "Review of *The Real World of Ideology* by Joe McCarney" (1983) p625.
[446] R. Hudelson, "Review of *The Real World of Ideology* by Joe McCarney" (1983) p625.
[447] Roy Bhaskar, "science" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p435.
[448] R. Hudelson, "Review of *The Real World of Ideology* by Joe McCarney" (1983) p625.
[449] K. Marx, "Afterword to the Second German Edition" in *Capital Vol. I* (1999) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/p3.htm (1 Feb 2007); N.B., this is sometimes referenced as the "Preface".
[450] R. Hudelson, "Marxist Science as Ordinary Science" (Mar 1986) p58.

"mechanistic and undialectical misconception" of Marx's method. "Bad philosophy of science contributed to errors in politics."[451] Conversely, a valid science can give expression to a social value as a "critical weapon".[452] More so if it is able to successfully inform action, in which case it is realised as (radical) praxis.

Radical historiography in a fuller sense is therefore a science elaborated by literary art for radical praxis. Such a tradition of historiography is already firmly established in the writings not just of classical Marxism but also in the latter day exponents of Marxism in their science and their art with, for example, the Communist Party Historians Group in Britain. While Australia also has its Marxist historians of repute, such as Ian Turner, Humphrey McQueen, R.W. Connell and Terence Irving amongst others, radical historiography is not limited to a dogmatic and inflexible definition and so it is noted that the mostly left liberal historiography of Australia's so-called black armbands infuriates conservatives because it too challenges normative values of the present in Australia. Radical, then, is broader than "revolutionary" activism. It is in this sense of historiography as a critical weapon that *Radical Tasmania* pursues its history.

Figurational Tension: Evidence Drawn Towards Meaning

A perceived divide between "truth" and "literary intellectuals" is bemoaned in the famous Rede Lecture by the scientist and novelist, C.P. Snow, in his *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution* (1959) and then in his revised *The Two Cultures: A Second Look* (1963). Simon Critchley finds in Snow's views a resurfacing of John Stuart Mill's "division…between Benthamites and Coleridgeans", that is between truth as the empirically verifiable and truth as meaning; a divide which, he argues, persists between the Anglo-American academia and the Continental academia.[453] Curthoys and Docker also trace a similar divide to the nineteenth century, emphasising the conflict between Rankean historiography and novelists, and then back to the origins of classical historiography (discussed below).[454]

---

[451] R. Hudelson, "Marxist Science as Ordinary Science" (Mar 1986) p53.
[452] Meghnad Desai, Vulgar Economics" in T. Bottomore, (ed.), *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p516.
[453] S. Critchley, *Continental Philosophy* (2001) p49, and "Egalitarianism and Fairness" (21 Jun 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/philosopherszone/stories/2008/2275460.htm#transcript (29 Jun 2008).
[454] A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006) p6.

Historiography is an art yet it begins with its science, with researching and verifying its evidence. Despite the efforts of a poststructuralist critique to pigeon-hole history as literary trope, as "metahistory",[455] etc., *Radical Tasmania* acknowledges that it is the epistemology which sets the historian's task aside from the fiction novelist's and that this is rightfully proclaimed as a strength and as an alluring quality of better historiography. It is the evidence which keeps the historian's imagination fixed in particular dimensions for the artistic rendering.

> Unlike the novelist, the historian is tied to the limits of the archive, to real contexts, places and time. Paradoxically, these limitations are history's strength, the window to an imaginative understanding of the past. They also make it possible for the historian to understand how and why events occurred, including human motivations.[456]

It is commonplace today for undergraduate students in the social sciences, especially in sociology, to analyse or even deconstruct the subjective values (ideology) which form or haunt ("buzz")[457] science. The lessons are meant as an impeachment of the "value-neutral" claims of any science, including the social sciences. (This shifts the claims to "objectivity" away from the absolute and also impeaches liberal "objectivism",[458] but does not, as some poststructualism has it, annihilate objectivity.)[459] Connell's argument is that "To emphasise investigation, corrigibility, generalisation and the growth of knowledge is also to recognise limits to social science."[460] (These "limits" are also a cultural hegemony, even a cultural imperialism.)[461] The more insightful students realise that the real issue is not just to deflate the hubris of rationalism and positivism ("scientism"), but also to understand that science without narrative meaning is not possible because, to rephrase Clendinnen for this topic, science too must "be processed into a consultable form."[462]. (This is what Thucydides describes as "to understand clearly the events which happened in the past".)[463] Or, to borrow from one of her earlier insights, history "is a secular discipline, and in its idiosyncratic way a scientific one,

---

[455] H. White *Metahistory* (1973); discussed below.
[456] M. McKenna, "Comfort History" (18-19 Mar 2006).
[457] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) p23; discussed below.
[458] Such as Ayn Rand's philosophy which seeks to connect perceptions of an "independent reality" with the liberal values of *laissez-faire* capitalism and "rational self-interest".
[459] Terry Eagleton defends both the absolute, by imputing a (Marxist) dialectic to it, and objectivity as experienced (social) value; see T. Eagleton, *After Theory* (2004) pp103-138.
[460] R. Connell, *Southern Theory* (2007) p225.
[461] "On close examination, mainstream sociology turns out to be an ethno-sociology of metropolitan society." See R. Connell, *Southern Theory* (2007) p226.
[462] I. Clendinnen, "The History Question" (Oct 2006) p38.
[463] Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* 1:22 (1972) p48.

based on the objective analysis of that vast consultable record of past actions."[464] Even earlier, she had lectured with the phrase, "good history made out of true stories".[465] However, meaningful narrative speaks, as Alex Miller observes, "figuratively and with imagination".[466]

Not all facts of the past are historical evidence; the better historians practice "discarding the many insignificant facts as unhistorical".[467] Carr rightfully insists that it serves little or no historical utility to "know more and more about less and less." [468] What he calls "dry-as-dust" facts are nominated here as the past without meaning; an ahistorical past is a collection of facts without imputed value and without narrative structure—the cause and effect which separates anecdote from story. And history has story. The once popularly held belief that "facts speak for themselves" cannot ask the question, "What is history?",[469] because it does not seek the story of the facts. So the traditional Rankean notion that the meaning of history is merely evidence of a past[470] is repudiated here. This distinguishes between the encylopediac and the person of letters;[471] the former being essentially a collector of facts and the latter a writer of knowledge—which is much closer to the original Greek for history, *historia*.

At the other extreme is poststructural, or relativist postmodern, philosophy of history which tends to argue that historiography is determined by literary trope, especially the dominant trope of an historian's era.[472] Many historians have moved on from this. Clendinnen, for one, finds it an insult to the professional standing of historians.[473]

While there are more complex arguments by other historians on this, her anger neatly encapsulates their intellectual tendency. So the need here is only to briefly summarise

---

[464] I. Clendinnen, "History Here" (15 Oct 2003) http://www.arts.nsw.gov.au/awards/HistoryAwards/2003Hist/2003awards.htm#address (19 Jan 2007).
[465] I. Clendinnen, "True Stories: Lecture 1: Incident on a Beach" (14 Nov 1999) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/boyerlectures/stories/1999/66348.htm (22 Jan 2007).
[466] A. Miller, "Truth in Fiction and History" (30 Nov 2006) http://www.rage.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2006/1800785.htm (16 Dec 2006).
[467] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) p15.
[468] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) p15.
[469] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) p17.
[470] "Ranke piously believed that divine inspiration would take care of the meaning of history, if he took care of the facts…" See E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) p19.
[471] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) p15.
[472] See Hayden White and "metahistory" discussed below.
[473] I. Clendinnen, "History Here" (15 Oct 2003) http://www.arts.nsw.gov.au/awards/HistoryAwards/2003Hist/2003awards.htm#address (19 Jan 2007).

the legacy of poststructuralism as pertains to theorising the historiography of *Radical Tasmania*.

Windschuttle seeks to defend history as a science ("objective truth") in his alarmist *The Killing of History* (1994), hoping to save it from what he sees as its conflation with fiction by postmodernists.[474] Writing decades earlier on Fascist propaganda, Orwell expressed a similar concern with the relationship of truth and language. To him, history seems to be degenerating into barbarism, or history "stopped", as it "gives me the feeling that the very concept of objective truth is fading…[and that lies] will pass into history". [475] The irony here is that Orwell's conclusion opposes Windschuttle's as the former argues that truth, historical or political, can be well served by literary art because "partisanship" (ideological emotion) can be used to expose lies.[476] Nonetheless, the concern of both authors is ancient.

In some ways, postmodernism in general is history repeating itself because much of it is old ideas with new words, a reflexive tautology, a word game on word games. For example, the claim to know objective truth against the claim to "truth" as a function of language goes back to at least the ancient conflict between Platonic philosophy and the Greek sophists; a struggle which continues when modern science and the legal fraternity "communicate". Doug Lorimer argues that poststructuralism is the ideology of class collaboration parroting another "bourgeois philosophical response" to moral crisis, (Heideggerian) existentialism.[477] As for poststructuralism in particular and the endeavours of historians to overcome it at the end of the twentieth century, the debate was anticipated and, to some extent, resolved in 1961 with Carr's sounding of the dangers in the tendency of Collingwood, in the latter's *The Idea of History* (1946), to avoid the *Scylla* of history as just evidence and then only to steer too close to the *Charybdis* of history as relativist views in text, the historian's proverbial rock and a hard place:[478]

---

[474] See the satire of Windschuttle on "trial" by fictional device at C. Bellamy, "The History Wars Continue" (Oct 2003) http://www.craigbellamy.net/2003/11/13/the-history-wars-continue-keith-winshuttle-versus-simon-schama-a-hypothetical-trial/ (19 Dec 2007).
[475] G Orwell, "Looking Back on the Spanish War" (2003) http://www.george-orwell.org/Looking_Back_On_The_Spanish_War/0.html (19 Dec 2007).
[476] G. Orwell, "Why I Write", *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell: Vol. I* (1970) p28.
[477] D. Lorimer, "Appendix: Existentialism and Marxism" (2002) p263 & p267.
[478] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) p29.

> It does not follow that, because a mountain appears to take on different shapes from different angles, it has objectively either no shape at all or an infinity of shapes. It does not follow that, because interpretation plays a necessary part in establishing the facts of history, and because no existing interpretation is wholly objective, one interpretation is as good as another, and the facts of history are in principle not amenable to objective interpretation.[479]

Even worse, argues Carr, history as a mere "child's box of letters"[480] risks deteriorating into a propaganda for some function of the present with no accountability to an evidential past. What has to be remembered is that the "predicament of the historian" is a reflexive expression of the relationship of society and its "environment": subject and object are only independent in abstraction; the historian and the evidence have a "reciprocal" relationship, "an unending dialogue between the present and the past".[481] So with the wisdom of hindsight, much of poststructuralism's literary theorisation of history is a replay, though not all of it.

Hayden White is generally recognised as the most eminent poststructural theorist of history (though his academic career developed through literary criticism) with his analyses of history as trope[482] and as metahistory, conceptualising history as an ideology for literary criticism, most famously with his *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (1973). He develops the argument that historiography is structured by the classic literary tropes of comedy, tragedy, satire and romance, and he plays down the role of evidence for the historian. So historiography, like fiction, is more about artistic device than scientific method. According to Kevin Passmore, "Here already was the skeptical position that history was 'just a story'."[483]

Poststructuralists see language as unstable.[484] Truth, or meaning, is like a bead of mercury: one can perceive it, or the appearance, manifestation or expression of it, yet one can not "pin it down", one can never know the truth absolutely and as an "objective

---

[479] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) pp26-27.
[480] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) p26.
[481] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) pp29-30.
[482] White's four modes, each broken down to four categories:
Emplotment: romantic, tragic, comic, satirical;
Argument: formist, mechanistic, organicist, contextualist;
Ideological Implication: anarchist, radical, conservative, liberal;
Poetic Structure: synecdoche, metaphor, metonymy, irony.
H. White, "Introduction: The Poetics of History" in *Metahistory* (1973) pp1-42; see White's table for the first three modes, p29.
[483] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p121.
[484] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) pp122-123.

fact" independent of human existence. In less subtle minds this can lead to the *non-sequitur*, there is no truth. However, this is a misrepresentation of poststructuralism. For historians, the real issue was (or perhaps, for some, still is) that "poststructuralists also reject the notion that 'reality' can produce meaning."[485] For history, this is more than radical, it is nihilist; it threatens the very premise of history to inquire towards a knowledge (*historia*) and so impeaches the social relevance of history and therefore the authority of the historian. (Something which is again under attack from the literati, to be discussed below as the Story Wars.)[486] It disempowers history's reason for being, reducing it to exactly what it refutes: myth, legend, fiction, even once again leaving the past open to theological explanation—the very anathema to the tradition of history from Thucydides and the "project" of the Enlightenment: explanation of human action without reference to metaphysics.

If, as the poststructuralists tend to imply, historiography is essentially constructed as is fiction[487] then the question has to be asked, is any historical research defeated before it starts? The difference is in the archive, in the evidence. The appeal to the evidence is what sets limits to historical interpretation; it is what sets history off from fiction even when historiography is at its most literary. So truth as an objective entity, while not absolute and unchallengeable, re-emerges. Terry Eagleton imputes both a limit (time) and a (Marxist) dialectic:

> Absolute truth is not truth removed from time and change. Things that are true at one time cease to be true at another, or new truths can emerge.[488]

In other words, truth is contextualised as an historical, but not eternally relativist, entity. So the historian's intention is truth and a truth that is the past as an objective reality which exists externally and that knowledge of this can be verified.[489] That this verification is mediated by the dynamics and frailties of sense perception, language, limited intelligence and moral value, like Carr's example of a mountain, does not mean that this entity, the past, does not exist as an objective fact, albeit known subjectively. As Gary Ianziti reminds us, "all history is but an approximation of what actually

[485] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p123.
[486] For the "history of suspicion" between historians and the literati, see K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p118.
[487] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p118.
[488] T. Eagleton, *After Theory* (2004) p108.
[489] P. Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder! or, Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the Schools?" (2000) p28.

happened". Relativism reduces history to "mere rhetoric…[and] also means that the counter-assertions of revisionists like Windschuttle can be fought only on ideological, and not on historiographical grounds."[490]

A contribution of poststructuralism is to demonstrate that language is critical to understanding[491] and therefore it is just as problematic to argue that history can be known objectively or (with some echoes of Marxism)[492] that any human action is only "natural".[493] People are aware of the world through sensory perception, through subjective experience, and through language people make "sense" of these perceptions. So meaning is variable. Yet knowing the "past" is no more problematic than knowing the "present". As Passmore observes, "Generally, we rely on the *strong probability* and on direct confirmation that something exists."[494] The same applies to history. Historians cannot visit the past to directly observe it, but historians do have evidence of it. The "evidence" could be fabricated, yet it probably was not. Only "that which can be directly seen is verifiable, but like people in daily life, historians deal in *probabilities* not truths."[495] History then is a probable reasoning of the perception of truth as evidence; the science in history, its epistemology, underpins historical meaning. This is then expressed through narrative. As White has it, "narrative is a meta-code, a human universal on the basis of which transcultural messages about the nature of a shared reality can be transmitted".[496] It is language as an art (poetics) which develops this historical meaning; science "finds"[497] the evidential "kernel"[498] and the narrative cultivates its potential into a "tree" of meaningful knowledge. History, to use a metaphor, is rooted in science and fruits in art.

The question is, how far from the verifiable evidence can the inferred meaning move before its relationship with truth becomes untenable, at the service of any political or

---

[490] G. Ianziti, "Windschuttle at War" (29 Oct 2004) pp10-11.
[491] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p118.
[492] "Nature exists independently, but for humanity it attains its qualities and meaning by means of a transformative relationship of human labour: Labour is neither nature nor culture but their matrix." See Robert M. Young, "nature" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p351.
[493] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p131.
[494] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p132.
[495] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p132. See elaborated discussion at R. Berkhofer "The Challenge of Poetics to (Normal) Historical Practice" (1988) pp435-452.
[496] H. White, *The Content of Form* (1987) p1.
[497] This is more than White's "prefigure the field" (discussed below); see H. White, *Metahistory* (1973) p30.
[498] As in Marx's "rational kernel"; see K. Marx, "Afterword to the Second German Edition, 1873" in *Capital, Vol. I* (1999) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/p3.htm (2 May 2008); N.B., this is sometimes referenced as the "Preface".

other social cause? This difficulty for the philosophy of history has underscored much of the debate on the Nazi "final solution" for the extermination of the Jews and other "non-Aryans" as well as Australia's debate in the History Wars on its "Holocaust", "genocide", "ethnic-cleansing", "ethnocide", "indigenocide",[499] etc., in the record of relations between the British and Aborigines. (This angst in Australia goes well back into the colonial period.)[500] Some argue that "factually correct histories can be turned to almost any political purpose…[and that] one could distinguish between them only on moral or political grounds, not on the basis of their truth claims."[501] Some historians, like Passmore and Wulf Kansteiner, accept this.[502] They conclude that morality can be a social and/or political issue which, in some contexts, can reference history for any view. Others, like Reynolds, argue that the political utility of history is contingent on historians' capacity to prove their claims; if proven, then history can be an invaluable ally in a struggle against oppression because the latter invariably distorts or lies about the past.[503] The immediate point to make, consistent with Aristotle's "principle of non-contradiction",[504] is that exactly the same evidence cannot support mutually exclusive conclusions. It cannot be sustained that the Holocaust (or the Van Diemen's Land genocide) did and did not happen. It is generally agreed that Europe's Holocaust deniers have lost the intellectual debate because the evidence leads to the conclusion that the Holocaust is a fact of history beyond reasonable doubt.[505] (Australia's black armbands have similarly proven their history.) However, this is not the end of the argument. During Germany's *Historikerstreit*, [506] nationalist historians, rather than deny the Holocaust, sought to explain it as a defensive reaction to Stalinism. So is truth in fact also truth in meaning?

---

[499] "Indegenocide", or "developmental genocide," is the destruction of indigenous culture even without state killings; see this discussed in R. Evans & B. Thorpe, "The Massacre of Aboriginal History", (Winter 2001) pp21-40.

[500] J. Jorgenson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land* (1991) p99. Also see John Fawkner on "invaders" in the *Launceston Advertiser*, editorial (11 Oct 1830).

[501] Passmore on Wulf Kansteiner in K Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p136. Also on Foucauldian notions of historical truth claims and political power and some of the tension this implies for historiography and creative writing as a "site of contestation", see C. Nelson, "Faking it" (Oct 2007) http://www.textjournal.com.au/oct07/nelson.htm (8 May 2008).

[502] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p136.

[503] H. Reynolds, "Aboriginal-European Contact History" (1978) pp52-64. Also hear H. Reynolds (response to a question from the audience) at M. MacCullum, "The Victors Write the History" (2006) http://www.abc.net.au/northcoast/stories/s1706811.htm (27 Sep 2006).

[504] Sometimes also referred to as Aristotle's "law of contradiction". This is most famously discussed in his *Metaphysics* IV (Gamma) 3–6; for example, for the argument that it is impossible for the same thing to belong and not to belong at the same time to the same thing and in the same respect, see Aristotle, *Metaphysics* (1956) IV, 3, 1005b, 19–20.

[505] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p135.

[506] Thomas Keneally draws parallels between Germany's *Historikerstreit* and Australia's History Wars; see T. Keneally, *Searching for Schindler* (2007) pp125-126.

Statements of history and statements of morality can be analytically distinguished. The ability to demonstrate that historical explanations will vary, to some extent, according to the very historical context of those explanations in turn demonstrates an ability to distinguish between historical interpretation and morality.[507] The concern here is how the artistic quality of historiography draws a connection between analysis and interpretation, between a truth claim as fact and the potential meaning of a fact as a moral truth. While it is not possible for a truth claim to be entirely devoid of meaning, the focus is on the qualities of the historical narrative which articulate potential meaning as a truth for telling; that is, as story. What demands analysis is how art explicates the meaning latent in the historical science, in history's verifiable evidence.

The Rankean tradition of "critical historical research" is re-instated by the resolution of the poststructuralist "linguistic turn"[508] when it is realised that language is necessary for history yet is not of itself sufficient for history. Ranke had repudiated positivism and distinguished between human or cultural sciences and the natural sciences, while maintaining that history is still a science. So science (*Geschichtswissenschaft)* replaced art (*Geschichtsschreibung*) to describe what historians were doing. While the subjectivity or empathy of the historian was presumed, academic history divorced itself from imaginative literature.[509]

Post-Rankean history, especially as argued in Lawrence Stone's famous article on the "revival of historical narrative",[510] rejected "coherent scientific explanation" as an "illusion", yet it does maintain history's claim to scientific method despite history's literary form. As George Iggers summarises it, this has resulted in a more rigorous

[507] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p136.
[508] The "linguistic turn" is the growth in the focus on the relationship between knowledge and language, particularly as it came to influence the humanities and social sciences from the 1970s through the likes of Jacques Derrida and Judith Butler. "The 'linguistic turn' in historical studies over the past decade and a half has been part of an effort to break the determinism inherent in older socioeconomic approaches and to emphasize the rule of cultural factors, among which language occupies a key place." See G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (1997) p133. Geoff Eley refers to historians' "extreme anxieties accompanying the so-called linguistic turn"; see Geoff Eley, "Marxist historiography" in S. Berger, H. Feldner, K. Passmore, *Writing History* (2003) p79. Passmore see the linguistic turn as the context for the more extreme attempts to subsume history to literary theory (discussed above in reference to Hayden White); see K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p121.
[509] G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (1997) p99.
[510] L. Stone, "The Revival of Narrative" (1979) pp3-24.

skepticism on the part of historians, but it did not result (as Carr feared) in a "flight into the imaginary".[511]

Likewise, *Radical Tasmania* embraces the science in history. What is acknowledged is that the scientific verification of the evidence and the meaning of this verification in history are the same and they are different; this is to say, they both overlap and define, in part, each other. Connell notes that "even the most controversial methods—oral history, for instance—allow inference from evidence".[512] Aristotle is given to distinguish between "the particular" of history and "the universal" of poetics.[513] The common ground they share is the probable, the necessary and the possible.[514] Historical evidence and historical meaning are two ends of the fluid relationship which this thesis nominates as the figurational tension expressed through poetic movement as an aesthetic truth: the sum of this relationship is its story or (moral) meaning. (*Evidence—Poetics—Aesthetic: Meaning*) Truth begins in the verifiable evidence and in the verification of the evidence as something worth knowing, as value, it finds a power which moves it from factually true to morally true ("truer than true");[515] something which moves the intellect and emotions because its very truth has found a meaning which goes beyond the evidence of the mere archival facts; one wonders or one is awed, or feels pity, joy, anger, etc. This is the historian's narrative art. The power in the story to move the reader to an hitherto unexperienced realisation, to move the reader to understand, is parallel to "actual history" (social change over time) as a process of praxis — the material and spiritual (psychological, emotional, etc.) movement of human struggle to resolve freedom and necessity — to shift towards an expressed meaning in struggle. In this sense history is teleological, it has story. And because it has story, the historian needs artistic sensibilities to call up those intangibles which intone meaning to the evidence of a very human condition, or even predicament, of "spirit". The historian then shares the artist's vocation which, as William Faulkner proclaims, is to remind us of "the courage and honor and hope and pride and compassion and pity and sacrifice

[511] G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (1997) p100.
[512] R. Connell, *Southern Theory* (2007) p227.
[513] Aristotle, *Poetics* (2004) p10.
[514] In this translation, these elements are expressed as "the law of probability or necessity" and "the law of the probable and the possible"; see Aristotle, *Poetics* (2004) p10.
[515] Some trace this back to when Plato "famously" banned poets from his republic whereas Aristotle elevated poetry "to a place above history" and later others saw this "very old…struggle between history and storytelling [as] reducible to the relationship between memory and imagination"; see D. Kelley & D. Sacks, "Introduction", *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain* (1997) p3.

which have been the glory of our past" and relived through art can then be "the pillars to help [humanity] endure and prevail".[516]

Regardless of whether a chain of events is characterized as positive or negative, progressive or regressive, it does not mean that all human change is active realisation; it can be senseless, chaotic, barbarous and fatal at all levels; it can be meaningless; which is to say, it is existence without story, *Homo sapiens* without history. As will be later elaborated, history is evidence of the past as structured by the "logic" of narrative.

At issue here is the historian's attempt to find meaning in the evidence and how this search for truth, as understanding the evidence, constructs the aesthetic experience rather than the aesthetic which, as poststructuralism had it, forms the view of the evidence. Put in other words, the evidence is submitted to an ideology (science as value) which, in the first place, "exists" *a-priori* to the evidence; yet the ideological experience of the evidence, should it be significant evidence, works a change into the ideology and so, in turn, reforms or realigns the ideological perspective, the understanding of the evidence. The historical process is always dialectical.

White even uses the term "dialectical tension" to describe the historian's "vision" of the "historical field".[517] He is, however, careful to play down a recognition of evidence and scientific method. For White, the historian's method is "poetic, and specifically linguistic, in nature." The evidence is not an objective entity. The historian's evidence, condescended to with inverted commas as "'matter of fact'", is "'imagined'"; however, according to White, the historian does not know what is "'imagination''' and what is not.[518] Consequently, White conflates ideology with poetic device as "aesthetic regulation".[519] He uses the phrase "prefigure the field" to describe the historian's experience of the evidence, and so reduces historical science to a function of language because this "poetic act is indistinguishable from the linguistic act in which the field is made…".[520] As Curthoys and Docker summarise White, he is insisting that "the relationship between people or between events that *appear* to be inherent in the past have actually been imposed by historians."[521] Here, dialectics is back in its proverbial

[516] W. Faulkner, "Address upon Receiving the Nobel Prize for Literature" (1977) p724.
[517] H. White, *Metahistory* (1973) p30.
[518] H. White, *The Content of Form* (1987) p67.
[519] H. White, *The Content of Form* (1987) p68.
[520] H. White, *Metahistory* (1973) p30.
[521] A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *What Is History?* (2006) p192.

idealist head; it is the self-serving ideology (false-consciousness) of literary criticism. It can lead to the misleading simplification: history is fiction: just add literary theory. It is, as Clendinnen notes, to confuse "the primarily aesthetic purpose of fiction and the primarily moral purpose of history".[522] Any tendency to the history-is-fiction analysis not only delegitimates history, it also disempowers the politics of historical identity. The History Wars are a testament to the power in the symbiosis of history and politics; a weapon which can be ignored only at the grave risk of others deploying its potentially overwhelming force. From the ancient Greeks to Niccolò Machiavelli to Marx to the guerrilla "war of the flea"[523] and to today's History Wars, any blunting of political potency is reviled as strategic idiocy. So because of the implications of White's regressive idealism, dialectical tension is an unsuitable term.[524]

Radical Tasmania, in seeking to describe the process of drawing meaning from the historical evidence, needs a term which both borrows from literary theory and also calls up the legitimacy of the social sciences.

Norbert Elias, in his famous "Introduction" to the second German edition of his *The Civilizing Process* (1969)[525] discusses "The Concept of Figurations", on which he then elaborates further in his *What is Sociology?* (1970).[526] Here he explicates what has subsequently been termed "figurational sociology", also known as "process sociology". Elias, a liberal sociologist and historian much influenced by Max Weber and Sigmund Freud, developed a social science which explores relationships of power, psyche, knowledge and action. While not a Marxist, and working to counter the tendency of sociology towards structural functionalism, Elias's sociology posits social relationships as defined in conflict and which, in turn, give rise to cultural, institutional and behavioural arrangements. While a loose thesis-antithesis-synthesis approach is apparent, the main point here is that figurational sociology emphasises process rather than a static abstraction. Like Marxism, this perspective focuses on movement arising out of the power produced by relationships which construct a social entity through opposition and flux. No opposition and no movement is meaningless.

---

[522] This is discussed below; see I. Clendinnen, "The History Question" (Oct 2006) p34.
[523] The Maoist theory (sometimes also credited to a fuller development under the Vietnamese warrior politician, Ho Chi Minh) of guerrilla war as a political strategy is summarised in the metaphor of fleas attacking and ultimately exhausting an elephantine enemy; see R. Taber, *The War of the* Flea (1970).
[524] Dialectical tension is also a term used in Relational Dialectics theory in reference to Bakhtin's dialogics, discussed below.
[525] N. Elias, "Introduction to the second German edition" in *The Civilizing Process* (1994) pp214-215.
[526] N. Elias, "The Concept of Figuration" in *What is Sociology?* (1978) pp128-133.

For the purposes of this thesis, the language of figurational sociology also lends itself to literary theory in the sense of figurative language; that is, language which draws meaning from a movement between "literal" language and other attributions decoded according to a grammar contextualised by a cultural ethos—itself often transient.

So figurational tension is employed as a term to capture the movement towards meaning in the "doubleness" of history in its scientific and literary traditions of method and narrative.[527] There will be a need to further discuss figurational tension below.

Radical Meaning as Story (Aesthetic Emotion) in Radical History

It is the dialectics of history which opens a "space" for critical imagination and which, in turn, draws in the "air" of narrative art. This is what Curthoys and Docker call "the very doubleness of history":

> ...the space between history as rigorous scrutiny of sources and history as part of the world of literary forms – gives it ample room for uncertainty, disagreement, and creativity. And perhaps this doubleness is the secret of history's cunning as a continuing practice, an inventive, self-transforming discipline.[528]

Postructuralist notions of history as literary trope tend to be spurned by contemporary historians for the reasons discussed above, yet they still serve to remind one that narrative is not just important to the historiography because it calls up a logic of cause and effect, but because gaps invariably arise between substantiated evidence and conclusions. Narrative is an art for sure and, more so, the historian's narrative uses processes of logic. The gaps in evidence force historians to make imaginative leaps[529] to new theories of evidence so as to arrive at a more satisfactory explanation. In philosophy of logic, this is what C.S. Peirce calls the process of "abduction".[530]

---

[527] A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006) p11.
[528] A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006) p11.
[529] Trevelyan calls this the historian's "imaginative guess"; see G.M. Trevelyan, "Clio, A Muse", *Clio, A Muse, and Other Essays* (1968) p145.
[530] C.S. Peirce, *Elements of Logic* (1931-1958); for a summary of abductive logic, see R. Burch, "Charles Sanders Peirce: Part 3: Deduction, Induction, and Abduction" (26 Jul 2006) http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/peirce/#dia (18 Sep 2006); for a discussion of its application for literature and historiography, see U. Eco & T. Seboek, *The Sign of Three* (1983); for its relevance to linguistics, see R. Melrose, "The Seduction of Abduction" (May 1995) pp493-507.

Abduction is that imaginative leap from the evidence to a general theory "without having completely demonstrated all the required steps".[531] The "steps", such as the logic of induction and/or deduction, can be applied after the abductive process so as to further put the latter to proof. Abduction produces a synthetic knowledge which introduces new ideas through new hypotheses. "Abduction is like a 'creative leap of the mind', where people all of a sudden understand how a particular events fits into a broader picture or explanation."[532]

It is abduction, or this "bridging" of the gap in the evidence, which has long invited historians to literary licence; the historian "works up" the narrative devices to try to induce the reader to imagine, in the absence of further evidence, what might have happened. (Mark Mordue calls it "the problem-solving element of non-fiction".)[533] So abductive logic acts as fertile ground, a sort of literary "ecotone" (discussed below), between not just epistemology and poetics yet also between mere exposition, or chronicle, and story. In a radical history where the politics is a goal of the historiography, the historian can use an abductive process to further explore the possibilities for radical meaning as story.

Thomas Paine, for example, wrote *The Rights of Man* (1791) because he believed in the power of the press to make a difference; in effect, to make history. What is not always recognised is that the very existence of a radical press implies a deep conviction in the political utility of text. Governments censor the press (and other media) because they perceive a threat. Ideas do matter. This can be upheld without submitting to "idealism" or abandoning historical materialism. A theory of poetics can make a contribution to the political science and history of radicals in Tasmania.

Clendinnen makes a passing comment that good fiction is more aesthetically moving than the best history.[534] In contrast, *Radical Tasmania* argues that history with meaning is as aesthetically powerful as fiction because, in fact, it tends to the aphorism of a beauty in a truth "stranger than fiction"; as its appeal is in a narrative drawn from the evidence it reverses that "truism" of fiction which "does not let the facts get in the way

[531] D. Ezzy, *Qualitative Analysis* (2002) p14.
[532] D. Ezzy, *Qualitative Analysis* (2002) p14.
[533] M. Mordue, "The Devil Is In The Details" (Apr 2008) p7.
[534] P. Adams, "Inga Clendinnen: Who owns the past?" (25 Jan 2007) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/latenightlive/stories/2007/1811812.htm (26 Jan 2007).

of a good story". History is powerful because its claim to meaning (moral truth) is in evidence drawn as a narrated truth claim into story. A radical history then is an evidential story of the past which somehow confronts and uproots, or at least has the potential to uproot, normative meanings hitherto ascribed to the evidence of past. Put another way, it is radical meaning which is the story (aesthetic emotion) in radical history. Therefore a radical historiography is served by a poetics which confronts and challenges normative historiography.

It is necessary here to make a brief note on Mikhail Bakhtin so as to investigate an adaptation of the theory of dialogics in an analysis of narrative. Bakhtin was keen to distinguish dialectics from his dialogics. To some degree, this is the product of an active intellect suffocating under the dead weight of the Stalinist dogma of "diamat" (dialectical materialism),[535] so Bakhtin ironically misunderstands Marx as the monologic "abstract consciousness" of a perverted Marxism.[536] However, as also identified in another area of communications theory (Relational Dialectics),[537] the focus in this thesis is on the potential for a symbiosis of dialectics and dialogics.

For Bakhtin, the social function of language means that language does not exist out of its historical and cultural context. As Michael Holquist paraphrases:

> There is no such thing as a 'general language', a language that is spoken by a general voice, that may be divorced from a specific saying, which is charged with particular overtones. Language, when it *means*, is somebody talking to somebody else, even when that someone else is one's own inner addressee.[538]

History has survived the "dead-end relativism" of poststructuralism.[539] But poststructuralism still has its uses, more so in the light of dialogics. Passmore constructs the argument, "M.M. Bakhtin's view of language incorporates the strengths of poststructuralism and yet offers a view of language more fruitful for historical practice."[540] Language does not of itself change the world, action does. Nonetheless, language and action are inseparable because "without language human action would be

[535] A perversion of Engels's *Dialectics of Nature* (1883).
[536] M. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (1986) p147. For the irony on Bakhtin, see L. Baxter & B. Montgomery, *Relating* (1996) p23.
[537] L. Baxter & B. Montgomery, *Relating* (1996) pp23-31.
[538] M. Holquist in M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* (1981) pxxi.
[539] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p138.
[540] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p119.

random and meaningless."[541] It is the writer, the reader and the context which work together to produce meaning, and "meaning arises from *dialogue* between people – it is *dialogic*."[542]

The import of Bakhtin's dialogics for these purposes is that historiography is "multi-vocal" (*heteroglossia*) because the author's influences and the readers' influences are involved in a dynamic process of interaction. While Bakhtin differentiates between the "homology" of the historical narrative (the Rankean tradition to tell it how it really was) and the "teratology" (narratives of marvel)[543] of the fictional narrative, which dramatises the gaps between what is told and the telling with a fluid artistry,[544] the assertion here is that dialogics embraces ideology through narrative as a potential dialectic to engage democracy. "Dialogics operates in the 'double sense' [in that] the writer draws from and changes pre-existing ideas and the reader 'understands' the writer through anticipation and worldview."[545] Bakhtin's analysis of narrative lends itself to *Radical Tasmania* in its emphasis on language as a dynamic social interaction, so realising the science and art of historiography as a potency for political praxis. This analysis will return to Bakhtin.

It is now appropriate to call up the more complex question which impels the balance of this enquiry: Which historiographical art would better narrate the meaning drawn from the science of evidence for a history of radical politics in Tasmania after 1803?

[541] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p137.
[542] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p137.
[543] M. Holquist in M Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* (1981) pxxviii.
[544] M. Holquist in M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* (1981) pxxviii.
[545] K. Passmore, "Poststructuralism and History" (2003) p137.

Part 2

Narrative Struggle

Part of the question for *Radical Tasmania* is the theorisation of the art of persuasion for politics. This is the same issue which confronts Orwell in his pursuit of political writing as an art. "The average man is not directly interested in politics, and when he reads, he wants the current struggles of the world to be translated into a simple story about individuals."[546] Orwell's generalisation can be forgiven because he is echoing the truism that abstract ideas, like freedom or justice or democracy, are more meaningful (truer than true) when they are empathetically felt in the stories of individualised characters so that the reader can link a principle to concrete reality through emotive imagination. This is also to link Aristotle's "particular" to his "universal". For example, Thomas Keneally, lauded as one of Australia's best exponents of the "documentary novel"[547] with titles like *Schindler's Ark* (1982), whose historical novels and popular histories are described as aimed at "a broad, educated audience", argues that "character" is a "key" with which literary device unlocks history.[548] Similarly connecting the abstract to reality through art is likewise a goal for *Radical Tasmania*.

Hay, exploring the utility of "literary sources" for a pedagogy of political science (environmental politics),[549] has, along the way, developed what he calls "essays of place".

> When I first started writing essays of place it quickly became apparent that this literary undertaking is taxonomically remote from the learned 'paper' — that the art of case-making from allusion, from metaphor, from intuited or poetically-driven insight, from spontaneously propagated ideas, and occasionally from epiphanies free of the necessity to 'conclusively prove', is both liberating and more authentically communicative. It is 'more authentically communicative' because the articulation of ideas which are not 'nailed down' but allowed to remain invitingly open sets up a much more democratic and egalitarian communicative field than does more 'rigorous', vertically integrated writing which seeks rather to eliminate all but a single preferred meaning.[550]

---

[546] G. Orwell, "Raffles and Miss Blandish", *Decline of the English Murder and Other Essays* (1965) p79.
[547] T. Keneally, *Searching for Schindler* (2007) p162, p166 & p170.
[548] L. Slattery, "Fact and Fiction" (1-2 Aug 2009) http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,,25848066-16947,00.html (4 Aug 2009).
[549] P. Hay, "Dr Pete Hay's Profile" (n.d.) http://fcms.its.utas.edu.au/scieng/geog/pagedetails.asp?lpersonId=340 (2 Apr 2007).
[550] P. Hay, *Vandiemonian Essays* (2002) px.

The aim here is to explore the potential for literary device as "more authentically communicative" to engage with academic science, the "'rigorous', vertically integrated writing", towards a "more democratic and egalitarian communicative field". (Though, as Rebe Taylor notes in a revisionist essay on Rhys Jones, the archaeologist much castigated by Aboriginal historians, the "ability to give poetic power to academic ideas [can leave them] vulnerable to being misread.")[551] This enquiry will investigate the role of art for science in reference to radical histories, and then, as the quotation from Hay flags, enquire into its role for stories of place (storyscape) in Tasmania.

It was the conservative historian and philosopher, Michael Oakeshott, who argued that history is "made" in text; that historical empiricism is the historian's "experience"(adapted here in the collective sense) of the evidence as told in the historiography.

> History is the historian's experience. It is 'made' by nobody save the historian: to write history is the only way of making it.[552]

One should not over-read Oakeshott's use of the verbal term "to write"; one goal of *Radical Tasmania* is to extend a definition of history beyond text; to "rescue" history (*a la* Thompson's "rescue" of class in history) from certain textual confines which are an outcome of the domination of academic culture. Nonetheless it is the writing, the historiography, which reminds one that history too is an art and that it is the function of its art in articulating its science which makes it a very public story; history is literary and it is political and this makes for a certain angst amongst historians. McKenna pines for the authority of the archives as "literary history":

> Bain Attwood has pointed to the broader process of the democratisation of history and that has also eroded the traditional authority of professional historians…[Ian McCalman] notes that in the USA many American historians have now started to write historical novels…
>
> … At issue here is not what Nicholas Jose has described as the power of fiction to embody a profound historical understanding of the world, but I think the dangers that arise when novelists and reviewers of fiction claim for fiction, at the expense of history, the sole right

[551] Rebe Taylor, "Reliable Mr Robinson and the Controversial Dr Jones" in A. Johnston & M. Rolls, *Reading Robinson* (2008) p116.
[552] M. Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes* (1933) p99.

> to empathy and historical understanding…So tonight I want to make a plea for critical, imaginative and literary history, not at the expense of fiction but for the sake of history.[553]

History struggles with story (the Narrative Wars) and the characters (historians and fiction authors) clamour to control the narrative.

Story Wars as Force

History is "hot", notes Stella Clarke, but historians are not.[554]

> Professional historians fear they are leaking relevance and credibility. Meticulous, myopic academic wranglings are doing nothing to improve their market, and university history is losing clients. Careers are at stake.[555]

Professional historians such as McKenna (who has a New South Wales Premiers Literary Award among his credits),[556] are resentful.[557] More recently, McKenna returned to the topic, specifically responding to Clarke's impugning of professional historians, only to again admit to the facts of public perception while blaming the History Wars: "the stereotype of historians fostered by the history wars, of snarling bands of fact-grubbing academics, deep in respective trenches, devoid of empathy and imagination".[558] He goes on to persuasively defend the professional historian's science as history's strength yet along the way again observes that, as professional historians retreated, in their stead "historical fiction seemed to be flooding the market".[559]

This phenomenon of the fiction writers' challenge to traditional historiography is another twist in historical theory's linguistic turn and its more specific turn to literature: it is the turn to story. Robert McKee, the acclaimed American "guru" of screenwriters,[560] claims victory for the story tellers in the search for the answer to

---

[553] M. McKenna, "Writing the Past" (1 Dec 2005) http://www.humanitieswritingproject.net.au/mckenna.htm (4 Mar 2006).
[554] S. Clarke, "Havoc in History House" (4-5 Mar. 2006) p8.
[555] S. Clarke, "Havoc in History House" (4-5 Mar. 2006) p8.
[556] For his *Looking For Blackfellas' Point* (2002).
[557] M. McKenna, "Writing the Past" (1 Dec 2005) http://www.humanitieswritingproject.net.au/mckenna.htm (4 Mar 2006).
[558] M. McKenna, "Comfort History" (18-19 Mar 2006) p15.
[559] M. McKenna, "Comfort History" (18-19 Mar 2006) p15.
[560] McKee appears as "himself" in the movie *Adaptation* (S. Jonze, 2002), a reflexive comedy on the notion of a dichotomy of fact and fiction.

Aristotle's question: How should we live? The "art of story" has survived, he claims, while "our faith in traditional ideologies diminishes".[561]

It has been noted that historians are begrudgingly admitting that fiction writers are challenging, even replacing, them as a cultural authority in the public domain. This is a process which McKenna calls "the great age of historical mythology", adding that the public "no longer trust historians as storytellers."[562] The irony is that in the public's search for what McKenna calls "their need for absolute truth" (contrast this with McKee's emphasis on "meaning"), "A cultural space has opened into which writers of fiction are now more commonly seen as the most trustworthy purveyors of the past."[563] As already implied, McKenna confuses the search for truth with the search for meaning, yet he has a point in his defence of the traditional historian's craft. While now distancing himself from his very successful use of fictional technique in his historiography in *Looking for Blackfella's Point* (2002), McKenna argues that the allure of traditional historiography is its:

> …real confrontation with a real past. It's incomplete, it's fragmented, it's imperfect, but still it is a real confrontation.[564]

In other words, the role of scientific method, of rigour and discipline in research and analysis, is still paramount because the appeal of history has been its claim to truth as fact. Also, it is the meaning derived by the reader from the truth claim of an historiography which sustains the reader's relationship with such narrative.

In contrast to much traditional historiography, successful authors of fiction have to be obsessed not so much with what they write (what they say) but with how they write. It is the difference between science and art, between history and poetry, and between fact and meaning. So, while research and analysis are still critical (how could one doubt it?),

---

[561] R. McKee, *Story* (1999) pp11-12. McKee also links civilisation's "periods of enlightenment" with "the quality of the storytelling"; see M. Dwyer, "Keep it to yourself" (18 Jun 2009) http://www.theage.com.au/news/entertainment/film/keep-it-to-yourself/2009/06/17/1244918081646.html?page=fullpage#contentSwap1 (20 Jun 2008).
[562] M. McKenna, "Writing the Past" (1 Dec 2005) http://www.humanitieswritingproject.net.au/mckenna.htm (4 Mar 2006); also see "what I could call comfort history – a history that never threatens or unsettles" at M. McKenna, "Comfort History" (18-19 Mar 2006) p15.
[563] M. McKenna, "Writing the Past" (1 Dec 2005) http://www.humanitieswritingproject.net.au/mckenna.htm (4 Mar 2006).
[564] M. McKenna, "Writing the Past" (1 Dec 2005) http://www.humanitieswritingproject.net.au/mckenna.htm (4 Mar 2006).

it is the art of the historical narrative which is hindering academic history; that is, the perception of historiography in the public domain which, as discussed above, has been one of the keys to the status of history as a profession. McKenna finally admits that there is a problem with academic discourse; a problem, contended here, which has become such a stereotype it has been exploited for parody[565] and which has alienated the public, opening that "cultural gap" into which the fiction writers are marching.

> Irish writer John McGahern remarked that nearly all good writing is suggestions and that all bad writing is statement. Statement kills off the reader's imagination…The best history refrains from judgement. So writing the past doesn't mean 'righting' the past, and by that I mean moral judgement, judgement as finality, as the last word.[566]

Science is not, of itself, enough. Science needs art because historiography, if it is to communicate with a democratic culture, needs the reader's imagination to transform truth from mere fact to meaning; these are the compass points of the historian's notion of "understanding". To understand history is to move from a crude realisation of fact, an acknowledgement of evidence, to a comprehension, even empathy, with a meaning which is implied in and can be constructed out of the evidence.

History warriors counter-attack the "fiction"

This analysis has briefly sketched the concern, even defeatism, expressed from the historians' camp and the call for a retreat back to the archival bunker. However, while McKenna has sounded pessimism for the historians' public role (albeit while refusing to give ground on the claim of academic history as social science), Clendinnen has sought to rally historians against the person who emerged as their narrative antagonist, Kate Grenville.

[565] The "*Social Text* Affair"; see A. Sokal, "A Physicist Experiments with Cultural Studies" (May-Jun 1996) http://linguafranca.mirror.theinfo.org/9605/sokal.html (8 Dec 2006). Also see Macintyre on academics' "habit" of "professional patois [which] lends itself to ridicule and mockery."; see S. Macintyre in S. Macintyre & A. Clark, *The History Wars* (2003) p15.
[566] M. McKenna, "Writing the Past" (1 Dec 2005) http://www.humanitieswritingproject.net.au/mckenna.htm (4 Mar 2006).

For Grenville, a successful Australian novelist, history's "secret" (the pun will reveal itself) is its vulnerableness as "pillage".[567] She is a critically acclaimed exponent of fictional history and is published at the "cutting edge" of a genre which, to quote Clarke, leaves the "'forensic' approach [to] develop an 'experiential' one, moving from letter to person, archive to landscape, fact to fiction, while writing something more 'true' than 'real'."[568]

After five years of archival and field research and writing on relations between the British and Aborigines in early New South Wales history (dates are changed from recorded chronology), she published *The Secret River* (2005). Grenville had begun *The Secret River* with the intent of constructing "the authoritative voice of nonfiction".[569] Yet, for reasons which manifest her artistic bent rather than an intellectual purpose, she "loosely" adapted the facts to fictional artifice.[570]

> I was determined to write a book of nonfiction, but the only parts of this 'assembly' that were interesting were the 'flights of fancy' where I'd created the flesh to put on the bones of research. Where, in a word, I'd written fiction.
> …What was wrong with this book wasn't the order of the pieces. It was the writing itself. I could either write a truthful book that would be so dull as to be unreadable, or I could write a made-up book that might be read but not believed.[571]

Why a "truthful book" might or might not be as readable as a "made-up book" is a question to which this analysis shall return. (English is unique amongst Western languages in separating "history" from "story".)[572] As Camilla Nelson sympathetically argues, *The Secret River* "steps into a politically loaded area of history and poses a question that has been taken as an affront".[573]

Shortly after the publication of *The Secret River*, Grenville was asked by the ABC's Ramona Koval where she would "slot" her novel in the context of the History Wars. Perhaps feeling euphoric from the novel's critical acclaim, Grenville responded that it

---

[567] K. Grenville, "The Novelist as Barbarian" (14-15 Apr 2006) http://www.nla.gov.au/events/history/papers/Kate_Grenville%20.html (2 Sep 2006).
[568] S. Clarke, "Wading into the deep waters of history" (7 Oct 2006) pp12-13.
[569] K. Grenville, *Searching for the Secret River* (2006) p165.
[570] K. Grenville, *Searching for the Secret River* (2006) p162.
[571] K. Grenville, *Searching for the Secret River* (2006) p154.
[572] For example, the German *Geshichte* serves for history and story; see A. Miller, "Truth in Fiction and History" (30 Nov 2006) http://www.rage.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2006/1800785.htm (16 Dec 2006).
[573] C. Nelson, "Faking it" (Oct 2007) http://www.textjournal.com.au/oct07/nelson.htm (8 May 2008).

would be "up on a ladder, looking down…[while the historians are] doing their thing, but let me as a novelist come to it in a different way, which is the way of empathising and imaginative understanding…" [574]

Grenville has subsequently claimed that she was edited out of context.[575] Nonetheless, intentionally or not, she added to and, indeed, confirmed the Story Wars because she was popularly seen to have scored (the sporting metaphor is Grenville's) against the likes of McKenna and his academic colleagues. McKenna stepped forward to champion the cause of historians with articles like "Writing the Past"[576] and "Comfort History"[577] while Stella Clarke, playing for literary fiction, retaliated with "Havoc in History House".[578] With her metaphors shifting to those of a culture war, Grenville then offered terms of peace to writers of history and fiction in her conference paper on history and "new" narratives, "The Novelist as Barbarian" (2006).[579] While cognisant of the moral that "'Getting it right means you can't make it up'", Grenville proclaims:

> What we're after, of course, is stories, and we know that history is bulging with beauties. Having found them, we then proceed to fiddle with them to make them the way we want them to be, rather than the way they really were. We get it wrong, wilfully and knowingly.[580]

"Stories, even history," she continues, "have an agenda". Grenville then declares herself a lucky "custodian" as a story-teller of history with "an agenda". Importantly, she notes that history leaves "areas for speculation" which, in turn, open spaces for fiction. In memoriam to the historiography of Manning Clark, her "epiphany", the historical fiction writer denounces "a mask of objectivity'" and trumpets the "shamelessly personal" as the device for putting "the 'story' back into 'history'". This has led her to rethink "my usual smash-and-grab raid on history…[because the] justification for doing this has always been that, in distorting the details of 'real'

---

[574] R. Koval, "Kate Grenville" (17 Jul 2005) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/arts/bwriting/stories/s1414510.htm (8 Jan 2006).
[575] K. Grenville, "History and Fiction" (Jan 2007) http://www.users.bigpond.com/kgrenville/TSR/history_and_fiction.html (8 May 2008).
[576] M. McKenna, "Writing the Past" (1 Dec 2005) http://www.humanitieswritingproject.net.au/mckenna.htm (4 Mar 2006).
[577] M. McKenna, "Comfort History" (18-19 Mar 2006) p15.
[578] S. Clarke, "Havoc in History House" (4-5 Mar 2006) pp8-9.
[579] K. Grenville, "The Novelist as Barbarian" (14-15 Apr 2006) http://www.nla.gov.au/events/history/papers/Kate_Grenville%20.html (2 Sep 2006).
[580] K. Grenville, "The Novelist as Barbarian" (14-15 Apr 2006) http://www.nla.gov.au/events/history/papers/Kate_Grenville%20.html (2 Sep 2006).

history, I was serving a larger good — giving flesh and form to an idea." The outcome, she considers, is art as philosophy; truth as something greater than facts.

Grenville's gesture with the proverbial olive branch was rebuffed. (While Clarke continued to cheer and jeer from the literary trenches.)[581] Clendinnen, leading the historians back into the fray, charged into the Story Wars with no less than a seventy two page article aimed exactly at Grenville's claim to be a "custodian" of history, or at least of the "truth" in history.[582]

Fighting from the archival bunker

In her "The History Question: Who Owns the Past?",[583] Clendinnen first marks out the History Wars as the theatre of contest and then challenges Grenville's claim for fiction writers as custodians of history, or even of the story in history, which Clendinnen simply calls "the past". This sparked a flurry of rejoinders from Grenville[584] as well academic historians Anna Clark, Alan Atkinson, John Hirst, Geoffrey Bolton, Mark McKenna, James Bradley and Clendinnen (twice).[585] This area of contest, this second front, is termed here the Story Wars.

Clendinnen sees the Story Wars as the historians' struggle against fictionalist aggression.[586] The inference can be taken that this is not just a battle of ideas, it is, as Clarke argued above, about institutional and public status.[587] In essence, Clendinnen's argument is that while novelists and literary theory deal with:

> …what humans might be capable [of]. Historians are concerned with what men and women have actually done.[588]

---

[581] S. Clarke, "Wading into the deep waters of history" (7 Oct 2006) pp12-13.
[582] K. Grenville, "The Novelist as Barbarian" (14-15 Apr 2006) http://www.nla.gov.au/events/history/papers/Kate_Grenville%20.html (2 Sep 2006).
[583] I. Clendinnen, "The History Question" (Oct 2006) pp1-72.
[584] K. Grenville, "History and Fiction" (Jan 2007) http://www.users.bigpond.com/kgrenville/TSR/history_and_fiction.html (8 May 2008).
[585] See these responses in "The Question of History – Correspondence", *Quarterly Essay*, No. 24, 2006; and I. Clendinnen, "The Question of History – Response to Correspondence", *Quarterly Essay*, No. 24 & No. 25, 2006.
[586] I. Clendinnen, "The History Question" (Oct 2006) p34.
[587] S. Clarke, "Havoc in History House" (4-5 Mar. 2006) p8.
[588] I. Clendinnen (Oct 2006) p31.

Humans are story-telling animals. (She was later to elaborate on humans as "the only story-trading animal…'homo narrator'".[589] This echoes Swift's *Waterland* and the difference between humans as *Homo historia* and *Homo fabula*, discussed below.)[590] "They make stories in part because they need experience, their own and others, to be processed into a consultable form."[591] The enemy is sighted soon after the Story Wars are contextualised. The deceit against historians, against the truth of the past, is "Applied Empathy", especially the type employed by novelists. "Grenville's claim to 'know' with *equal certainty* both what is intimated within the records , and what is beyond it, exposes the gulf between 'doing history' and 'doing fiction'."[592] Clendinnen's assertion is that the gap between narrative types, "my 'ravine' – the gulf between writing imaginative fiction and writing evidence-bound history", is a scientific, artistic, philosophical and moral barrier separating cultures of intellect and spirit.[593] To transgress it, as Grenville does, is a veritable crossing of the Rubicon; it is an aggression which demands retaliation—hence Clendinnen's clarion call to historians. (This "gulf' or "ravine", which Grenville describes as "an invisible line",[594] between "doings" (praxis) is exactly the yawning between evidence and meaning which is investigated here as a figurational tension.)

On this, Clendinnen makes some telling points about the relationship, the "moral contract" constructed by the "truth status",[595] between readers and authors. (This is the Greek *ethos*, discussed below.) Too often, fiction writers exploit or even abuse the good faith of the readership and then fall back on the ruse, "This is a novel, stupid!"[596]

---

[589] I. Clendinnen, "Biography - The Impossible Art?", 9 Nov 2007, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2007/2080177.htm#transcript (6 May 2008).
[590] G. Swift, *Waterland* (1983) p53.
[591] I. Clendinnen, "The History Question" (Oct 2006) p38.
[592] I. Clendinnen, "The History Question" (Oct 2006) p20; see Grenville's response about "empathy" at K. Grenville, "History and Fiction" (Jan 2007) http://www.users.bigpond.com/kgrenville/TSR/history_and_fiction.html (8 May 2008). Also, Grenville is insistent that *The Secret River* is fiction and she is not claiming "that fiction is superior to history".
[593] I. Clendinnen, "The History Question" (Oct 2006) p20.
[594] K. Grenville, "History and Fiction" (Jan 2007) http://www.users.bigpond.com/kgrenville/TSR/history_and_fiction.html (8 May 2008).
[595] I. Clendinnen, "The History Question" (Oct 2006) p34.
[596] I. Clendinnen, "The History Question" (Oct 2006) p31. McKenna calls this the "Dan Brown defence"; see M McKenna (1 Dec 2005). Grenville shares their opinion; K. Grenville, "History and Fiction" (Jan 2007) http://www.users.bigpond.com/kgrenville/TSR/history_and_fiction.html (8 May 2008). See a retort in C. Nelson, "Faking it" (Oct 2007) http://www.textjournal.com.au/oct07/nelson.htm (8 May 2008).

Grenville, in her own word, has "shifted"[597] those a-b-c's of history — persons, places and dates — and then, for Clendinnen, had the temerity to claim she can look down on historians. In another context, it could be seen as Clendinnen's over-reading, yet in the heat of the Story Wars it suggests an agenda, the search for an ideological weapon and, secret or not, like simple stories, something is lost; namely, meaning.

The nub of Clendinnen's objections resides in her use of "truth", all truth, as a synonym for fact or verifiable evidence. Appealing to the literary authority of Henry James in his *The Art of Fiction*, she asserts that "truth inhibits art".[598] Hemingway observes, "good books…are truer than if they had really happened".[599] In other words, good writing, good story-telling, is very true, it is truer than true because it is meta-factually true;[600] its truth is of the moral kind—even though it might develop out of the empirically true; again, the movement from the particular to the universal. Of course, an intellectual rigour must discipline the passion of one's ideological bias. This is what Orwell calls the "moral effort" to guide the "feeling" and "emotional urges" in drawing a story out of the facts and towards a compellingly truthful art.[601]

In this way, as B.J. Fishman says of the discussion of history, story and narrative in Swift's *Waterland*, linear narrative "is able to paint a much more real-seeming [*sic.*] picture of a lost past than 'natural history' [ahistorical or cyclical narrative]".[602] If the story is "realist", or conforms to another genre, which in some way makes sense of reality, it is, as Clendinnen says, in a consultable form.

For history to be important, for historians to be important, they, historians, have to appeal to the premise of a rationalist culture: the notion that scientific truth is important. This is more than the classical endeavour to tell stories of humanity without reference to the gods. History, says R.G. Collingwood, "generically…belongs to what we call the sciences: that is, the forms of thought whereby we ask questions and try to answer

---

[597] K. Grenville, "History and Fiction" (Jan 2007) http://www.users.bigpond.com/kgrenville/TSR/history_and_fiction.html (8 May 2008).
[598] I. Clendinnen, "The History Question" (Oct 2006) p32.
[599] E. Hemingway, "Old Newsman Writes" in *Hemingway: By-Line* (1989) p199.
[600] The tension between fact and fiction is a hallmark of Hemingway's *œuvre*, both in his art and the personal reputation he built of himself: "One part of Hemingway, the reporter, aimed for at least subjective truth, another couldn't resist playing with it as if it were bubblegum." See D. Brian, *The True Gen* (1988) p5.
[601] G. Orwell, "Notes on Nationalism", *Decline of the English Murder and Other Essays* (1965) p179.
[602] B.J. Fishman, "The Nature of History in Waterland" (1989) http://www.scholars.nus.edu.sg/post/uk/gswift/wl/history2.html (7 Jan 2007).

them."[603] Certainly this is an "idea" of history. It is also history as rationalist ideology; the "buzz" in academic history.[604] Historians seek to scientifically explain the past for the present, to prove history. This takes more than evidence. In fact, it takes much more than science. The problem for historians is still the same as for the novelists: not all truth is open to science because not all truth is quantifiable; many truths which historians and novelists must ponder alike are, in part or in whole, unverifiable; the consultableness is through the "instrumentalities of the imagination" in the narrative meaning, in the poetic.[605] The historian is bound to hang meaning from a "hook" of facts, from verifiable evidence, but beyond this the meanings in the truths are drawn from the ether of human experience which historians breathe with the novelists—because both groups inhale the cultural "air". They are engaged with that cliché of both the social sciences and the arts, "insight into our common humanity…what used to be called the human condition".[606]

Miller, even more than Grenville, explains why the Story Wars are, at an intellectual level, phoney wars:

> Myth and legend, what today we call story telling or fiction, and the grand modern discipline of academic history surely serve the same end, which is to enrich our understanding of ourselves and our realities. They serve this end in different ways but in serving it they inform each other in a manner enriching for both.
>
> …
>
> The past is common ground between [the creative writer's] work and the work of the historian…
>
> …
>
> …while I believe there are important differences between history and fiction, I nevertheless believe competition between them to be counterfeit. History and fiction may seem to be sibling rivals for the truth sometimes, but they are essentially complementary in their civilising project.[607]

These two views of the human condition also go some way to explaining why history has a foot in the social sciences and another in the arts. If there is a change of stance

---

[603] R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (1946) p9.
[604] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) p23.
[605] A Miller, "Truth in Fiction and History" (30 Nov 2006) http://www.rage.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2006/1800785.htm (16 Dec 2006).
[606] A. Miller, "Truth in Fiction and History" (30 Nov 2006) http://www.rage.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2006/1800785.htm (16 Dec 2006).
[607] A. Miller, "Truth in Fiction and History" (30 Nov 2006) http://www.rage.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2006/1800785.htm (16 Dec 2006).

then it is, as Clendinnen rightly states, in the understanding with the reader; it is in the literary ethos.

At one end of the agreement (ethos) between historian and reader is the expectation that the historian as a "reliable narrator"[608] will not seek to distort the facts or, as does Manning Clark, speculate beyond reasonable history for the sake of gratuitous artifice.[609] At the other end is the latent power of history in verifiable evidence, a power which can only be profoundly realised through art. This is still to emphasise that history is not merely literature; that historical narrative begins with and is "structured" by its evidence—which includes, as Peter Cochrane states, the initial questions of the research:

> …narrative as analysis or with analysis must be a good story and more. That 'more' is a quiet engagement with the concepts and questions that concern scholars in the field.[610]

A fact of the Story Wars is the continued trend of increased retail sales of nonfiction generally over fiction. Christopher Kremmer, "a sort of lyrical journalist",[611] suggests this is partly attributable to the capacity of the postmodern popular reader to be more inclined to appreciate "complex truths, ambiguities, subtleties and depths."[612] When complemented by the further developments in creative nonfiction following "New Journalism", it gives greater play to the other quality of ethos between the nonfiction author and the reader, literally bringing new meaning to that cliché, truth is stranger than fiction. This boon for nonfiction writing highlights a contradiction, which has always been the at the core of powerful historiography as well as "good" journalism, that some facts are fascinating but not in themselves as such; rather it is their indefinitiveness which catches attention, like the horror in the numbers of war dead, the suffering in unemployment statistics or the range of emotions in birth rates. This is what Suketu Mehta calls "the literature of fact".[613] It is the potential of evidence to

---

[608] M. Mordue, "The Devil Is In The Details" (Apr 2008) p6.
[609] Clendinnen on Clark's *History of Australia* (1962);see P. Adams, "Inga Clendinnen: Who owns the past?" (25 Jan 2007) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/latenightlive/stories/2007/1811812.htm (26 Jan 2007).
[610] P. Cochrane, "Perspective: Colonial Ambition" (31 Jan 2007) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/perspective/stories/2007/1835597.htm (1 Feb 2007).
[611] R. Koval, "Narrative Non-Fiction and Suketu Mehta's Maximum City" (1 Feb 2007) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2007/1837690.htm (1 Feb 2007).
[612] Hear at R. Koval, "Narrative Non-Fiction and Suketu Mehta's Maximum City" (1 Feb 2007) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2007/1837690.htm (1 Feb 2007).
[613] Hear at R. Koval, "Narrative Non-Fiction and Suketu Mehta's Maximum City" (1 Feb 2007) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2007/1837690.htm (1 Feb 2007).

overwhelm mere scientific "explanation"—the assumption that profound meaning can be quantified.

This opens the possibility of resolving another contradiction: the fact, or at least the perception amongst academic historians in Australia,[614] that academic history is falling behind retail sales of fictional history in reverse of the general trend in sales of nonfiction versus fiction. The comments of Cochrane (an academic historian), that traditional historiography is guilty of a hubris — which he explains is a contempt for history as story — is more telling if one keeps in mind this context of the crisis of legitimacy for "the academic history business". Some of the opening lines of his radio lecture are worth quoting both for the immediate issues here and also with respect to the broader argument that the Narrative Wars are forcing an historic change in academic ideology by inducing scholars to seek a new relationship with popular culture; a relationship which is new in its context but not in principle because it entertains a return to "history as a literary form".

> The modern history discipline has generally taken the view that storytelling is not the business of serious scholars…
>
> Perhaps the main reason for this is that specialization in the Discipline has lifted history to a new analytical level...The result is that most academic history is conceptually preoccupied rather than character-driven and character, after all, is central to narrative. Similarly, this concern with up-front analysis has left no room for human drama, or for an interest in history as a literary form —an idea that once, long ago, was strong…
>
> The professional history business, its journals, conferences and even its books, is mostly historians talking to historians, putting method and theory under the 'microscope' of their eagle-eyed scrutiny, disaggregating the field of study into theorised bits, talking the talk, walking the walk.
>
> …

[614] Actual figures for retail book sales are notoriously difficult to obtain as they are subject to a business-in-confidence culture of competition between publishers. The publicly available data, such as Nielsen BookScan, are mostly used as trend indicators; e.g., book sales lists, like those published in the weekend broadsheets, are only relative; e.g., first, second, third, etc., rather than actual retail figures. Also, "BookScan does not pick up sales in most independent bookstores." See N. Hollier, "This Art Business" (Winter 2008) p59. So anecdotal perception figures highly amongst key interest groups like academic historians and authors of fiction.

> …Why does it have to be narrative *OR* analysis? Why can't it be narrative as analysis, or story with the scholarship imperceptibly there? Why can't it be both…?[615]

Creative nonfiction offers academic historians the literary techniques to more forcefully engage public debate and to re-invigorate an allegedly declining authorial status. It can entice a popular readership which is now more insistent that the narrative draws the fullest meaning from the evidence; not just as has been the Rankean tradition to articulate the facts in themselves (the epistemological fetishism of the "conceptually preoccupied"), but, as it were, to tell the facts so that the reader draws a meaning truer than true. Truth is both the beginning and the end of history, because historical truth begins with methodologised evidence and finds a poetical truth which, to turn scientific quantification on its head, means more than the sum of its parts.

Clendinnen's understanding of history is that its "intrinsic purpose is to increase the role of reason and compassion in the world."[616] This is what she calls "My Faith". (It is barely different from Grenville's motives for *The Secret River*.) Whether it is called understanding or faith, it is clearly not just scientific method. This does not mean it should be disavowed. A frank declaration of values can lift the integrity of a narrative because it too is part of the contractual truth status between author and reader. It opens an ideology to positive scepticism and avails itself for other judgements of scientific and/or artistic integrity. No narrative is value-free. All human endeavours are implicitly political. This does not mean that all narratives should be explicitly political; this can degenerate into what Orwell castigates as a tyranny of literature, that gratuitous politicisation as "agitprop" (*агитпроп*)[617] in the worse sense, which he calls "bolshevisation" of art.[618]

The salient issue in the History Wars is the ideological, even political, imperative of any historiography. To be strong in this, it must be informed of its ideological direction; faith is not enough. Ideology, as Marx was intent to prove, must find science;[619] and science is hollow quantification without meaning. It is the application in political praxis

---

[615] P. Cochrane, "Perspective: Colonial Ambition" (31 Jan 2007) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/perspective/stories/2007/1835597.htm (1 Feb 2007).
[616] I. Clendinnen, "The History Question" (Oct 2006) p37.
[617] A contraction of "agitation and propaganda" from the USSR Department of Agitation and Propaganda.
[618] G. Orwell, "Review of 'Tropic of Cancer' by Henry Miller", *George Orwell: An Age Like This, 1920-1940 Vol. 1* (2000) pp154-159; on "Kulturbolschevismus" and Orwell, see D. Glover, *Orwell's Australia* (2003) p66.
[619] Roy Bhaskar, "science" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) pp435-437.

which has saved history from the disempowering quietism which is implied in, or at least some infer from, poststructuralism. As Alan Sokal said when he declared, after the ambush in the "Science Wars",[620] an ideological intent for his controversial and telling parody of deconstructionist relativism in the "*Social Text* affair":[621]

> But why did I do it? I confess that I'm an unabashed Old Leftist who never quite understood how deconstruction was supposed to help the working class.[622]

Truth can still be objective (though poststructuralism has cleaved it away from the absolute) yet no science, not even physics, escapes ideology. So there are subjects like "science studies", seeking a sociological analysis of science in an historio-ideological context. If history changes the present it is because it changes the meaning of the past. And it is politics which changes the past because it changes the present. This is not just about the "politics of memory",[623] it is also, as Elazar Brakan notes, about the problem of narrative or "new stories":

> History changes who we were, not just who we are. In this sense history has become a crucial field for political struggle…For a new history to become more than a partisan 'extremist' story, the narrative often has to persuade not only the members of the group that will 'benefit' from the new interpretation but also their 'others', those whose own history will presumably be 'diminished' or 'tainted' by the new stories.[624]

The new story here is history, which is therefore also a scientific narrative. Marx's point on this is that rigorous science can make for a liberating politics. Putting a scientific claim to truth also puts an ideology to proof. Science, as the "realists" like Sokal were keen to demonstrate, can still play a role in overcoming the quietism, or even cynical nihilism, which some infer from postmodern scepticism of claims to truth. The

---

[620] The Science Wars were an ideological struggle in the 1990s between "postmodernists" and "realists" about "objectivity" in science.

[621] Sokal lured the editors of *Social Text* into publishing an article which parodied the editor's very reason for publishing his article; that is, (postmodernist) academic jargon. See A. Sokal, "Transgressing the Boundaries" (Spring-Summer 1996) http://www.physics.nyu.edu/faculty/sokal/transgress_v2/transgress_v2_singlefile.html (15 Dec 2006). This is also an unwitting echo of the great Australian literary hoax of the "Ern Malley poems", written by James McAuley and Harold Stewart, as a parody of late modernist poetry and published, because the poems seemed so very modernist, in 1944 by Max Harris in *Angry Penguins*; see M Heyward, *The Ern Malley Affair* (1993), and S. Harris, "Ern Malley" (2003) http://www.ernmalley.com/ (26 Dec 2006).

[622] A. Sokal, "Transgressing the Boundaries" (Fall 1996) http://www.physics.nyu.edu/faculty/sokal/afterword_v1a/afterword_v1a_singlefile.html (15 Dec 2006).

[623]

[624] E. Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations* (2000) px.

sociologist Bruno Latour even admits to a crisis of confidence for his role in science studies.

> …While we spent years trying to detect the real prejudices hidden behind the appearance of objective statements, do we have now to reveal the real objective and incontrovertible facts hidden behind the *illusion* of prejudices?...
>
> …
>
> …Is this not what criticism intended to say: that there is no sure ground anyway? But what does it mean, when this lack of sure ground is taken out from us by the worst possible fellows as an argument against things we cherished?[625]

This brings to mind the Platonist jibe against poststructuralism that nothing is as it seems, it seems. Yet the answer here to Latour's concerns about gratuitous scepticism which allows a space for cynical untruth (myth, lies, doublespeak, doublethink, newspeak, weasel words, poliwaffle, etc.)[626] as a reflex of endless and seemingly pointless "criticism" is that science still has a positive role to unveil "the illusion of prejudices". This is not diminished if one recognises that science functions for and as ideology, that science is informed by non-scientific value (meaning); on the contrary, this recognition can strengthen science. For *Radical Tasmania*, it is the declaration of an ideology as a cause for historical analysis.

To return to Clendinnen on history as politics and her reference to what she calls E.P. Thompson's "'light on the hill' passage amongst historians", and then to locate her discussion within the History Wars in Australia, she quotes the local historian who has never shirked the political potency of his narrative, the unapologetic black armband, Henry Reynolds:

---

[625] B. Latour, "Why Has Critique Run Out of Steam?" (2004) http://criticalinquiry.uchicago.edu/issues/v30/30n2.Latour.html (10 March 2007).

[626] G. Orwell "Politics and the English Language" (1962) pp143-58; also see D. Watson, *Death Sentence* (2003) and his *Watson's Dictionary of Weasel Words* (2004). Please note that the word "doublespeak" is often incorrectly attributed to Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. However, he did coin "newspeak", "oldspeak", and "doublethink" which, in the context of his fictional dystopia, were "deliberately constructed for political purposes: words, that is to say, which not only had in every case a political implication, but were intended to impose a desirable mental attitude upon the person using them." See G. Orwell, "Appendix: The Principles of Newspeak", "*Nineteen Eighty-Four*", *The Penguin Complete Novels of George Orwell* (1983) p919.

> The work of the historian cannot be sealed off from the community…History should not only be relevant but politically utilitarian…It should aim to right old injustices, to discriminate in favour of the oppressed, to actively rally to the cause of liberation.[627]

Reynolds also argues that history's goal "is not to condemn or to praise but to understand…[and] those lacking the anchor of complete moral certainty will find themselves uneasily adrift between the two."[628] This is not a declaration of faith, it is a vocational calling for science. Reynolds does not care for history as literary trope and, in this sense, can be seen to be on the "ladder" looking down at both sides of the Story Wars when as he later says, "events outside the academy re-affirm the moral authority and political potency of history".[629] He rejects poststructuralism, even postmodernist ideology in general, the "theoreticians" who are "circling…traditional history",[630] and refers to the struggle of historians fighting under the censorship and myth-making of eastern Europe under Communism and to the liberating qualities of historical truth in the politics of the defeat of Stalinism.[631] Orwell, no doubt, would sigh with relief.

"Who owns the past?" asks Clendinnen. "In a free society, everyone."[632] Orwell might have answered differently: Who owns the past owns the future: who owns the present owns the past.[633] It should not be surprising that liberals, like Clendinnen, contextualise questions of history as a function of property, even property in "preserve".[634] It necessitates the enquiry as to whether radical history can challenge this appropriation of history as a possession; more so, it raises the possibility that history is most challenged by those who make but do not "own" history.

---

[627] Quoted at I. Clendinnen, "The History Question" (Oct 2006) p56. Reynolds is slightly misquoted by Clendinnen; for the original statement in its full context, see H. Reynolds (1978) pp52-64. Clendinnen has probably sourced the quotation from McKenna; see M. McKenna, *Looking For Blackfellas' Point* (2002) p46.
[628] H. Reynolds (1976) pp19-21.
[629] H. Reynolds, "The Public Role of History" (14-15 Apr 2006) http://www.nla.gov.au/events/history/papers/Henry_Reynolds.html (22 Oct 2006).
[630] H. Reynolds, "The Public Role of History" (14-15 Apr 2006) http://www.nla.gov.au/events/history/papers/Henry_Reynolds.html (22 Oct 2006).
[631] Hear Reynolds responding to questions from the audience at M. MacCullum, "The Victors Write the History" (2006) http://www.abc.net.au/northcoast/stories/s1706811.htm (27 Sep 2006).
[632] I. Clendinnen, "The History Question" (Oct 2006) p65.
[633] "'Who controls the past,' ran the Party slogan, 'controls the future: who controls the present controls the past.'"; see G. Orwell, Pt. 1, Ch. 3, *1984* (2003) http://www.george-orwell.org/1984/2.html (15 Nov 2006).
[634] "Given the power of stories, historians must be on constant alert regarding their uses, because, like their cousins the archaeologists, their obligation is to preserve the past in its least corrupted form." See I. Clendinnen, "The History Question" (Oct 2006) p65.

Radical history for a "vulgar" readership

Political history with political intent delineates history from below in a tradition from at least Marx and Engels and then, in the Anglophonic tradition, the British Communist Party Historians Group (including Christopher Hill, Eric Hobsbawm, Raphael Samuel, A.L. Morton and E.P. Thompson, etc.),[635] to, here in Australia, the "Old Left" (such as Brian Fitzpatrick, Russel Ward, Vance Palmer and Robin Gollan, etc.). Today, there are the historians of class, gender, sexuality, ecology, ethnicity and a host of issues, movements and identities; with Australia's black armbands as both the salient example and target in the History Wars. It could be said that without this type of history, that is radical history, there would be no History Wars because they are an expression of the impeachment of cultural hegemony by not just a history from below but also by a politics from below. In this sense, history and politics are the two edges to the defiant sword of an empathetic representation of otherness.

The weapon of choice of the opposing combatants, the ideologues of reaction , is the politics of fear and loathing.[636] But to define the right wing, the anti-other, as just fear and loathing would be an oversimplification. Dominant groups have forever exhibited a panoply of cunningly engineered technologies of power; for example, modern "biopower".[637] Like Hegel's "Master-Slave dialectic" (*Herrschaft und Knechtschaft*),[638] the dominant and the dominated (object-subject) define existence for each. So *Radical Tasmania* includes persons and groups of reaction as antagonists in its histories.

E.P. Thomson, "exploiting the terrain" of radical histories,[639] has it that:

> Radical history demands the most exacting standards of the historical discipline. Radical history must be good history. It must be as good as history can be.[640]

---

[635] For a list of radical historians who influenced E.P. Thompson, see his "Agenda for a Radical History" (Winter 1995) p301.
[636] See below for a discussion of Hunter S. Thompson's use of the term "fear and loathing".
[637] Biopower is a term propagated by Foucault (*The History of Sexuality: The Will To Knowledge*, 1976) to describe (state) regulation through numerously developing (rationalist) technologies for the regulation of "a population". (Some critics see it as a linguistic obfuscation of the concept of cultural hegemony.) It is often used to describe a discourse of governance, medicine and sexuality; for example, see the "biopolitical" struggle around HIV/AIDS, homophobia and the role of politicians, churches and the police in "Coming Out, Speaking Out and Marching Out" in *The Selected Histories*. Biopower here is not to be confused with the commercial application as a brand of "biofuel".
[638] G.W.F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (1807), variously translated into English as *The Phenomenology of Spirit* or *The Phenomenology of Mind*.
[639] "I'm sorry for the military imagery"; see E.P. Thompson, "Agenda for a Radical History" (Winter 1995) p301.

This begs the question, why should any history be less than "good"? Yet, to be fair, Thompson is anticipating the probability that histories which challenge, especially from below (radical histories), are themselves going to be very challenged. "I have nothing else to say except that our radical impulses are really hemmed in in many ways. [*sic.*]" (*sic.*)[641] This is both in the sense of the difficulty of topics of challenge which cut across the grain of the power relations upholding the values of a social norm and, because any social power will always try to defend itself, that the potential usurper will be met with an array of social, cultural, political and intellectual technologies. For this reason, as Thompson says, radical history must be as good as it can be, it must be very disciplined—in the scientific sense.

Yet good history for *Radical Tasmania* means more. It means that scientific discipline is not enough (witness the frustration of the black armbands); a persuasive history, even more so in this era of the rise of "public history", must be ideological in its fullest sense. To conflate Marx with Hemingway, a history must be "in our time".[642] Its epistemology must find meaning in the value needs of a present social identity; more so when this identity is the norm's other, opposed to the socially sanctioned and therefore "abnormal" and possibly, potentially radical. In any struggle for democracy ("counter-hegemonic struggle"),[643] good history is therefore vulgar history. (This should not be confused with Marx's criticisms of "vulgar economics".)[644] This is historiography in the sense of articulating the historic needs of a "common people" (*menu peuple*)[645] in a

---

[640] E.P Thompson, "Agenda for a Radical History" (Winter 1995) p304; see also quoted by I. Clendinnen, "History Here" (15 Oct 2003) http://www.arts.nsw.gov.au/awards/HistoryAwards/2003Hist/2003awards.htm#address (19 Jan 2007)..

[641] E.P Thompson, "Agenda for a Radical History" (Winter 1995) p304.

[642] This is the title of Hemingway's collection of short stories which explore his classic theme of violence as existential struggle; the title is ironic as it comes from the Church of England's *Book of Common Prayer* (1549): "give us peace in our time, O Lord". Hemingway first used the lower case title *in our time* (1924) and then added further stories to publish *In Our Time* (1925).

[643] K. Weekley, "The Clever Principle of Similar Difference" (Winter 2008) p6.

[644] Marx uses the phrase "vulgar economy" to describe an "apologetic" development in political economy, "the knell of scientific bourgeois economy." See K. Marx, "Afterword to the Second German Edition" in *Capital Vol. I* (1999) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/p3.htm (1 Feb 2007); N.B., this is sometimes referenced as the "Preface". See also M. Desai, "vulgar economics" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p516. The gist of Marx here is that the descriptor "vulgar" is used to indicate ideologically driven "science" as not just self-serving yet also as a "barbaric" false-consciousness or a regressive thought system and a self-referencing tautology; "barbarism" is also a term used in the Marxist tradition to connote a disruption of moral imperatives in the context of an abandonment or reversal of the Enlightenment "project". See Eric Hobsbawm's "Barbarism: A User's Guide" (1994), especially pp253-254, in E. Hobsbawm, *On History* (1997) pp253-265. In contradistinction, see *philobarbaros* (discussed below) at A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *What Is History?* (2006) p17.

[645] G. Rudé, *Revolutionary Europe 1783-1815* (1964) p335.

"vernacular" which self-consciously "offends" the ideological sensibilities of an anti-democratic power. For example, it is, in part, the voice of "popular culture" struggling to be heard against "high culture"; the corruption of the former through capitalist ownership of the "popular media" aside. It is not the conflict of common sense (the belief that perceptions are the truth of a fixed reality) against philosophical scepticism (nothing is what it seems). Rather, it is the Gramscian notion of finding the popular wisdom in common sense and transforming it into the meaning of an irresistible truth.[646]

As also previously mentioned, *Radical Tasmania* is inspired, in part, by the *Radical* series so far published by Vulgar Press: *Radical Melbourne* (2001) for the years 1836 to 1939, *Radical Melbourne 2* (2004) for post-1930, both by Jeff Sparrow and Jill Sparrow,[647] and *Radical Brisbane* (2004) for the years 1830 to the new millennium, edited by Raymond Evans and Carole Ferrier. *Radical Sydney*, by Terry Irving and Rowan Cahill**,** is planned for publication in the near future.

The first of the publications, *Radical Melbourne* (2001) took its inspiration from the tours of political history around Melbourne co-ordinated by Mick Armstrong.[648] It has been the most successful of the *Radical* series to date and has achieved several print-runs. As its narrative style was a primary focus of its authors, it behoves this analysis to consider the literary artistry in the context of its targeted readership and especially as a function of its political aspirations. While the Sparrows have not declared their historiography as creative nonfiction, they do make it clear that they rejected an "academic history" for their narration.[649] Furthermore, to engage their initially intended readership, "young radicals [who] need to acquaint themselves with the victories and defeats of [the] past",[650] they "workshopped great slabs of the book" in Di Websdale-Morrisey's nonfiction classes at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology. As well, in pursuit of scientific integrity, they turned their manuscript over to professional historians, including Professor Stuart Macintyre at the University of Melbourne.[651]

---

[646] K. Weekley, "The Clever Principle of Similar Difference" (Winter 2008) p9; common sense perception as bourgeois perception is also discussed in reference to Roland Barthes in B. Musgrove, "States of Emergency" (Winter 2008) p65.
[647] The Sparrows discuss *Radical Melbourne* at S. Sellers, "Enemies Within" (4 Jun 2004) http://www.sleepybrain.net/enemies-within-jill-jeff-sparrow/ (15 Nov 2005).
[648] See "Acknowledgements" in J. Sparrow & J. Sparrow, *Radical Melbourne* (2001) p9.
[649] J. Sparrow & J. Sparrow, *Radical Melbourne* (2001) p16.
[650] J. Sparrow & J. Sparrow, *Radical Melbourne* (2001) p16.
[651] See "Acknowledgements" in J. Sparrow & J. Sparrow, *Radical Melbourne* (2001) p9.

Jeff Sparrow is keen to make it clear that *Radical Melbourne* began not so much as a question of history but as a project for politics.[652] Both his and his sister's commitment to Socialist Alternative brought them to envisage a history of radicals in Melbourne as a programme of political education for party comrades in the first instance, and, in the second instance, generally for left activists throughout the metropolis. To some degree, Sparrow expresses a dissatisfaction about this because *Radical Melbourne* has not tangibly increased the recruitment of socialists. Nonetheless, the success of the titles in retail sales, in spite of their being distributed by a small publisher with limited marketing clout, does indicate a demand for radical histories. This is partly an outcome of the fact that the Sparrows considered, after the politics, that their endeavours had to focus primarily on their literary art for the narrative rather than on the usual epistemological problems which are the obsession of many (academic) historians.

Another point about *Radical Tasmania* and its pursuit of a vulgar readership for democratic politics is that this is by no means a fetishism of "the people". Just as some "radicals" can be exposed as little more than activists for a misplaced utopianism, politics which has the conviction of its own opinion but not the scientific understanding of its historical limits, so too can the rhetoric of a "democratic" ideology be a cry of faith rather than the rigour of applied science. *Radical Tasmania* does not pursue a vulgar or popular readership for its own sake, for a reified democratic sentimentalism—an "object phantom" of a political "thingification";[653] as though an ideal proceeds independently of concrete reality and that populism is the demiurges of social power.[654] It also means that the art in the articulation of a political historiography does itself put to proof, albeit only in part, the very politics of those ideas; the realisation of theory into practice (praxis) is also the realisation of science into art.

---

[652] J. Sparrow, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (8 Nov 2006); Jeff Sparrow is currently editor of *Overland*, a major periodical of the left in Australia's History Wars.
[653] Meant here as a broad cultural, rather than a specific economic, reification (*verdinglichung*).
[654] G. Petrović, "reification" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) pp411-413. This is also a reference to Marx's overturning of Hegel's dialectics (quoted below in the main text); see K. Marx, "Afterword to the Second German Edition" in *Capital Vol. I* (1999) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/p3.htm (1 Feb 2007); N.B., this is sometimes referenced as the "Preface".

Literary Theory, Politics and Marxism

As creative nonfiction seeks the reader's imagination (Grenville's "empathising and imaginative understanding")[655] while maintaining scientific integrity, so it is that historiography needs creative nonfiction. It is the explication of this to which this analysis now turns.

Tony Bennett argues that "…Science, Ideology and Art [are] the holy trinity of the superstructure which, in Marxist discourse, has too often served in the place of philosophy's triad of logic, ethics and aesthetics."[656] It is not clear which Marxists Bennett has in mind, nonetheless, it will be argued that a detailed consideration of the role of art in Marx's science can reconfigure the function of ideology for the political praxis which was the goal of his public life. It is still as relevant to politics today as it was in the nineteenth century. Rather than substitute for philosophy, it complements philosophy; after all, political praxis is hollow without philosophy.

For someone who once considered a life lecturing in philosophy and who would later spend so much time in the Reading Room of the British Museum, Marx was surprisingly anti-academic.[657] On a positive note, this clearly flowered into his famous "Thesis 11" on Ludwig Feuerbach. This then oriented the essential narrative of his voluminous *Capital* (1867).[658] The problem which came to concern Marx so much and which, belatedly, biographers have just begun to research, is that (scientific) knowledge is not enough to change the world for the better.[659] The scientist has to become the engineer; the social theorist has to engage with politics and, as the maxim has it, politics is an art.[660] This is more than intoning the wrath of ancient prophets.[661] To wield his pen as the proverbial "sword", Marx practiced the art, as Francis Wheen argues, of the

---

[655] See K. Grenville at R. Koval, "Kate Grenville" (17 Jul 2005) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/arts/bwriting/stories/s1414510.htm (8 Jan 2006).
[656] T. Bennett, *Outside Literature* (1990) p143.
[657] K. Marx, "Letter from Marx to Arnold Ruge in Dresden" (n.d.) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1842/letters/42_03_20.htm (14 May 2007); also see this discussed in F. Wheen, *Marx's Das Kapital* (2006) p11.
[658] F. Wheen, *Marx's Das Kapital* (2006) p13.
[659] "It was to the systematic undoing of loss [alienation] that Marx dedicated his entire life." See P. Stallybrass, "Marx's Coat" (1998) p199.
[660] Politics "is an 'aesthetic' — or *is* an aesthetic practice"; see B. Musgrove, "States of Emergency" (Winter 2008) p64.
[661] "In *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx, the supposedly dispassionate scholar, combined political-economic theory with the wrath of an Old Testament prophet." See S. Barer, *The Doctors of Revolution* (2000). p1040.

"modernist *avant la lettre*".[662] Other biographers have also discovered the ambitious literary experiments of Marx from his student days,[663] which were then abandoned as he sought a role on the public stage beyond that of a "minor poet".[664] While he had put his poetry behind him, he retained what at high school had been described by his history teacher as Marx's "desire for rare and imaginative expressions".[665] In welding literary device to philosophy is the inception, as David McLellan cautiously notes, of Marx's first move to the pursuit of the "unity of theory and practise", where abstract ideas are seen as practical problems and not just as theoretical concerns.[666]

To sketch Marx's artistic inspiration, Siegbert Prawer has filled a 450-page book entirely with notes on Marx's literary references.[667] Writing between Siegbert's and Wheen's literary analyses of Marx, other literary theorists began to explore the possibility that art is a key to Marx's economics and politics. Concerned with the "literary representation" of economics and history,[668] Matthew Rowlinson employs Dickensian metaphor to critique Marx's explanation of the cycles of capital in an essay tellingly titled, "Reading Capital with Little Nell" (1996).[669] Peter Stallybrass, partly inspired by conversations with Rowlinson,[670] also argues that Marx's revolutionary economics is better evaluated with the helping hand of the arts, except that he goes much further in turning about Marx's metaphorical devices and draws the poetics down into simple prose, as though reversing Marx's famously ironic observation that under capitalism "all that is solid melts into air".[671] Stallybrass's critically lauded essay, "Marx's Coat" (1998), explains "one of Marx's least-understood jokes" for the latter's polemical critique of capitalism. [672] Rather than delve into dry economics, Stallybrass

---

[662] F. Wheen, *Marx's Das Kapital* (2006) p11. For a brief summation of Marx's literary tastes from his daughter, see E. Marx-Aveling, "Biographical Notes on Marx's Literary Interests" (2007) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/bio/marx/eleanor-literature.htm(16 Jan 2009).
[663] F. Wheen, *Marx's Das Kapital* (2006) p9; also see interview with Sam Stark (author of "The Violet Notebook", *The Believer*, Feb 2008) at R. Koval, "The Literary Karl Marx" (6 May 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2008/2235597.htm (1 Jun 2008).
[664] Heinrich Marx to Karl Marx (1836); see D. McLellan, *Karl Marx* (1973) p18.
[665] Hugo Wyttenbach, comment on Marx's essay, "Reflections of a Young Man on the Choice of a Career", Frederick William High School (1835); see D. McLellan, *Karl Marx* (1973) p14.
[666] D. McLellan, *Karl Marx* (1973) pp13-14.
[667] S. Prawer, *Karl Marx and World Literature* (1976); see F. Wheen, *Marx's Das Kapital* (2006) p74.
[668] M. Rowlinson, "Matthew Rowlinson" (Oct 2007) http://www.uwo.ca/english/site/fcltypgs/rowlinsm_1.html (15 Jan 2008).
[669] M. Rowlinson, "Reading Capital with Little Nell" (Fall 1996) pp347-380.
[670] P. Stallybrass, "Marx's Coat" (1998) p203.
[671] "All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind." See K. Marx & F. Engels, "Bourgeois and Proletarians", *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* (2004) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/index.htm (26 Feb 2006).
[672] P. Stallybrass, "Marx's Coat" (1998) p184.

speaks of the tragedy and farce,[673] which Marx found in "vampire-like" capitalism,[674] by unpicking the metaphor of Marx's coat. This is Stallybrass's pun on his own interests in literature and clothes.[675] Therefore profound irony is entwined through an artful dialectic of meaning and necessarily a contrariness of emotion. "The contradictory moods of Marx's *Capital* are an attempt to capture the contradictoriness of capitalism itself…" Stallybrass's academic background is not in economics or philosophy (the stuff of so much western Marxism), it is in the history of "material texts" (books, clothes and other cultural technologies) at a department of English.[676] It is his literary training, and especially his eye for metaphor, which does so much to eloquently explain what so many have only half-gleaned through convoluted economic formulae: the fetishism of commodities as the supra-sensible "immateriality"[677] in "the most abstract society that has ever existed".[678]

As Wheen later elaborates, the allegedly knotty problems of capitalist economics are concisely accounted in Marx's pithy lectures on the subject as "Value, Price and Profit" (1865).[679] His problem in writing *Capital* was how to explain a social system which is as infuriating as it is powerful, as inane as it is irresistible, as strident as it is crisis-ridden and, critically, refracts the appearance of its power relations. Marx then had to present his findings in such a way as to move his readers onto the political arena of revolution. In contrast to, say, Lenin, whose prose style hacks through to the issues like the cold steel of an intellectual "sabre", Marx aspired to be, as Wheen describes him, a "poet of the dialectic".[680]

In Marx's daunting (and unfinished) *magnum opus*, Wheen finds the artistic devices of a vast Gothic novel, Victorian melodrama, black farce, Greek tragedy, satirical utopia, William Shakespeare, Charles Dickens, Honoré de Balzac and "certainly the greatest ironist since [Jonathan] Swift".[681]

---

[673] Stallybrass here is referring directly to "the decline from tragedy to farce" in Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852), nonetheless it is also applicable to Marx's *Capital* and other writings; see P. Stallybrass, "Marx's Coat" (1998) p190.
[674] P. Stallybrass, "Marx's Coat" (1998) p183.
[675] P. Stallybrass, "Peter Stallybrass" (Oct 2007) http://www.english.upenn.edu/People/Faculty/profile.php?pennkey=pstally (14 Jan 2007).
[676] P. Stallybrass, "Peter Stallybrass" (Oct 2007) http://www.english.upenn.edu/People/Faculty/profile.php?pennkey=pstally (14 Jan 2007).
[677] P. Stallybrass, "Marx's Coat" (1998) p184.
[678] P. Stallybrass, "Marx's Coat" (1998) p183.
[679] This was delivered in two lectures to the Working Man's Association, London, June 1865.
[680] F. Wheen, *Marx's Das Kapital* (2006) p5.
[681] F. Wheen, *Marx's Das Kapital* (2006) pp75-76.

> [Marx's] famous account of dislocation in the *Communist Manifesto* – 'all that is solid melts into air' – prefigures the hollow men and the unreal city depicted by T.S. Eliot, or Yeats's 'Things fall apart, the centre cannot hold.'[682] By the time he wrote *Das Kapital* [*Capital*], he was pushing out beyond conventional prose into radical literary collage—juxtaposing voices and quotations from mythology and literature, from factory inspectors' reports and fairy tales, in the manner of Ezra Pound's *Cantos* or Eliot's *The Waste Land*. *Das Kapital* is as discordant as Schoenberg, as nightmarish as Kafka.[683]

Marx is acutely aware that in science, as Plato would have it, "nothing is as it seems" (*Timaeus-Critias*, c360BC). Scientific truth is paradox. So, for instance in a lecture for workers, Marx explains that his theory of "surplus value" (capitalist profit):

> **…**seems paradox and contrary to every-day observation. It is also paradox that the earth moves round the sun, and that water consists of two highly inflammable gases. Scientific truth is always paradox, if judged by every-day experience, which catches only the delusive appearance of things.[684]

So to narrate paradoxical truth as both cause and consequence, to tell the story of dramatic human conflict with profound meaning, it is poets and novelists rather than philosophers and economists which, according to Wheen, lend Marx insight.[685]

> Like *Tristram Shandy*, *Das Kapital* is full of paradoxes and hypotheses, abstruse explanations and whimsical tomfoolery, fractured narratives and curious oddities. How else could [Marx] do justice to the mysterious and often topsy-turvy logic of capitalism?[686]

Drawing on the Mexican Marxist critic, Ludovico Silva, Wheen insists that Marx has to reach for metaphor, "as a transfer to argue that capitalism itself is a metaphor, an alienating process which displaces life from subject to object, from use-value to exchange-value, from the human to the monstrous…it is the only appropriate language in which to express 'the delusive nature of things'…".[687] To describe this symbiosis of art with science, a symbiosis with a political purpose uppermost in Marx's mind, Wheen

---

[682] "Turning and turning in the widening gyre/ The falcon cannot hear the falconer/ Things fall apart, the centre cannot hold/ Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world." See W.B. Yeats, "The Second Coming" (1921) in A. Allison, *et al.*, *The Norton Anthology of Poetry* (1983) p883.
[683] F. Wheen, *Marx's Das Kapital* (2006) p4.
[684] K. Marx, "VI. Value and Labour" in *Value, Price and Profit* (1995) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1865/value-price-profit/ch02.htm (15 May 2007).
[685] F. Wheen, *Marx's Das Kapital* (2006) p5.
[686] F. Wheen, *Marx's Das Kapital* (2006) p42.
[687] F. Wheen, *Marx's Das Kapital* (20060 pp80-81.

borrows the phrase "ontological enterprise"; more, he claims for *Capital* an ontological enterprise *sui generis*.[688] So too, with respect for Marx's art, does *Radical Tasmania* aspire to an ontological enterprise.

Figurational Tension: Narrating Literary "Flesh" onto Evidential "Bones"

Before the postmodern turn in the History Wars, the conservative and anti-Marxist Geoffrey Elton, in his subsequently often referenced defence of historical empiricism, *The Practice of History* (1967), conceded that "the application of the informed standards of [historical] probability" is also dependent on "imaginative reconstruction and interpretation".[689] While Elton was keen to champion the cause of traditional historical method, it can be inferred from his comment here and from his impulse to engage in ideological battle with the likes of Carr and the latter's *What Is History?* that he feared the tide was turning against the influences of Ranke.

As it developed, part of the History Wars is a bemoaning of the decline of Rankean "scientific" history. For example in Australia, this can be read in Windschuttle's carping against postmodern "relativism", especially in his *The Killing of History* (where Windschuttle also declares his allegiance to Elton's empiricism)[690] and his tirades against oral history,[691] as well as Howard's public attack on history which "has succumbed to a postmodern culture of relativism" (discussed above).[692] Yet the debate on history as science or art has itself a long history. Carr (to Elton's chagrin in the 1960s) had already impugned Ranke and "objective" history decades before the "counter-history"[693] of today's right sought to uphold historiography as essentially a science.

---

[688] F. Wheen, *Marx's Das Kapital* (2006) p81.
[689] G.R. Elton, *The Practice of History* (2002.) pp76-77.
[690] K. Windschuttle. *The Killing of History* (1994) p223.
[691] K. Windschuttle, "Doctored evidence and invented incidents in Aboriginal historiography" (2005) http://www.sydneyline.com/National%20Museum%20Frontier%20Conflict.htm (27 May 2007); also discussed by Windschuttle with Michael Duffy on radio, 24 Apr 2006, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/counterpoint/stories/2006/1619101.htm (27 May 2007).
[692] J. Howard, "Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Address to the National Press Club" (25 Jan 2006) http://www.pm.gov.au/news/speeches/speech1754.html (6 Feb 2006); see this discussed above in "History Wars as Force".
[693] This is Windschuttle's self-moniker, ironically borrowed from a leftist approbation by Hayden White of Richard Waswo's *The Founding Legend of Western Civilization* (1997); see K. Windschuttle, "The Cultural War on Western Civilization" (2005) http://www.sydneyline.com/War%20on%20Western%20civilization.htm (28 Dec 2007). Windschuttle then lifts the term from White, without acknowledging its left origins, in context of the debate around the

> When Ranke in the 1830s, in legitimate protest against moralizing history, remarked that the task of the historian was 'simply to show how it really was' (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*), this not very profound aphorism had an astonishing success. Three generations of German, British, and even French historians marched into battle intoning the magic words "Wie es eigentlich gewesen" like an incantation – designed, like most incantations, to save them from the tiresome obligation to think for themselves.[694]

In part, when Carr builds on this to then argue that the "historian is necessarily selective" and that "hard core" facts are "a preposterous fallacy" he is pointing to the necessary function of the historian's ideology.[695] He is also, in tandem, anticipating the anxiety about poststructuralism's impeachment of absolutes. The challenges of poststructuralism have been amplified in The History Wars which, in turn, have induced a return to the classic histories by Herodotus and Thucydides. Curthoys and Docker give the classics particular attention in this context in their *Is History Fiction?* (2006).[696] Historiography as literary art, they say, "…is not a discovery of contemporary 'postmodern' literary theory, but is present at the very birth of Western historical writing itself, in the protean figure of Herodotus: a postmodern historian, one might say, *avant la lettre* [before the term existed]".[697] Donald Kelley and David Sacks also insist that since antiquity "the *ars historia* and the *ars poetica* were sister genres".[698]

As though anticipating the thrust of this now regularly referenced work amongst academic historians, Macintyre concisely states a similar position in his critique of Windschuttle's attack on postmodernism and the left in the History Wars, respectively the latter's *The Killing of History* (1994)[699] and *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2002).

> The western historiographical tradition, which goes back at least as far Thucydides, rests on a distinction between truth and myth. It dealt with events that had actually occurred, and it ordered them by means of narrative into a coherent and instructive whole. We might note

---

history of Australian race relations; see K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p3.

[694] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) pp8-9.

[695] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (1964) p8.

[696] See especially their first two chapters, A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006) pp12-49.

[697] A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006) p6.

[698] D. Kelley & D. Sacks, "Introduction", *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain* (1997) p1. They add that in "early modern England…'literature' encompassed history"; see p2.

[699] S. Macintyre, "On 'fabricating' history" (22 Jun 2003) http://evatt.labor.net.au/publications/papers/92.html (3 Jun 2007).

> here already the *tension* that arose in imposing the literary form of the narrative on the flux of human activity, and one branch of historical writing tended to the antiquarian and another to the literary. The two branches coalesced in the eighteenth-century work of Hume and Gibbon, who offered insights into the advance and retrogression of societies that were endowed with the force of art and taught with the authority of the real. [emphasis added][700]

Macintyre, in his brief history of historiography, observes that history was "taken into" academia in the nineteenth century when the likes of Ranke coined his famous phrase in the name of "objective" science. He adds that "the historian collated all the evidence and derived its *meaning*". [emphasis added][701] The cross-disciplinary or "porous" character of history (science and art) is brought to the reader's attention. "The social and literary theorists, whose recent influence Windschuttle decries, were preceded by social scientists, who exerted the dominant influence in the middle decades of the century, and before that litterateurs such as [Thomas] Carlyle and lawyers such as [Frederic William] Maitland, and many others."[702] He too reminds the reader of how much the current debate is an echo of previous concerns of historians. "Long before literary theorists suggested that no text has a fixed and transparent meaning, the philosopher and ancient historian R.G. Collingwood drew attention to the limits of the archival document: it does not give unmediated access to the past, it is simply a trace and to it the historian must bring a *trained imagination*." [emphasis added][703]

Miller asserts, "The real test of whether we have succeeded in our writing, no matter if what we write is history or fiction, is, I believe, not whether we ourselves believe what we have written to be true – though we must also believe this – but whether the people we have written about are able to celebrate in our work the truth they know of themselves."[704] This is a restatement of Hemingway's essentialism about "good books" and truth (elaborated below). Miller's assertion will be explicated in this dissertation to argue that the test of historiography is whether the reader is able to "celebrate", find aesthetic emotion in, a proof of a truth about the past as known in the present; that is,

---

[700] S. Macintyre, "On 'fabricating' history" (22 Jun 2003) http://evatt.labor.net.au/publications/papers/92.html (3 Jun 2007).
[701] S. Macintyre, "On 'fabricating' history" (22 Jun 2003) http://evatt.labor.net.au/publications/papers/92.html (3 Jun 2007).
[702] S. Macintyre, "On 'fabricating' history" (22 Jun 2003) http://evatt.labor.net.au/publications/papers/92.html (3 Jun 2007).
[703] S. Macintyre, "On 'fabricating' history" (22 Jun 2003) http://evatt.labor.net.au/publications/papers/92.html (3 Jun 2007). Macintyre is paraphrasing Collingwood's famous *The Idea of History* (1946).
[704] A. Miller, "Truth in Fiction and History" (30 Nov 2006) http://www.rage.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2006/1800785.htm (16 Dec 2006).

whether the reader is able to locate meaning in the narrative and whether this meaning is bedded in verifiable evidence of the past and is therefore history. Miller continues:

> The distinction history-fiction raises questions that cannot be answered with a direct yes or no without doing violence to private realities. Indeed, such richly elaborate aspects of our culture as history and fiction are reducible to a simplistic separation only at the cost of their richness and the complexity of their astonishing origins.
>
> Few cultural artefacts are more enduring or impressive than story. Reading changes our perceptions of memory and events. For the creative writer, nothing is more certain than that a memory written is a memory whose charge is lost: a bird that has flown, a memory of a memory, a shadow of its former self. After the story, nothing is quite as it was before the story. The story has entered us and we have entered the story.[705]

Left at this, history as a "memory of a memory" is indistinguishable from any other story; it is myth. Yet a "bird" is contextualised in historiography by the fact (proof beyond reasonable doubt) of its existence. That bird of knowledge, Hegel's "owl of Minerva", might spreads its wings only with the falling of the dusk (we understand after the facts), just as, to paraphrase Miller, the shadows lengthen. Yet memory, like this bird, remains in sight. The past is known — because facts establish a centre, an earth — around which meaning is limited, though the past "flies" or moves. Stated without metaphorical image, it is figurational tension which holds literary device and historical proof in the relationship of "richness and complexity", and evidential reference restrains and limits literary device.

As already discussed, this process is what Grenville refers to as putting the "created flesh" on the "bones of research".[706] McKenna argues that artful historiography is that which seeks "to create a dialogue with the archive and with the present because that's where the tension in the writing of history lies."[707] Where Grenville speaks of "the authoritive voice of nonfiction"[708] (though she abandoned her nonfiction project for fiction), McKenna spurns the traditional Rankean narrative in favour of the "personal voice". Paraphrasing the proposition of Curthoys and Docker, McKenna insists that "history can't escape literature because of narrative…it's the very doubleness of history—the space between history as rigorous scrutiny and history as part of the world

[705] A. Miller, "Truth in Fiction and History" (30 Nov 2006) http://www.rage.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2006/1800785.htm (16 Dec 2006).
[706] K. Grenville, *Searching for the Secret River* (2006) p154.
[707] M. McKenna, "Writing the Past" (1 Dec 2005) http://www.humanitieswritingproject.net.au/mckenna.htm (4 Mar 2006).
[708] K. Grenville, *Searching for the Secret River* (2006) p165.

of literary forms—that is actually the secret of history's cunning…as an inventive, self-transforming knowledge."[709] In one sense, this is a restatement of the struggle between literary theory and academic history which has raged since at least the nineteenth century and which brought forth the emphasis on historiography as literary device by White and the subsequent debates around "relativistic postmodernist historiography", the "ruse" of rhetoric over evidence and logic, etc. Yet it is also the recognition that, "Literary history leaves a space, a window through which the reader has the capacity to wonder and to imagine and discover this past for themselves".[710] Because the evidential past is, as McKenna phrases it, "dredged up incomplete", it is this "very incompleteness that gives history its life and its power and its mystery."[711] "Life", "power, "mystery", etc., is that which *Radical Tasmania* posits as the meaning in history; this again is the flesh on the bones, the art growing out of the science. And this is the "body" that heals the "deficit" model of history (the theory that the "gap" in the archival record can only be answered in fiction)[712] because it is the "limits of history" which not only, as Nelson argues, "make writing possible",[713] they make the narrative necessary.

Manning Clark, in his *History of Australia*, is both revered and reviled for his use of an omniscient narrator to add details, for which he does not reference evidence, without a declaration of even authorial speculation; he uses artistic embroidery (fiction) for the aesthetic effect rather than for the scientific assertion of facts alone. Miller applauds the construction of this epistemological ellipsis.[714] (By contrast, Clendinnen and others inclined to traditional historiography are damning.) Miller then looks for another endearing example of "imagination into the blanks" (creative nonfiction) yet with ethos:

> Unlike Clark…Drusilla Modjeska, in her brilliant study of Australian artists Stella Bowen and Grace Cossington Smith, *Stravinsky's Lunch*, alerts us whenever she is unable to know and rather than leave a blank resorts to fiction. In resorting to the technique of fiction, both

[709] M. McKenna, "Writing the Past" (1 Dec 2005) http://www.humanitieswritingproject.net.au/mckenna.htm (4 Mar 2006).
[710] M. McKenna, "Writing the Past" (1 Dec 2005) http://www.humanitieswritingproject.net.au/mckenna.htm (4 Mar 2006).
[711] M. McKenna, "Writing the Past" (1 Dec 2005) http://www.humanitieswritingproject.net.au/mckenna.htm (4 Mar 2006).
[712] Paula Hamilton and the "deficit" model; see C. Nelson, "Faking it" (Oct 2007) http://www.textjournal.com.au/oct07/nelson.htm (8 May 2008).
[713] C. Nelson, "Faking it" (Oct 2007) http://www.textjournal.com.au/oct07/nelson.htm (8 May 2008); as Nelson also argues, the "deficit argument…speaks to a very naturalised theory of history" (or Rankean history).
[714] A Miller, "Truth in Fiction and History" (30 Nov 2006) http://www.rage.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2006/1800785.htm (16 Dec 2006).

> these great Australian writers acknowledge that it will be the nature of the telling rather than the facts that will bring their story to life.[715]

McKenna, confronting the awkward reputation of Clark, whose "work is not seen as a reliable historical account",[716] still finds in Clark's historiography "higher truths"[717] because, for Clark, "history needed to be much more than an empirical or scientific endeavour: it also needed to be spiritual, a work of individual artistic expression that remained true to the personal voice and feelings of the man within."[718] To McKenna, Clark is not the historian in the Rankean tradition of "'sober restraint'"[719] but the historian "whose works need to be understood as literature rather than history".[720] As McKenna sees it, in Clark's history the "truth lies in the felt part – the emotional and moral truth – and the conclusions drawn."[721] So what was the target readership for arguably Australia's most influential historiography so far? For McKenna, the answer is simple: "Manning Clark's audience was not the academy…[and] Clark wrote for the public gallery…[alas]it was sometimes necessary to be flexible with the facts."[722] As already argued above in "Fighting from the archival bunker", a breach of the ethos between historian and reader is unacceptable.[723] Even more, it is asserted here that it is the rigour in the science of history which lays the bedrock for the construction of its artistic potential. McKenna's observation that Clark's work is not taught in schools and universities because of its reputation for chronological inaccuracy indicates the shortcomings of an "eye first and foremost on the dramatic impact of the narrative" by Clark ahead of the discipline of empirical proof.[724] Nonetheless, Clark's influence says much for the potential of the narrative art of historiography if the historian can draw a higher truth from the facts because the facts "say" it is there for those with a critical imagination; to rephrase a familiar maxim, the proof is in the telling. To ask the simple but difficult question, how?

---

[715] A. Miller, "Truth in Fiction and History" (30 Nov 2006) http://www.rage.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2006/1800785.htm (16 Dec 2006).
[716] M. McKenna, "Being There" (Mar 2007) p24. McKenna is sceptical of Clark's claim to have been in Bonn, Germany, the morning after the Nazi "Crystal Night" (*Kristallnacht*) of the 9-10 Nov 1938.
[717] M. McKenna, "Being There" (Mar 2007) p37.
[718] M. McKenna, "Being There" (Mar 2007) p30.
[719] M. McKenna, "Being There" (Mar 2007) p26.
[720] M. McKenna, "Being There" (Mar 2007) p25.
[721] M. McKenna, "Being There" (Mar 2007) p32.
[722] M. McKenna, "Being There" (Mar 2007) p24.
[723] Of course, this especially applies to the upsurge of "nonfiction" hoaxes; see M. Mordue, "The Devil Is In The Details" (Apr 2008) p8.
[724] M. McKenna, "Being There" (Mar 2007) p24.

Poetics

The Whig historian, George Macaulay Trevelyan, declares a bias in his historiography and emotion as part of his method. As he claims in a popularly referenced passage from his anti-positivist lecture (1927), the "quasi-miraculous" past emerges in science drawn by curiosity into imagination as the "poetry of history".[725]

> The appeal of history to us all is in the last analysis poetic. But the poetry of history does not consist of imagination roaming at large, but of imagination pursuing the fact and fastening upon it.

In a critique of the poetry of Hans Enzensberger, Richard Dove asserts, "He has proved again and again that scientific precision and lyrical intensity are not strange bedfellows".[726] Further to Enzensberger and Dove, it is argued here that science and poetics are, as it were, betrothed; what they must realise, nay, what they must feel, is the very being of each other in a "nuptial bed" of mutually realised necessity.

With Rankean history, indeed even academic history in general, reeling from the assault of poststructuralism in the late twentieth century and the influence of literary theory on historiography along with the perception of "authoritive" history in free-fall, historians sought a resolution. Robert Berkofer, amongst others, suggests that poetics can return academic history to the popular stage.

> Poetics presents the [history] profession with a plurality of possibilities. Rather than refusing to explore the many exciting possibilities in order to preserve old ways in the name of some meta-narrative about the true nature of [what] professional history [is] doing, we might explore the many ways in which Clio can be clothed in garb less transparent to our humanistic colleagues and more in fashion with our late twentieth-century audience.[727]

This relinquishing of the "old ways" is not so much the linguistic turn but a turn to audience; it is the historian moving from the lectern to the stage, from the received pronunciation of the bourgeois academic to the vernacular of the raconteur. To

---

[725] G.M. Trevelyan, *An Autobiography and Other Essays* (1949) p13. See Trevelyan discussed in this context in A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006) pp84-85.
[726] Dove is discussing Enzensberger's poems "The Frogs of Bikini" and "What the Doctors Say"; see R. Dove, "The Doctrine of Agility" (2000) http://www.poetrymagazines.org.uk/magazine/record.asp?id=13146 (30 Dec 2007).
[727] R. Berkhofer, "The Challenge of Poetics to (Normal) Historical Practice" (1988) p450.

recontextualise Martin Flanagan, it is the ambition for a "necessary connection with audience".[728]

McKee observes, "Writers are by instinct dialectical thinkers…[because they] must doubt appearances and seek the opposite of the obvious…[to find] the truth in the gap."[729] It suggests a necessary connection between a radical logic and language as art, which will now be explored.

Dialectics into Dialogics

Lee Honeycutt criticises Frederick Jameson (*The Political Unconscious*, 1981) for attempting to "lump together" dialectics and dialogics.[730] However, by correcting Bakhtin's misunderstanding of dialectics as "one abstract consciousness" (Stalinism)[731] and of historiography, it will be proposed that dialectics and dialogics are potentially complementary.

Radical Tasmania applies a dialectical method in its historical and political analysis, especially as developed in the Marxist tradition. Dialectics is contentious, even within Marxism,[732] and so the topic is beyond the main focus here to pursue all the issues. It is sufficient for this thesis to briefly summarise the "rational kernel".

Dialectics — a logic of contradiction, change as the only constant, and sometimes simplistically termed as the movement of thesis, antithesis and synthesis, etc. — was developed by the ancient Greeks through Heraclitus, Socrates and Plato. It then lingered through centuries of Western culture as one of the three arts of the "trivium" (along with rhetoric and grammar) before being adapted and rekindled by Hegel. It was Hegelian dialectics which was both admired and spurned by Marx and Engels.[733] In a famous passage, Marx redefined dialectics for his own method while "turning" Hegel's over

---

[728] M. Flanagan, "The Hunt for Tasmania" (14 Aug 1999) p4.
[729] R. McKee, *Story* (1999) p177.
[730] L. Honeycutt, Ch. 3 in *What Hath Bakhtin Wrought?* (1994) http://www.public.iastate.edu/~honeyl/bakhtin/chap3b.html (3 Apr 2007).
[731] M. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (1986) p147.
[732] R. Bhaskar, "dialectics" in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p122.
[733] Marx and Engels are sometimes sarcastic about Hegel's dialectics: "In Hegel, too, the first relation is defined as God the Father, the second as Christ, the third as the Holy Spirit, etc." See K. Marx and F. Engels, "The Moderns: A. The Spirit (Pure History of Spirits)" (n.d.) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch03b.htm (12 May 2007).

from its "mystification".[734] Marx's emphasis is epistemological and he often uses "dialectical" as a synonym for his scientific method.[735] It also challenges and overturns: "…it regards every historically developed social form as in fluid movement, and therefore takes into account its transient nature not less than its momentary existence; because it lets nothing impose upon it, and is in its essence critical and revolutionary".[736] An essential element of dialectics is the quality of "sublation" (*Aufhebung*), implying a tension of both preserving and changing.

It is therefore important to be mindful that the use of dialectics in *Radical Tasmania* draws on a tradition which is profoundly more complex than a simplistic understanding of the term as just another Western binary.

Jean-Paul Sartre claims Marxist dialectics (for Existentialism) as the "totalisation" of a reality as being and becoming in historical movement or "philosophy-becoming-the world".[737] The essential point is that this conceptualisation of dialectics differentiates Marxist science from positivism[738] (especially the notion of a cosmic unity, that science is separate from ideology and that all things are measurable) and it seeks history not just through empirical evidence but also as a movement in struggle for social change; consequently, it calls up Marx's oft-quoted "Thesis 11" (as discussed above)[739] and challenges liberal science.[740] Harvey neatly summarises this "essential difference":

---

[734] K. Marx, "Afterword to the Second German Edition" in *Capital Vol. I* (1999) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/p3.htm (1 Feb 2007); N.B., this is sometimes referenced as the "Preface". In the same reference, Marx also remembers that he "openly avowed myself the pupil of that mighty thinker". Later, Lenin coined his famous aphorism on Hegel and Marx: "It is impossible completely to understand Marx's *Capital*, and especially its first chapter, without having thoroughly studied and understood the *whole* of Hegel's *Logic*." See V.I. Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's *Science of Logic*" (2007) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1914/cons-logic/ch03.htm (12 Jan 2008). Then even later came Herbert Marcuse's illuminating defence of Hegel for Marxism and against Fascism in *Reason and Revolution* (1940).

[735] R. Bhaskar, "dialectics", T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p125. Rather than Marx's, the term "scientific communism" is a development of the USSR's

[736] K. Marx, "Afterword to the Second German Edition" in *Capital Vol. I* (1999) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/p3.htm (1 Feb 2007); N.B;., this is sometimes referenced as the "Preface".

[737] J-P Sartre, "Introduction: The Search for Method I: Marxism & Existentialism" (n.d.) http://www.Marxists.org/reference/archive/sartre/works/critic/sartre1.htm (12 May 2007). "The opposition between Being and Becoming has been central to modernism's history…If this is indeed the case, then the proposition that postmodernism is some kind of response to a new set of experiences of space and time, a new round of 'time-space expression,' is well worth considering." See D. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1990) p283.

[738] Foucault's dismissal of "Marxism" as "old positivism" demonstrates his knowledge of Stalinism rather than of Marx; see M. Foucault, "Truth and Power" (1980) p110.

[739] See "History as Praxis".

[740] D. Harvey, "Revolutionary and Counter Revolutionary Theory in Geography and the Problem of Ghetto Formation" (Jul 1972) p10.

> The essential difference of course is that positivism simply seeks to understand the world whereas Marxism seeks to change it…In so far as it is relevant to talk of truth and falsity, truth lies in the dialectical process rather than in the statements derived from the process, which can be designated 'true' only at a given point in time and which in any case are contradicted by other 'true' statements. This method allows us to invert analyses if necessary, to regard solutions as problems, to regard questions as solutions.[741]

Contrary to poststructuralism, even postmodernism in general, dialectics contextualises "relativist truth" within an historical meaning: the multifarious and impelling contradictions of freedom.[742] Hence, as Trevor Barnes comments, this approach sees moral yearning as a proper, indeed necessary, extension of scientific analysis. "Revolutionary theorizing relies on a dialectic creating a tension between stable concepts that enable us to understand the capitalist world in which we live, and a set of as yet unformed ones that anticipate a better world that has still not arrived."[743]

Barnes observes that this gives forth (particularly in the language of Marxists like Harvey) "bat-like words, oxymoronic terms, that assert and deny at the same time – 'concrete abstraction, 'creative destruction', 'symbolic capital'."[744] Of course, this method of a force expressing fluid contradiction can be credited to the legacy of Hegelian dialectics, but in a material world. In his analysis of commodity value ("use value" vis-à-vis "exchange value" or "relative form" vis-à-vis "equivalent form", etc.), Marx talks of "*the two poles of the expression of value*: …two intimately connected, mutually dependent and inseparable elements of the expression of value; but [which], at the same time, are mutually exclusive, antagonistic extremes—i.e., poles of the same

---

[741] D. Harvey, "Revolutionary and Counter Revolutionary Theory in Geography and the Problem of Ghetto Formation" (Jul 1972) p7.

[742] In a contrived triad of Aristotelian logic with absolutist truth and positivist historiography, Dawson conflates the "newspeak dialectic" of postmodernism's "narrative historians" with the "dreamtime zone" (a racist slur for Aboriginal mythology) into his pejorative of "Pentium Primitivists"; see J. Dawson, "The Pentium Primitivism of Greg Lehman" (Mar 2004) http://quadrant.org.au/php/archive_details_list.php?article_id=703 (1 Jan 2008). Dawson's article is a gilding of Windschuttle's earlier defence of "Western civilization" against "relativist, tribal values"; see K. Windschuttle, "The Cultural War on Western Civilization" (2005) http://www.sydneyline.com/War%20on%20Western%20civilization.htm (28 Dec 2007). While Windschuttle trumpets a chauvinism for western (Anglo) culture (repeated in his *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History*, 2005) his article unwittingly echoes Orwell's disquiet about anti-British sentiments on the left without the author admitting, as Orwell does, to exaggerations, over-simplifications and unwarranted assumptions; see G. Orwell, "Notes on Nationalism", *Decline of the English Murder and Other Essays* (1965) p175.

[743] T. Barnes, "Between Deduction and Dialectics" (2006) p38.

[744] T. Barnes, "Between Deduction and Dialectics" (2006) p38.

expression."[745] So as an expression of its method, the language of dialectics is replete with this unity of contradiction in notes of movement. Harvey also adds that dialectical movement is "an inner relation, not a causal relation" and so the analysis focuses on subject and object as "dialectically related".[746]

It is this notion of dialectics as movement which invites a re-entry into Bakhtin's theory of dialogics. Like the truth of the action it seeks to explain (language), a strict definition of dialogics is evasive. Nonetheless, Honeycutt claims that, in a general sense:

> Bakhtin derives his term from the simple act of dialogue, the give-and-take exchange of language between [people]. While such a definition may seem quite obvious, dialogics, as Bakhtin describes it in a variety of works, has radical implications…[747]

A quality of Bakhtin's dialogics which lends itself here is his challenge to "monologic" texts which tend to espouse views of an authoritive dogma or tautology because they articulate one narrative, one voice, one view. Alas, he fails to differentiate Stalinist diamat from Marx's dialectics:[748] Nonetheless, while Bakhtin misunderstands dialectics, he embraces the notion of change as a constant when he declares that "every meaning" will be "renewed", it will have its "homecoming festival".[749]

For Bakhtin, polyphonous texts allow various voices and therefore various views.[750] This is an understanding of the democratic potential of text and so lends itself to narratives of the other. While Bakhtin is theorising fiction and sought to distinguish this characterisation of fiction from historiography, the distinction dissolves when it is realised that his understanding of history is that of the Rankean tradition (now perceived as being in reform). In this tradition, the subject of Bakhtin's focus, histories differ from fiction in the sequence of their telling, the compulsion to construct a cogent explanation

---

[745] K. Marx, *Capital Vol. I* (1954) p99; also see (1999) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/index.htm (11 May 2007).
[746] D. Harvey, "David Harvey: Reading Karl Marx's Capital: Class 1: Introduction", (2008) http://links.org.au/node/714 (31 Oct 2008), approx. 40-50 mins. into lecture; Harvey summarises this at approx. 91 mins. 30 secs.
[747] L. Honeycutt, "Ch. 3 (continued)" in *What Hath Bakhtin Wrought?* (1994) http://www.public.iastate.edu/~honeyl/bakhtin/chap3b.html (3 Apr 2008).
[748] M. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (1986) p147. Gardiner is also struggling with the legacies of Stalinism in his discussion of Bakhtin and the "classical Marxist theory of ideology"; see Ch. 3 "The Bakhtin Circle and the Theory of Ideology" in M. Gardiner, *The Dialogics of Critique* (1992) pp59-98.
[749] M. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (1986) p170.
[750] Polyphony is a quality which Curthoys and Docker also find in Herodotus; see "Ch 1. Herodotus and World History" in A. Curthoys & J Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006) pp12-32.

in the narrative form and the tendency to a chronological linearity. This is history as homology. It is a function of Ranke's dictum for historians to tell it how it really was, to let the facts speak for themselves, etc. As Michael Holquist summarises Bakhtin, it is the "templating of what is enunciated with the act of enunciation".[751] From this view then, it is no wonder that traditional academic texts have tended to a "dry as dust", monotoned, pseudo-authoritive dogma; often dull and pompous and at their worse they have all the qualities of a police officer "reading" (demanding) the requirements of the riot act to malcontents (unlistening others). But, of course, this is also a generalisation. Many historians, academic or not, have long embraced historiography as a discipline of the literary arts. Carr, E.P. Thompson, Manning Clark and Henry Reynolds are a few already mentioned from a long list. Even more, Ranke's dictum is not just wishful thinking, it is a rhetorical, even sophistic, ruse functioning for the cultural imperialism of western, bourgeois rationalism. Curthoys and Docker also allege a patriarchal, if not misogynist, agenda in Rank's philosophy of history.[752] In short, Ranke-ism is what it declares it is not; it is false-consciousness. Understanding this in the context of Bakhtin's dialogics opens historiography to literary art. It means that the historian can be sensitive to and can embrace the dramatisation of "the gaps that always exist between what is told and the telling of it, constantly experimenting with social, discursive and narrative asymmetries (the formal teratology that led Henry James to call them 'fluid puddings')".[753] This use of abductive logic and empathetic imagination to bridge homology (sameness) and teratology (marvellousness) is what this thesis nominates as a figurational tension. This is also history turning on, or calling up, itself because it renews the most radical, even revolutionary, notion — a dialectical potential of both freedom and fatal danger (a swirling vortex or "gyre",[754] which others describe as a "double helix")[755] — drawn from the narratives of Herodotus and Thucydides.

This brings the argument to Honeycutt's analysis that "Bakhtin's dialogic theory of language counters deconstructive thought and restores harmony to Aristotle's rhetorical

[751] A concise summary of Bakhtin's analysis of the historical monologic is provided by Michael Holquist in his "Introduction"; see M Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* (1981) pxxviii.
[752] A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006) pp66-68.
[753] M. Holquist; see M Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* (1981) pxxviii.
[754] The term "gyre" is used here in the sense of a dialectic as a whirling sublation rather than the narrower sense of Francis Wheen's reference to Marx through W.B Yeats's "widening gyre" as a metaphor of social dislocation or alienation (quoted above); see F. Wheen, *Marx's Das Kapital* (2006) p4.
[755] A. Curthoys & J. Docker, "Is History Fiction?" (13 Mar 2006) http://evatt.labor.net.au/publications/papers/162.html (3 Jun 2007).

triangle by placing the author on equal footing with his or her texts and readers.[756]" One can take issue with the argument of "harmony", replacing it with a more fluid account (as per "reception theory")[757] and the possibility of an unequal or even hostile relationship between authors and readers and their shared texts; more plausibly a dialectic of the rhetorical triangle. This bears on political writing as an art because it solicits a "'dialogic' of ideology".[758] As Michael Gardiner has it, Bakhtin, like Gramsci, "conceives of ideology not as epiphenomena, or as a distorted representation of the 'real', but as a material force in its own right."[759] (To re-emphasise, a recurrent theme here is that perception is critical in politics.) Therefore text, as a type of embodied ideology, can also be a force for change. Yet the point remains that "truth" needs the arts of persuasion, and persuasion is a function of consent. The issue then remains as to how much this is, in the post-Gramscian sense, hegemonic or democratic, how much it is imposed or negotiated.

Bakhtin's dialogics realises the potential of a democratic narrative because it broadcasts the many voices of "polyphony", "heteroglossia" and "carnival". Because meaning is found in a negotiation of dialogue, and because dialogics is impudent towards monologics,[760] there is a cacophonous lifeworld (*lebenswelt*) which constructs an intelligible conversation speaking to and listening to (the voices of) others ("different-speech-ness").[761] In the Bakhtian sense then, the resolution of history is found in "its homecoming festival".[762] This embraces the Marxist concern with class because ideology is understood as a "social practice" and therefore includes social conflict.[763] In this way, counter-Rankean historiography can be *philobarbarous*[764] and aspire to the art

---

[756] L. Honeycutt, "Abstract" in *What Hath Bakhtin Wrought* (1994) http://www.public.iastate.edu/~honeyl/bakhtin/thesis.html (16 Jun 2005).
[757] The reader's reception of a literary text (mediated by ideology, culture, etc.) as an active element constructing the inferred meaning.
[758] M. Gardiner, *The Dialogics of Critique* (19920 p59.
[759] M. Gardiner, *The Dialogics of Critique* (19920 p7.
[760] For a discussion of Bakhtin in reference to the monologic historiography of Thucydides, see A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?*, (2006) p37.
[761] *Raznorechie* or *raznorečivost*; see M. Holquist in M Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* (1981) pxxviii.
[762] M. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (1986) p170.
[763] M. Gardiner, *The Dialogics of Critique* (19920 p7.
[764] "So critical on many occasions are the stories of *The Histories* against the Greeks that Plutarch in his 'On the Malice of Herodotus' accused Herodotus of being *philobarbaros*, too fond of foreigners and the viewpoints of foreigners, malicious towards his fellow Greeks." See A. Curthoys & J. Docker (2006) p17. In contradistinction, Howard repudiates the alleged postmodern "culture of relativism where any objective record of achievement is questioned or repudiated." See J. Howard, "Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Address to the National Press Club" (25 Jan 2006) http://www.pm.gov.au/news/speeches/speech1754.html (6 Feb. 2006).

of the "supergenre" which is history's most popular literary form, the novel.[765] There will be a need to return to dialogics, specifically heteroglossia, in the context of history from below.

Poetics as Radical Praxis

Two of the most formidable writers of the twentieth century, George Orwell and Ernest Hemingway, unrelentingly pursued the issue of truth in literary art. Both writers sweated a profusion of text in their respective struggles against the politics of oppression, especially in the 1930s and during World War II. Orwell's career is defined from beginning to end as a quest for truth in a political narrative as art.

> What I have most wanted to do throughout the past ten years is to make political writing into an art. My starting point is always a feeling of partisanship, a sense of injustice. When I sit down to write a book, I do not say to myself, 'I am going to produce a work of art.' I write it because there is some lie that I want to expose, some fact to which I want to draw attention, and my initial concern is to get a hearing. But I could not do the work of writing a book, or even a long magazine article, if it were not also an aesthetic experience.[766]

Indeed, even "George Orwell", the pseudonym of Eric Arthur Blair, is itself literary artifice. Andrew Milner describes it as a characterisation meant to rhetorically undermine a reader's resistance to Blair's polemics because it is "at once so manly, English and ordinary, unlike the effete, almost French, 'Eric Blair'…[who is] a more interesting, but also less rhetorically persuasive character than 'George Orwell'."[767] This appeal to a particular identity of Anglo masculinity survives even in today's politics of ethnicity, gender and sexuality.

Hemingway, disillusioned with the political legacy of World War I, was, at first, simply anti-politics, if not anti-ideology ("Our nada who art in nada").[768] Later, before he discovered politics (as war) for himself, he caricatured politics as a vocation for failed

---

[765] M. Holquist; see M Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* (1981) ppxxviii-xxxix.
[766] G. Orwell, "Why I Write", *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell: Vol. I* (1970) p28.
[767] A. Milner, "Coming Up For Air" (Summer 2004) p67.
[768] *Nada* is Spanish for nothing; see Hemingway's nihilistic rendering of the Christian prayers, "The Lord's Prayer" and "Hail Mary", in E. Hemingway , "A Clean, Well-Lighted Place" in *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (1987) pp288-291;see its adaptation in "On PAR" in *The Selected Histories*.

writers. "The hardest thing in the world to do is write straight honest prose on human beings."[769] He argues that politics makes for bad writing. "Then when you have more time read another book called *War and Peace* by Tolstoi and see how you will have to skip the big Political Thought passages, that he undoubtedly thought were the best things in the book when he wrote it, because they are no longer either true or important, if they were ever more than topical, and see how true and lasting and important the people and the action are."[770] As Ronald Berman notes, "For Hemingway, there is no reason in history."[771] It is noted here however that "people and action" are the stuff of history. Once establishing the truth of literature over the untruth of politics, Hemingway then enunciates his famous maxim of the literary true as truer than true:

> All good books are alike in that they are truer than if they had really happened and after you are finished reading one you will feel that all that happened to you and afterwards it all belongs to you; the good and the bad, the ecstasy, the remorse and sorrow, the people and the places and how the weather was. If you can get so that you can give that to people, then you are a writer.[772]

But, unlike Vladimer Nabokov for example who insists that "a true story is an insult to both art and truth",[773] he does not see truth as a barrier to good writing. On the contrary for Hemingway, truth defines good writing, nonfiction and fiction. This is repeated in his "fictional memoir",[774] *True At First Light* (1999), as the paradox that "a writer of fiction is really a congenital liar", like Hemingway himself, so "My excuse is that I make the truth as I invent it truer than it would be."[775] Of course, a writer has to find the "*mot juste*—the one and only correct word…[and] distrust adjectives as I would later learn to distrust certain people in certain situations".[776] Yet fact and fiction are drawn into a greater truth: "fiction may throw some light on what has been written as fact" and fiction can be "so true [it] changed you as you read [it]".[777] So what he eventually seeks

---

[769] E. Hemingway, "Old Newsman Writes" in *Hemingway: By-Line* (1989) p198.
[770] E. Hemingway, "Old Newsman Writes" in *Hemingway: By-Line* (1989) p199.
[771] R. Berman, "Hemingway and the Search for Meaning" (2005) p250.
[772] E. Hemingway, "Old Newsman Writes" in *Hemingway: By-Line* (1989) p199.
[773] V. Nabokov, "Good Readers and Good Writers" (1980) p7.
[774] This sub-title most likely originated with the novel's character, editor and Hemingway's son, Patrick: "Ambiguous counterpoint between fiction and truth lies at the heart of this memoir." See Patrick Hemingway, "Introduction" in E. Hemingway, *Truth At First Light* (1999) p9.
[775] E. Hemingway, *Truth At First Light* (1999) p94.
[776] E. Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* (2009) p102; an irony here is that as Hemingway is declaring his distrust of adjectives as he would of "certain people" he is also declaring his trust of his old mentor, the modernist poet and later Fascists propagandist, Ezra Pound.
[777] E. Hemingway, "Preface" in *A Moveable Feast* (1965) n.p. Ironically for an author who was so obsessed with the relationship between fact and fiction, one of Hemingway's grandsons, Seán, claims that Hemingway's fourth wife, Mary, "created that preface" (*A Moveable Feast* was published posthumously),

when confronted by the crisis of the great untruth, Fascism, is not writing without politics but writing which transcends an immediate sectarian politics and its cynicism. "Writers are forged in injustice as a sword is forged."[778] On this he then crosses over to politics and literature in symbiosis. As will be discussed in more detail below, he insists on a fidelity to truth as an absolute for any politics in literature because the "goddam sad science of war"[779] perpetuates a fatal contradiction while, as the cliché has it, truth is its first casualty. Hemingway decides "not to write propaganda, but write just what I believe."[780] He perceives that truth, like war, "is also very dangerous" for writers.[781] His part in the political documentary on the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), *The Spanish Earth* (1937) and his even more politicised novel on the war, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940), tests his commitment to truth in nonfiction and fiction, a vocation of an *engagé* artist, in the acrid battle of public image. He was, and still is, castigated as "the Left's 'fair-haired boy'", meaning a camp-follower of Stalinism,[782] a "useful idiot".[783]

The contemporary rejection of Hemingway by a *faux*-left (the postmodern liberalism which has re-articulated the values of the bourgeois Anglosphere which were Hemingway's life enemy) is an indicator of how the politics of the twentieth century has been retained in legacy by the politics of today's culture wars. For example, James Mellow, bereft of a clear narrative structure for Hemingway's politics, portrays him as a wilful neophyte who converted from Fascism to anti-Fascism to anti-politics to meta-politics to Marxism and then to counter-revolution.[784] As Ben Stoltzfus observes,

---

so he re-edited and republished the line cited above in various pages in "Fragments" in his "restored" edition of this title (E. Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast*, 2009, pp227-236; e.g., see p229); see B. Frenette, "Sean Hemingway on the 'restored edition' of his grandfather's A Moveable Feast" (8 Aug 2009) http://www.nationalpost.com/m/blog.html?b=afterword&e=q-amp-a-sean-hemingway-on-the-quot-restored-edition-quot-of-his-grandfather-s-a-moveable-feast&s=Arts (16 Aug 2009). (N.B. Seán Hemingway is the grandson of Hemingway's second wife, Pauline, who is implicated as a home-breaker in the original edition of *A Moveable Feast*.) Ed Hotchner, once a close friend of Ernest Hemingway's, damns Seán Hemingway's "bowdlerized version" and defends the original; see A. E. Hothchner, "Don't Touch 'A Moveable Feast'" (19 July 2009) http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/20/opinion/20hotchner.html?_r=1 (16 Aug 2009).

[778] E. Hemingway, *Green Hills of Africa* (1977) p62.

[779] Hemingway's response to Lillian Ross about criticism of his novel, *Across the River and Into the Trees* (1950); see L. Ross, *Portrait of Hemingway* (1961) p21.

[780] E. Hemingway, *Hemingway on War* (2003) p299.

[781] Reported under the headline "Fascism Is a Lie", *New Masses*, 22 Jun 1937, p4; see M. Reynolds, *Hemingway: The 1930s* (1997) p270.

[782] Kenneth Lynn attributes this criticism of Hemingway to the liberal novelist, John Dos Passos, though he does not reference it; see K. Lynn, *Hemingway* (1989) p449.

[783] A phrase embraced by George Packer, a disillusioned liberal hawk, from the jacket of Stephen Koch's *The Breaking Point: Hemingway, Dos Passos, and the Murder of Jose Robles* (2005); Packer is also inclined to the view that "the right side won" the Spanish Civil War. See G. Packer, "The Spanish Prisoner" (31 Oct 2005) http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2005/10/31/051031crbo_books?currentPage=all (11 Feb 2009).

[784] J. Mellow, *Hemingway* (1993) pp184-185, pp202-203, p477, p479, p499, p595.

Robert Jordan (the protagonist in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*), destroys a strategic bridge that "severs the link between the left and right banks of the river, both physically and politically."[785] The contention is added in this thesis that many still do not comprehend which side of the river is which; like identifying the left side as though it merely depends on which way one chooses to face, upstream or downstream. It is still a compulsion for some to misread Hemingway so as to invert his art into that of a straw man, to try him for crimes allegedly in breach of an ideological code ("political correctness").[786] This is a "left" critique from the right, only the vocabulary is different and not the meaning. Hemingway rubs literary and political faces into the dirt and blood and semen of ugly truths. And he is not forgiven.

It was Gertrude Stein's lecture to the young Hemingway "that remarks are not literature",[787] so he taught himself how to couch the philosophical in the meaningful truth of artistic feeling.[788] Hemingway, as Stoltzfus understates, not only "juxtaposes political commitment and art",[789] he maintains a conclusion inferred from his speech, "Fascism is a lie told by bullies…", delivered to the American Writers Congress (1937),[790] that if one begins with a desire to convey an emotional truth then in the long run one will arrive where he did, in the "People's Front" (Popular Front).[791] (In the vernacular of the next war, he referred to this as the "inside gen", "true gen" or "real gen".)[792] As Joseph Freeman interpreted Hemingway for the American Congress, it is

---

[785] B. Stoltzfus, "Hemingway, Malraux and Spain" (1999) http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/comparative_literature_studies/v036/36.3stoltzfus.html (21 Jan 2008).

[786] See a critique of this in R. Gajdusek "The Mad Sad Bad Misreading of Hemingway's Gender Politics/Aesthetics"(1997) pp36-47. As Hemingway's alleged homophobia and alleged (denial of his) homosexuality are often used in witch-hunts for his supposed breaches of leftist values, see George Plimpton and Dr. Philip Scharfer for significant refutations in D. Brian, *The True Gen* (1988) p217 & p309; Hemingway is also discussed in this context by other witnesses to his life on various other pages—see "Homosexuality" in Brian's "Index', p350.

[787] E. Hemingway, "The Art of the Short Story" (1990) p2.

[788] This is in reference to Stein's opinion of Hemingway's "Big Two-Hearted River" (1925); see M. Reynolds, *Hemingway: The Paris Years* (1989) pp247-248.

[789] B. Stoltzfus, "Hemingway, Malraux and Spain" (1999) http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/comparative_literature_studies/v036/36.3stoltzfus.html (21 Jan 2008).

[790] Reported under the headline "Fascism Is a Lie", *New Masses*, 22 Jun 1937, p4; see discussed at see C. Baker, *Hemingway* (1972) pp223-4 and *Ernest Hemingway* (1972) pp476-477, and also M. Reynolds, *Hemingway: The 1930s* (1997) p270.

[791] Joseph Freeman, USA Congress (6 Jun 1937); see C. Baker, *Hemingway* (1972) p223. Freeman's "People's Front" is a synonym in translation of the Spanish *Frente Popular* (Popular Front), a left-wing coalition which won the Spanish elections in 1936 and so precipitated a violent reaction from Francisco Franco's reactionary forces, leading to the Spanish Civil War. The model of a "popular front" was originally a Soviet Comintern strategy for linking Communist parties with a non-Communist left against Fascism.

[792] "Gen" as in genuine information or truth; see C. Baker, *Hemingway* (1972), pp349-350. The phrase probably originated with the British Air Force during World War II; Hemingway is said to have coined, "the true, true gen". See D. Brian, *The True Gen* (1988) inside leaf; as a metaphor for Hemingway's art, see p321.

an artful enunciation of Napoleon Bonaparte's maxim that politics is destiny.[793] This is more than Stoltzfus's analysis that Hemingway's "fraternal endeavour [revolution] is as authentic as [experiencing art]".[794] Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* is art aspiring to politics and politics aspiring to art.[795] This is art meeting with political praxis in the fuller sense of making history. This is beyond an aesthetic experience for its own sake; it is much more than the mere art of political fiction like, for example, the contemporary paperbacks of Australia's Shane Maloney.[796] It is what Orwell recognises as making "political writing into an art"[797] because it is polemical art as political necessity—a pathway which Orwell also sought. Politics had become all-consuming and total:

> Of course the invasion of literature by politics was bound to happen. It must have happened, even if the special problem of totalitarianism had never arisen, because we have developed a sort of compunction which our grandfathers did not have, an awareness of the enormous injustice and misery of the world.[798]

For his part, Orwell went even further than Hemingway in that he develops what Milner calls a rhetorical "trick", a "literary artifice" of the ethos between writer and reader constructed specifically for political literature.

> …the whole point of political writing is to be persuasive, to sway readers around to the writer's views. Orwell is very, very good at this. His basic technique is quite simple: to write as if the reader's political and moral sympathies can already be counted upon to agree with his own. The more likely it is that readers will actually disagree, the more powerfully he tends to assert their agreement. In short, the assumed prior consensus between writer and reader is a rhetorical device, designed to undermine resistance to Orwell's arguments…
>
> Writing is never a simple or unvarnished reflection of anything. Effective writing is a performance, which always represents reality differently from the way it actually 'is'. The

[793] C. Baker, *Hemingway* (1972) p223.
[794] B. Stoltzfus, "Hemingway, Malraux and Spain" (1999) http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/comparative_literature_studies/v036/36.3stoltzfus.html (21 Jan 2008).
[795] "Although as a friend of Spanish democracy, Hemingway believed in the Republican side, his statement ['A writer who will not lie cannot live and work under fascism.'] did not mean that, *as an artist*, he was pro-Republican or pro-Communist. What it emphatically meant was that as artist and man, he was anti-fascist, and had been for years." See C. Baker, *Hemingway* (1972) p224.
[796] Shane Moloney's series of comic thrillers about the Victorian ALP hack, Murray Whelan; see S. Maloney, *Sucked In* (2007).
[797] G. Orwell, "Why I Write", *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell: Vol. I* (1970) p28.
[798] G. Orwell, "Writers and Leviathan" (2004) http://orwell.ru/library/articles/leviathan/english/e_wal (20 Sep 2005).

> writer who invented Newspeak – as an awful warning, yes, but who invented it nonetheless – clearly knew this.[799]

So these two giants of the literary arts, Hemingway and Orwell, came, by opposite theoretical direction, albeit in response to the same arena of conflict (the untruth of Fascism), to practise their craft as an art in search of truths proclaiming politics as a pursuit of freedom. It suggests a tension between the empirical facts as, say, a journalist might "report" them, and a truth in art with profound political meaning. As Hemingway's "old man" (Santiago) questions fact in fiction, "Can you really remember that or did I just tell it to you?"[800]

Miller credits fiction with being the art of the history of the other:

> Often it is the story of lives and experiences that leave little or no textual record, no documentation for the scholar to base a thesis on. The novel is often also the history of so-called losers rather than the powerful ones, giving voice to those unremarked women and men who slide in to the dark and leave scarcely a trace of their passing. This sense in the novel, and in fiction generally, of the private and the unofficial, the unrecorded and the silent, finding its voice is one reason we are so powerfully drawn to the genre.[801]

This is the function of empathetic imagination for that "subtext" of history, the view from the radical subject in action.

The Narrative Wars as "People's" Wars

To paraphrase some points from above for the purpose of refreshing this analysis, the Rankean tradition, which although contested still more or less informs academic history, insists on the methodical proof of evidential analysis. This should be lauded as it must continue to have a place. Yet the Narrative Wars in general demonstrate that complementary strategies must also be cultivated if academic history is to retain authority; in the Weberian sense, if it is to retain legitimacy. This is not about authority

---

[799] A. Milner, "Coming Up For Air" (Summer 2004) p67; Milner here is reviewing David Glover's *Orwell's Australia* (2003) and so Milner's views in this context are, at least in part, a reflection of Glover's.
[800] E. Hemingway, *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952) p9.
[801] A. Miller, "Truth in Fiction and History" (30 Nov 2006) http://www.rage.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2006/1800785.htm (16 Dec 2006).

for authority's sake (power through prestige, status, discourse, etc.), it is because the science in history, its epistemological truths, are of critical importance if the heritage of the Enlightenment is to overcome the relativist doubts of poststructuralism, which threaten for a barbarous disempowering of political knowledge: the anomie of the nihilist. This is possibly a struggle towards the "new truths" of a neo-Enlightenment.

Iggers considers some potentially negative consequences of intellectual development in the late twentieth century:

> Postmodern thought has made a substantial contribution to the contemporary historical discussions by its warnings against utopianism and conceptions of progress. This should lead us, however, not to abandonment and repudiation of the Enlightenment heritage but instead to a critical re-examination of it…The alternative to an albeit chastened Enlightenment is barbarism.[802]

What emerges for consideration at this point is the urgency of science to overcome sophism, this time of the populist sort, if truth is going to have what Robert Hughes terms "verifiable meaning" (discussed below).[803]

In contrast to those of the left, histories supported by the right of the History Wars (the white blindfolds) have steamed into the popular arena with their flags fluttering from top mast for all to see. Blainey, for example, began his career as an historian writing, if not exactly for the public, certainly for a non-academic audience with his company-commissioned histories.[804] He then turned easily to populist history while, notably of course, developing a prestigious academic career in history (though blighted by an inferred racism, yet another statement on the History Wars).[805]

Populist history can pay better than academic history, at least by reputation; which might be enough to attract some. "In one sense the critics are right about [Les]

---

[802] G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (1997) p149.
[803] R. Hughes, *Things I Didn't Know* (2006) pp228-229.
[804] Blainey began his career with a history commissioned by the Mt Lyell Mining, published in 1954; see G. Blainey, *The Peaks of Lyell* (1993). Blainey discusses this work and its commissioning in G. Blainey, "Writing Australian history" (26 Jan 2009) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/counterpoint/stories/2009/2471051.htm (6 Mar 2009). McQueen is critical of Blainey for "cash and kind" company histories, yet McQueen too writes commissioned histories, the difference being that the finance is sourced through the union movement; see H. McQueen, *Suspect History* (1997) p186 and *A Framework of Flesh* (2008) http://home.alphalink.com.au/~loge27/sborder/blf_framework_of_flesh.htm (12 Nov 2008).
[805] Blainey's *All For Australia* (1984) sparked protests by students and colleagues at the University of Melbourne.

Carlyon," says Stephen Matchett in that organ of the right in the History Wars, Rupert Murdoch's *The Australian*. Carlyon's *The Great War* (2006) "is popular in the sense his publisher expects to sell 100,000 copies, 50 times what strong-selling academic work will do."[806] No doubt retail returns and royalty payments figure highly for publisher and author alike. Yet it is in the context of the political character of the History Wars that history as a "weapon" of cultural hegemony makes a popular readership paramount; even allowing for the lop-sided relations of power nominated as "democracy" in the liberal capitalism of Australia. Hence, Carlyon, narrating the "right" history for popular consumption, shared in Howard's new Prime Minister's Prize in Australian History[807] as Howard sought to refocus the spurious military campaign of Gallipoli at the centre of a (neoconservative) Australian patriotism.

The Narrative Wars have also created a stereotype of academic historians, indeed left intellectuals in general, as "elitist". Some commentators identify this as neoconservatism's fear and loathing for the "new (middle) classes", a type of neobourgeoisie (generally drawn from reformist academics, lawyers, journalists and public servants),[808] who are perceived as challenging traditional propertied power. Richard Flanagan, in interview on his fictionalised left critique of the War on Terror ("be alert but not alarmed"),[809] *The Unknown Terrorist* (2006), identifies the term "elites" as a pejorative used to especially denigrate leftist intellectuals and the alleged political correctness of the *bien-pensants*.[810] (Boucher and Sharpe have since detailed the broader context of this tactic by the right for the culture wars in general.)[811] Flanagan's observations, albeit from the other side of the ideological divide, accurately

---

[806] S. Matchett, "A Great History War" (23-24 Dec 2006) p36.

[807] Even Blainey complained about the process for this award; see S. Scalmer, "A Postscript, A Prospect" (Winter 2008) p28.

[808] G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p11, p28, p44.

[809] For a discussion of Howard's directive and of his "dog whistle" politics, see G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p27 & p63; for a discussion of the politics of fear and loathing, see their pp35-36.

[810] R. Flanagan; see K. O'Brien, "Flanagan Novel Condemns Modern Australia" (1 Nov 2006) http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2006/s1779192.htm (30 Dec 2006).

[811] Boucher and Sharpe discuss this tactic at numerous points in their analysis; for its American origins see their "Pathological narcissism and the revolt of the elites" in G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) pp191-195. See also a claim that Republican Vie-President, Spiro Agnew, called America's left liberal media "this small and unelected élite" in a speech written by Buchanan (Nov 1969); see G. Packer, "The Fall of Conservatism" (26 May 2008) http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2008/05/26/080526fa_fact_packer?currentPage=all (7 Dec 2008). Neoconservatives have habitually sought to wedge the "educated elite" from "blue collar" identities (America's "ordinary Joe" or "Joe the plumber" in the 2007-08 Presidential election) with terms for the former like "trendies", "yuppies", "the chardonnay set", "latte sippers" and not forgetting David Brooks's "bobos" (bourgeois bohemians) from his *Bobos in Paradise: The New Upper Class And How They Got There* (2000). See also "left-wing intellectual elite" at A. Bonnell & M. Crotty, "Australia's History under Howard, 1996-2007" (May 2008) p150.

summarise a strategy of the right in the History Wars, a strategy which has had a telling effect. The black armbands, like Henry Reynolds, Cassandra Pybus, Lyndall Ryan, Bain Attwood and others, frequently tell their histories through the journals of academia and "middle class" carnival, like book festivals. (The exception proving the rule for the left is that apostate from the Cold War, Robert Manne, who politicises history through broader channels because, amongst various reasons, it is a lesson learnt from his days as a guardian of the right.)[812] On the other hand, the right has very noticeably sought out an audience through the popular media.

The website "The Sydney Line" is a hyper-shrine to things Windschuttle. Maintained by the history warrior himself, it is a dedication in a mantra of reification: "realism rather than idealism; objectivism rather than subjectivism; empirical induction rather than theoretical deduction; logic rather than rhetoric".[813] It eschews multiculturalism, proclaiming its politics as:

> from bohemian to bourgeois…with a low opinion of anything beginning with 'post'…[and] anything ending with 'studies'…It derives from the Classical tradition of Greece and Rome and the British sceptical Enlightenment, especially the writers of eighteenth-century Edinburgh.[814] It has long opposed the French radical Enlightenment and German Romanticism as well as their derivatives: Marxism, Nazism, and contemporary identity group politics. [815]

It salutes its heroes in the Sydney philosophers John Anderson and David Stove and, that colonial champion of free trade for capitalism's *Acacia pycnantha*,[816] Bruce Smith.[817]

What must be noted here is that in Windschuttle's reactionism, in Australian reactionary ideology in general, is the over-reading of postmodernism (an irony for the linguistic turn); a proverbial throwing out of the political baby with the postmodernist,

---

[812] Once editor of *Quadrant* and a voice for the male liberal's fear and loathing of socialism and feminism, Manne "came in from the cold" to reposition himself with the left in the History Wars; see R. Manne, *Whitewash* (2003) and *Left Right Left* (2005).
[813] K. Windschuttle, "About" (2005) http://www.sydneyline.com/About.htm (31 Dec 2006).
[814] A reference to those Scottish high priests of British liberal capitalism like David Hume, James Mill and Adam Smith, amongst others.
[815] K. Windschuttle, "About" (2005) http://www.sydneyline.com/About.htm (31 Dec 2006).
[816] *Acacia pycnantha*: Golden Wattle, floral emblem of Australia.
[817] Smith is author of *Liberty & Liberalism* (1887), and is republished by The Centre For Independent Studies (2005); see review by Greg Melleuish, "The Conscience of Liberalism" (2005) http://www.cis.org.au/exechigh/Eh2005/EH25305.htm (31 Dec 2006).

particularly poststructuralist, bath water. Academic historian John McLaren also summarises it for the left:

> [The right history warriors'] outrage goes beyond normal scholarly dissent, with Keith Windschuttle regularly asserting that the whole history profession has been corrupted. It shares this corruption with the whole modern humanities, which has been infected by a relativism induced by the postmodern teaching that there is no such thing as truth. This view of postmodernism is a perversion of Lyotard's carefully argued, and finally pragmatic assertion, that the circumstances of the postmodern world precluded any grand narratives of liberation.[818]

The farce is that the Australian right construes postmodernism as some left agenda by stealth while, at the same time, so much of the left has given itself over to what is, in practise, unpractise (non-praxis); which is to say, the left (some of them—yet too many) surrendered to a disempowering relativism. It is not a coincidence that, more or less at the same time, the left historians in Australia, like Reynolds (discussed above),[819] are disavowing postmodernism while in America the repentant right liberals, like Fukuyama, are disavowing neoconservatism.[820] In turn, neoconservatism finds postmodernist ideology repulsive because the neocons deify objectivist absolutism. "The underlying neoconservative position is a deeply anti-modern idea: the idea that any viable human society must have a religious basis not open to discussion and revision by self-appointed 'elites', or anyone else."[821] So paradoxically "the Right's new relativism",[822] as Boucher and Sharpe have it, spurns rationalism and democracy to embrace meta-rationalist motifs such as race, country and family,[823] the "binding set of national stories" intoned as a "civic religion".[824] (This echoes the Nazi's *Ein Volk, Ein*

---

[818] J. McLaren, "The Shame of Cultural Warriors" (Autumn 2007) p35. McLaren also finds examples of relativism amongst the right (J. Hirst, "How Sorry Can We Be?" and "Changing my Mind" in *Sense and Nonsense in Australian History* (2006) pp70, 80-83, 87); see J. McLaren, "The Shame of Cultural Warriors" (Autumn 2007) p36. For even a holy discomfort with relativism; see Catholic World News, "Shun relativism, Pope urges Polish faithful". (26 May 2006) http://www.cwnews.com/news/viewstory.cfm?recnum=44404 (1 May 2007), and E.J. Dionne Jr., "Cardinal Ratzinger's Challenge" (19 Apr 2005) pA19.

[819] See a discussion of Reynolds on the political utility of history in "Figurational Tension: Evidence Drawn Towards Meaning".

[820] F. Fukuyama, *After the Neo-Cons* (2006); see also E. Hall; Eleanor, "Fukuyama backs Obama for US presidency" (27 May 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2008/05/27/2257165.htm (29 May 2008).

[821] G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p74.

[822] G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) pix.

[823] "…blood and soil and…familial bonds"; hear G. Boucher & M. Sharpe at P. Adams, "Post-Modern Conservatism" (7 Oct 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/latenightlive/stories/2008/2384582.htm (8 Oct 2008). Also "…Nationalism, the (Nuclear) Family, and Religiosity…"; see G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) pxiii & p143.

[824] G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p10 & p79.

Reich, Ein Führer.)[825] Instead of cultural relativism, postmodernism's amorality implies the "clash of civilisations".[826] So when truth meets truth only force can decide the issue. In this context, might is right (*realpolitik*). Under aggressive assault, the left is realising it can not afford postmodernism. (Even Jacques Derrida put away deconstruction when he re-entered political debate with his *Spectres de Marx*, 1993.)[827] To paraphrase Terry Eagleton, whatever this age is, its urgency is "post-theory". This is a time to re-engage in action with the truths that postmodernism would not, because it could not, confront: love, evil, living, dying, morality, spiritual yearning and revolution.[828]

The site for the Sydney Line lists almost two hundred titles which have been published by Windschuttle and a selection of his allies in the History Wars. What is interesting here is how Windschuttle and allies take what the left has viewed, at least at first, as primarily a debate for professional historians and moved it to every corner of the History Wars, in effect opening new battle lines and forcing a review of strategies and, indeed, technologies. The Sydney Line references itself in alliance with not only academic journals, but also journals of social commentary (*The New Criterion* figures frequently), conference papers, radio and television debates, book publishers (mostly Macleay Press), public forums, popular newspapers and magazines (especially those stalwarts of the right, *The Australian*, *Australian Financial Review* and *The Bulletin*), foreign periodicals with a self-proclaimed right profile (*The National Interest* and *National Review*) discourse of pedagogy (for example, papers for school exam conferences or journalist studies) and, of course, that peculiar progeny of the Cold War, *Quadrant*.[829] As well as *The National Interest* and *National Review*, several others are also foreign. Many are popular if not populist. Some, such as the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), *The Age* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* bring with them fractions of their audience from the left for the Sydney Line to cajole or irritate as it sees fit. (Left members of audiences can be heard jeering on ABC broadcast forums

---

[825] "One People, One Empire, One Leader". Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party's "One Nation, One Country, One Flag" rings similarly; see discussed at G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) pp60-62.

[826] A phrase popularised, especially later in the War on Terror, by Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (196), originally published as the article, "The Clash of Civilizations", *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993, in reaction to Francis Fukuyama's, *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992). See this discussed in the context of postmodernism and neoconservatism at G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p10.

[827] Published in English as *Specters of Marx*, 1994.

[828] T. Eagleton, *After Theory* (2004).

[829] For example, see K. Windschuttle, "Compatible Sites" in *The Sydney Line* (2005) http://www.sydneyline.com/Sites.htm (18 Aug 2009). *Quadrant* was founded in 1956 by Richard Krygier and the Australian branch of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, an instrument of the USA's Central Intelligence Agency.

and debates with Windschuttle.) Though academic journals are included in the list of publications for the Sydney Line they are only a minority. Interestingly, as though Windschuttle and company are making a statement of some sort, book fairs — those cerebral love-ins of the allegedly literary, metropolitan "middle class" — are missing from the list. The message here, whatever impression one might have of the right warriors and their intentions for democracy, is that there is no doubting that they have vigorously pursued *demos* ("the people") in what is both their politicisation of history and their historicisation of politics. This has forced not just the History Wars, yet the Narrative Wars in general, into the public domain. The implication for *Radical Tasmania* is that any theorisation of radical history in the context of the Narrative Wars must pursue the issues, and therefore its research sources, beyond conventional academic discourse and into the popular media for a popular (vulgar) readership.

This brings the analysis back to the Matchett article, a typical espousal of the view that left histories are for the minority "other" (academics bereft of a proletarian mass to carry their causes) while right histories are "popular" histories—almost by definition: "…any accusation that being popular makes it intellectually inferior is unfair and demonstrates the way many professional historians ignore the enormous numbers of ordinary readers interested in Australia's past…"[830] There is a core of truth to this stereotype: leftist "elites" have won an intellectual battle in capably defending their histories but almost at the price of losing cultural relevance in the Narrative Wars. Matchett states what should be obvious for any ideological struggle in a democracy (even one as blighted as Australia's), "A bigger audience for professionally written history is never a bad thing, even if it is popular."[831]

A Symbiosis of Academic Historiography and a Popular Readership

Justin Marozzi argues that history, "an insatiable omnivore", did not simply defend itself against "postmodernist theory", it devoured the postmodernist assault, keeping "what was useful (a little)…".[832] "Outside the world of academe," he continues, "storytelling is prized again, literary talent is admired and thrilling historical narratives are eagerly consumed by record numbers." While so many academic historians are still

[830] S. Matchett, "A Great History War" (23-24 Dec 2006) p36.
[831] S. Matchett, "A Great History War" (23-24 Dec 2006) p37.
[832] J. Marozzi, *The Man Who Invented History* (2008) p22.

being pulled into the black hole of "dry-as-dust facts", so bemoaned by Carr, history has turned again. Triumphantly, Marrozi proclaims, "Historians may not realise it, but Herodotus is back."[833] Marozzi's "circle" of history is the turn (or return) to "popular history".

Hughes describes his mentor: "Alan Moorehead, my beau ideal of a popular historian[834]…a best-selling author on a worldwide market..[who] brought dignity and distinction to the term 'popular history'."[835] Moorehead and Manning Clark are in furious agreement that "the historian should have the art of the story teller".[836] Ann Moyal argues that Australian historians in general, Manning Clark and Tim Bonyhady aside, have overlooked Moorehead because they do not fully appreciate the contribution of storytelling to their discipline, even less so when the author was filed under "populariser".[837]

Popular history has been traditionally perceived by academics as separate, if not inferior, to professional history. But a crisis of legitimacy for academic historians, as discussed above,[838] combined with economic forces which now pressure academic institutions to attain "commercial relevance" have seen a trend to academic writing for a popular readership. The University of Melbourne, for one, has established its Writing Centre: "An initiative to extend and develop the skills of research students and academics in writing about their research for a wide general readership…".[839] The professional historian, John Hirst, in a public forum, expressed surprise that some Australian university schools still discourage postgraduates from writing for the popular market, as sales for academic histories are in decline, while adding that he encourages his students (at Latrobe University) to seek such audiences—along with the tradition of peer-reviewed academic journals.[840]

---

[833] J. Marozzi, *The Man Who Invented History* (2008) p22.
[834] Moorehead's style drew admiration and also friendship from Ernest Hemingway; see *The True Gen* (1988) pp218-219.
[835] R. Hughes, *Things I Didn't Know* (2006) p274.
[836] Manning Clark, "Preface" in A. Moorehead, *The Fatal Impact* (1966) n.p.
[837] A. Moyal, *Alan Moorehead* (2005) pp118-119.
[838] See this also discussed above in "Narrative Wars as Contextualised Force", "History Wars as Force" and "Fighting from the archival bunker".
[839] "Scholars learn to write for general readers" (23 Feb-8 Mar 2004) http://uninews.unimelb.edu.au/articleid_1227.html (21 Mar 2006).
[840] Hirst made his allegations, as Geoffrey Blainey nodded in agreement, against the School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University; see J. Hirst & G. Blainey, "Sense & Nonsense" (31 Aug 2006).

For some academics, the discipline of their craft should be seen as readily lending itself to popular appeal. For example, Ivor Indyk argues that the perception of authoritive or "properly researched" narrative appeals to a democratic ethos.[841] Indyk is critical of academic "hieratic…a kind of sacred writing". Like Hirst, he is dismayed at academic institutions which are reluctant to recognise the emergence of a new regime of discourse: "we have to recognise that there's a different kind of authority operating in the humanities; not a purely academic but a public authority." Indyk is concerned with exactly the problem which is at the core of this analysis of academic writing for a popular readership. As today's students in the bourgeoning courses in "professional writing" are taught, a (commercial) writer must write "for the reader". Different readers mean different "rules" of communication or dialogic structures; it shifts the strategy of rhetorical appeal and, above all, even for the sciences, it brings the focus back to writing as an art. Indyk, for one, highlights the rise in public demand for "well argued nonfiction" and bemoans the tardiness of academics, especially those "writing with a humanistic bent", to realise that "their primary authority, their primary point of reference is the public, not their peers", which necessitates learning "a whole range of rhetorical skills that they might not otherwise be aware of".[842] He also notes that publishers are often wary of academics because the latter have often not learnt how to write for the public. So this requires not just a change of style for academic writing, but also the realisation that it is a radical challenge to the traditions of academia. This is yet another reason why it is, in this sense, that history written for a popular readership must also be a radical historiography because its challenges are not just of a scientific type but also interrogate science through art while examining literary art itself.

Verifiable Evidence to Verifiable Meaning

The Orwell Prize is awarded "to encourage good, accessible writing about politics, political thinking or public policy."[843] Might this also include a conscious bias or what Orwell calls an "emotional attitude"?[844]

---

[841] See R. Koval, "Transforming Scholarly Writing" (20 Mar 2005) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/arts/bwriting/stories/s1327971.htm (30 Mar 2005).
[842] See R. Koval, "Transforming Scholarly Writing" (20 Mar 2005) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/arts/bwriting/stories/s1327971.htm (30 Mar 2005).
[843] The George Orwell Memorial Fund, "Orwell Prize" (2007) http://www.booktrust.org.uk/info/prizes.php?action=3&przid=78 (7 Jun 2007).
[844] G. Orwell, "Why I Write", *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell: Vol 1*, (1970) p25; see below for a fuller context.

Orwell's polemic against bad writing in his "Politics and the English Language"[845] is often quoted, yet given the outpourings on Don Watson's return to the topic in recent years, especially his acclaimed *Death Sentence* (2003) and *Watson's Dictionary of Weasel Words* (2004), it seems that, at least in Australia during the Narrative Wars, Orwell's lesson on the relationship between language, knowledge, art and politics has to be relearnt.

Orwell lists what he sees as the "four great motives for writing…1. Sheer egoism…2. Aesthetic enthusiasm…3. Historical impulse… 4. Political purpose…" The latter he constructs as essential to literature:

> …using the word 'political' in the widest possible sense. Desire to push the world in a certain direction, to alter other people's idea of the kind of society that they should strive after. Once again, no book is genuinely free from political bias. The opinion that art should have nothing to do with politics is itself a political attitude.[846]

As discussed above, Orwell makes it clear that politics is the font of his art: "As it is I have been forced into becoming a sort of pamphleteer."[847] As an activist and writer who was deeply disturbed by what he saw, a capacity for evil to triumph in the politics of his lifetime, he sought to cultivate within himself "a power of facing unpleasant facts…"[848] What draws attention at this point about Orwell on political writing as art (fiction as well as nonfiction) is that he considers that writing, almost all writing, requires feeling: "…before he [the writer] begins to write he will have acquired an emotional attitude from which he will never completely escape."[849] Artistic sensibility is required of most

---

[845] G. Orwell (1962).

[846] G. Orwell, "Why I Write", *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell: Vol 1,* (1970) pp25-26. While acknowledging his debt to the master of modernism, Orwell might be distancing himself from the literary quietism of James Joyce, the "'pure' artist, 'above the battle' and indifferent to politics", probably as espoused in Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916); see G. Orwell, "As I Please" (2005) http://whitewolf.newcastle.edu.au/words/authors/O/OrwellGeorge/essay/tribune/AsIPlease19440310.html (20 Apr 2007).

[847] G. Orwell, "Why I Write", *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell: Vol 1,* (1970) p26. See James Wood's discussion of Orwell as a pamphleteer in R. Koval, "James Wood on George Orwell" (11 May 2009) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2009/2566126.htm (23 May 2009) and, specifically in reference to Orwell's "The Lion and the Uniform", J. Wood, "A Fine Rage" (13 April 2009) http://0-find.galegroup.com.library.vu.edu.au/itx/start.do?prodId=EAIM (22 May 2009).

[848] G. Orwell, "Why I Write" (1970) p23. This is echoed in the title of Al Gore's documentary *An Inconvenient Truth* (2006), winning for Gore an Academy Award and securing for him the Nobel Peace Prize.

[849] G. Orwell, "Why I Write", *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell: Vol 1,* (1970) p25.

writers. "Above the level of a railway guide, no book is quite free from aesthetic considerations."[850] Orwell sees no contradiction between "political bias" and art. On the contrary, he considers that the politically conscious writer has a better "chance" of producing what one might call "honest art": "And the more one is conscious of one's political bias, the more chance one has of acting politically without sacrificing one's aesthetic and intellectual integrity."[851]

Hughes, much lauded for his writing talent, including historiography as well as his art criticism, credits Orwell for making the connection between the politics of language without meaning and the language of verifiable meaning. First noting Orwell's brief (and unsuccessful) foray into visual art criticism (on Salvador Dali), Hughes then brings the subject back to Orwell's imprimatur: writing which says something of substance against writing which does not, while — and this is Orwell's great strength — contextualising this as a political exercise; even for the apolitical.

> Today at least in American academe, the prevalent mode [of art criticism] is an abstract, colonial parody of French post-structuralist jargon, thickened with gobbets of decayed Marxism. But in the early sixties, one had to contend with an airy-fairy, metaphor-ridden kind of pseudo-poetry, which infested the art magazines and made reading art a bore and a trial. Orwell's prose, in all its plain straightforwardness, its no-nonsense attachment to *verifiable meaning*, was a wonderful counter to this…*Politics and the English Language* is one of the great instruments of truth-seeking in English or any other tongue. In this, as elsewhere, Orwell rose to the level of his unsurpassable model, Jonathon Swift.[852]
>
> I was not particularly concerned with Orwell's politics…
>
> But it was his instinct for the politics of culture—his belief that every language must pay its dues to clarity and *force of expression*, and that to misuse it is a crime against the integrity of one's craft—that stuck with me, and seemed necessary to apply to the discussion of visual art. Maybe that would leave you with less to say, fewer ruffles and flourishes. But perhaps what might have been said would not have been worth saying anyway. And there is never any good reason to fear that an embarrassing silence will fall if you stick, as far as is possible, to what is concrete. Art is mostly concrete stuff, appealing to and through the senses…[emphases added][853]

---

[850] G. Orwell, "Why I Write", *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell: Vol 1*, (1970) p26.
[851] G. Orwell, "Why I Write", *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell: Vol 1*, (1970) p26.
[852] There are numerous references scattered throughout Orwell's *œuvre* on the relationship between writing, truth, ideology, and propaganda; for example, also see G. Orwell "Politics vs Literature", *Inside the Whale and Other Essays* (1962) pp121-142.
[853] R. Hughes, *Things I Didn't Know* (2006) pp228-229; note that Hughes does lapse into the occasional Latinate adjective here. For Orwell's approval of both the adjective "back" in prose and literature without

Hughes's observations about writing on visual art are also in essence observations on literary art and literature as politics, including historiography. And like visual art, literary art too is about "mostly concrete stuff" in that it mostly recreates sensual experience in a textualised reconstruction of sight, smell, taste, touch and feeling as well as psyche and spirit and in the mixture of the human elements of courage, fear, pity, joy, sadness and so on towards aesthetic emotion. When the literary arts draw from the facts (verifiable evidence) through historiography, journalism, the essay, the monograph and other genre of nonfiction then good writing articulates, as Hughes says, verifiable meaning.[854]

If this finds cause and effect in a narrative structure then truth is drawn from verifiable evidence to verifiable meaning as, to quote Clendinnen, "true story".[855] McKenna, for one, references Clendinnen's notion of history as true story from her Boyer Lectures (1999) and then describes Watson's *Caledonia Australis* (1984)[856] as the "finest example" of true story. Again, truth moves beyond fact and underpins historical meaning in story.[857] McKenna locates the importance of Clendinnen's descriptor for Watson within the struggles of the History Wars. Again and again, truth as story persists as the metaphorical focus of the set, of the *mise en scène*, in that story of stories, that public play and that arena of struggle, the Narrative Wars. Truth as story is what Orwell, and the many he has influenced, sought and still seek as political writing as an art, as writing as a political art, as politics as art and as art as politics. James Wood argues that Orwell's style is not just "superbly colloquial", his "narrative journalism directs our attention pedagogically" because "he does not flinch from…'loathsome', 'disgusting', 'fetid', 'squalid'" truths and so he remains "politically didactic…[while] he thrashes his subjects with attention".[858] This touches on a general point made by the American essayist, poet and fiction writer, Barry Lopez: "…truth reveals itself most fully not in dogma but in the paradox, irony, and contradictions that distinguish compelling

---

politics, see his "Review of 'Tropic of Cancer' by Henry Miller" in *George Orwell: An Age Like This, 1920-1940 Vol. 1* (2000) pp154-159 and his "Inside the Whale: Part III", *Inside the Whale and Other Essays* (1962) pp40-50.

[854] R. Hughes, *Things I Didn't Know* (2006) pp228-229.

[855] I. Clendinnen, "True Stories" (14 Nov-19 Dec 1999) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/boyerlectures/stories/1999/1715598.htm (26 Jun 2006).

[856] A history of Scottish settlers in Victoria's east Gippsland

[857] M. McKenna, *Looking For Blackfellas' Point* (2002) p7.

[858] J. Wood, "A Fine Rage" (13 April 2009) http://0-find.galegroup.com.library.vu.edu.au/itx/start.do?prodId=EAIM (22 May 2009); for an example of the "'loathsome', 'disgusting', 'fetid', 'squalid'" in *Radical Tasmania*, see "Fellow Slaves!" in *Radical Tasmania*.

narratives—beyond this there are only failures of imagination: reductionism in science; fundamentalism in religion; fascism in politics."[859] The urgency of this for the Narrative Wars says much as to why Orwell looms in the present.

Creative Nonfiction

Herodotus constructed history as a special type of inquiry and the science in history, its notion of a secular understanding, empowers history to confront humanity with the cause and effect of human action. This is history's peculiar courage. (Hence the "Western-ness" of history: assured and volatile, liberating and conquering, creative and destructive; a weapon which "cuts both ways".)[860] History is humanity making itself and it is the story of humanity making itself. Its power is telling.

The irony of the Story Wars is that history and literature deserve each other: the birth of western historiography approximately coincides with the birth of western prose text.[861] Parts of Herodotus's *The Histories* "read like novellas" [862] and they are replete with the creative nonfiction devices of invented dialogue and speeches, notably frequent in the later "books".[863] Some analysts accept that Herodotus's purpose in various parts is higher than base empirical design, or they even find his narrative so evocative that they aesthetically appreciate what they perceive as fictionalised historiographical characters.[864] Thucydides's Melian Dialogue is also unashamed literary device (discussed below). J.H. Hexter insists that historical knowledge is peculiarly different from the sciences in general because, where the latter tends to seek the measurable[865] (usually without evocative language),[866] history seeks qualitative meaning through "the

---

[859] B. Lopez, "Landscape and Narrative" (2004) http://www.randomhouse.ca/catalog/display.pperl?isbn=9781400033980&view=excerpt (26 Dec 2008).
[860] For a brief over-view of the problems in the secular "Western-ness" of history, especially in reference to Dipesh Chakrabarty's *Provincializing Europe* (2000) and Talal Asad's *Formations of the Secular* (2003), see A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006) pp8-9.
[861] A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006) p14.
[862] A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006) p14.
[863] For example, see Xerxes' "speech" in Herodotus, "Book Seven" in *The Histories* (1972) pp443-445. For a discussion of this as fictional device, see D. Pipes, "Herodotus" (1998-1999) http://chn.loyno.edu/history/journal/1998-9/Pipes.htm (24 Dec 2007).
[864] For example, see D. Pipes, "Herodotus" (1989-1999) http://chn.loyno.edu/history/journal/1998-9/Pipes.htm (24 Dec 2007).
[865] Stretton echoed this for the social sciences: "Strict social scientists like to search for the regular, measurable, general and objective facts of social life. Will those principles of selection net much useful understanding of a life which is complex, changing, and sometimes freely chosen? Softer social scientists think not." See H. Stretton, *The Political Sciences* (1969) pv.
[866] J.H. Hexter, "The Rhetoric of History" (1967) p8.

best and most likely story" from its researched evidence.[867] Therefore "in the rhetoric of history itself there are embedded assumptions about the nature of knowing, understanding, meaning, and truth and about the means of augmenting them that are not completely congruent with the corresponding assumptions in the sciences…".[868] Historiography forces rhetorical device to the foreground. To "transmit an increment of knowledge and meaning, the very rules of historiography demanded a rhetoric which sacrificed generality, precision, control, and exactness to evocative force and scope…".[869]

In her Boyer Lectures on history as "true stories", Clendinnen, borrowing a term from Martha Nussbaum, speaks of "narrative imagination" as "the ability to see unobvious connections between sequences of human actions, and to recognise their likely consequences, intended and unintended".[870] She tells her audience that a liberation of the imagination allows them "to taste experiences other than our own". For Clendinnen, this opens political possibilities for history because such "imagining expands our moral comprehension".[871]

It should be noted that "story" etymologically developed out of "history" (*historia*),[872] meaning learning through research and the narration thereof (as discussed above).[873] Story is "any narrative or tale recounting a series of events…[and] the term refers more specifically to the sequence of imagined events that we reconstruct from the actual arrangement of a narrative (or dramatic) plot".[874] The quality to note is that a story seeks to establish a common element of empathy between the (Aristotelian) triad of the author, the subject of the narrative text and the reader. This is dependent on the persuasive capacity of the narrative as true (or as verisimilitude in fiction); already discussed as the ancient Greek notion of *ethos*. What is critical is not the truth claim in

---

[867] J.H. Hexter, "The Rhetoric of History" (1967) p5.
[868] J.H. Hexter, "The Rhetoric of History" (1967) p11.
[869] J.H. Hexter, "The Rhetoric of History" (1967) p11.
[870] I. Clendinnnen, "True Stories: Lecture 1: Incident on a Beach" (14 Nov 1999) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/boyerlectures/stories/1999/66348.htm (22 Jan 2007).
[871] I. Clendinnnen, "True Stories: Lecture 1: Incident on a Beach" (14 Nov 1999) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/boyerlectures/stories/1999/66348.htm (22 Jan 2007).
[872] The etymology is Middle English, shortening of Anglo-Norman French, *estorie*, from Latin, *historia*; see "story[1] *n.*" in C. Soanes & A. Stevenson, *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (2008) http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.library.vu.edu.au/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t23.e55533 30 May 2009).
[873] See "Figurational Tension: Evidence Drawn Towards Meaning".
[874] See "story" in C. Baldick, *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* (2008) http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.library.vu.edu.au/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t56.e1087 (30 May 2009).

itself but that success for the claim to meaning in truth also rests on the rhetorical devices of the narrative.[875] This enquiry paraphrases Hemingway to call persuasive text (fiction or nonfiction) truer than true.[876] (The discussion shall return to this because Hemingway experimented with the "line" between fact and fiction.) Because the focus here is on the manner in which theory informs practice and practice informs theory (praxis), the interest is in how narrative plays a part in radical consciousness changing society through activism. So this is the place to look more closely at the narrative genre, creative nonfiction.

Tom Wolfe graduated with a Doctor of Philosophy in American Studies,[877] which combines literary criticism with historical research[878] and a "healthy skepticism" (*sic.*) of scholastic culture.[879] In 1963-64, while writing as a journalist for the Sunday supplement *New York* of the *New York Herald Tribune*, Wolfe began experimenting in his "hyperbolic style"[880] with point-of view, even writing about himself in third person.[881] Borrowing at first from the fiction of "social realism",[882] he also added to his journalist narrative such devices as scene-by-scene construction with minimal historical narrative, conversational dialogue ("realistic dialogue") and the detailed symbolism of everyday minutiae ("status life").[883] Wolfe says he was elated with "the discovery that it was possible to use any literary device, from the dialogisms of the essay to stream-of-consciousness, and to use many different kinds, simultaneously, or within a relatively short space…to excite the reader both intellectually and emotionally."[884] (The "syncopations (dots)", or "skipped beat", are self-consciously Wolfe's[885] as adapted from Yevgeny Zamyatin.)[886] This connection of the intellect to emotion overcame

---

[875] Aristotle, *Rhetoric* (1.1.2); see S. Chatman, *Story and Discourse* (1989) pp226-227.
[876] E. Hemingway, "Old Newsman Writes" in *Hemingway: By-Line* (1989) p199.
[877] Wolfe's thesis is titled *The League of American Writers: Communist Organizational Activity Among American Writers, 1929-1942*, Yale University. American Studies is a discipline founded by English Professor Vernon Louis Parrington with his Pulitzer Prize-winning *Main Currents in American Thought* (1927).
[878] D. Illman, "1928" (1997) http://www.washington.edu/research/showcase/1928a.html (3 Sep 2007).
[879] Credited to Marshall Fishwick without further reference; see M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p79.
[880] This is credited as Wolf's description of his own journalism before New Journalism; see M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p2.
[881] T. Wolfe, *The New Journalism* (1973) pp16-17.
[882] T. Wolfe, *The New Journalism* (1973) p31. He also broadens this to include the devices generally of "the major novels"; see T. Wolfe (1973) p14.
[883] T. Wolfe, *The New Journalism* (1973) pp31-32.
[884] T. Wolfe, *The New Journalism* (1973) p15.
[885] T. Wolfe, *The New Journalism* (1973) pp21-22.
[886] Zamyatin was the leader of a movement of Russian avant-garde writers known as the Serapion Bothers who resisted literary conformity, Stalin's agitprop and "group-think"; see M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p83. Orwell's *1984* is probably very influenced by Zamyatin's novel, *We*, published in

"understatement", the "pale beige tone…of the pallid little troll" (echoes of Ranke-ism), and sounded a "style" of voice with which to open the reader's imagination (ellipsis added).[887]

Others quickly joined (spontaneously, as though they had the same idea at more or less the same time) with this new development in the journalist's craft. The leading proponents for the "school" of New Journalism[888] included the likes of Norman Mailer, Joan Didion, Truman Capote, P.J. O'Rourke, George Plimpton, Terry Southern, Gay Talese and Hunter S. Thompson (the self-declared "Doctor of Sophistry"[889] who emulated Hemingway, even in death);[890] Lester Bangs, a music critic, followed by adapting New Journalism to the influences of the "Beat Generation",[891] especially that of William S. Burroughs. New Journalism had begun tentatively yet its application was to quickly develop, broadening both its conceptual ambitions and its tools of style, and even exercising its flexibility to embrace the moniker of "journalism in the first person".

Mailer had experimented before Wolfe with literary device for journalism in his political "Superman Comes to the Supermarket" in *Esquire* (Nov 1960). Already an acclaimed novelist,[892] he then brought all his knowledge of the *belles-lettres* into his *Armies of the Night: History as a Novel: The Novel as History* (1968),[893] which is also

---

English in 1924. Orwell describes *We* as "one of the literary curiosities of this book-burning age…[which] was refused publication on the ground that it was ideologically undesirable…[with its theme that] happiness and freedom are incompatible"; see G. Orwell, "Review of *We* by E.I. Zamyatin" in *Orwell Today* (2007) http://www.orwelltoday.com/weorwellreview.shtml (1 Jan 2008).

[887] T. Wolfe, *The New Journalism* (1973) pp17-18.

[888] "I have no idea who coined the term 'the New Journalism' or even when it was coined." See T. Wolfe, *The New Journalism* (1973) p23. Critics had called it "Parajournalism…a bastard form, having it both ways, exploiting the factual authority of journalism and the atmospheric license of fiction." This is credited to Dwight Macdonald in "Parajournalism, or Tom Wolf & His Magic Writing Machine", *New York Review of Books* (1965); see citation in M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p5, and also see T. Wolfe, *The New Journalism* (1973) p24.

[889] Ralph Steadman claims that Thompson defined this appellation with the explanation, "'anything that fits is okay by me''; see R. Steadman, *The Joke's Over* (2006) p74.

[890] D. Brinkley, "The Final Days at Owl Farm" (2009) http://www.rollingstone.com/news/story/7092353/the_final_days_at_owl_farm (25 Jan 2009).

[891] The Beat Generation was a 1950s "counterculture" which sought spontaneity, emotion and a vital, interior reality while also yearning spiritual experience. Its literature was inspired by jazz, poetry, drugs and sexual rebellion.

[892] Mailer had achieved critical acclaim for his novels, *The Naked and the Dead* (1948), *Barbary Shore* (1951), *The Deer Park* (1955)—a *roman à clef*, *An American Dream* (1964) and *Why Are We in Vietnam?* (1967). He would also go on to write *The Executioner's Song* (1979), a novelisation of the life and execution of Gary Gilmour (1977), which would win the Pulitzer Prize for fiction.

[893] The first 90,000 words were originally published as "The Steps of the Pentagon" in *Harper's Magazine* (Mar 1968); a further 30,000 words, titled "The Battle of the Pentagon" and rejected by *Harper's*, were added for the book. See M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) pp184-187.

political.[894] Following Mailer, Thompson pioneered "pure Gonzo journalism",[895] "a style of 'reporting' based on William Faulkner's idea that the best fiction is far more true than any kind of journalism",[896] in "The Kentucky Derby Is Decadent and Depraved" (1970)[897] and *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* ("this foul year of Our Lord, 1971");[898] though the latter, perhaps because it satirises the distinction between truth and deceit (the "American Dream") in the failure of the 1960s "counterculture" and the rise of the New Right (President Nixon),[899] is often catalogued by librarians as "fiction".[900] (Partly inspired by Jack Kerouac's "Spontaneous Prose",[901] the blending of journalism with the fantastic is a characteristic of Gonzo.) Mailer and Thompson are themselves the protagonists in their narratives, respectively in third and first person, to dispel the illusion of objectivity.[902] The truth they seek is not in the facts alone but in the meaning contextualised by the narrative; it is truth in subjectivity.[903]

Mailer's intention was to break from the convention dominating the American popular press in the 1950s.[904] Yet the characterisation in nonfiction of the author-protagonist in third person so as to objectify the narrative is ancient. One can read back to at least Julius Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic War*, though here the device is seeking to

---

[894] Sometimes referred to as a "nonfiction novel", *Armies of the Night* won the 1969 Pulitzer Prize for "General Nonfiction".

[895] H.S. Thompson, *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* (2005) p9. "This is a *true story!*" can be read literally or as literary device; see p8.

[896] See H. Thompson, "Jacket Copy For Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas", *The Great Shark Hunt* (1979) p106.

[897] H.S. Thompson, "The Kentucky Derby Is Decadent and Depraved" (n.d.) http://www.derbypost.com/hunter.html (12 Jan 2008). The by-lines in the original *Scanlan's Monthly* edition (Vol. 1, No. 4, Jun 1970) are "Written under duress by Hunter S. Thompson" and "Sketched with eyebrow pencil and lipstick by Ralph Steadman." See also R. Steadman, *The Joke's Over* (2006) p9.

[898] H.S. Thompson, *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* (2005) p23; this title was originally published in *Rolling Stone* magazine in 1971 (11 Nov & 25 Nov) and then published as a book in 1972.

[899] Ralph Steadman claims that Thompson committed suicide (2005) because of the re-election of George W. Bush and the "death of fun"; see R. Steadman, *The Joke's Over* (2006.) p384. Clearly, Thompson could no longer laugh at neoconservatism, unlike Casey Bennetto when John Howard was elected to a fourth term in 2004 (see note below).

[900] Bill Carduso first applied the term, "Gonzo", to Thompson's experiment in journalism; see R. Steadman, *The Joke's Over* (2006) p69.

[901] M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p234. Along with William S. Burroughs and Allen Ginsberg, Kerouac is considered to be a inspiration for the Beat Generation. Spontaneous Prose has some similarities with "stream of consciousness". Mailer "had been an early champion of the Beats…with his essay 'The White Negro'[1957]"; see M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p169.

[902] Mailer's third person narrative is claimed to have been inspired by *The Education of Henry Adams* (1907), which fuses "social criticism with larger historical currents in the form of a memoir", by the journalist, Henry Adams; see M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p181. For further description of Mailer's "third-person technique", see p182.

[903] It is observed that Mailer and Thompson viewed politics as a "blood sport" and so both used sport metaphors when describing elections; see M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p244.

[904] See R. Koval, "Lion of American Letters" (12 Nov 2007) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2007/2087846.htm#transcript (12 Nov 2007).

objectify the narrative.[905] (It is also interesting that this work has a political intention.) Even more, the deliberate use of literary artifice in historiography goes back to the very beginning of history as a science, to none other than Thucydides's *The Peloponnesian War* in the fifth century B.C. His Melian Dialogue is an adaptation of the art of stage play and his speeches are literary recreations after eye-witness testimony (*autopsía* or autopsy) as "what was called for by each situation".[906] (Thucydides distances himself from the fabulous.[907] Some, like John Lewis, claim that therefore "Thucydides distinguishes himself from storytellers".[908] This is to read "storyteller" as a synonym for fiction author, not story as meaningful narrative, otherwise Thucydides could never have written his history "to last for ever".)[909] Importantly, immediately prior to his declaration of some literary licence, Thucydides makes it clear that his historiographical art rests upon what today is viewed as the scientific method in history when he claims "to have used only the plainest evidence and to have reached conclusions which are reasonably accurate".[910]

The narrative art remains critical to the persuasiveness of Thucydides's history. As M.I. Finlay says, "The genius and originality of Thucydides lay in his effort to present them [his themes] in a new way, by writing contemporary history, and in the artistry of his presentation". So, continues Finlay, "Thucydides was right in his feeling that the mere piling up of details, no matter how carefully chosen and described, would eventually lose its interest."[911] The legitimacy of literary art in nonfiction (historiography and journalism), including those with a political purpose,[912] whether they be from Caesar, Orwell, Mailer and a host of other masters of the craft, has an ancient claim; in a word, it is proven.[913]

---

[905] *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*. Historians are reluctant to give an exact date for the appearance of Caesar's historiography; the Gallic Wars were 58-49B.C. and Caesar was assassinated in 44B.C.
[906] Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* 1:22 (1972) p47.
[907] Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* 1.22 (1972) p48.
[908] J. Lewis , "Thucydides and the Discovery of Historical Causation" (2005) http://www.strongbrains.com/thucydides_and_the_discovery_of_historical_causati.htm (20 Jun 2009).
[909] Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* 1.22 (1972) p48.
[910] Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* 1:21 (1972) p47; for a discussion of the "hubris" in the attempt to constrain history within a supposed "Thucydidean science", see "History, Science and Art" in J. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006) pp69-89, especially p89.
[911] M.I. Finlay, "Introduction" to Thucydides (1972) p31 & p32.
[912] If one takes him at his word, Thucydides does not have a political intent for his history, yet it is what Finlay calls "a moralist's work"; see M.I. Finlay, "Introduction" in Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* (1972) p32.
[913] Though Wolfe recognises precursors such as Hemingway and Orwell, he is adamant that New Journalism in a fuller sense is a product of the 1960s; see T. Wolfe, *The New Journalism* (1973) pp41-42 & p46.

Since the 1960s, Wolfe's New Journalism has developed through a number of name changes.[914] Today it is referred to as creative nonfiction.[915] The "godfather" of this phenomenon,[916] Lee Gutkind, defines creative nonfiction in the spirit of the genre itself: "Dramatic, true stories using scenes, dialogue, close, detailed descriptions and other techniques usually employed by poets and fiction writers about important subjects — from politics, to economics, to sports, to the arts and sciences, to racial relations, and family relations".[917] Mordue speaks of nonfiction writing "having the confidence to make literary leaps".[918] He goes on to make the claim that "…the literary non-fiction writer wants to tell a true story more comprehensively and accurately, more soulfully, than anyone else ever has — or ever will."[919]

Though its last scene is a deceit,[920] the seminal work in modern creative nonfiction is often regarded to be Capote's *In Cold Blood: A True Account of a Multiple Murder and its Consequences* (1965).[921] Capote claims for himself "a technical innovation…which is that 'I' the reporter never appear [*sic.*]".[922] Matthew Ricketson summarises the genre in reference to Capote:

> A work of book-length journalism promises the reader more than they [*sic.*] get in the daily media, in the research, in a sense of nuance and context and through the use of narrative to forge a deeper connection with the reader.
>
> The reader can be confident that the story is true – or as true as the writer can make it, given the thorniness of the concept – and the story will read like fiction.[923]

---

[914] Such as the nonfiction novel, narrative nonfiction, literary nonfiction, metabiography, metahistory , polemical history, propagative history, creative history, personal journalism, literary journalism, dramatic nonfiction, new journalism, parajournalism, new nonfiction, verity, literature of fact, literature of reality and so on. See T. Cheney, *Writing Creative NonFiction* (2001) p1.

[915] Weingarten considers that Wolfe's vision for New Journalism "died a long time ago, but its influence is everywhere"; see M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p258.

[916] A title branded on Gutkind in criticism of creative nonfiction by James Wolcott in *Vanity Fair* (Oct 1997); see L. Gutkind, "Style and Substance" (1998) http://www.creativenonfiction.org/thejournal/articles/issue10/10editor.htm (21 Apr 2009), and hear this discussed with Gutkind at R. Koval, "The godfather of creative non-fiction - Lee Gutkind", 21 Apr 2009, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2009/2544342.htm (29 Apr 2009).

[917] L. Gutkind, "What is Creative Nonfiction?" (2008) http://www.leegutkind.com/vid5.html (16 Jun 2009).

[918] M. Mordue, "The Devil Is In The Details" (Apr 2008) p7.

[919] M. Mordue, "The Devil Is In The Details" (Apr 2008) p8.

[920] T. Capote, *In Cold Blood* (2006) pp334-336. "Capote needed a happy ending for his masterpiece and he simply invented one." See M. Mordue, "The Devil Is In The Details" (Apr 2008) p6.

[921] *In Cold Blood* was originally published in four consecutive issues of the *New Yorker*, beginning 25 Sep 1965; see M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p32.

[922] Hear a sound bight of Capote; see R. Koval, "The godfather of creative non-fiction - Lee Gutkind", 21 Apr 2009, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2009/2544342.htm (29 Apr 2009).

[923] M. Ricketson;, "The Capote Conundrum", (25 Feb 2006) http://www.theage.com.au/news/books/the-capote-conundrum/2006/02/24/1140670217162.html?page=fullpage#contentSwap1 (12 Jan 2009).

However, the modern development of creative nonfiction preceded Capote.[924] Jack London is credited with formative examples through his "immersive reportage" early in the twentieth century.[925] The significant developments were a few decades later with Hemingway[926] and Orwell (influenced by London),[927] amongst others.[928] For instance, in the forward to his *Green Hills of Africa*, Hemingway states that his ambition was to try to write, "an absolutely true book to see whether the shape of a country and the pattern of a month's action can, if truly presented, compete with the work of imagination."[929] Today, this would be recognised as a declaration of creative nonfiction or Wolfe's New Journalism.[930]

As already discussed, Hemingway and Orwell obsessed about truth in writing. In their respective pursuits of literary truth they also developed artistic devices which are complementary to creative nonfiction. Orwell's verisimilitude is often real people and events conflated into characters and action so that "small lies" build a "big truth"; this "blurring facts and characters together" to arrive at a greater truth was to become a

---

[924] Though he did not claim credit for the name (see footnote above), when Wolfe published his anthology with the title, *The New Journalism*, he was "criticized for trying to trademark a technique that had existed for over two hundred years"; though examples of such age are not referenced. See M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p9.

[925] His first hand account of the slums of East End London in 1902 in his *People of the Abyss* (1903) and his "The Story of an Eyewitness", *Collier's Weekly* (May 1906); see M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p14 and T. Cheney, *Writing Creative NonFiction* (2001) p4.

[926] As well as numerous articles, Hemingway's titles in this genre include *Death in the Afternoon* (1932), *Green Hills of Africa* (1935), *The Dangerous Summer* (in magazine articles in 1960 and then in hardcover book in 1985), the posthumously published *A Moveable Feast* (1964) and *True at First Light* (1999)—republished as the "complete" manuscript with the title *Under Kilimanjaro* (2005).

[927] See M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p14. As well as numerous articles, Orwell's titles in this genre include *Down and Out in Paris and London* (1933), *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1937) and *Homage to Catalonia* (1938); though something of a *roman à clef*, *Coming Up for Air* (1939) could also contains similar devices.

[928] Other notable antecedents to New Journalism include John Hersey, "Joe Is Home Now", *Life* (1943) and "Hirsohima", *New Yorker* (1946)—which inspired Capote, and Lillian Ross, "Come In, Lassie", *New Yorker* (1948), "How Do You Like it Now, Gentleman?", *New Yorker* (13 May 1950)—ironically, this is a controversial article on Hemingway which is often read as a negative portrayal (though Hemingway defended it), and "Production Number 1512", *New Yorker* (1952); see M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) pp18-29 &p31.

[929] E. Hemingway, "Foreword" in *Green Hills of Africa* (1977). Also see a discussion of Hemingway's devices for a "true book" compared to his fictional memoir at R.W. Lewis & R.E. Fleming in the "Introduction" to E. Hemingway, *Under Kilimanjaro* (2005) ppvii-xv.

[930] Writing in the popular press on the suitability of Orwell for hard times after the credit crisis of 2008, Matchett, citing *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1937), nominates Orwell as "a founder of the long polemical essay, using a combination of reported colour and hard research to argue a case that 30 years later was tagged 'the new journalism'". There is rhetorical licence in the term "founder", nonetheless, as this thesis argues, Orwell did much to develop the form; see S. Matchett, "Gloomy George fares well" (8-9 Nov 2008) p40, http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,24600912-38856,00.html (11 Nov 2008).

principle of New Journalism.[931] While Hemingway diverged from Orwell on writing as propaganda, he retained the notion that political writing could still be "true" whether its vehicle is nonfiction or fiction. For Hemingway, what is important is the context in which such writing might appear and if it might mislead the reader's understanding of the author's intentions. In his introduction to his edited collection of writings on war, *Men At War* (1942), he insists that writers must resist temptations to write propaganda (as was demanded of Hemingway by the left in the 1930s) and should instead cultivate a "fidelity to truth" so that, even in fiction, the writer's art conveys the impression of an "absolute truth". As Hemingway did with his *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, the writer is urged to take up the pen yet defer publication if political pressures might force a compromise of the narrative.[932] He is wanting to resolve, perhaps unwittingly, the tension identified years earlier by Rosa Luxemburg between "freedom" (the right to dissent) and political "discipline".[933]

Yet despite Hemingway's apparent confidence for literature to straddle both fiction and nonfiction, even in war, so that in telling the pattern of action it can, if truly presented, compete with the work of imagination, the horror of industrial weapons against mere flesh brought a falter to his artistic stride in his "War in the Siegfried Line", (*Collier's*: 18 Nov 1944),[934] causing him to confess that "probably the cinema will be able to make this even more realistic."[935] Peter Burke focuses on the inadequacy of the "traditional forms of narrative" to make the reader sensitive to a need for self-reflected subjectivity so the historian is "visible" to the reader.[936] He suggests a number of devices, including a synthesis or dialectic of "thick narrative" (Clifford Geertz's "thick description") and "thin narrative",[937] "multivocality", "backwards" chronology and, inspired by film art, montage, flashback, cross-cutting and alternation of scene and story. [938] Burke also wants historiography which is "more 'open', in the sense of encouraging readers to

---

[931] M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) pp16-17; Weingarten cites Bernard Crick's *George Orwell: A Life*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1980, n.p.
[932] E Hemingway, "Introduction" in *Men At War* (1966) pp8-9.
[933] Luxemburg was critical of the "Lenin-Trotsky theory of dictatorship"; see R. Luxemburg, "The Problem of Dictatorship" (1999) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1918/russian-revolution/ch06.htm (22 Oct 2007).
[934] E. Hemingway, "War in the Siegfried Line" in *Hemingway: By-Line* (1989) p406.
[935] E. Hemingway, "War in the Siegfried Line" in *Hemingway: By-Line* (1989) p406. Wolfe concedes that scene and dialogue "can be handled better on film than in print"; see T. Wolfe, *The New Journalism* (1973) p48.
[936] P. Burke, "History of Events and Revival of Narrative" (1991) p239.
[937] A "narrative thick enough" to account for sequential events and the subjects' intentions while also accounting for "structure — institutions, modes of thought and so on…". See P. Burke, "History of Events and Revival of Narrative" (1991) p240.
[938] P. Burke, "History of Events and Revival of Narrative" (1991) pp243-246.

reach their own conclusions."[939] Hence Burke invites the historian "to practice [Bakhtian] heteroglossia".[940]

As Curthoys and Docker elaborate, this interest of historians in adapting Bakhtin's theory of heteroglossia ("different-speech-ness", mulitvocality or polyphony) not only turns historiography back to that of Herodotus. It seeks to negotiate with a variety of viewpoints and so, contrary to the master-paradigms of Thucydides and Ranke, refutes a presumed cultural hegemony ("authoritive narrative")[941] by the historian. So heteroglossia lends itself readily to history from below.[942]

Wheen's literary analysis to flesh out the political intent in Marx's *Capital* is discussed above.[943] By also applying literary theory to Marx, Dominick LaCapra finds the Bakhtian qualities of "carnivalesque" (the inversion of the authority of usually dominant elites) in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852) where Marx constructs a biting parody amidst the irony of grotesque mediocrity.[944] But Marx, as has been elaborated above, is interested in more than truth as a literary aesthetic. LaCapra argues that Marx aspires to a political history which not only "deploys a powerfully carnivalized style"[945] yet which also "simultaneously raises for us the issue of the relationship, in a historical account, between cognitive (or 'scientific') and performative uses of language—prominently including carnivalesque uses...to effect a change in the larger situational context."[946]

LaCapra's essay is reflecting on the linguistic turn in the late twentieth century and, as indicated, emphasises the relationship between "'scientific'" and "performative" language.[947] Performativity ("speech act")[948] is no substitute for praxis, nonetheless it

---

[939] P. Burke, "History of Events and Revival of Narrative" (1991) pp240.
[940] P. Burke, "History of Events and Revival of Narrative" (1991) pp239.
[941] The authors apply Bakhtin's dialogics to critique a historiographical problematic in Foucault; see A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006) p196.
[942] They discuss Bakhtin at various points, yet see A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006) pp194-196.
[943] See "Literary Theory, Politics and Marxism".
[944] D. LaCapra, "Reading Marx" (1983) p281.
"Thus he [Pierre-Joseph Proudhon] falls into the error of our so-called objective historians. I, on the contrary, demonstrate how the class struggle in France created circumstances and relationships that made it possible for a grotesque mediocrity to play a hero's part." See K. Marx "Preface to the Second Edition" in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (2006) http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/preface.htm (5 Sep 2007).
[945] D. LaCapra, "Reading Marx" (1983) p288.
[946] D. LaCapra, "Reading Marx" (1983) pp288-289.
[947] D. LaCapra, "Reading Marx" (1983) p290.

does have a capacity to complement the latter. (Scott's "transcripts of resistance" also echo this.) LaCapra's dialectic of Bakhtian and performative theory in application to one of Marx's most artfully political pamphlets (literature as political praxis) is argument for the role of literary device in nonfiction with an intent, as LaCapra says above, to effect a change in the larger situational context. Further, it raises the role of multiple voices, dialogies, polyphony, novelisation and connecting (literary) historiography with real life. Political praxis can emerge from the narrative possibilities which abound in what Bakhtin calls the "carnival" in the lives of the other in which, as Holquist observes, "unofficial forms of language served to subvert and overturn the official seriousness of authoritive discourse".[949]

However, to return to the problematic of ethos, a narrative can fail when a fraudulent intent of the author (historian) can be inferred by the reader. As mentioned above in reference to Capote's breach of ethos at the end of his *In Cold Blood*, subversion of historiographical discourse also occurs when the legitimacy of the narrative device is questioned in the context of its claim to truth. For example, a dispute has arisen in recent years around the trial "speech" of Musquito, the Aboriginal "bushranger",[950] as it is "reconstructed" by Henry Melville in his *A History of Van Diemen's Land* (c1835).[951] (This narrative reeks of British condescension to Aboriginal English.) Melville, like Thucydides, narrates the speech as though he has access to a reliable witness (described by Melville as a "former benefactor") who remembers it verbatim.[952] Melville's history was published almost 10 years after Musquito's trial. His narrative of Musquito's speech is possibly true but it is probably not true. Its relevance in the History Wars is that if read as literally true, as Windschuttle does,[953] then it seems that Musquito is a

---

[948] Performativity, developed from John L. Austin's philosophy of language, is largely influenced by Judith Butler's sociology of "identity politics" (particularly gender and sexuality) as well as sociologies of science, technology and economics to name some; they have in common a prescription which limits them to the first clause of Marx's "Thesis 11" even if the core of their focus is performance (action). While a politics for change can be inferred from performativity, it does not explicitly, nor necessarily, seek to fulfil Marx's second clause, "…the point is to change [the world]." For a discussion of performativity in the context of sexual politics in Tasmania, see B. Baird, "Sexual citizenship in 'the New Tasmania'" (Nov 2006) p967 & p984. Performativity does have some analytical utility for this thesis, more so in explicating sexual politics and in locating cultural agencies which "speak" from "behind" political struggle; for example, see "Coming Out, Speaking Out and Marching Out" in *The Selected Histories*.

[949] M. Holquist; see M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* (1981) p3.

[950] R. Cox, "Ch. 2: Musquito and Black Jack", *Steps to the Scaffold* (2004) pp15-66.

[951] H. Melville, *The History of Van Diemen's Land* (1965) p40n.

[952] Melville, who does not make it clear if the alleged dialogue was retold by a witness as evidence in court or as a private story, credits Musquito's speech to the narrative of an anonymous "former benefactor" of Musquito's; see H. Melville, *The History of Van Diemen's Land* (1965) p40n.

[953] K. Windschuttle, "Guerrilla Warrior and Resistance Fighter?" (Nov 2004) pp230-231.

wanton murderer (though the affected idiom makes for some ambiguity). The simplest approach for a revisionist history of Musquito, like Naomi Parry's, is to question the provenance of the account because it is insufficiently evidenced;[954] in other words, Melville is misleading his readers into thinking he has an exact record when he might only be speculating. Again, this emphasises the importance of clearly delineating whether a narrative is a claim to truth based on evidence or an artistic device in place of a banal metadiscourse like, "It might have been the case…" or "One could speculate…", etc.

Having completed a overview of creative nonfiction in its general application to political historiography, Part 3 of the exegesis will consider creative nonfiction in application to *Radical Tasmania*.

[954] N. Parry, "'Many deeds of error'" (Nov 2004) p238.

Part 3

Et In Tasmania Ego[955]

Trowenna is an Aboriginal name for Tasmania from before the British invasion (1803).[956] CA Cranston comments on an anthology she edited, *Along these lines: From Trowenna to Tasmania* (2000), that it was "a mistake it turns out (as far as the title goes) as readers generally assume that Trowenna is some other *place*, rather than some other *time*."[957] She details "the psychic projection of historical trauma onto landscape"[958] in Van Diemen's Land (a characterisation criticised by Martin Flanagan as Tasmania's "pathetic fallacy")[959] and then observes that environmental struggles "tipped the so-called narratives of shame from *topophobia* to *topophilia*" in late twentieth century Tasmania.[960] (Richard Flanagan describes this as Tasmania's "aesthetic dilemma", discussed below.)[961] In turn, these struggles morphed into the economic and cultural forces of modern tourism which is "rewriting history *and* the landscape…[so that] geography *and* history appear in danger of being reinvented, reimagined, reinscribed by a new brand of story teller."[962] This is fundamental to Tasmanian storyscape.

The colony's reputation was considered such a disincentive for migrants and capital that the new name of Tasmania was proclaimed under the Designation of the Colony Act, becoming effective on 1 January 1856.[963] The contradictions of a mythical, antipodean Arcadia, an "upside-down world inside-out",[964] developing in a place which began with the near extermination of its Aborigines and as one of the most brutal penal "settlements" in the British Empire speaks to that cliché of Tasmania as a story "from

---

[955] Even in Tasmania, there I am. The phrase "et in Arcadia ego" appears on two pastoral paintings of Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665). H.R. Stoneback argues that Poussin's Latin is often mistranslated, so the "Tasmanian vernacular" is based on his translation. See H.R. Stoneback, "Hemingway's Evocation of Place" (2005) p164.
[956] R. Haynes, "Creating *Trowenna*", *Tasmanian Visions* (2006) pxiv. The modern Palawa equivalent is *lutruwita*; see T. Sainty, "Tasmanian places and Tasmanian Aboriginal language" (Jun 2006) http://209.85.173.104/search?q=cache:EAPLZR4zzh8J:www.anps.org.au/documents/June_2005.pdf+%22Tasmanian+places+and+Tasmanian+Aboriginal+language%22%2BSainty&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=2&gl=au (7 Jun 2008), p6.
[957] CA Cranston, "Rambling in Overdrive (2003) p28.
[958] CA Cranston, "Rambling in Overdrive (2003) p32.
[959] M. Flanagan, "The Hunt for Tasmania" (14 Aug 1999) p4.
[960] CA Cranston, "Rambling in Overdrive (2003) p37.
[961] R. Flanagan, *A Terrible Beauty* (1985) p63.
[962] CA Cranston, "Rambling in Overdrive (2003) p39.
[963] Terry Newman, "Tasmania, the Name" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p353.
[964] M. Flanagan, "The Hunt for Tasmania" (14 Aug 1999) p4.

hell to paradise".[965] Mark Twain sketches Hobart as just such a contradiction of time and place, beauty and violence, "a sort of bringing of heaven and hell together".[966]

As Martin Flanagan observes, "Tasmania is more than a place; it's an idea, a potent one, since it presents certain fundamentally Australian themes in their most concentrated and focused form."[967] His brother, Richard, considers that it is also a vessel for jokes of shame. Hay paraphrases the latter's depiction of Tasmania as "Australia's psychological sink – a repository for all the displaced insecurities and cankering guilts that lurk behind the veneer of uneasy Sydney (etcetera) worldliness."[968] Carmel Bird resents that it is mythologised as a breeding ground for "incest, bestiality, birth defects and freaks" where tourist dollars are exchanged for "two-headed Tasmanian dolls" in an island described as being in the shape of a "cunt".[969] This is part of what Maria Tumarkin calls the "psychological ghettoisation" of Tasmania.[970]

Naming places is a common technology of invasion, occupation and possession or even black humour because geography underpins so much self-identity, especially in the conspicuous landscape of Tasmania. (As Cranston notes, it seems almost impossible for Tasmanian writers not to mention landscape.)[971] The entrance to Macquarie Harbour, with Van Diemen's Land's most notorious penal station at Sarah Island (1821-1833, 1846-1847), was named as Hell's Gates[972] and it is an appellation which persists to this day. Frenchman's Cap, a quartz peak overlooking the harbour, is speculated to have been named in irony by the convicts after the French Revolution's headwear of

---

[965] R. Croome rejects this image as a misleading generalisation; see R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008). Croome also castigates the notion of an "innocent" Tasmania; see R. Croome, "Port Arthur: Lost Opportunities" (1996) in CA Cranston *Along These Lines* (2000) pp85-87. See also a criticism of Tasmanian tourism's "undifferentiated once-upon-a-time" in P. Hay, "Subversive History", *Vandiemonian Essays* (2002) p9.

[966] M. Twain, Ch. 29 in *Following the Equator* (n.d.) http://www.literaturecollection.com/a/twain/following-equator/30/ (15 Jun 2008). Marcus Clarke draws on a metaphor of penal misery to describe Tasmania's south-east coast as resembling "a biscuit at which rats have been nibbling"; see M. Clarke, Bk II: "Macquarie Harbour. 1833", Ch I: "The Topography of Van Diemen's Land", *For the Term of His Natural Life*, (21 Feb 2004) http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/c/clarke/marcus/c59f/part15.html (16 Nov 2007). Boyce criticises Clarke's geonarrative as "misleading" because it portrays the Tasmanian landscape as "the enemy" when, he argues, it has been historically "benevolent" and liberating; see R. Koval, "Australian Classics: Marcus Clarke's His Natural Life" (10 Aug 2009) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2009/2642204.htm (16 Aug 2009).

[967] M. Flanagan, "The Hunt for Tasmania" (14 Aug 1999) p4.

[968] P. Hay, "Port Arthur: Where Meanings Collide", *Vandiemonian Essays* (2002) p35.

[969] C. Bird, "Fresh Blood, Old Wounds" (1997) http://www.carmelbird.com/freshblood.html (16 Jun 2008).

[970] M. Tumarkin, "'Wishing You Weren't Here…'" (2001) p205.

[971] CA Cranston, "Islands" in CA Cranston & R. Zeller, *The Littoral* Zone (2007) p222.

[972] Sometimes the nomenclature appears in the singular as "Hell's Gate", perhaps because there is only one navigable sea entrance to Macquarie Harbour .

liberty.[973] Boyce reminds today's generations that, during the murderous transformation of Aboriginal Trowenna into the "little England" of Tasmania, the Vandiemonian vernacular of the kangaroo hunters, stockmen and bushrangers roamed from 1803 to the 1820s.[974] Places abounded with names which portray a violent and precarious life, like Murderer's Plains, Hell Corner, Murderer's Tiers, Fours Square Gallows and so on. Official authority tried to rewrite the map with echoes of the Old World, but popular resistance was successful enough to leave the island marked with a jostling of the poetic and macabre with sacred, historic and romantic place names.[975] It is this Janus-faced[976] aspect of Tasmanian storyscape which articulates the island's history from 1803 as an inescapable dialectic.

But "that hated stain"[977] lingers amidst legends of fantastic proportions. Alison Alexander notes that Tasmania's reputation has tended to a function of "outsiders' perceptions of three attributes: the island's isolation, scenery and inhabitants." This has included the contradictions of pygmies, giants, hell, murder, a gothic geography,[978] another "England", fat lambs, a mild climate, wealth, health and safety.[979] To Alexander's observation can be added "green" in all the hues of its vital gorgeousness. For contemporary western values, it can be summarised in the oxymoron of "familiar exotica". Richard Flanagan describes Tasmania as an "absurd, upside down, bastard imitation of England."[980] This is a description of both place and history.

---

[973] The French Revolution's red cap of liberty (*bonnet rouge*) was named after the Roman Phrygian cap which was worn by, amongst others, emancipated slaves; see P. Collins, *Hell's Gates* (2004) p80.
[974] J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p137.
[975] J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p140.
[976] A description of Tasmania attributed to Oxford Professor Peter Conrad (no ref.); cited in R. Croome, "Your Gay & Lesbian Visitor's Guide" (Sep 2008) http://www.discovertasmania.com/__data/assets/pdf_file/0019/19054/G_and_L_web_Final.pdf (14 Feb 2009) p1.
[977] While Henry Reynolds' article "That Hated Stain", an account of the convict emancipists experiences in Tasmania, is meant as a refutation of Russel Ward's *The Australian Legend* (1958), the title of the article encapsulates a general metaphor of early Tasmanian history. Also, Reynolds briefly returns to his thesis in his review of James Boyce's *Van Diemen's Land* (2008); see H. Reynolds, "Wrestling our Van Diemens" (16 Feb 2008) p21. For a version in popular journalism of the legacy of Tasmania's cultural repression *vis-à-vis* the "progressive" history of Victoria, see M. Flanagan, "Weasel Words Kill Dissent" (28 Jan 2006) p5.
[978] Tasmania's "Gothic gruesomeness of the past remained associated with the South-west"; see R. Haynes, "From Habitat to Wilderness" (2003) p86.
[979] Alison Alexander, "Tasmania's Reputation" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p353.
[980] R. Flanagan *Wanting* (2008 p58.

The etymology of the word "landscape" implies human jurisdiction,[981] and it is the depiction of this as a story which is the focus of landscape art in various media.[982] The habit of writers, especially in fiction and poetry, to continue to characterise Tasmania as dark and gloomy in its social landscape[983] has given rise to the sarcastic sneer about Tasmania as a gothic horror wonderland.[984] Today, the Tasmanian Government seeks to perpetuate the image of the island State as "pure" (clean and green and also "pink")[985] and "tasty" for tourism[986] and to attract "new Tasmanians" while it remains inured to industry clear-felling its forests, polluting its waters and despoiling its airs. (Many of Tasmania's young workers still depart for employment elsewhere.[987] As the self-deprecating joke has it, Tasmanians with get-up-and-go do just that: they get up and go![988] So it was with a near paroxysm of joy that the Bartlett Government celebrated the "milestone" of the 500,000th Tasmanian.)[989]

---

[981] Schama claims, "['landscape'] entered the English language, along with herring and bleached linen, as a Dutch import at the end of the sixteenth century. And *landschap*, like its Germanic root, *Landschaft*, signified a unit of human occupation, indeed a jurisdiction, as much as anything that might be a pleasing object of depiction." See S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (1995) p10.

[982] In reference to this for Italian myth, scripture and Dutch paintings, see S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (1995) p10.

[983] J. Davidson, "Tasmanian Gothic" (1989) pp307-325; also see A. Lohrey, "The Greens: A New Narrative" in C. Pybus & R. Flanagan, *The Rest of the World is Watching* (1990) pp89-91.

[984] For an analysis of gothic art as a Tasmanian geo-identity, see R. Haynes, Ch 14. "The Gothic Commodity", *Tasmanian Visions* (2006) pp218-230. Richard Flanagan's disparages the peddling of "the Gothic horror land" to tourists; see R. Flanagan, *Gould's Book of Fish* (2001) p18.

[985] Passengers departing Tasmania by ferry from Devonport are asked to fill in a survey which includes the question as to whether they found Tasmania to be "clean and green". For a discussion of the implications of a gay neopatriarchy and tourism, and Croome on economic incentives for tolerance of gay businesses, see B. Baird, "Sexual citizenship in 'the New Tasmania'" (Nov 2006) pp982-983. For an example of the turn to the "pink dollar", see "Sexist Swine of Swansea" in *The Selected Histories*.

[986] Commissioned research suggests that many visitors reject the advertising and are disinclined to return; see "Negatives about Tasmania" in McKinna *et al* Pty. Ltd., *The Place-of-Origin Branding Report* (21 Jul 2007) http://www.development.tas.gov.au/industry/Place%20of%20origin%20business%20case.pdf (23 Sep 2008), pp103-104. For an example of media response, see P. Duncan, "What's Wrong with Tassie" (25 Mar 2008) http://www.news.com.au/mercury/story/0,22884,23427744-921,00.html (23 Sep 2008) and "Tasmania, Warts and All", editorial (25 Mar 2008) http://www.news.com.au/mercury/story/0,22884,23433461-5006549,00.html (23 Sep 2008).

[987] "Tasmania experienced a net migration loss in 65 of the last 100 years, including 30 of the last 40 years." See Natalie Jackson, "Population" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p283. With a population at 30 June 2006 of 489,921 persons, Tasmania has the oldest demographic of all Australian States and an ageing labour force; see Demographic Change Advisory Council, "Preliminary Population Projections" (May 2008) p5 and "Demographic Change in Tasmania" (May 2008) p1 & p7. The Rundle Government (1996-1998) unsuccessfully tried to counter-balance the loss of youth by enticing mainland retirees to settle in Tasmania; a scheme dented by Tasmania's relatively poorer infrastructure for health services. Paradoxically, in light of its logging disputes, Tasmania then experienced an influx of "tree-changers".

[988] Within the context of islandness, see this discussed in P. Hay, "A Phenomenology of Islands" (Mar 2006) p24.

989 "…this person will receive a $5,000 travel voucher to explore more of their home state." See D. Bartlett, "500000 Strong", 26 May 2008, http://www.premier.tas.gov.au/ (14 Dec 2008).

This contradiction of a clear-fell vista for ecotourism is a situation that voters have endorsed at State and Federal levels to the bemusement of tourists lured by images constructed in thematic principle during the late nineteenth century of scenic beauty, fertility and quaint Englishness.[990] ("Pure Tasmania" became also the "romantic island" to ride on "Baz" Luhrmann's tourodrama, *Australia*, 2008.) The irony of using the extinct *Thylacine*, once shot in thousands for a bounty,[991] as a promotional symbol for the island does not deflect cynical advertising. Ironically, perhaps intentionally, the then Member of the Legislative Assembly, Bob Brown, who had previously arrived in Tasmania to "find" the *Thylacine*, suggested in 1987 that the ("British") red lion on the State's flag be omitted, leaving the commonly named "Tassie tiger" as the only fauna symbol on it.[992] The delayed response (1997) from conservative politicians was to pass a motion which forbids changes to the flag except by referendum or plebiscite. Stretching between symbols of an extinction and an atavism, a regal sublation waves to the commoners! It has Bird searching for a Tasmanian identity:

> For the Aborigines we have the myth of extinction; for the Thylacine we have the myth of survival. Must we be so perverse?[993]

Jeff Malpas observes, "I doubt that there is anywhere in the world in which one can find such a self-evident 'sense of place' as in Tasmania."[994] He can be forgiven for some rhetorical licence, yet the point remains that attachment to "place" has an urgency in a postcolonial society extremely distant from "home" and yet wanting to belong amidst an "in-your-face" location (land, water and atmosphere) as well as a flora and fauna which are both so familiar to a vernacular mindset and yet so exotic for this immigrant-

---

[990] The Tasmanian Tourist Association, subsidised by the Government and private business, was established in 1893; see M. Walker, "Tourism" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p365. Bird claims that the island was receiving 40,000 tourists per annum by 1912; see C. Bird, "Fresh Blood, Old Wounds" (1997) http://www.carmelbird.com/freshblood.html (16 Jun 2008).

[991] For an example of creative nonfiction historiography for a popular readership on Tasmania and the *thylacine*, see Nicholas Shakespeare's "Tigers and Devils" in N. Shakespeare, *In Tasmania* (2004) pp308-325; Shakespeare claims that the Tasmanian Government Thylacine Bounty Scheme (1888-1909) "accounted for 2,184 skins"; see p313.

[992] Alison Melrose, "The Tasmanian Flag" in A. Alexander *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p357. Brown also went on to support the Flags Amendment Bill (1996) in the Federal Senate. The Tasmanian Coat of Arms is a red lion on a shield supported by two *Thylacines*; see a brief history in CA Cranston, *Along These Lines* (2000) p21.

[993] C. Bird, "Fresh Blood, Old Wounds" (1997) http://www.carmelbird.com/freshblood.html (16 Jun 2008).

[994] J. Malpas, "Senses of Place" (Summer 2007) p8. For a discussion on Robinson's frequent descriptions of Van Diemen's Land weather and landscape in his journals, see R. Koval, "The Tasmanian Journals of George Augustus Robinson" (9 Jun 2009) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2009/2592798.htm (9 Jun 2009).

founded island State (also an "archipelago state").[995] Hence, the success of that oxymoron, the familiar exotica (a foreign inversion of Australia's "cultural cringe"),[996] for readers of Tasmanian literature throughout the "overseas" Anglophone and then into translation to the far corners of the influence of western culture.[997] This identity also extends to commercial images of Tasmanian landscape which, because of the qualities of the light and rugged topography, lends itself to contemporary ideals of wilderness beauty.[998]

The landscape photographer, John Watt Beattie, was recording Tasmania's "scenic beauty for tourist promotion through postcards, enlargements and the popular 'magic lantern show'" by the 1870s.[999] Beattie was originally goaded into artistic action by the proposal for a sawmill at Macquarie Harbour.[1000] As early in the island's post–invasion history as this might seem, Beattie is not the first chapter in a long story of what might be termed, "Tasmania Geographic": the construction of a "geo-ideology" (romanticised self-identity through geographical representations) of the island for Tasmanians and the island's exotic otherness ("non-Tasmanians").[1001] After Lieutenant George Tobin's watercolour paintings of Bruny Island from Captain James Cook's 1777 voyage,[1002] there are again representations by the colony's first watercolour landscape artist, George Harris (c.1808), the first professional paintings by John Glover (discussed below), then "the first Australian-born landscape artist",[1003] William Piguenit, followed by the landscape photography of Morton Allport as well as Beattie, and into the twentieth

---

[995] CA Cranston, "Islands" in CA Cranston & R. Zeller, *The Littoral* Zone (2007) p221.
[996] "He [Richard Flanagan] says it's 'totally true' that he is well received overseas but not at home." See J. Steger, "Flanagan's book of desire" (1 Nov 2008) p26.
[997] For example, Richard Flanagan's publisher, Random House, claims that he is distributed in 26 countries; see blurb in R. Flanagan, *Wanting* (hardcover, 2008) dust jacket back flap.
[998] On "making wilderness" in Tasmania, see L. Lester, *Giving Ground* (2007) pp77-89; and on Tasmania wilderness for the political arena in Australian "living rooms", see L. Lester, *Giving Ground* (2007) p45.
[999] M. Tassell & D. Wood, *Tasmanian Photographer* (1981) p7. The "magic lantern" was a primitive graphic projector used for entertainment and information in popular culture until radio and cinema forced its demise.
[1000] R. Haynes, "From Habitat to Wilderness" (2003) pp93-94.
[1001] "At times identification only occurs when the 'the other' is discovered either through travel overseas or encounters with non-Tasmanians." See Tim Jetson, "Place" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p466.
[1002] Tobin's *Native Hut of Adventure Bay* (1792) combines both socio-history with a portrayal of British sailors in an Aboriginal hut while other sailors heave to shore, and also scenic sport with William Bligh going surf-fishing; this latter phenomenon of recreational sport (often angling) became a common theme for Tasmania's tourist-minded arts and later added a dimension to its environmentalism. For a graphic of this painting, see G. Tobin, "Native Hut of Adventure Bay" (2008) http://image.sl.nsw.gov.au/cgi-bin/ebindshow.pl?doc=pxa563/a1279;seq=25 (2 Feb 2009). For more details on the history of angling, politics and art (especially literature) in Tasmania, see R. Hodder, *Line by Line* (2003). For an example of the role of graphics in the politics of angling and environmentalism, see "Weld Trout Fishery in Danger", no by-line, *Save Our State* (2002) http://www.southcom.com.au/~sos/weldfish.html (15 January 2005).
[1003] R. Haynes, "From Habitat to Wilderness" (2003) p91.

century with the photography of Frederick Smithies commissioned by the Government to encourage mainland tourists,[1004] and then the "geonarrative" speaking even further with the writings of Marie Bjelke Peterson[1005] (now also a feminist and lesbian icon) to name some of the more prominent.[1006]

This enthusiasm for the Tasmanian geonarrative shows no sign of abating.[1007] Following the influence of the political photography of Olegas Truchanas and Peter Dombrovskis and the political paintings by Max Angus out of the Lake Pedder and the Gordon-below-Franklin disputes, even wall posters of Tasmanian landscape are often used as "distant" politics inside the homes of an international environmentalist metropolis. It has become a type of environmentalist dreaming which some condemn as "nature porn" because it is based on a misleading representation which omits the marks of the very author who has tracked into the landscape to construct the "scene".[1008] The "beast", industrial man, is so fearsome that he hides from himself. "Park", as in "National Park", is the sublation of wilderness.[1009] Though Matthew Newton took Tasmania's environmental identity to "heaven" with his photograph of the "Weld Angel" (2007);[1010] an image that proved to be politically potent not least because Forestry had complained about the protest which accompanied the "shoot" *in situ* and the police had then arrested the "angel" (Allana Beltran).[1011] The controversy called up the history of graphics around Tasmania's environmentalism, such as Dombrovskis's popularly dubbed "Rock Island Bend" (1979)[1012] — which is perceived as influencing

---

[1004] J.G. Branagan, *Frederick Smithies, O.B.E.* (c.1985) p9. Smithies was also active in the parks movement, being amongst the first of "selected private citizens" to join the Scenery Preservation Board (1924) and then becoming its chairman (1941); see p113.

[1005] For more details on wilderness and Tasmanian literature, see R. Haynes, "Writing Wilderness: Writing Struggle", *Tasmanian Visions* (2006) pp302-312.

[1006] R. Haynes, "From Habitat to Wilderness" (2003) p89-96.

[1007] Graphic reproductions of examples of influential Tasmanian visual arts can be viewed in R. Haynes *Tasmanian Visions* (2006).

[1008] R. Haynes, "From Habitat to Wilderness (2003) p98; citations from photographer, Martin Walch, see p104.

[1009] R. Haynes, "From Habitat to Wilderness" (2003) p105.

[1010] The "Weld Angel" was published with Richard Flanagan's acerbic attack on logging companies (particularly Gunns), Forestry and the Tasmanian Government; see R. Flanagan, "Out of Control" (May 2007) p22. It also appears on the front cover of a publication of political environmentalism; see M. Newton & P. Hay, *The Forests* (2007). A reproduction of the image can be viewed at R. Stevenson, "What's the use of the arts?" (2007) http://www.stock-site.org.au/node/200 (2 Feb 2009).

[1011] S. Austin, "'Weld Angel' faces court", *Green Left Weekly* (10 Oct 2007) http://www.greenleft.org.au/2007/727/37711 (2 Feb 2009).

[1012] For a detailed analysis of Dombrovskis's "Rock Island Bend" (1981), see R. Haynes, "From Habitat to Wilderness" (2003) pp101-102; for a graphic reproduction, see her *Tasmanian Visions* (2006) p253 or see P. Dombrovskis, "Morning Mist, Rock Island Bend, Franklin River, Tasmania" (n.d.) http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an24365561 (7 Nov 2006); for an example of its political utility, see W. Lines, *Patriots* (2006) p216.

the mainland's "middle class" vote for the 1983 Federal Election and so ultimately playing a substantial role in stopping the Gordon-below-Franklin scheme[1013] — and Fred Kohl's "Bob Brown at Farmhouse Creek" (1986).[1014] The right too learnt the political lesson in strategically deployed graphics and so it also uses the "frozen moment"[1015] in campaigns against "radical conservationists", such as the Forest Employees Action Group's "All We Ask Is — A Fair Go".[1016]

Tasmania's geo-ideology is discovering a fluid postmodern identity with claims from its arts community that it is well-placed to adapt Richard Florida's "four T's" of "creative-capital" (Talent, Tolerance, Technology and Territorial Assets) to attract a "creative class" [1017] which will usurp "hobbity eco-business" and develop "cultural tourism in a big way".[1018] Though Florida's theory mostly focuses on metropolitan regions, it has similarities to the Greens demands for a tolerant Tasmania[1019] (an alternative New Tasmania)[1020] with a "knowledge-and information-based, low-volume, high-value economy".[1021] Like the origins of Tasmania Geographic, capitalism is the bottom line; irresistible material forces like the GFC will put the ideal to proof while Tasmania's identity is likely to continue in this very tension of landscape and economy.

Yet, gnawing within, is the legacy of a brutal history which also finds representation in geographical sites. Tumarkin refers to the archaeological remains of sites of mass violence as "traumascapes": geographical sites, natural and social, where one finds "the

---

[1013] The newly elected Federal ALP Hawke Government fulfilled an election promise to block the Gordon-below Franklin scheme; a decision which was then upheld in the High Court after an appeal by the Tasmanian Government. For a discussion of the role of the Dombrovskis image in the environmental campaign and the 1983 Federal election, see L. Lester, *Giving Ground* (2007) pp99-101.

[1014] Described as "Christ and the centurions", the graphic won Albert Kohl a prestigious Walkey Award for "Press Photographer of the Year"; see L. Lester, *Giving Ground* (2007) pp102-103. See this image at "Bob Brown at Farmhouse Creek" (n.d.) http://www.filmaust.com.au/wilderness/photos/struggle/page7.htm# (7 Jun 2009).

[1015] L. Lester, *Giving Ground* (2007) p106.

[1016] Libby Lester references this as published in *The Mercury* as a political advertisement, 15 Mar 1986, p12; see a discussion of this and the publication reference at L. Lester, *Giving Ground* (2007) p103 and e.n.28, p180.

[1017] Disseminated in Florida's *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002) and later publications; for a brief summary of his theory, see R. Florida, "Tallahassee's creative age" (16 May 2007) http://kccitallahassee.files.wordpress.com/2007/05/florida-op-ed.pdf (5 Feb 2009).

[1018] J. Engberg, "Southern Discomfort" (Dec 2008-Jan 2009) http://www.themonthly.com.au/tm/node/1336 (4 Feb 2009).

[1019] See "Coming Out, Speaking Out and Marching Out" in *The Selected Histories*. On Government tributes to gay activists, see B. Baird, "Sexual citizenship in 'the New Tasmania'" (Nov 2006) pp977-978.

[1020] See a summary of some aspirations for New Tasmania in B. Baird, "Sexual citizenship in 'the New Tasmania'" (Nov 2006) pp971-972.

[1021] Christine Milne, "Green Politics" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p167.

power and fate of places transformed by tragedy".[1022] Reynolds is sensitive to the patchwork of beauty and brutality in Tasmania's landscape as social identity.

> …I was talking with one of my history lecturers about Tasmania and the appeal of its landscape. He was less enthusiastic about it than I was. 'No,' he said, 'it's a bloody sad place. You can still hear the Aborigines crying in the wind.'[1023]

Yet it is this reconstruction of a primal being, of pre-history and post-invasion, with all its attendant yearnings ("geophilia" and "biophilia"), which has emerged as Tasmanian "wilderness" (a very non-Trowenna notion);[1024] a description made and remade in the numerous battles for public support between historians and environmentalists and government and business, amongst others.[1025] Topography is used to give natural form to ruling ideas.[1026] When a dominant power is being challenged then the struggle around its ideas can force up a divisive "topography". (The History Wars are said to be fought over a "moral topography".)[1027] Tasmanian wilderness shifts between such as the excremental horror of "nothing but a brown ditch, leech-ridden, unattractive to the majority of people"[1028] or the soul-nourishing "topdressings of modernity"[1029] as the "last wild" river and "virgin" rainforest which must be "saved"[1030] as a "wilderness park". Also, while the representatives of capital dismiss so many environmentalists' images of Tasmania as "sentimental", "a bloody greeny wonderland", etc., and while the Government too uses similarly green images for its tourist industry, there are oppositional representations of Tasmanian landscape as a dystopic industrialised socialscape, such as Geoff Dyer's King River Landscapes, Geoff Parr's politicised

---

[1022] This is Tumarkin's sub-title; see M. Tumarkin, *Traumascapes* (2005). Tumarkin discusses traumascape for many sites around the world, yet see especially her various references on Tasmania's Port Arthur listed in her index, p277; also see her earlier essay, "'Wishing You Weren't Here…'" (2001) pp196-240.

[1023] H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) p1.

[1024] R. Haynes, "From Habitat to Wilderness" (2003) p83. Lines, referencing Tim Flannery and Marcia Langton, is critical of the "post-modern fakery" that "wilderness" implies *terra nullius*; see W. Lines, *Patriots* (2006) pp336-337.

[1025] For a brief discussion of wilderness as ultimately "elusive", see "Introduction: The meaning of wilderness" in G. Buckman, *Tasmania's Wilderness Battles* (2008) ppxiv-xvi. For an overview of the successes and failures of environmentalism in Tasmania, see Buckman's "Conclusion' at pp223-227.

[1026] "…so many of our modern concerns —empire, nation, freedom, enterprise, and dictatorship —have invoked topography to give their ruling ideas a natural form." See S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (1995) p17.

[1027] "Windschuttle recasts the moral topography of the public sphere." See T. Rowse, "Go Away, You White Buggers" (Feb 2003) http://dspace.flinders.edu.au/dspace/bitstream/2328/1305/1/10-11.pdf (15 Feb 2009) p11.

[1028] A comment by Premier Robin Gray on the Franklin River (1984); see M. Angle, "We look back at…" (27 Jun 2003) http://www.abc.net.au/stateline/tas/content/2003/s890008.htm (12 Apr 2008).

[1029] S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (1995) 16.

[1030] Tim Jetson, "Place" in A. Alexander *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p468.

images of Lake Pedder, Richard Wastell's Styx Valley series and Richard Flanagan's essays and fiction.[1031] There are many more reflections in this art of a post-colonial society which is probably the most geo-obsessed in Australia; perhaps compounded by its literally uplifted (as in mountainous) islandness "beneath" an island continent. Gwen Harwood, the famous poet, even distilled Tasmania to "…scenery, which I hate".[1032]

Some environmentalists claim that nature-ventures lend them a certain moral superiority.[1033] (Tasmania's focus has shifted from eternalised mountain tops to the vulnerability of its rivers and trees.)[1034] This is above all a function of the contextualisation of what is a social other, nature; this very objectification is of course defined by the subjective "us". As Schama argues, "The wilderness, after all, does not locate itself, does not name itself."[1035] It can be easy to lose sight of this; pun intended, the forest is often not seen for the trees. In this era of nature fetishism, of realising this other through the alienation of selling nature, whether in business or politics or history, as the simulacra of a veritable other world, invariably ideological struggles overlook the point that, as Schama adds, "landscape" is "manscape": 'scape is a "design" by human entity ("old culture-creature"), and "it is culture, convention, and cognition that makes that design…".[1036]

Whether or not there is a craving to overcome our mortality through a turn to nature,[1037] wilderness, whatever it is, has become the potent symbol of enviro-politics.[1038] Senator Brown notes the importance for the Franklin-below-Gordon dispute:

> It was about the wilderness. That was giving voice to rivers and the wilderness itself through those cameras [of the media]. It wasn't just the people being arrested there. It was what was behind them and what was happening behind them in those pictures that would get to the living rooms in Australia.[1039]

[1031] R. Haynes, *Tasmanian Visions* (2006) pp327-340, p261; R. Flanagan, "Out of Control" (May 2007) and his anti-Hydro novel, *The Sound of One Hand Clapping* (1997), the latter was also released as a movie, screenplay and direction by R. Flanagan (1998).
[1032] "…we have nothing here except scenery, which I hate"; refer Gwen Harwood, "Letter to Edwin Tanner" (22 Jul 1969), cited in R. Haynes, *Tasmanian Visions* (2006) p237.
[1033] R. Haynes, "From Habitat to Wilderness" (2003) p98.
[1034] R. Haynes, "From Habitat to Wilderness" (2003) p100.
[1035] S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (1995) p7.
[1036] S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (1995) 12; for Schama, this renders impossible "anti-landscape"—the ultimate goal of minimalist landscape art.
[1037] S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (1995) 15.
[1038] L. Lester, *Giving Ground* (2007) pp77-89.
[1039] Quoted in L. Lester, *Giving Ground* (2007) p45— no reference supplied; though Senator Brown is listed as an interviewee for Lester, *Giving Ground* (2007) p162.

The environmentalists succeeded with the term "wilderness" after reflecting on their mistakes from their failed campaign to save Lake Pedder in the 1970s.[1040] Libby Lester summarises Kevin Kiernan of the Wilderness Society:[1041]

> A mistake of the Pedder campaign had been in presenting the lake as a recreational resource for the hardy bushwalkers and conservationists…By presenting wilderness as a place set apart from humanity, the Wilderness Society was 'literally selling the image of the south-west wilderness as a sacred place'.[1042]

What was unforseen by many environmentalists (so disdainful of Marxist analysis) is that "selling" literally translates in capitalism as the commodification of being (alienation). This is the familiar theme of Tasmania's geo-sublation, the dialectics of both conserving and destroying its geography. The success of Beattie's first exhibition (1879), and his career which followed from it, was an expression of this tension in Tasmania to marvel at its natural features while also exploiting them for commercial profit. Beattie successfully advocated for legislation for nature parks (Scenery Preservation Act of 1915) while promoting mining, irrigation, hydro-power and tourism. It might have been "unusual at the time", yet Tasmania's ongoing angst implies a necessary archaeology of the "potential conflict between man and nature [which] disturbed him".[1043] It is a fluid contradiction which has defined so much of Tasmania ever since. With environmentalism becoming a traditional struggle against business development, it was embodied in the likes of Gustave Weindorfer, who was a key figure in the proclamation of the Cradle Mountain—Lake St Clair National Park (1922), and Jessie Luckman, who led a campaign to stop the excision of the Florentine Valley from Mt Field National Park in the 1940s (the consequences of which continue with the current battle to save the Florentine Valley), the formation of Tasmania's Flora and Fauna Committee (1946), up to the establishment of the UTG in the 1970s and the

[1040] There is a prevailing view that the polarisation in Tasmania of "conservation versus development" dates from this campaign; for example, see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) p75.
[1041] The Tasmanian Wilderness Society, now part of The Wilderness Society (Australia), was founded in 1976 at a meeting of the South-West Action Committee; see H. Gee, "The Wilderness Society", in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p385.
[1042] L. Lester, *Giving Ground* (2007) p99; see the original attribution to Kiernan in Gary Easthope & Geoff Holloway, "Wilderness as Sacred: The Franklin River Campaign" in P. Hay, R. Eckersley & G. Holloway, *Environmental Politics in Australia and New Zealand* (1989) p194 & p197.
[1043] M. Tassell & D. Wood, *Tasmanian Photographer* (1981) p9.

emergence of the modern movement with eventually the Greens as its Parliamentary spearhead in the 1980s and up to the present.[1044]

Ecotourism, in Cranston's critique, has proven to be irresistible in its perversion of the landscape. As Senator Brown is alleged to have sighed, "the term wilderness lodge is an oxymoron."[1045] But it has also become a commercial reality and in the ironic sense for which Marx expended so many words in *Capital*.[1046] Lester outlines its meaning for Tasmania:

> Here, wilderness became a far more relative, flexible concept, easily adapted to the commercial context in which it was being applied. Wilderness can still be 'remote', 'empty', 'undamaged', but it can now also carry with it connotations of luxury and accessibility.[1047]

Hence the development of Tasmania's "terrible beauty" (its aesthetic dilemma, discussed below) into a metaphorical "Madonna-whore"[1048] neurosis writ large. It is this dual "personality" in the history of Tasmania's social landscape and its application for literary device in a radical historiography which will now be examined.

Storylines into Storyscape

"Ecolit" (ecoliterature), sometimes claimed as "an ancient literary genre",[1049] and its academic shadow, "ecocrit" (ecocriticism),[1050] are together a contemporary

---

[1044] For a chronology of Tasmania's environmentalism, see "Appendix 1: Key dates in Tasmania's wilderness battles" in G. Buckman, *Tasmania's Wilderness Battles* (2008) pp229-239.
[1045] Quoted in L. Lester, *Giving Ground* (2007) p109—no reference supplied.
[1046] For a brief overview of Marxism "in *political* conflict with environmentalism" around this issue, see "The Commodification of Space" in P. Hay, *Main Currents in Western Environmental Thought* (2002) p155-156; for his observations on "ecosocialism" and the dialectics of labour and nature, see pp269-270.
[1047] L. Lester, *Giving Ground* (2007) p109.
[1048] "…the most insidious lie of all is that there are only two sides to the [logging] argument, and only two possible outcomes — a smouldering, poisonous moonscape or a pristine, untouchable wilderness." See A. Morgan, "There's more than one way to save a Tasmanian wilderness" (14 Oct 2007) http://www.theage.com.au/news/opinion/theres-more-than-one-way-to-save-a-wilderness/2007/10/13/1191696234876.html (14 Oct 2007). Some see the Tasmanian Governments as "seemingly schizophrenic"; see a citation of photographer Matthew Newton at G. Buckman, *Tasmania's Wilderness Battles* (2008) pp222-225.
[1049] S. Speed, *EcoLit Journal* (Spring 2004) http://209.85.141.104/search?q=cache:WeaGKHlxnaQJ:cla.calpoly.edu/~smarx/courses/380/Journal/EcoLitJournal2004.pdf+ecolit&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=1&gl=au. (15 Jun 2008).

manifestation of the relationship between environmentalism and the literary arts.[1051] They can tend to a fetishism of "nature"; a literary *umwelt* (self-world).[1052] Laurence Buell, in an influential publication for ecocrit, *The Environmental Imagination* (1995), calls for the "ecocentric" life to include the "study of the relationship between literature and the environment conducted in a spirit of commitment to environmentalist praxis."[1053] However, Buell's call is an endnote; politics is mostly only implied in the abstraction of literature as "nature writing",[1054] including his preference for realism and nonfiction. In some ecolit and ecocrit there is a tendency to the language of the *faux-radical* of the literary bourgeois of the Western metropolises—the same chameleon posturing which critics argue bedevils the "middle class-ness" of the Tasmanian Greens as discussed above.[1055] The task for *Radical Tasmania* is to narrate the potential for the qualitative "growth" of a social movement into an irresistible social force. (In reference to an historiography of Tasmanian environmentalism, a pun on forest understorey as "understory" is also obvious, yet it solicits the image of a hidden life rather than an overt challenge to authority.)[1056] This is the difference between activism doomed to a note in history and a radical politics which can "write" (make) its own history. So a more potent language is needed.

The business of humans inquiring into a collective past (*Homo historia*) would be poor without the business of humans telling the stories of a collective past (*Homo fabula*). As Swift has it, humans are story-telling animals. More than this, stories are tools of navigation through an otherwise empty void, forging a trail for others to follow like the marks of wagon wheels across the plains of experience. "Wherever he goes he wants to leave behind not a chaotic wake, not an empty space, but the comforting marker-buoys

---

[1050] One definition of ecocriticism claims to set itself at odds with poststructuralism because the former "engages with texts as if actual places matter"; see R. Zeller & CA Cranston, "Setting the Scene" in CA Cranston & R. Zeller, *The Littoral* Zone (2007) p7.
[1051] For observations on the role of ecocriticism in Australian literary studies, see R. Zeller & CA Cranston, "Setting the Scene" in CA Cranston & R. Zeller, *The Littoral* Zone (2007) pp13-20.
[1052] In the natural sciences, *umwelt* (environment) describes the biology at the center of communication and signification in the human and non-human animals such that different animals have different *umwelten*; see this briefly discussed as "meaningful expanses" in B. Lopez, *Arctic Dreams* (1999) p268.
[1053] L. Buell, *The Environmental Imagination* (1995) p430, note 20.
[1054] Also described as "place-based writing"; see R. Zeller & CA Cranston, "Setting the Scene" in CA Cranston & R. Zeller, *The Littoral* Zone (2007) p8.
[1055] See "The 'Nature' of Property and Environmentalism as 'Middle Class' Politics".
[1056] This is the title of a magazine for undergraduates in creative writing, however the magazine does not seem to a give an emphasis to ecolit or a radical poetics; see *Understory* (n.d.) http://understory.uaa.alaska.edu/ (1 Apr 2008). For a possible application of "understory" as the "hidden resistance" of convict absconders in Tasmanian history, see J. Boyce, "The Bush Becomes Home", *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) pp48-49.

and trail-signs of stories."[1057] In this sense, meaning is found along "dreaming tracks" ("songlines") and history, in the intention of a secular inquiry, is the "storylines" of humanity making its own future. When this is entwined with a geo-consciousness then one finds narrative structure through storyscape. For someone caught in the vortex of the Story Wars like Grenville, it is "The Land Speaking".[1058]

Lopez, once a landscape photographer and later a proclaimed "nature writer" in the tradition of Henry David Thoreau,[1059] "came to believe that people's desires and aspirations [are] as much a part of land as the wind, solitary animals, and the bright fields of stone and tundra."[1060] In this sense, Lopez could be described as developing into a "landscape writer", evoking "landscapes of memory".[1061] In his mature writings, he locates a relationship between the "external landscape" and its projection within a person as the "interior landscape". It is a narrative path to truth. "In so far as the storyteller depicts various subtle and obvious relationships in the exterior landscape accurately in his story, and insofar as he orders them along traditional lines of meaning to create the narrative, the narrative will 'ring true'."[1062] Lucashenko has a similar notion when she asserts, "…the stories that give life meaning - the pedagogies of the generations - are contained not in books or language alone, but in language expressed within and by landscape."[1063]

Schama, as historian and art and cultural critic, explores the connection between geography, history and narrative art in evocative metaphor:

> The sum of our pasts, generation laid over generation, like the slow mould of the seasons, forms the compost of our future. We live off it.[1064]

It is opportune at this point to consider the relationship between history and landscape, and then to weigh its potential as literary device in an historiography of radicals in such a geographically dramatic location as Tasmania.

[1057] G. Swift, *Waterland* (1983) p53.
[1058] K. Grenville, *Searching for the Secret River* (2006) p166.
[1059] Liberal anarchism and environmentalism often go hand in glove; see P. Hay, *Main Currents in Western Environmental Thought* (2002) p280.
[1060] B. Lopez, "Preface" in *Arctic Dreams* (1999) pxxii.
[1061] B. Lopez, *Arctic Dreams* (1999) p247.
[1062] B. Lopez, "Landscape and Narrative" (2004) http://www.randomhouse.ca/catalog/display.pperl?isbn=9781400033980&view=excerpt (26 Dec 2008).
[1063] "Not Quite White in the Head" (Summer 2003-2004) p17.
[1064] S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (1995) p574.

As Hay notes, "place-writing" has been elevated to the status of a "genre", especially in the "robust North American tradition of nature writing."[1065] Not just "*literature* of place",[1066] storyscape has also explicitly emerged as a term used by American indigenous movements (the *Mohave* people in particular) to describe their identity with the land as expressed in story and song and in their struggles with non-indigenous authority.[1067] From here, storyscape has also emerged as the narrative of urban environmentalists. Ned Kaufman, for example, claims he is invited to lecture around the world on "discovering and protecting our storyscape".[1068]

Social space is a cornerstone of Harvey's geography of revolution. He finds a dialectic in which global capitalism's impulse to commodify social identity by exploiting history and place, in a desire for the "super-profit" of monopoly control, opens the possibility for an antithetical and even revolutionary culture:

> By seeking to trade on values of authenticity, locality, history, culture, collective memories and tradition [capitalists] open a space for political thought and action within which socialist alternatives can be both devised and pursued. That space deserves intense exploration and cultivation by oppositional movements that embrace cultural producers and cultural production as a key element in their political strategy..[1069]

The concern here is how this is entwined with a particular identity of place, earthspeaking-Tasmania,[1070] and its potential to radicalise "cultural production" in Tasmania.

Place is a powerful force in history and therefore in story. At its most intangible yet still powerful it is sacred *deus loci* and locates "an authentic sense of place".[1071] A narrative which grows out of a landscape can find so much more than just a literal analysis of human action amongst trees, rocks and grass, it can imagine beauty, conjure intimacy,

---

[1065] P. Hay, *Main Currents in Western Environmental Thought* (2002) p153.
[1066] P. Hay, *Main Currents in Western Environmental Thought* (2002) p155.
[1067] The Storyscape Project, *House of Night* (2000) http://www.npr.org/programs/lnfsound/stories/000225.stories.storyscape.html (16 Oct 2005).
[1068] N. Kaufman, "Is Westchester Some Place?" (Jul-Aug 2004) http://fcwc.org/WEArchive/070802/noplaces.htm (16 Oct 2004).
[1069] D. Harvey, "The Art of Rent: Globalization, Monopoly and the Commodification of Culture" (2002) http://www.socialistregister.com/recent/2002/harvey2002 (7 May 2007).
[1070] See above in "History 'from below' as Politics" and "The Tasmanian Comprador and the Power of Cringe" for the previous discussions of "earthspeaking".
[1071] H.R. Stoneback, "Hemingway's Evocation of Place" (2005) p158.

plumb tragedy, figure heroics and, in short, construct meaning.[1072] Land, the elements in general, have a power in a tension between beauty and destruction; they move humanity in awe. This is a play of light and darkness in creation and death.[1073]

Of course, geography as such is common throughout literature. It is not its literary omnipresence which specifically concerns the analysis here, though this establishes a conceptual background for discussion. Rather, the focus here is on "geo-identity" in its development as a literary device in stories of country (geonarrative or what Lopez calls "place-fixing stories")[1074] and how this lends itself to *Radical Tasmania*. The influence, like so much for contemporary Australia in its culture and its politics, is manifest in an adaptation of historic trends in the USA (similar to the History Wars).

Elements of Identity

As the metaphorical cliché has it, the "idea of region is contested terrain."[1075] Nonetheless, there is some general agreement on fundamentals. The first of these, not least because the discussion is on geography as history, is time; definitively, the analysis here is discussing time as "flux", more so as the histories of *Radical Tasmania* approach the new millennium and the "globalism" of postmodern capitalism becomes apparent.[1076] "This is where we face the most dynamic aspect of change in the definition of region: the role of perception and the assignment of meaning."[1077] However, in opposition to historians such as William Lang, Leonard Guelke and R.G. Collingwood, it is asserted here that history as merely a function of thought is an abstraction and an abstraction in error.[1078] *Radical Tasmania* argues that regional identity is a function of

---

[1072] B. Lopez, *Arctic Dreams* (1999) p391.
[1073] B. Lopez, *Arctic Dreams* (1999) pp392-393.
[1074] B. Lopez, *Arctic Dreams* (1999) p297.
[1075] W. Lang, "Beavers, Firs, Salmon, and Falling Water" (2000) http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ohq/104.2/lang.html (11 Jan 2007).
[1076] As Marx and Engels argue in *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the trend to globalism is resilient in capitalism; the point for postmodernity is that globalism is more apparent; for a insightful discussion of time and space in capitalism, see D. Harvey, Pt. III, "The experience of space and time" in *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1990) pp201-326. The theory and politics of globalism as a function of capitalism has continued as a cornerstone of Marxism from Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916) to the more recent "world-systems theory" as developed by Immanuel Wallerstein and others.
[1077] W. Lang, "Beavers, Firs, Salmon, and Falling Water" (2000) http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ohq/104.2/lang.html (11 Jan 2007).
[1078] See Collingwood's "all history is the history of thought" discussed as an aspect of geo-history in W. Lang, "Beavers, Firs, Salmon, and Falling Water" (2000)

and a force for the relationship of human activity with its geographical context. As Tumarkin says, "Place…is a key geographical tool that enables humans to transform the world around them."[1079] In this sense, one can speak of a "geo-praxis". This then, to summarise such an approach to cultural geography, is an analysis of a time-space perspective and social subject as historic force.[1080] To adapt from cultural geographers, this is a "topistic reality"; that is, place as perception, morality, emotion, intellect and geographic orientation.[1081] Also, Chris Gilchrist theorises "the real and imagined 'sexualised geographies' of convict space" as both oppression and resistance.[1082] This complements Croome's argument for an identity of place and sexuality[1083] (a sovereignty of "sexual-citizenship rights");[1084] this is erotic earthspeaking, noting both the negative identity in the oppression of sexuality (necessitating for some an escape from sexual traumascape)[1085] and the positive definition of sexuality in the victorious struggle for reform of Tasmania's laws, more recently on homosexuality.[1086]

The interaction between human activity and the environment is a given; there would be no history without it (*Homo geographicus*). Yet it is the particular notion of Tasmania as place which attracts interest here. The power of place is in its deep representation of people amongst the natural elements: "layer upon layer of those grounded understandings that are like historical snapshots."[1087] This is history as *chronogeograph*y because "time is made visible"[1088] in the evidence of the social

---

http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ohq/104.2/lang.html (11 Jan 2007); Guelke is also discussed here by Lang.

[1079] M. Tumarkin, "'Wishing You Weren't Here…'" (2001) p200.

[1080] Robert David Sack on "forces, perspectives, place and space, and self" in *Homo Geographicus* (1997) p27 & pp156-160; see W. Lang, "Beavers, Firs, Salmon, and Falling Water" (2000) http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ohq/104.2/lang.html (11 Jan 2007).

[1081] W. Lang, "Beavers, Firs, Salmon, and Falling Water" (2000) http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ohq/104.2/lang.html (11 Jan 2007).

[1082] C. Gilchrist, "Space, Sexuality and Convict Resistance in Van Diemen's Land (Nov 2004) http://arts.monash.edu.au/publications/eras/edition-6/gilchristarticle.php#a49 (4 Jan 2009).

[1083] "Locating homosexuality in Tasmania" in R. Croome, "At the Crossroads: Gay and Green Politics" in C. Pybus & R. Flanagan, *The Rest of the World is Watching* (1990) pp107-108. Croome uses storyscape in his short history of the struggle for gay rights in Tasmania; see R. Croome, "The Emancipist" (Spring 2008) p10 & p14.

[1084] D. Bell & J. Binnie, *The Sexual Citizen: Queer Politics and Beyond* (2000); see this concept discussed in the context of Tasmania in B. Baird, "Sexual citizenship in 'the New Tasmania'" (Nov 2006) pp964-987; and for a discussion of a conjoining of sexuality and environmentalism in the context of *Tasmania Together*, also see p976.

[1085] When Croome "came out" (declared his homosexuality), his mother urged, "Go to Melbourne like your cousin did." See R. Croome, "The Emancipist" (Spring 2008) pp12-13.

[1086] See "Coming Out, Speaking Out and Marching Out" in *The Selected Histories*.

[1087] W. Lang, "Beavers, Firs, Salmon, and Falling Water" (2000) http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ohq/104.2/lang.html (11 Jan 2007).

[1088] Donald Parkes and Nigel Thrift, *Time, Spaces and Places* (1980) p28; see referenced in W. Lang, "Beavers, Firs, Salmon, and Falling Water" (2000) http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ohq/104.2/lang.html (11 Jan 2007).

identity of place: time over earthspeaking. Malpas argues that the word "place" (from the Greek *plateia* for a broad or open way) suggests an "openness" and also an "entanglement".[1089] Language of place, he continues, "spills over into the metaphorical, and the metaphorical into the topographical"; indeed, etymology implies that "metaphor can be construed as itself a carrying between places, a movement between *topoi*."[1090] On an island, like Tasmania, this is "more self-evident".[1091] Croome, for example, espouses the view that Tasmania's "island imagination" tends to a dichotomy of inclusion/exclusion.[1092] (He also notes that, like Tasmania, rapid postmodern progressive reform has been achieved in other island identities like Ireland, Jamaica and Cuba.)[1093] In Australia's pre-invasion culture, as famously expressed by the Aboriginal poet and playwright, Kevin Gilbert, "The traditional Aboriginal was drunk on religion, intoxicated by the metaphysics expressed through the physical features of his land."[1094] This *genius loci* (protective spirit of place) lingers as a yearning in Vandiemonian Tasmania.[1095] It also has a cynical capitalist face.

Tasmanian earthspeaking is deeply imbued with the geography of an unadorned and "uncivilised" nature. Its productive forces have been and still are a story of the elements in a "raw" sense; the island's post-invasion economy is largely a development in the exploitation of its forests (for building timber, pulp and tourism), earth (for mining, farming and tourism as landscape vista) and water (for energy, irrigation and fishing as

---

[1089] J. Malpas, "Senses of Place" (Summer 2007) p9.
[1090] J. Malpas, "Senses of Place" (Summer 2007) pp9-10.
[1091] Of course, the Australian mainland is an island continent, so it can be inferred that Malpas's argument is about a relative "boundedness"; see J. Malpas, "Senses of Place" (Summer 2007) p10.
[1092] A similar view is espoused in M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) p115. See also B. Baird, "Sexual citizenship in 'the New Tasmania'" (Nov 2006) p973.
[1093] When asked to extend the theory to "the big island: mainland Australia" (sometimes described by geographers as an "island continent"), Croome responds that the mainland does not have an island identity. (Alas, this is partly contradicted by the political success of John Howard's speech against refugees at the height of the "children overboard" affair, especially in the oft-quoted phrase, "we will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come". Howard's "dog-whistling", or sub-textual reference to a perceived insecurity for Australia's enormous coastline, exploits the islandness in Australian racism; see J. Howard, "Policy Launch Speech", *The Soapbox* (2007) http://soapbox.unimelb.edu.au/media/Transcripts/Speech_PolicyLaunch/2001_PolicyLaunchSpeech_LP_T.pdf (20 Jan 2009).) Asked to consider a Leninist explanation in that some societies at first retarded by global capitalism can then be catapulted by a radical politics to the most advanced, Croome suggests that the theory of "island imagination" is complementary. (Croome was also editor of Tasmania's literary journal, *Island*, 1995-1999). Refer R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008) and also see the history, "Coming Out, Speaking Out and Marching Out". Recent criticisms of Sean Penn for portraying the gay activist, Harvey Milk (*Milk*, 2008), because Penn supports the Cuban government, overlook gay law reform in Cuba over the last decades.
[1094] K. Gilbert, *Living Black* (1977) p2.
[1095] In America, a similar yearning found a romanticised vision in its Hudson River School of landscape painters as "The face of God"; see this adapted for landscape writing in B. Lopez, *Arctic Dreams* (1999) p257.

well as its domestic uses). So Tasmanian government and business, like other phlegmatic economies of the Anglosphere in the north west USA, New Zealand and parts of Canada,[1096] have tried to profile the island as an Arcadia for capitalist development. (In Lucashenko's sense, this is an anti-earthspeaking.)[1097] In seeking power over its landscape, Tasmanian capitalism has attempted to meld the "commodification of nature with the regulation of time, the construction of work and the predictability of commercial production."[1098] Of those other great driving forces of capitalism, finance and machine technologies, Tasmania has largely had to import them. (Even Tasmania's hydro-power is now less competitive than during its golden age from 1914[1099] to the last and controversial term of Premier "electric" Eric Reece, 1972-1975.)[1100] As for that very well-spring of capitalist profit, labour, Tasmania has always struggled to attract it with a measure equal to that of other Australian states, especially for skilled labour; as mentioned, its young workers tend to emigrate.

So the fundamentals of identity of Tasmanian social place have remained fixed in its main economic focus of a direct exploitation of nature. What Lang, in his discussion of the history of place in America's Idaho and Oregon, calls "a relationship between place

---

[1096] For an overview of economic similarities between Tasmania and other new world sites in the Anglosphere such as Canada, Oregon and New Zealand (Otago), see "Case Studies" in McKinna *et al* Pty. Ltd., *The Place-of-Origin Branding Report* (21 Jul 2007) http://www.development.tas.gov.au/industry/Place%20of%20origin%20business%20case.pdf (23 Sep 2008), pp44-73.

[1097] "Do not plough./Do not burn./Do not plant./Do not clear./Pause for breath. Remember Genesis: The land is not cursed." See M. Lucashenko, "Not Quite White in the Head" (Summer 2003-2004) p13. She sometimes refers to non-indigenes as *migaloo*; see p3. This is possibly from the Mayi-Kutuna language around the Leichhardt River area, Queensland, meaning "a person", and seems to have been adapted into Aboriginal English as comparable to the Black American pejorative for whites, "honky". So in Lucashenko's narrative, *migaloo* or "non-indigenous people" becomes a synonymn for anti-earthspeaking; see also p20.

[1098] W. Lang, "Beavers, Firs, Salmon, and Falling Water" (2000) http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ohq/104.2/lang.html (11 Jan 2007).

[1099] In 1914, Tasmania's Hydro-Electric Department was formed, becoming in 1929 the Hydro-Electric Commission (HEC), "the most powerful government business in the country". In 1998, the HEC was disaggregated into the government owned corporations of Hydro Tasmania to generate the power, Transend (*sic.*) Networks to transmit the power, and Aurora Energy to retail the power. See Roger Lupton, "Electricity" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p117-118.

[1100] Reece's last term was an historic watershed (pun intended) with the controversial flooding of Lake Pedder and the birth of Tasmania's modern environmentalism**.** The decline of Tasmanian hydro-electricity as a cheap source of energy relative to other power producers on the mainland was recognised by Sir Bede Callaghan's inquiry in 1977; see B. Felmingham, "Economy" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) pp423-424. The cost of the HEC to domestic consumers had been flagged as early as 1953 by Max Bound; see "Earth Bound!" in *The Selected Histories*. The Hydro as a social behemoth was also challenged by environmentalists; see Peter Thompson, *Power in Tasmania* (c.1980) referenced in W. Lines, *Patriots* (2006) p198. Subsequently, declining rainfall has forced Hydro Tasmania to buy electricity rather than sell power through the Basslink Interconnector, in reverse of what Government and business had peddled as the "need" for Basslink. Also on the economic negatives of hydro-electricity in Tasmania in the late twentieth century, see G. Buckman, *Tasmania's Wilderness Battles* (2008) pp49-50, and on the decline of the HEC, see p61 & p63.

and space through the environmental market that made big nature into big money."[1101] Of course, in relative terms, Tasmania's "big money" is considerably smaller than the north west of the U.S.A, yet the similarities between the geo-economic identities — especially, for example, in the timber industry, hydro-power, and, of less significance, tourism — are plain to see.

The story of "ecotopia" into dystopia is also similar. This is where history as flux becomes noticeable. Just as some of Oregon's most heated political disputes of modern times have revolved around economics of the elements (mostly timber, dubbed the "Forest Wars",[1102] and hydro-power) and the fate of its iconic salmon, so Tasmania's politics have revolved around like-minded economics (timber, mining, hydro and farming) and the fate of its iconic rainforests (again Forest Wars), waterways and fauna. Of course, there are many other similar sites of dispute throughout the world, yet the value of this comparison is in keeping in mind that so much of modern Australian society, culture and politics is an adaptation of America's, which also explains much in the parallels between the two countries' environmentalism[1103] and attending ideologies in historiography and literature.[1104] When it can be seen that broadly similar chronogeographic qualities are shared, then these parallels are worth further investigation.

Patriotism of Place

The "bridge" between Tasmania and its cultural influences is the deep seated, Anglo, postcolonial concern for place amidst the displaced; it is a cry for "country". That quintessence of the simple declarative in modernist literature, Hemingway's fiction and nonfiction, throbs with love of country. "Hemingway has been a powerful mentor, in terms of what it means to create a landscape impressionistically on the page, to make it

---

[1101] W. Lang, "Beavers, Firs, Salmon, and Falling Water" (2000) http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ohq/104.2/lang.html (11 Jan 2007).
[1102] "We've been through at least 20 years of these kinds of debates in the Pacific Northwest, sometimes quite contentiously - we often call them the 'Forest Wars'. And when I first came to Tasmania last year, the headlines looked like I was reading the Portland paper, instead of the Hobart paper. So, there's a lot of parallels." See Tom Spies in P. Mares, "Science, nurture and nature" http://www.abc.net.au/rn/nationalinterest/stories/2009/2446364.htm#transcript (11 Jan 2009).
[1103] P. Hay, Main Currents in Western Environmental Thought (2002) p17.
[1104] R. Zeller & CA Cranston, "Setting the Scene" in CA Cranston & R. Zeller, *The Littoral* Zone (2007) p12.

come alive, pulse, breathe, to 'make the country so that you could walk into it'."[1105] This is not country in the sense of the earlier romanticists or nationalist chauvinism; for example, Howard's flag-ceremony-in-every-school-yard country.[1106] It is country in the sense of a radical geo-identity; the country of a boy's fishing and hunting,[1107] the country of sexual learning with an ancient lineage of indigenes, the country defended by rebel guerrilla peasants, the country "ploughed" by the boat sterns and nets of poor fishermen, the country of struggling love. It is a primal love and a love of the primal. Or, in contradistinction, it is the country Hemingway fled, the country despoiled by industrialisation and real estate clearances, and country inured to war: "old country".[1108] "…Hemingway's life and art share a paradoxical symbiosis with the natural world in which the author's primitivism is rooted." Reflecting the American eco-heritage, it is "a return to earth, Thoreau-like…"[1109]

In a life struggle against the over-bearing WASP doctrines of his parents and "middle America",[1110] whichever country Hemingway's is, it is never the country of the bourgeois Anglo; it is the country of the other, even within America. Hemingway's writings evoke a patriotism of anti-establishmentarianism through an identity of the elements as a sensual, urgent and primal society in violent struggle with capitalism, as historicised country. This use of country in narrative adds a dimension to literary art as "truth", already discussed above, and which this analysis needs to "explore".

In terms of literary theory and eco-story, Glen Love paraphrases Joseph Meeker's argument of tragedy as "in its essence a denial of the earth and its nobility or heroism in favour of a vaulting human protagonist who refuses to accept even the natural bounds placed upon all people."[1111] In this sense, capitalism, as the most powerful confrontation

---

[1105] Terry Tempest Williams, Seventh International Hemingway Conference (Sun Valley, Idaho, 1996); see T. Schoenberg & L. Trudeau, "The Influence of Ernest Hemingway: Introduction" (2005) p122.
[1106] Howard tied Federal education funding to a requirement for schools to fly the Australian flag in 2004; see B. Nelson, "A Joint Statement by the Prime Minister and the Minister for Education, Science and Training" (22 Jun 2004) http://www.dest.gov.au/ministers/nelson/jun_04/npm_220604.htm (16 Jun 2008).
[1107] Hemingway's alter-ego, Nick Adams
[1108] "…in every old country…The earth gets tired of being exploited…We are the intruders." See E. Hemingway, *Green Hills of Africa* (1977) p214.
[1109] G. Love, "Hemingway Among the Animals" (2005) p175.
[1110] "'Don't you love your mother, dear boy?' 'No,' Krebs said." See E. Hemingway, "Soldier's Home" in *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (1987) p116. For a brief analysis of the psychology of Hemingway's "natural rebellion" against his parent's "narrow, middle-class views", see a discussion with Phillip Young, and the author's summary, at D. Brian, *The True Gen* (1988) p213 & pp317-318.
[1111] Refers J. Meeker *Comedy* (1974) pp51-59; see G. Love, "Hemingway Among the Animals" (2205) p176.

with nature so far, is a tragedy in its doomed ambition of infinite exploitation. The earth is the patient hero whose vengeance will be at exactly that point when humanity's "nature" comes back to bite it on its proverbial "arse". For the Aldo Leopold-inspired environmentalists[1112] of this planet's stoic biosis, moral integrity is achieved in preserving the biotic, the "beauty" in "stability",[1113] the Palaeolithic and Old Testament, pre-Darwinian socio-biology of nature. And nature, like Herman Melville's white whale, waits to drag those Captain Ahab strikers-of-the-sun down to gloomy, unfathomable depths. At this point, Meeker's notion of tragedy informs this analysis as to why the focus must be humanity rather than nature: "neither the laws of nature nor the laws of men are absolute boundaries to the tragic hero, but rather challenges in which he is most tested by attempting to transcend them."[1114] The point for this discussion is that the desire for the "preservation" of society-nature relations is an atavism. History is not just an ancient Greek "idea" because Herodotus and Thucydides were ancient Greeks, but because they were indeed historical, they were of their time; ancient Greece was a dynamic social system which defied stability and so history is about change over time because the very culture which first constructed it (History) was itself radical. History, in its idea and in its making, is uprooting because *Homo sapiens*'s development into *Homo historia* is the radical confrontation of human form with human matter. If the resolution of freedom and necessity is achieved then this will be tragic struggle resolved as heroic struggle. The question remains, will it be found in preservation or revolution? Or both?

A fixed sense of place, like that fought for by Tasmanian Aborigines or Tasmania's tenant farmers of the nineteenth century, is said to be an identity of *autochthon*.[1115] It has re-emerged in Tasmanian literature for the modern reader, beginning with James McQueen's *Hook's Mountain* (1982). Its paragon example as "deeply placed" in modernist literature is best argued for in the works of the American, William Faulkner.[1116] But, despite Faulkner's modernist prose, there is a quintessential atavism

---

[1112] Aldo Leopold is the author of *A Sand County Almanac* (1949) and is often referred to as the "father" of wildlife management in the USA. He preached enviro-ethics and wilderness preservation. Like Hemingway, Annie Proulx, Richard Ford and many others, his nature narratives began with fishing and hunting—a fact which modern movements often overlook when citing his name.
[1113] A. Leopold, *A Sand Country Almanac* (1949) p262; see quoted in G. Love, "Hemingway Among the Animals" (2005) p177.
[1114] J. Meeker, *Comedy* (1974) pp51-51; see G. Love, "Hemingway Among the Animals" (2005) pp177-178.
[1115] See a history of farmer resistance by the "Hagley Clique" in S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p68 & 167.
[1116] H.R. Stoneback, "Hemingway's Evocation of Place" (2005) p159.

about his stories of his "apocryphal" County of Yoknapatawpha ("water runs through flat land"). It is for the modern and, even more "globalised", postmodern sense of a longing for place by the out-of-place, including the forcibly displaced in post-convict Tasmania, that one can point to much of the immigrant, postcolonial cultures in general; especially in those which have a peripatetic identity, always settling but never settled, changing and regretting change. The American west and Tasmania (if not most of Australia too) share a social character of "always seeking reconnection with authentic place". For this out-of-place-while-wanting-place identity, H.R. Stoneback has coined the term *anachthon*.[1117] (In Tasmania, Hay describes it as alienation from "homeness".)[1118] It is, he says, also Hemingway's evocation of place.[1119] (In an oft-quoted passage, a Hemingway protagonist believes that "finally only the names of places had dignity".)[1120] It is also that which this thesis terms *historio-anacthonous* because it is the narrative of historical change in "space and time and memory functions, [the] relation to place and placelessness, and to landscapes, actual and symbolic."[1121] It is natural landscape as *paysage intérieur* (inner spiritual or psychological landscape), where love is a "strange country", and *paysage moralisé*[1122] (moral landscape or geo-morality) is geo-historical: "time and space, past and future, the cycle-or wheel-of youth and age, experience and memory" like a "clock on a [car's] dashboard".[1123] It is "good country"[1124] in "lost and found" and lost then found again.[1125] In those who have the sense of being deeply placed, those with a "geolineage" like some indigenous or rural cultures, one can say they make for stories of the "rooted *autochthon*".[1126] But in those like Hemingway, searching for connection in a postcolonial disconnection, a centre amidst decentredness, there is the uprooted or the radical *anacthon*.[1127] The need here is to investigate how this disconnection can connect with Tasmanian storyscape.

[1117] H.R. Stoneback, "Hemingway's Evocation of Place" (2005) p159.
[1118] P. Hay, "Subversive History", *Vandiemonian Essays* (2002) pp6-7.
[1119] H.R. Stoneback, "Hemingway's Evocation of Place" (2005) p159.
[1120] E. Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms* (1977) p133.
[1121] H.R. Stoneback, "Hemingway's Evocation of Place" (2005) p160.
[1122] The French art terminology is used by Stoneback; see H.R. Stoneback, "Hemingway's Evocation of Place" (2005) p158 and also his "'Et in Arcadia Ego': Deep Structure, *Paysage Moralise*, Geomoral and Symbolic Landscape in Hemingway" (Summer 1998) pp186-203.
[1123] H.R. Stoneback, "Hemingway's Evocation of Place" (2005) p160.
[1124] E. Hemingway, *Green Hills of Africa* (1977) p214; see the adaptation of this term in "Save Our Sisters" in *The Selected Histories*.
[1125] Hemingway to Faulkner: "'Found good country outside…and lost it the same way…Been chickenshit dis-placed person since can remember.'" Quoted by Stoneback from letter of 23 July 1947; see H.R. Stoneback, "Hemingway's Evocation of Place" (2005) p164.
[1126] H.R. Stoneback, "Hemingway's Evocation of Place" (2005) p164.
[1127] Michael Palin's television series, *Michael Palin's Hemingway Adventure* (1999) is an infotainment exploration of just this search for country in Hemingway, pitched to a decentred Anglophone; the book of

Litscape

As noted, country informs the literature of the Anglo-diaspora. It courses wide and deep in the American tradition like the Mississippi River in Twain's *Huckleberry Fin*, America's "first great" novel and a seminal influence on the likes of Hemingway who subsequently breathed a distinctive outdoors vapour into America's literary arts.[1128] The Hemingway influence is also apparent in American literature like its minimalist movement, such as the works of Raymond Carver, Susan Minot and Richard Ford.[1129] They reflect the geo-focus of Hemingway's themes; that is, characters who are framed in a stoic ecology.

This geo-focus in American literature has broadened over the decades to include the Pulitzer Prize winner and popular author, Annie Proulx. Love of country in her typically rustic, down-and-dirty stories is narrative as a geo-history of "the ironies that fall out of the friction between past and present".[1130] She is in awe of the "freedom-granting, yet hostile, landscape" of the American hinterlands, inspiring her to a vocation of landscape narrative as historical force.

> As a student of history and a writer of fiction, I have focused my interest on social and economic change in rural communities…I am something of a geographic determinist, believing that regional landscape, climate and topography indicate local cultural traditions and kinds of work, and thereby the events on which my stories are built. Landscape is central to this rural tradition.[1131]

---

the series has an epigraph from John Donne, "To live in one land is captivitie." See M. Palin, *Michael Palin's Hemingway Adventure* (1999) n.p.

[1128] It also developed independently in other American arts; for example, the Hudson River School of landscape painters (mid-19th century) and the landscape photography of Ansel Adams (1902–1984).

[1129] T. Schoenberg & L. Trudeau, "The Influence of Ernest Hemingway: Introduction" (2005) p122. The Ford reference here is to his influential short stories under the title *Rock Springs* (1987) rather than the interior, non-landscape settings of some of his other works. Also, the title for Ford's *Women with Men:* (1997) is Ford's salute to Hemingway's collection of short stories published under the title *Men Without Women* (1927).

[1130] "Place and history are central to the fiction I write, both in the broad, general sense and in detailed particulars." A. Proulx, "An Interview with Annie Proulx" (Spring 1999) http://www.missourireview.com/content/dynamic/view_text.php?text_id=877 (12 Oct 2008). While "not a fan" of some of Hemingway's themes, Proulx publicly defends his art; see Annie Proulx at the Plenary Session of the Hemingway Centennial Conference, 10-11 April 1999, John F. Kennedy Library and Museum, USA in T. Schoenberg & L. Trudeau, "Writers on Hemingway" (2005) p146.

[1131] A. Proulx, "More Powerful than My Words" (4 Feb 2006) pp11-13.

(The rhetorical licence of "something of a geographic determinist" is not pursued in a literal sense here. It is the environment as a force for *narrative identity* which is the concern.)[1132] Proulx's focus also lends her radical insights around the conflict of country lore, such as her story about homosexual shepherds in the American West, "Brokeback Mountain";[1133] a story which inverts the legend of the western cowboy.[1134]

Proulx is now integral to the fiction and nonfiction of America's "Western literary Renaissance" ("Westlit").[1135] Like Hemingway's archetypal protagonists characterised in the title of his short story, "The Battler", Proulx focuses on the other side of the cultural power of the metropolitan middle class in the world's most powerful culture, the historic "losers" of capitalist development, the unskilled and skill-dated, often itinerant and casualised, labourers of the Western landscape.[1136] This is a country which is characterised as tumultuous because the society clinging to it is living a shifting identity through the globalising processes which push up alienation, impoverishment and desperation as well as friendship, love and joy like an irresistible tectonic force heaving up the jagged profile of a barren mountain range, shading the narratives of an intensely coloured geo-society. Pervading it all is the humour of life as a hard joke. The Tasmanian equivalent, at least in part, can be seen in what Hay nominates as the "moral economy of the bush".[1137] Westlit (also quipped as "writers on the range")[1138] typically

---

[1132] Geographical determinism as a science was discredited by the "possibilism" of Paul Vidal de la Blache who developed a scientific conceptualisation of human society and "nature" (*environment*) and is credited with "considering population, raw materials, cultural development, patterns of settlement, and transportation, [so that] we see both the interconnectedness of environmental factors and how that relationship is cashed out [*sic*] in terms of possibilism." See the abstract of Paul Vidal de la Blache's *Principles of Human Geography* (1918, trans. 1926) in J. Hilkovitch & M. Fulkerson, "Paul Vidal de la Blache (25 Mar 1997) http://wwwstage.valpo.edu/geomet/histphil/test/vidal.html (8 May 2006).

[1133] A. Proulx, "Brokeback Mountain", *Close Range* (1999) pp281-318; see also an adaptation of a device from this story for "Coming Out, Speaking Out and Marching Out" in *The Selected Histories*.

[1134] The Hollywood Academy overlooked the nomination of *Brokeback Mountain* for best picture in 2006, causing Proulx to deride Hollywood: "We should have known conservative heffalump academy voters would have rather different ideas of what was stirring contemporary culture." See A. Proulx, "Blood on the red carpet" (11 Mar 2006) http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2006/mar/11/awardsandprizes.oscars2006 (27 Jan 2009). "Heffalump" is a reference to childish miscomprehension of grand design (elephants) in A.A. Milne's *Winnie the Pooh* series (1926, 1928); it is possible that Proulx is using it as a euphemism for homophobia.

[1135] J. Shank, "Annie Proulx Discusses History and Decline of Wyoming's Red Desert" (30 Nov 2006) http://www.newwest.net/index.php/city/article/annie_proulx_discusses_history_and_decline_of_wyomings_red_desert/C94/L94/ (6 Jan 2007).

[1136] J. Sullivan, "Annie get your pen" (30 Aug 2003) http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2003/08/28/1062050604439.html (6 Feb 2009).

[1137] P. Hay, "The Moral Economy of the Bush" (2009) http://www.thefreelibrary.com/The+moral+economy+of+the+bush%3a+debates+about+logging+and+forestry+are...-a0153362714 (2 Feb 2009).

[1138] C. McDermott, "Writers on the Range" (23 Dec 2006) http://www.denverpost.com/writersontherange (6 Jan 2007); There is also a collection of essays and stories *Writers on the Range* edited by Karl Hess Jr. and John Baden, 1988.

aspires to an ideology of "the next west" seeking to resolve current forces against old values, speaking for the social malaise which underpins Proulx's latter writings. Its yearning to overcome the conflict of the "natural resource economy" against "newcomers" is similar to the politics of the environment which is tearing at Tasmania at large, urban and rural.[1139] Much the same notions are heard in Tasmania around the struggle for a "clean, green and smart economy" to replace a "resource-based, high-volume, low-value economy";[1140] for example, the current conflict around logging and Gunns's proposed pulp mill on the Tamar.[1141] Westlit reconstructs (Western) cliché into a new "story of place" (storyscape) for a "fierce resolve to stake claim [*sic.*] and take a stand for a land that is loved in common".[1142] It anticipates the narrative of Tasmania's "in-movers".[1143]

Extracting a Moral From the Rhetorical Landscape

The potential power in landscape narrative combines with the analogy of America's West and Tasmania as two "underbellies" of developed capitalism. Romanticism (sometimes *deism*) in Anglo art (literature and painting) was strong in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including in Tasmania.[1144] For example, John Glover settled in Tasmania and became what some art historians call the "most important landscape painter working outside Europe in the 1830s".[1145] The romanticist view of nature which transplanted into Tasmania, especially the South West, is disparaged by Richard Flanagan as the "aesthetic dilemma" of a "terrible beauty" and a "terrible waste land".[1146] Flanagan suggests that there is a contradictory expression in a society

---

[1139] Gallatin Writers, "The Next West", (n.d.) http://www.gallatin.org/nextwest.html (6 Jan 2007).
[1140] Christine Milne, "Green Politics" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p167.
[1141] A media report claims that "leaked documents" indicate that the Resource, Planning and Development Commission was moving to recommend against the Gunns application when Gunns withdrew its co-operation and then Lennon initiated a "fast-track assessment process" in 2007; see C. Duffy, "Leaked documents confirm resident's fear of foul pulp mill" (30 Jun 2009) http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2009/s2612970.htm (1 Jul 2009).
[1142] Gallatin Writers, "Books" (n.d.) http://www.gallatin.org/books.html (6 Jan 2007).
[1143] New immigrants in rural Tasmania, sometimes also described with the American term, "greenhorn"; for example, see "Save Our Sisters" in *The Selected Histories.*
[1144] On Wordsworthian romanticisation of Tasmanian landscape, see R. Haynes, "From Habitat to Wilderness" (2003) p87.
[1145] National Gallery of Victoria, *John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque* (13 Aug-3 Oct 2004) http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/glover/ (5 Jan 2006). John Glover is considered to be the first "professional painter" to settle in Australia and some of his work in Tasmania is a valuable visual representation of the Black War and convict labour; it is "romanticist" in a socially naïve sense.
[1146] R. Flanagan, *A Terrible Beauty* (1985) p63.

wrestling with its liberal-Christian heritage of "a waste howling wilderness".[1147] As he notes, it is also within wilderness that the Hebrew God promises the unwilderness of a "land of milk and honey".[1148] Again, these are notes on the Janus-faced aspect of Tasmania which lingers to this day.

Meanwhile, as Tasmania pursued its geo-identity, American "environmentalism" developed as a broader philosophical and scientific approach to "save" society through nature with the likes of John Muir, an ecologist and geologist, and Thoreau, who published his biographical *Waldon* (1854), and then through various manifestations in the next centuries up to the "libertarian socialist", Murray Bookchin, with his "social ecology" and "libertarian municipalism",[1149] and so on. Therefore this analysis returns briefly to the American prairie.

In a critique of histories of the prairie, William Cronon, beginning in epigraphic salute to Swift's dialogue of man the story-telling animal (discussed above),[1150] develops his *enviro-history*, as Swift would acknowledge, with a question: "How do people struggle with each other for control of the earth, its creatures and its meanings?"[1151] Unlike Swift, Cronon is less interested in history as mistakes, insisting that historical narrative is at its best when it evokes care for worldly origins.

History (in contradistinction to Swift) takes on itself the responsibility of finding meaning. Cronon argues that this is why it turns to the art of story.

> "Like all historians, we [enviro-historians] configure the events of the past into causal sequences – stories – that order and simplify those events to give them new meanings. We

[1147] A reference to the *Bible*, "Deuteronomy" 32:10 and the original Hebrew title of the Book of Numbers, "Bermidhbar", "meaning 'in the Wilderness'"; see R. Flanagan, *A Terrible Beauty* (1985) p64; see also R. Haynes, "From Habitat to Wilderness" (2003) pp84-85.
[1148] R. Flanagan, *A Terrible Beauty* (1985) p64.
[1149] Some see Bookchin as revolutionary; for example, see P. Hay, *Main Currents in Western Environmental Thought* (2002) pp288-289. Yet pared of his eco-vocabulary, Bookchin, like so many eco-theorists, is viewed by Marxists as his own brand of anarchism where "'laws' of nature are converted into 'laws' of social organisation"; for some Marxist objections, see D. Nichols, *Environment, Capitalism & Socialism* (1999) pp93-101. As far back as 1974, Enzensberger accused environmentalists of a "false consciousness" which is "as consistent as a jellyfish and capable of protean feats of adaptability"; see H. Enzensberger "A Critique of Political Ecology" (1996) p32.
[1150] See "Storylines into Storyscape"; also in reference to Clendinnen, see "Fighting from the archival bunker".
[1151] W. Cronon, "A Place for Stories" (Mar 1992) p1376.

> do so because narrative is the chief literary form that tries to find meaning in an overwhelmingly crowded and disordered chronological reality."[1152]

Story is the most powerful narrative. But to realise its potential as something greater than mere chronicle (the sequence of events), it constructs, as Aristotle notes, not just a beginning, middle and an end, yet a structure with consequences; it constructs cause and effect. The effect is what gives the narrative meaning.

> Completed action gives a story its unity and allows us to evaluate and judge an act by its results. The moral of a story is defined by its ending: as Aristotle remarked: 'the end is everywhere the chief thing'.[1153]

For history as enviro-story is about "extracting a moral from the rhetorical landscape".[1154]

> When a narrator honestly makes an audience care about what happens in a story, the story expresses the ties between past and present in a way that lends deeper meaning to both. …historical storytelling helps keep us morally engaged with the world by showing us how to care about it and its origins in ways we had not done before.[1155]

For historians, the chief protagonists and antagonists are people; for many ecologists, people tend to be exogenous.[1156] In the history of enviro-historiography, where once people were the protagonists and nature (including "savages") was the antagonist (for example, histories of heroic exploration, settlement, "progress", etc.),[1157] now "nature" is often the protagonist and people, or frequently capitalism, are the antagonist (for example, histories of environmental degradation, which often inflect as social degradation).

To refigure some of the analysis above, the problem for historiography is that the art of narrative for a "good story" can manipulate, by way of literary device as well as ideological selection, the "unity" of evidence; the problematic of "not letting the facts

---

[1152] W. Cronon, "A Place for Stories" (Mar 1992) p1349.
[1153] W. Cronon, "A Place for Stories" (Mar 1992) p1367.; Aristotle is referenced as *Poetics*, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathon Barnes, (2 Vols., Princeton, 1984), *II*, p2321.
[1154] W. Cronon, "A Place for Stories" (Mar 1992) p1370.
[1155] W. Cronon, "A Place for Stories" (Mar 1992) p1375.
[1156] W. Cronon, "A Place for Stories" (Mar 1992) p1369.
[1157] Geoffrey Blainey's corporate histories, especially for mining companies, tend to fit this historiographical genre. See, for example, G. Blainey (1993).

get in the way of a good story." [1158] Nonetheless, what differentiates history from fiction is that historical narratives "are bounded at every turn by the evidence"; the discipline of establishing the facts as a starting point for a story.[1159] It is added that whether the story is "good" or not, whether it has valuable meaning, is held in suspension as the figurational tension between the evidence and the narrative art. Good history is good story supported, and never contradicted, by verifiable evidence.

Cronon, weathering postmodernism's cult status in the early 1990s, is also telling the story of "my struggle to accommodate the lessons of critical theory without giving way to relativism."[1160] Armed with the analyses subsequent to Cronon's article, it is appropriate to briefly detour from Cronon to delineate a term which is the enviro-narrative approximation of figurational tension, where verifiable evidence is "stressed" into meaning, finding voice in the friction of the interface between academic research and a popular readership. This is the notion of literary "ecotone" (also called the "borderlands" between fiction and nonfiction).[*1161*]

Ecotone, from the Greek *oîko(s)* (home) and *tónos* (stress), originally came out of the natural sciences to designate "a region of transition between two biological communities".[1162] Ecotone also implies a relationship defined by (ecological) tension. In his nature writing, Lopez calls up the "edges" in the physics of being and becoming to describe an experience. "And the edges that cause excitement are like these where I now walk, sensing the birds toying with gravity; or like those in quantum mechanics, where what is critical straddles a border between being a wave and being a particle, between being what it is and becoming something else, occupying an edge of time that defeats our geometries." He then explicitly calls up the term "ecotones" to describe these "transitional areas" of identity.[1163] (The term "littoral zone" is also used to describe the ecocrit of those island identities, the Australian "mainland" and

---

[1158] W. Cronon, "A Place for Stories" (Mar 1992) p1364.
[1159] W. Cronon, "A Place for Stories" (Mar 1992) p1372.
[1160] W. Cronon, "A Place for Stories" (Mar 1992) p1374.
[1161] John Hughes, *The Idea of Home: Autobiographical Essays* (2004); cited in M. Mordue, "The Devil Is In The Details" (Apr 2008) p10.
[1162] See "ecotone *n.*" in C. Soanes & A. Stevenson, *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (2008) http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.library.vu.edu.au/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t23.e17588 (30 May 2009).
[1163] B. Lopez, *Arctic Dreams* (1999) p123.

Tasmania.)[1164] Ecotone is now borrowed by that latter development in higher education, creative writing studies, to "reimagine" literary "place"; it is poetics out of ecolit.[1165]

As is consistent with the flow of ideas from America to Australia discussed so far, it now echoes in Australian enviro-history. George Main has being lauded for his *Heartland: The Regeneration of Rural Place* (2005). Mark Tredinnick suggests that it is exemplary ecotone for a new genre writing out of the "green" humanities.

> Main is writing in the ecotone between scholarly and literary prose—he writes *Heartland* as an ecocritic *and* as a writer…[and] like all ecotones, it is where new forms emerge and systems (of thought, for instance, about culture and nature) renew themselves…
> …
> Heartland…*contributes* in important ways to the greening of the humanities. It…offers hope that—through the model of its author's own attachment to country, through the persistence of indigenous wisdom about land and time, and through the art, activism and husbandry of landusers willing to listen to the land and its old custodians—that some of the wounds in some of the places…might still be healed.[1166]

Ecotone then is developing beyond the ideological vocabulary of the cross-disciplinary studies of environmental science, history and creative writing into a praxis of science into art and a praxis of theory into land-use activism for a resolution of cultural conflict and society-nature conflict; in a word, this is the development of ecohistory into ecopolitics.

It is on this note of eco-praxis that the analysis can now return to Cronon. According to Cronon, teleology is difficult to avoid because "this commitment to teleology and narrative gives environmental history – all history – its moral centre."[1167] Storytelling, Cronon argues through Aristotle, judges action and makes the audience care about meaning. Narratives are its "chief moral compass". They do not just point directions, they point to action because "we use them to motivate and explain our actions, the stories we tell change the way we act."[1168] This is why history is powerful:

[1164] CA Cranston & R. Zeller, *The Littoral* Zone (2007); see a review in C. Taylor, "Review: *The Littoral Zone*" (2008) http://www.nla.gov.au/openpublish/index.php/jasal/article/view/776/1169 (21 Feb 2009).
[1165] D. Gessner, "About", *Ecotone: Reimagining Place* (n.d.) http://www.uncw.edu/ecotone/about.html (11 Nov 2006).
[1166] M. Tredinnick, "From the Heart" (Sep 2006) http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/archive/Issue-September-2006/tredinnick.html (11 Nov 2006).
[1167] W. Cronon, "A Place for Stories" (Mar 1992) p1370.
[1168] W. Cronon, "A Place for Stories" (Mar 1992) p1375.

> …we place human agents at the centre of events that they themselves may not fully understand but that they constantly affect with their actions. The end of these human stories creates their unity, the telos against which we judge the efficacy, wisdom and morality of human actions.[1169]

By way of example, Cronon argues that "in a very literal sense, the frontier stories *caused* the Dust Bowl, just as the New Deal stories helped cause the government to respond to that disaster." History is ideology because it is narrative as meaning (story). "To try to escape the value judgments that accompany storytelling is to miss the point of history itself, for the stories we tell like the questions we ask, are finally all about *value*." [emphasis added][1170] It is further argued here that the value in history is like nature is for society: at every turn it must account for a critical reality, the reality of verifiable evidence. In this sense, storyscape points to action, and meaningful action is history.

As seen, the notion of the geography of people and place as an ideological element, including text, is developing in academic and popular culture. It is central in the *Radical* series, including "secret place", because those histories have taken the notion of "site" as essential to recalling the struggles in radical history. In Tasmania, Shayne Breen, an academic historian, positions place as a major theme in his history of the social struggles of Tasmania's northern midlands in the nineteenth century.[1171] Hay as well calls for the "place dialogue" and the "place essay" as "a much more democratic and egalitarian communication field".[1172]

Storyscape also offers alternatives for the narrative structure of the histories section. Orthodox historiography tends to a chronological narrative of events. Because the *Radical* series developed out of the city tours co-ordinated by Armstrong in Melbourne, in contradistinction to traditional historiography, it tends to a narrative structure which lends pre-eminence to site; albeit with adjustments for broad historical periods. A consideration of the role of geography in the narrative opens the possibility of following "trails" around Tasmania so that site can be more easily recognised as a determinant (cause) and as a "character" (effect) in *Radical Tasmania*. (For this, a simple map of the

[1169] W. Cronon, "A Place for Stories" (Mar 1992) p1375.
[1170] W. Cronon, "A Place for Stories" (Mar 1992) p1376.
[1171] S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p4.
[1172] P. Hay, *Vandiemonian Essays* (2002) px.

histories is placed at the beginning of *Volume II*.) This also allows a critical examination of the debate on chronology and themes, as by Howard and already discussed above.[1173]

The general, over-arching question which drives the research and analysis for *Radical Tasmania* can now be asked. How can the genre of creative nonfiction reflect on and advance the knowledge, interpretation and utility of a history of Tasmanian radicals?

History, Creative Nonfiction and Mimesis

While the ethos between historian and reader demands that the historian alert the reader to any narrative which is more speculation than evidential, a requirement of literary device in historiography is that the marrying of the art to the science is, as much as possible, seamless. Again, it is a reminder of how well classical historiography established this from the beginning:

> No historian has ever surpassed Thucydides in the ability to portray a typical figure or situation, and to do so without seeming to intervene in any significant measure…The continuous war narrative in which they [the historical subjects] are embedded has another quality and another interest. It is the painstaking accuracy of the narrative that makes the rest seem so real and convincing.[1174]

For all the words expended on realism in art, especially literary realism, the best consensus is that whatever realism is it is not real.[1175] (James Wood appreciates realism as a "truthfulness" which he terms "*lifeness*".)[1176] Going back to at least Laurence Stern's *Tristram Shandy* (1759-1769),[1177] the aspirations of realism have made it

---

[1173] See "History Wars as Force". The former Prime Minister uses the phrase "narrative structure" which is interpreted here as a euphemism for "history" by dates, mere chronology; see J. Howard, "Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Address to the National Press Club, Great Hall, Parliament House" (25 Jan 2006) http://www.pm.gov.au/news/speeches/speech1754.html (6 Feb 2006).

[1174] M.I. Finlay, "Introduction" in Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* (1972) pp31-32. In this age of the War on Terror, one cannot help but notice Finlay's use of the word "embedded" for describing nonfiction writing on war; of course, Finlay's language here is a coincidence, yet it brings to mind Thucydides' pessimism that history will "at some time or other and in much the same ways, be repeated in the future." See Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* 1:22 (1972) p48. As Hegel remarked with equal pessimism, "What experience and history teach is this, that people and governments never have learned anything from history, or acted on principles deduced from it." (*Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, 1837) Contrary to this, radical politics must be optimistic.

[1175] James Wood even argues that "realism is not realistic"; see J. Wood, *How Fiction Works* (2008) p227.

[1176] J. Wood, *How Fiction Works* (2008) p247. Wood also argues "that poets and novelists repeatedly attack one kind of realism only to argue for their own kind of realism"; see p239.

[1177] Originally published as *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*.

vulnerable to satire. This problem confronts historians, beginning with Thucydides, when they turn to fictional device because they have to deal with the reader's expectations for the devices borrowed from any artistic genre. Here, historians meet with fiction writers because both have to be mindful of negotiating an ethos with their respective readers; which Amanda Curtin surely has in mind when she speaks of "the compact writers make with readers when they invite them into the pages of a book".[1178]

While Curtin's focus is on editing fiction, the problem of persuasive detail—"imaginative integrity (wholeness and consistency)",[1179] is just as applicable to creative nonfiction for historiography because her discussion is largely a theorisation of a "reality" as an "internal logic for any genre…[because] 'devices have to work in their own framework'".[1180] Simply, the problem arises when there is an increased risk of the reader's "suspension of disbelief" moving to a suspension of trust, a perceived breach of ethos. (Even history asks the reader to "imagine" for the purposes of the narrative art, though this is bound to fail if the science in the narrative is not cogent.) "Works considered 'literature', along with those thought to fall squarely in the category of 'entertainment', are successful when they are convincing and credible on their own terms."[1181] So authors have to avoid what she calls "infelicities".[1182]

Those qualities which Curtin identifies as valuable for the reader of fiction are also valuable for the reader of history: "compelling characters, intriguing plot, linguistic inventiveness, structural patterning, thought-provoking ideas, *the sense of being carried into a world outside one's own experience*" [emphasis added].[1183] The historian also has to construct a story which is credible and meaningful, if limited to the possibilities suggested by a rigorous analysis of the evidence of what was/is a reality. So another aspect arising from history's figurational tension is the tension between the real and realism.

Western society still tends to a rationalist culture ("the Enlightenment's essentialist scientism"),[1184] and the resilience of realism can, in part, be attributed to the cultural

[1178] A. Curtin, "'But It's Fiction!'" (Spring 2007) p18.
[1179] Quoted from Sarah Brennan (no reference—see Curtin's explanation at her e.n.2, p27); see A. Curtin, "'But It's Fiction!'" (Spring 2007) p23.
[1180] A. Curtin, "'But It's Fiction!'" (Spring 2007) p24.
[1181] A. Curtin, "'But It's Fiction!'" (Spring 2007) p18.
[1182] A. Curtin, "'But It's Fiction!'" (Spring 2007) p22.
[1183] A. Curtin, "'But It's Fiction!'" (Spring 2007) p18.
[1184] N. Hollier, "This Art Business" (Winter 2008) p61.

impulse to measure, anticipate and control reality; as Weberian sociology has it, the tendency towards "disenchantment"; or as Lopez describes it, the tendency towards science's loss of metaphors, "those fundamental tools of imagination".[1185] If the historian turns to literary device as a speculative tool to bridge the evidential gaps then there is a likelihood that the reader will expect that the historical subject's thoughts, speech and actions should be consonant with the contemporary perceptions of the contextualised period— even as the historian tries to persuade the reader to realign those perceptions. So realism also constrains historiography. It is a similar problem to the accusations of "conservative", "bogus" and "bad faith" made against realism for fiction.[1186]

Yet the moment that the historian narrates the past is a moment when an event is no longer what it was because, at a risk of stating the obvious, the past is reconstituting or "composting" into history; its previous reality is reforming. Thus history is never literally true of course. Rather, persuasive historiography speaks a "tangible verity";[1187] the art is "more real" or "less real" according to its capacity to induce an empathetic connection within the reader. History conceived as a tangible verity can empower the reader to overcome the shortcomings of realism, such as the fact that the author can never completely replicate speech idiom, accent, vernacular and so on as dialogue in grapholect; in other words, it is axiomatic that the "real" in any story, including history, is only representational. Again, there is a tension here which, as Wood argues for literary art, can be the power-spring for a potency of meaning as the artifice draws on the narrative ambition for a depiction of reality.[1188] Also, as Wood sees it, realism is not so much a formal genre as it is a tendency or impulse in literary art.[1189] (Nelson see it as the problem of over-extending a term for a period description to one of an over-expectation of mimesis.)[1190] So in seeking to depict reality, as in fiction, the historian can be impelled beyond the "limits" of realism.

[1185] Writing in the mid-1980s, Lopez sees quantum physics (quantum mechanics), presumably because it was (and still is) at the "edge" of human knowledge, as the science of exception because "quantum physics alone seems to have found its way back to an equitable relationship with metaphors"; see B. Lopez, *Arctic Dreams* (1999) p250.
[1186] C. Nelson, "Faking it" (Oct 2007) http://www.textjournal.com.au/oct07/nelson.htm (8 May 2008).
[1187] Diana Simmonds speaks of flawed fiction where "despite the research, there's a tangible lack of verity that makes the reader uneasy: the structure is without solid foundations and wobbles constantly." See D. Simmonds, "Lovers Bogged Down in Writer's Research" (31 Mar 2007) http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,20867,21456009-5003900,00.html (6 Nov 2007).
[1188] J. Wood, "Truth, Convention, Realism", *How Fiction Works* (2008) pp223-248.
[1189] J. Wood, *How Fiction Works* (2008) p224.
[1190] C. Nelson, "Faking it" (Oct 2007) http://www.textjournal.com.au/oct07/nelson.htm (8 May 2008).

Diana Simmonds notes that for fiction:

> To carry the weight of trust, the author must construct a reality that is unshakeable. It can be utter nonsense but it must be authentic nonsense.[1191]

This is borrowed here to argue that the historian must construct a reality that is unshakeable. It can be utterly extraordinary (which is probably why it is attractive in the first place) but it must be authentically extraordinary. History then, in artfully narrating its claims to a scientifically proven truth, both "rings true" and is true. This grants the historian licence to develop historiography beyond mere realism so long as the author is able to solicit the reader's (critical) imagination to appreciate other devices. History, like fiction, asks the reader for at least some suspension of disbelief, to accept some artistic construction without (immediate) questioning lest the reader is left only with a mute narrative; for history, this acceptance is comparable to the novelistic quality of a novel, the role of the aesthetics to draw out a meaning for an argument, theme, vision, etc.[1192] The historian can then select from a larger "palette" with which to persuade the reader to see the past in a different light.

What remains is a judgment of how much licence the reader will allow; a factor which is always culturally, even personally, relative. The capacity of the author's intuition in selecting the literary devices is another reason why historiography is also an art.

[1191] D. Simmonds, "Lovers Bogged Down in Writer's Research" (31 Mar 2007) http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,20867,21456009-5003900,00.html (6 Nov 2007).
[1192] Attributed to Leonard Davis on fiction; see C. Nelson, "Faking it" (Oct 2007) http://www.textjournal.com.au/oct07/nelson.htm (8 May 2008).

Part 4

Radical Tasmania in Reflection

All Quiet on the Narrative Fronts?

With the absenting of Howard from the Federal Parliament following both the defeat of his Government and the rejection of him by the voters in his own seat,[1193] the general public could be forgiven for thinking that the History Wars, even the culture wars in general, have abated. Certainly Manne, a veteran warrior who has fought on both sides of the ideological divide,[1194] expressed a hope that the Rudd Government would "help bring the Culture Wars to an end".[1195] Rudd then later declared that it is time "to leave behind us the polarisation" of the History Wars as he acknowledged the arguments of the left and the right (mostly the latter).[1196] Warriors from both camps, Manne and Blainey, applauded the overture for peace.[1197] Yet not only has there been a change of government (ostensibly a shift to a "left") here in Australia and also in the USA, with the election of the Democratic President Barack Obama,[1198] the GFC has carried capitalism into an economic maelstrom. (Though, as this thesis goes to submission, there are headlines suggesting that the worse is over.) Rudd has exploited the realignment of political perceptions, which structural shifts like the GFC invariably force, to declare an opportunity for "social democracy" and neoKeynesianism to put the proverbial sword into neoliberalism.[1199] As is argued above, neoconservatism and neoliberalism thrive in symbiosis.[1200] Therefore the decline of one implies the decline of the other, including the attendant ideological strategy which has impelled the History

---

[1193] Howard lost the vote for the House of Representatives Division of Bennelong to the ALP 's Maxine McKew.
[1194] R. Manne, *Left Right Left* (2005).
[1195] R. Manne, "What is Rudd's Agenda?" (Nov 2008) http://www.themonthly.com.au/node/1293 (8 Jun 2009).
[1196] Hon. K. Rudd, *Launch of first volume of Tom Keneally's "Australians"* (27 Aug 2009) http://www.pm.gov.au/node/6152 (28 Aug 2009).
[1197] D. Mark, "Blainey supports PM on history" (27 Aug 2009) http://www.abc.net.au/pm/content/2009/s2669066.htm (28 Aug 2009) and "PM calls for end to 'History Wars'" (27 Aug 2009) http://www.abc.net.au/pm/content/2009/s2669063.htm (28 Aug 2009).
[1198] Though the EU has shifted to the right; see I. Traynor, "Out of the shadows" (10 Jun 2009) http://www.theage.com.au/world/out-of-the-shadows-20090609-c271.html?page=-1 (12 Jun 2009).
[1199] Hon. K. Rudd, "The Global Financial Crisis" (Feb 2009) http://www.themonthly.com.au/node/1421 (8 Jun 2009). Though the ALP Governments in New South Wales and Queensland are trying to persuade their party affiliates that state infrastructure should be privatised, and Victoria's trumpeting of "public-private" projects signals that it is resisting calls to re-socialise transport, energy and water.
[1200] This is variously discussed above in "History Wars as Force", "Radicals and Radicalism in Tasmania" and "Tasmanian Radicals and the New Right".

Wars. If Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony remains valid, capitalism must have its culture wars.

Both the left and the right can claim victories. The left has generally defended its history as a scholastic exercise while having to concede only to a few minor revisions around issues of footnote references and other quibbles.[1201] (To which the public are largely indifferent.) The left's triumphalism was apparent when its arch-antagonist, Windschuttle, was satirised by "Sharon Gould" (Katherine Wilson),[1202] *a la* the *Social Text* affair,[1203] as he published her hoax article ("culture jamming")[1204] in *Quadrant*[1205] and so he was duped into parading ideology as "truth".[1206] Margaret Simons[1207] revealed the story in *Crikey* and the left media relished the hoax.[1208] The history warrior tries to

---

[1201] On Ryan's "minor infractions" in contradistinction to implied "fabrications" of the white blindfolds, see R. Taylor, "Whitewash: On Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Aboriginal History" (25 Oct 2003) http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/10/24/1066631621572.html?oneclick=true (8 Feb. 2005).

[1202] Wilson was previously a co-editor of *Overland*; see M. Simons, "Outing 'Sharon Gould'" (8 Jan 2009) http://www.crikey.com.au/Media-Arts-and-Sports/20090108-Outing-Sharon-Gould-Crikey-reveals-.html (9 Jan 2008). Wilson is reported as claiming that her article "…has achieved many of its aims, even if other aims are unsuccessful or not fully understood in some circles." See D. Cooke, "Revealed: the author of a hoax" (9 Jan 2009) http://www.theage.com.au/national/revealed-the-author-of-a-hoax-20090108-7cw8.html?page=-1 (9 Jan 2009). Wilson is a left culture warrior who pursues journalism as a function of her activism and so, amongst other ruses, she also claims to have penetrated and exposed a neocon dirty tricks "workshop"; see K. Wilson, "Grassroots verus Democracy (Winter 2006) pp13-17.

[1203] Though these comparisons are outside of the sciences, some also detect echoes of the "'Ern Malley' affair" (1944) and the controversies of Helen Darville/Demidenko (1995) and Norma Khouri (2002); see B. Smith, "Joining a long-standing tradition of tall tales" (7 Jan 2009) http://www.theage.com.au/national/joining-a-longstanding-tradition-of-tall-tales-20090106-7b6n.html?page=-1 (7 Jan 2008). One could also add the recent spate of fraudulent "misery memoir" and many other scams throughout the arts, but it is the publication of the article as a discussion of "science" which further impugns Windschuttle's authority.

[1204] Wilson is reported as preferring the term, "culture jamming"; see M. Simons, "Outing 'Sharon Gould'" (8 Jan 2009) http://www.crikey.com.au/Media-Arts-and-Sports/20090108-Outing-Sharon-Gould-Crikey-reveals-.html (9 Jan 2008).

[1205] The "Sharon Gould" affair is also described as "*Quadrant*-gate"; refer A. Brough, interview with Leslie Cannold, *National Afternoon Program*, (9 Jan 2008) not archived.

[1206] As the media reports that Windschuttle edited out the first twelve paragraphs of the article, then, if this is correct, there is an added irony in the published opening line: "*Quadrant* readers will remember America's 'science wars', spearheaded by the masterful Sokal hoax…" See S. Gould, "Scare Campaigns and Science Reporting" (Jan-Feb 2009) http://www.quadrant.org.au/magazine/issue/2009/1-2/scare-campaigns-and-science-reporting (7 Jan 200); also see the author's "Diary of a hoax" (22 Nov 2008) http://blogs.crikey.com.au/crikey/files/2009/01/diary-of-a-hoax.html (7 Jan 2009), and also M. Simons, "Outing 'Sharon Gould'" (8 Jan 2009) http://www.crikey.com.au/Media-Arts-and-Sports/20090108-Outing-Sharon-Gould-Crikey-reveals-.html (9 Jan 2008).

[1207] M. Simons, "How Windschuttle swallowed a hoax to publish a fake story in *Quadrant*" (6 Jan 2009) http://www.crikey.com.au/Politics/20090106-How-Quadrant-swallowed-a-giant-hoax-.html (7 Jan 2008).

[1208] Manne, who had resigned as editor of *Quadrant* amidst accusations that he was taking the journal to the "left", was most amused; see D. Cooke, "Conservative bible falls for furphy" (7 Jan 2009) http://www.theage.com.au/national/conservative-bible-falls-for-furphy-20090106-7b6m.html?page=-1 (7 Jan 2009); also see K. Burke & J. Robotham, "Lies and the hint of truth" (7 Jan 2009) http://www.theage.com.au/national/lies-and-the-hint-of-truth-20090106-7b6p.html (7 Jan 2009).

defend his decision to publish,[1209] but, to reference the bard, Windschuttle is hoist with his own petard.[1210]

Yet to repeat the point, the History Wars are not about history *per se*,[1211] let alone about the distraction of "out-Windschuttling" Windschuttle. The History Wars are about the power of politics and culture. In this sense, though it did not win complete control of Australia's history pedagogy, the right has won considerable ground. For example, as Connell observes, "Australian nationalism, once socially radical, has gradually been captured by the political right—itself committed to dependence on metropolitan power."[1212] Some even see an appropriation by the right of Ward's leftist historiography for Australian neonationalism.[1213]. This too is an outcome of the trend to a severing of working class culture and politics from left liberalism. It remains to be proven if America's Obama phenomenon is merely a hiatus or a fundamental turn and what will be its long term outcome in Australia, yet some commentators see Rudd as "a younger

---

[1209] K. Windschuttle, "Margaret Simons and an apparent hoax on *Quadrant*" (6 Jan 2009) http://www.quadrant.org.au/blogs/qed/2009/01/margaret-simons-and-an-apparent-hoax-on-quadrant (7 Jan 2008) and "This hoax a dud cheque [*sic.*]" (7 Jan 2009) http://www.quadrant.org.au/blogs/qed/2009/01/this-hoax-a-dud-cheque (10 Jun 2009).

[1210] Leslie Cannold makes the same (obvious) point, though with a common and slightly incorrect wording as a petard is a siege bomb or mortar with which it would be difficult to be "hoisted on"; see L. Cannold, "All's fair in battle of ideas", *The Age*, 8 Jan 2009, http://www.theage.com.au/opinion/alls-fair-in-battle-of-ideas-20090107-7bym.html?page=-1 (8 Jan 2008). As the classic reference is a pun on the Middle French *peter* (to break wind), it is essentially a fart joke: "For 't is the sport to have the engineer/ Hoist with his own petar..." See *Hamlet* (1602) act III, scene IV, lines 206-207 in W. Shakespeare, *The Globe Illustrated Shakespeare* (1986) p1899. This builds on the left's long personal attack on the history warrior in question as "Windschittle". *The Age* published a cartoon of Windschuttle stewing in his own juices in a saucepan, marked "Culture War", over a stove flame; see J. Spooner, "Mr Windschuttle double-checks his sauce" (8 Jan 2009) http://www.theage.com.au/opinion/alls-fair-in-battle-of-ideas-20090107-7bym.html?page=-1 (8 Jan 2008).

[1211] As is implied in the argument of the "thin outcome…of the advancement of historical scholarship" (full quote is cited in a note above); see A. Bonnell & M. Crott**y**, "Australia's History under Howard, 1996-2007" (May 2008) p163 and also see p149.

[1212] R. Connell, *Southern Theory* (2007) p72.

[1213] Angela Woollacott and David Andrew Roberts, respectively a contributor to and an editor of *Russel Ward: Reflections on the Legend*, *Journal of Australian Colonial History* (Vol.10, No.2, 2008), discuss the "mythology" in Ward's *The Australian Legend* and the suggestion that Howard ironically (given that Ward was a communist) appropriated elements of *The Australian Legend* for neoconservatism; see P. Adams, "The Australian Legend" (10 Dec 2008). http://www.abc.net.au/rn/latenightlive/stories/2008/2441390.htm (15 Dec 2008). See also comments on the appropriation of Ward's "legend" as the "Aussie Battler", etc., by Australian neoconservatives at G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) pp159-160. This phenomenon is satirised in the leftist opera, *Keating!*; see C. Bennetto, "The Mateship" (2009) http://thecentrecannothold.net/keating-the-musical-annotations/the-mateship/ (11 Jun 2009). McKenna argues that the "related" issues of reconciliation and Australian republicanism began to "separate" under the Keating Government of 1993-1994; see B. Brown, "Looking for Blackfellas' Point" (13 Mar 2005) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/history/hindsight/stories/s1318316.htm (21 Jun 2009). Connell's *Southern Theory* might prove to be the beginning of a leftist neonationalism for Australian social sciences and literary theory.

doppelgängar of Howard himself".[1214] This can be read too literally. The point here, regardless of Rudd's rhetoric for neoKeynesianism, is that capitalism is taking a defensive posture in which it might consolidate the gains by the New Right; the clothing has been changed but not the political body. This is what the Americans dub, sometimes in irony, a "'New' New Deal",[1215] after the right realised that its opportunity of the recent decades for cultural and political aggression was passing.[1216] The Australian left is warning that Howard's passive revolution will continue under Rudd,[1217] and so it is calling for what Kathleen Weekley nominates as a "a radical cultural revolution".[1218] On the other side, the Murdoch media has maintained the right's rage after Howard's departure from office.[1219]

While the History Wars are now not as shrill as they were during Howard's tenure, they are still being fought. However, there has been a change of tack by the right so as to by-pass leftist academic historians and to construct a public debate framed by Australia's neonationalism. Rather than directly confront the left's anti-militarism and its challenges to military history as myth in the analyses by Peter Stanley for example,[1220] the "Anzac legend" was turned into a debate of Gallipoli versus the Kokoda Track with Rudd, like Howard, alongside the right's Gerard Henderson[1221] and against the ALP's

---

[1214] G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) pix. After announcing his retirement from Federal politics, Costello is reported to have claimed, "'It is hard to see these things [neoliberal reforms as initiated while he was Federal Treasurer in the Howard Government] being undone' (by the Rudd Government)…"; see S. Carney, "End of a dream" (20 Jun 2009) http://www.theage.com.au/national/end-of-a-dream-costellos-unfulfilled-ambition-20090619-cr9h.html?page=-1 (20 Jun 2009).

[1215] A reference to the economic initiatives of Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt's during the Great Depression of the 1930's; neoliberalism is often categorised as the antithesis of the New Deal's augmentation of state intervention in the "free market".

[1216] "Newt Gingrich, always a reliable bellwether for the right-wing zeitgeist, is preaching that the right must change its tune 'quickly' or face big losses. The old politics--provoking culture wars about 'moral values'--will no longer suffice, he explained in a memo circulated among Republicans and the press." See W. Greider, "A 'New' New Deal" (3 Oct 2005) http://www.thenation.com/doc/20051003/greider (24 Nov 2008).

[1217] K. Weekley, "The Clever Principle of Similar Difference" (Winter 2008) p7.

[1218] K. Weekley, "The Clever Principle of Similar Difference" (Winter 2008) p5. Weekley predicted conflict between Rudd/Gillard and "a few small politically ineffective unions" over the industrial relations system (to wit, the current fight over the Australian Building and Construction Commission); see p7.

[1219] G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p209.

[1220] P. Stanley, "He's (not) Coming South" (31 May 2002) http://www.awm.gov.au/events/conference/2002/stanley_paper.pdf (30 Sep 2008), "Threat Made Manifest" (Spring 2005) pp13-24, "Was there a Battle for Australia?" (10 Nov 2006) http://www.awm.gov.au/events/talks/oration2006.asp (30 Sep 2008), *Invading Australia* (2008) "Battle Lines II" (30-31 Aug 2008) http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,,24244900-16947,00.html?from=public_rss (1 Oct 2008).

[1221] Henderson is Executive Director of the Sydney Institute and a veteran media commentator of the right.

ex-Prime Minister, Keating.[1222] The result was Rudd's declaration of the first Wednesday in September each year as "Battle for Australia Day" and the potential for an increased xenophobia as can be inferred from Bob Wurth's historiography.[1223] Again, it is the right which has gained ground by largely avoiding the intellectual debate and instead finding popular culture through a symbolism of race and country in a national story.

While the History Wars have moved to a new front, the combatants in the Story Wars appear to have fought to exhaustion. Or at least some of the major novelists have (partially) retreated from disputed territory. Grenville published her latest novel, *The Lieutenant* (2008), with an author's note at the end of the book stating that the story is fiction. In interview, "clearly still hurt, and slightly bewildered", she is said to have likened the spat with historians to the Battle of Singapore "when all the guns were pointing out to sea and the enemy crept up behind".[1224]

At about the same time, Richard Flanagan was repeatedly making the disclaimer for his latest title, *Wanting* (2008), that it "is not a history and nor should it be read as one".[1225] Rather, as he did for his earlier work, *Death of A River Guide*, he describes it cryptically as a "soul history". Nonetheless, in his novel, an Aboriginal character, Towterer,[1226] lived in a "cosmos" where technologies of space, like maps, would be thought "ridiculous" and "time and the world were infinite, and all things were revealed by sacred stories".[1227] This has several metaphorical possibilities, including the implication that Flanagan is having another passing shot at historians, who were also a target in his *Gould's Book of Fish* (2001).[1228] In other publicity for *Wanting*, Flanagan, in one of his

---

[1222] I. Salusinszky, "Keating rejects Gallipoli identity" (31 Oct 2008) http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,24579424-601,00.html (1 Nov 2008); also see D. Shanahan, "Kevin Rudd rejects Paul Keating's view on Gallipoli" http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,24584117-31477,00.html (1 Nov 2008).

[1223] B. Wurth, *Australia's Greatest Peril*, Pan Macmillan Australia, Sydney, 2008, and "Battle Lines I" (30-31 Aug 2008) http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,24244898-16947,00.html (30 Sep 2008).

[1224] C. Keenan, "A Historical Balancing Act" (20 Sep 2008) http://www.watoday.com.au/news/entertainment/books/a-historical-balancing-act/2008/09/18/1221331044345.html?page=fullpage#contentSwap2 (21 Sep 2008).

[1225] R. Flanagan, *Wanting*, DVD (2008) see also http://www.richardflanaganwanting.com.au/extras.aspx (14 Dec 2008).

[1226] Towterer was Chief of the Lowrenne people of the Point Hibbs area on the west coast of Van Diemen's Land before surrendering to Robinson in May 1833; see Julie Gough, "West Coast Aboriginal Escapes" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p383.

[1227] R. Flanagan, *Wanting* (2008) p58.

[1228] The satirisation of the truth claims of historians (along with cartographers) *vis-a vis* literary truths is a resilient theme of this novel; for example, see the scene with "the eminent colonial historian Professor

typical fiction-confused-for-fact anecdotes, recounts his ghost-writing of fiction masquerading as "autobiography" for John Friedrich's *Codename Iago* (1991) (the subject was charged with 91 offences involving fraud)[1229] and he remarks, "the interesting thing is most writer's first novel [*sic.*] is criticised as being autobiographical but my first autobiography was never criticised for being novelistic".[1230] This too is another elliptical reference to the Story Wars and a defence of the novelist's search for truth by an author who is also an historian and yet disparages academic history.

So the Story Wars are turned "down to a simmer". Yet the heat remains latent so long as the tension between scientific method and artistic narrative, a tension which is the legacy of Ranke's rejection of historical fiction and the schism which emerged out of the rhetorical claim to an artless science, remains unresolved because western culture still seeks to "prove" itself in rationalist ideology.[1231] Keneally is publishing his *The People's Train* and *Australians*, the latter described as "a storyteller's rather than a scholar's history".[1232] So the Story Wars are bound to return, even if as "new copy".

While the rhetoric of the Narrative Wars has quietened due to the juncture of particular historical forces, this signals the probable repositioning of ideological strategies because the conflict-oriented dynamics (dialectics) of global capitalism continue to shape the politics and culture of Australian society, even as they turn. More history warriors are

---

Roman de Silva" in R. Flanagan, *Gould's Book of Fish* (2001) pp17-21. Note Flanagan's sneering reference to "literary prizes" (p21) as he was short-listed for the 1995 Miles Franklin Award later won by Helen "Demidenko" (Darville *née* Dale) for her *The Hand that Signed the Paper*, which also won other awards despite being criticised as a "literary hoax"; Flanagan recounted his pique with a telling anecdote for the *First Tuesday Book Club*, ABC1, 2 Jun 2009. For a brief report on the Darville/Demidenko controversy in reference to separating fact from fiction, see M. Knox, "The Darville made me do it" (9 Jul 2005) http://www.smh.com.au/news/books/the-darville-made-me-do-it/2005/07/08/1120704550613.html (14 Jun 2009).

[1229] John Friedrich (possibly Friedrich Hohenberger) was arrested after a highly publicised police hunt for defrauding several banks of about $290 million and living in Australia under a false passport. He was also accused of faking his professional qualifications as Managing Director of the National Safety Council of Australia in the 1980s. He committed suicide before his trial in 1991.

[1230] Flanagan, claiming that he was frustrated with Friedrich's reluctance to reveal the truth, alleges that he created fictions for which the "compulsively dishonest" Friedrich gave his consent. In the same interview, Flanagan also recounts his story about a woman who claims that she had sex with a character from his first novel, *Death of A River Guide*; see P. Adams, "Richard Flanagan" (27 Nov 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/latenightlive/stories/2008/2431562.htm (29 Nov 2008).

[1231] "Ch. 3. Leopold von Ranke and Sir Walter Scott" in A. Curthoys & J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (2006) pp50-68. Trevelyan sought to resolve this by arguing for "the old English ideal" of history over the "modern German" one; see G.M. Trevelyan, "Clio, A Muse", *Clio, A Muse, and Other Essays* (1968) p142.

[1232] L. Slattery, "Fact and Fiction" (1-2 Aug 2009) http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,,25848066-16947,00.html (4 Aug 2009). Some detect a struggle between history and "story-telling" back to Herodotus and then to Cicero with the latter's "'first law of history' (*prima lex historiae*)…to tell the truth and the whole truth"; see D. Kelley & D. Sacks, "Introduction", *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain* (1997) p2.

likely to organise outside of academia, such as through vernacular history (or "history with a personal voice" like radio, television, videos, Digital Versatile Discs (DVDs), the internet, autobiography and testimony)[1233] and also through the rise of "participatory journalism"[1234] (or "citizen journalism", a hyper-polis collecting, analysing and reporting news and other information through the internet and related "text-speak").[1235] The emphasis, as Attwood notes, tends to history for the present[1236] (Swift's "Plenty of Here and Now");[1237] that is, the historical tends to the political. (An example of such "participatory" democracy can be seen in the hyper-politics of Australia's *Get Up!*)[1238] The Narrative Wars might re-emerge with different voices and a new language, yet as a manifestation of ongoing culture wars they are a likely rejoinder. So the imperative remains for academic research to engage through them to popular culture in the pursuit of democratic politics.

[1233] "Pity the poor historian who cannot get the hang of doing vernacular history, we might say. We or they are probably condemned to speak to smaller and smaller audiences." See B. Attwood, "Telling the Truth about Aboriginal History" (5 Sep 2005) http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/public-history-institute/annual-public-lecture/lecture-2005/index.html (22 Oct 2006).

[1234] "Participatory journalism is a bottom-up, emergent phenomenon in which there is little or no editorial oversight or formal journalistic workflow dictating the decisions of a staff. Instead, it is the result of many simultaneous, distributed conversations that either blossom or quickly atrophy in the Web's social network." See S. Bowman & C. Willis, Ch. 1, "Introduction to participatory journalism", *We Media* (2003) http://www.hypergene.net/wemedia/weblog.php?id=P36 (15 Jun 2009).

[1235] The concept of "text-speak " is broadening to include not just Short Message Service (SMS), yet also image, video and sound such as Multimedia Messaging Service (MMS). Hemingway's "tight" narrative style was influenced by a text-speak technology which he called "cablese" (elliptical press messages sent by cable telegram). For a report on a radical political potential of a recently developed text-speak technology, "Twitter", see G. Wright, "The twitter revolution" (20 Jun 2009) http://www.theage.com.au/news/technology/the-twitter-revolution/2009/06/19/1244918192014.html?page=fullpage#contentSwap1 (20 Jun 2009).

[1236] "With 'memory' or 'memorial discourse', the influence that the past and the present exert upon the making of historical narratives tilts towards the present rather than towards the past…In memory work, unlike history work, the gravitational pull is towards the present, not the past…It is a kind of history that Alan Atkinson has recently called 'vernacular history', by which he means histories in which there is 'a mix of writing and speech'. It is vernacular history that increasingly informs public understanding of the past…" See B. Attwood, "Telling the Truth about Aboriginal History" (5 Sep 2005) http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/public-history-institute/annual-public-lecture/lecture-2005/index.html (22 Oct 2006).

[1237] G. Swift, *Waterland* (1983) p66.

[1238] Modelled on *MoveOn*, which operates for the Democratic Party in the USA, *Get Up!* is "centre-left" activism which emphasises political lobbying and organising through internet technologies; for example, see "Tasmania - Under the Gunns", *Get Up!* (2008) http://www.getup.org.au/blogs/view.php?id=470 (15 Jun 2009).

"Gonzo historiography" and other vulgarisms in *Radical Tasmania*

At the risk of breaching the Hemingway creed which castigates literary "explainers, pimps, stoolies and apologists",[1239] it is appropriate to detail a few observations on *some* of the devices for the creative nonfiction in the selected histories. This is also to declare that, in part, these histories are intended as a celebration of historiography as an art in the spirit of Trevleyan's essay, "Clio, A Muse" (1913).[1240]

The histories are *not* narrated in total as creative nonfiction. Rather, the historiography is interwoven with creative nonfiction. One issue with creative nonfiction is that its argument occurs, as it were, behind the pages. The reader does not explicitly get to read the historical analysis, the weighing of the evidence and the multifarious questions which accompany the research; this is implied in conclusions which are constructed through artistic (sometimes fictional) devices so as to play on different elements in the reader's intellectual and emotional faculties. This is a part of the art of omission, ellipsis and the "iceberg" device (story by subtext, much lauded in Hemingway)[1241] in creative nonfiction. The main role of the creative element is to evoke empathy[1242] from the reader so that, in turn, the reader gains better imaginative insight than is expected for traditional (especially Rankean) historiography. Yet this would be difficult to sustain indefinitely without running the risk of confusing, in the reader's mind, the difference between speculation and claims to fact. So, depending on the subject, it is sometimes appropriate to bring the analysis back onto the page so that the reader is invited to

---

[1239] "No writer should be any one of those for his own work." See E. Hemingway, "The Art of the Short Story" (1990) p9.

[1240] G.M. Trevelyan, "Clio, A Muse", *Clio, A Muse, and Other Essays* (1968) pp140-176.

[1241] "If a writer of prose knows enough about what he is writing about he may omit things that he knows and the reader, if the writer is writing truly enough, will have a feeling of those things as strongly as though the writer had stated them. The dignity of movement of an iceberg is due to only one-eighth of it being above water." See E. Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon* (1966) p182. Also, Hemingway mentions that he deliberately omitted the "real end" of his story, "Out of Season" ("which was that the old man hanged himself"), so that "the omitted part would strengthen the story and make people feel more than they understood". See E. Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* (2009) pp70-71. It is claimed that Hemingway took the art of omission to a six-word extreme in the much-referenced flash fiction, "For sale. Baby shoes. Never worn." See A.C. Clarke, *Greetings, Carbon-Based Bipeds!* (1999) p354.

[1242] In this context, for example, Macintyre criticises Windschuttle's *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2002) and his "failure of empathetic imagination [as] remarkable", citing it as a manifestation of the flawed "history" of a "partisan advocate" for the "counter-offensive" against "Mabo and Wik, Reconciliation and the Stolen Generations". S. Macintyre, "On 'fabricating' history" (16 Mar 2003) http://evatt.labor.net.au/publications/papers/92.html (3 Jun 2007). The non-academic historian, Robert Cox, argues that Windschuttle's view of Tasmanian Aborigines as "outlaws" is "myopic, unsupportable and odiously tendentious". Quoted in a radio broadcast; see A. Warburton, "Were Tasmanian aboriginal bushrangers freedom-fighters?" (21 Apr 2004) http://www.abc.net.au/tasmania/stories/s1091882.htm (18 Oct 2007). For a popular history narrated as both a rebuttal of Windschuttle and a correction of ideological constructions by some left historians (Lyndall Ryan and Cassandra Pybus), see R. Cox, *Steps to the Scaffold* (2004).

consider the evidence. This keeps the narrative options flexible and allows for a kaleidoscope of possibilities as the scientific analysis and creative nonfiction are turned against and through each other.

Figurational tension conceptualises not just the problematic and necessary relationship between science and art, yet also between nonfiction and fiction. As mentioned, historiography asks the reader to imagine for the purposes of the narrative art so long as the science behind the narrative is cogent. If the latter is in place then the ethos between author and reader is more likely to be maintained and the narrative can aspire to a more complex persuasion while gaining the reader's empathy for the historical subject. This allows the narrative the opportunity, to borrow a line from theatre, for "a stretch of the imagination"[1243] (the abductive element in the figurational tension) so as to more fully explore the speculative possibilities. This also calls up what is often referenced as Wolfe's "first rule of New Journalism": whenever the "style" roams freely, the claim to facts must be "unassailable".[1244] Of course, unassailable facts tend to be as elusive as they are desirable (one of the enchanting qualities of history); Wolfe's "rule" is a rhetorical demand for rigour. One such style in *The Selected Histories* is what is termed, for the purposes of this thesis, "Gonzo historiography".

As the term implies, this is a style of historiography which is an adaptation of Thompson's Gonzo journalism. Gonzo's penchant for stitching the facts with the fantastic is here restrained to an occasional blurred realism[1245] and first person narration is minimal.[1246] The aggressive imagery mostly gives way to droll or sardonic comment. The "sick drawings",[1247] like those created by Ralph Steadman to illustrate Thompson's Gonzo, are omitted as they would be far too ambitious for a thesis of this type. However, the Gonzo emphasis on emotion, sarcasm, profanity (what could be more profane than genocide?),[1248] grittiness (similar to Hemingway and Proulx) and the

---

[1243] Jack Hibberd, *A Stretch of the Imagination* (1972).
[1244] M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p258.
[1245] For example, see the reference to killer whales eating dolphins in "Sexist Swine of Swansea".
[1246] "…I must get personally involved in a scene, in order to write it." Cited from a letter by Thompson to Steadman (c.1971) without further reference; see R. Steadman, *The Joke's Over* (2006) p77. For an adaptation of this device in *Radical Tasmania*, see "Earth Bound!" and "Keeping Labor Out of Town"—where the protagonist speaks to the reader as though the latter is *in situ* at the interview.
[1247] R. Steadman, *The Joke's Over* (2006) p83.
[1248] Macintyre argues that for histories of mass killings, "…though it is clear that legitimate revision can tilt over to offensive apologetics. When we raise such issues, at the very least we expect to find sympathy and compassion for the victims." S. Macintyre, "On 'fabricating' history" (16 Mar 2003) http://evatt.labor.net.au/publications/papers/92.html (3 Jun 2007).

blending of the antic and the comic with moral tract[1249] in a "juiced-up rhetorical style"[1250] of bricolage is embraced. This is in recognition of the argument that history can be truthful while being opinionated and without always striving for objectivity. Also, like Hemingway and Orwell, Gonzo's matter-of-fact detailing of brutality and violence — as though the narrator is an "embedded" and inured journalist when it is the piling of such facts which speaks and solicits horror — is a device for the contextualisation of the histories (Tasmania's traumascape).

Decades before Gonzo, Hemingway conceived his stomach-churning "killing of Fascists" in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*;[1251] the scene which critics have come to call Hemingway's "notorious incident".[1252] He is not calling on the platitude that both Republicans and Nationalists committed contemptible acts of violence in the Spanish Civil War;— something which should be obvious for a war when even statues were "executed" by firing squads.[1253] Rather, Hemingway is telling the emotional truth of unleashed revenge for the rape of individuals (such as the heroine, Maria, and other proletarian women)[1254] and revenge for the rape of a culture (such as by the Church as represented by the priest, Don Pepe— a particular irony for the Catholic

---

[1249] M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p221 & p236.
[1250] M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p234.
[1251] E. Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1955) pp122-123. Hemingway was confronted by a pincer-like damnation with his novel banned by the victorious Nationalist General Franco alongside his Fascists allies in Spain (who understood Hemingway's politics better than many on the left) while he was also denounced as not understanding "the true nature of the war" (General Enrique Lister, a Republican Commander, who knew Hemingway from the Battle of Ebro, 1938) by Franco's defeated Republican enemies, the Spanish Communist Party in exile and its allied veterans of the International Brigades— whose cause he had served. Hollywood too deleted this scene from the original cinema release of the novel's adaptation to screen (1943). See A. Gyles, "Part 3: On The Ropes" (1987) and D. Vanouse, "Mourning and Melancholia in Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*", (2005) http://www.clas.ufl.edu/ipsa/2005/proc/vanouse.pdf (18 Jan 2008). This scene was re-included in the "archivally restored" version of the movie released on DVD in 1998; see S. Wood, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1998).
[1252] D. Vanouse, "Mourning and Melancholia in Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*" (2005) http://www.clas.ufl.edu/ipsa/2005/proc/vanouse.pdf (18 Jan 2008). The left, perhaps over-reacting after the fatal betrayals of the war and a victim of its own (Stalinist) doublethink, chose to misread Hemingway. As though offering an unwitting example of such doublethink, Lister cryptically elaborates on his criticism that Hemingway did not understand the war "just as the majority of the people didn't understand it…[because] what we had in Spain was not a civil war but an anti-Fascist war on our side and a Fascist war on the other side." He then adds the literary evaluation that *For Whom the Bell Tolls* "is a tedious book.". See A. Gyles (dir.), "Part 3: On The Ropes" (1987).
[1253] For example, Tasmanian-born and later Hollywood movie star, Errol Flynn, claims that on his "journalist" travels around Spain during its civil war that he acquired a statue of the Madonna and Child which had both heads shot off; it "symbolised in a poetic way the futility of civil wars, the futility of wars of any kind." See E. Flynn, *My Wicked, Wicked Ways* (1976) pp203-204.
[1254] "Maria, shaved and raped by the Falangists [Spanish Fascists], is the symbol of a country that is being raped by Franco." See B. Stoltzfus, "Hemingway, Malraux and Spain" (1999) http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/comparative_literature_studies/v036/36.3stoltzfus.html (21 Jan 2008).

Hemingway).[1255] His art narrates the horror that revenge can be bloody and often irresistible just because it is bloody. From emotional truth can be drawn philosophical and even political realisation.[1256] So too do some of the histories in *Radical Tasmania* detail violence, including a gross hypocrisy which is alleged against some subjects of Christian zeal.[1257] As Weingarten summarises for Gonzo, the intent is to narrate from the evidence as though "flinging barbs like nunchucks"[1258] in an endeavour to pierce the reader's intellectual, emotional and imaginative sensibilities. A part of this is to elicit, as Steadman[1259] has it, "the response of surprise which gives Gonzo an expressive truth".[1260] So in no way is the violence narrated for gratuitous effect. It also serves to avoid what Wolfe castigates as the pale beige tone of understatement (discussed above in "Creative Nonfiction").[1261] This is further explained in metaphor by borrowing the pun about calling a spade a dirty, rusty shovel (when persuasively evidenced) instead of the genteel affectation of, as it were, a Spear and Jackson Number 9 with copper rivets. This is to avoid the reader's possible detachment (not to be confused with the reader's response of repulsion for particular narrated events).

This thesis has given due weight to the notion of ethos (see discussed above, especially "Part 2" in reference to the Story Wars). Some literary historians see the beginning of the end of New Journalism's "golden age" in Gail Sheehy's article exposing the sex industry in New York, "Redpants and Sugarman" (*New York*, 26 Jul 1971), with her gaffe of not declaring that her characters are composites.[1262] As discussed, a breach of ethos in nonfiction runs the risk of being perceived as a betrayal of trust by the reader (for example, the last scene in Capote's *In Cold Blood*), similar to a failure of some fiction to induce a suspension of disbelief. Mindful of ethos, italics are used in the

---

[1255] Hemingway accepted baptism into Catholicism so he could marry his second wife, Pauline Pfeiffer, a decision he later came to regret for many reasons, including the Pfeiffers' support for Fascism.
[1256] Though it is philosophy in fiction, Hemingway's protagonist, Robert Jordan, realises: "'But you mustn't believe in killing', he told himself. 'You must do it as a necessity but you must not believe in it. If you believe in it the whole thing is wrong.'" See E. Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1955) p288.
[1257] For example, "Robinson was by nature serious and by religion a Methodist." See N.J.B. Plomley, "Robinson's Adventures in Bass Strait" (1969) p37. On which Reynolds notes, "Robinsons appears to have convinced himself that the promise of an afterlife was more than compensation for lost homelands." See H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) p155. See evidence of this sort applied in "…so many of them always coming in big boats", "Fellow Slaves!" and "Coming Out, Speaking Out and Marching Out". Also, in one of his novels, Richard Flanagan's narrator remarks: "His [Robinson's] major cause for regret was not holding out for more money when he brought in the last of the natives. Money. money, money, and what money can make of life!" See R. Flanagan, *Gould's Book of Fish* (2001) p231.
[1258] M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p213.
[1259] Steadman is the artist who illustrated the famous caricatures which adorn many of Thompson's publications.
[1260] R. Steadman, *The Joke's Over* (2006) p385.
[1261] T. Wolfe, *The New Journalism* (1973) pp17-18.
[1262] M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p260.

histories to declare a fictional device as a tool of historical speculation. (The exception is "Keeping Labor Out of Town" where, as well its first three paragraphs, italics are also used to signal "citations" from the subject's own unpublished historiography.[1263] However, the very selection of these passages is the narrative intrusion of the author of this thesis and also, for literary purposes, these italicised passages are not always a word-for-word citation.) One intention of this is to avoid the "supercharged hokum" of "disparities in emphasis and context" whereby creative nonfiction can be exploited for self-serving sensationalism.[1264] It also allows licence to borrow the fictional trope of the "unreliable narrator", not in breach of literary ethos but to invite the reader to engage more rigorously with the evidence, maintain a scientific scepticism and to keep in mind the narrative limits.

An irony of Gonzo is that its very bricolage implies that any narratives which it inspires are not necessarily constrained to Gonzo; put another way, to reach beyond Gonzo is also a Gonzo act (a type of literary sublation). So too does the creative nonfiction in *Radical Tasmania* aspire beyond Gonzo.

For example, the selected histories make frequent use of the vernacular and the colloquial. (Certainly a quality of Gonzo, but also obviously not peculiar to it.) In many fiction and nonfiction narratives, this is a standard device for constructing realism. *Radical Tasmania* has a further ambition. In an argument for retaining Australia's territorial copyright, Richard Flanagan eloquently defends the vernacular. In a short history of the *Bible*, he points out that St Jerome's *Vulgate Bible* (translated from the Hebrew of the *Old Testament* and the Greek of the *New Testament* into the Latin of St Jerome's culture) "was *the* book"[1265] for the next one thousand years until, as Latin devolved from a *lingua franca* into a language of privilege, William Tyndale's translation of it into English (1525). Flanagan describes this historical development as:

> …the battle to know the great truth of [an] age in your own tongue—to hear the stories that [matter] most in your own language and idiom—[which are] inextricably bound up with the battle for freedom of thought and for freedom itself…[so] that time when we discover

[1263] I. Jamieson, "A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led" (2005).
[1264] An observation, about the "mainstream press" exploiting New Journalism, which is credited to Thompson's *Hell's Angels* (1966) without further reference; see M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p261.
[1265] R. Flanagan, *Sydney Writers Festival Closing Address* (2009) http://www.randomhouse.com.au/editor/documents/richardflanagansydneytalk.pdf (21 Jun 2009).

> ourselves in our own vernacular, we gain something extraordinary in the merge, and we begin to invent ourselves anew.[1266]

Similarly, this thesis declares the vernacular in its histories in the pursuit of a "vulgar grammar" for a popular readership; to borrow a description of proto-New Journalism, it seeks "the common-man cadence of [a] working-class readership".[1267] When the vernacular is employed here to construct a realism then it is a phrase adapted from the historical period of the subject. For example, in "The Hagley Clique", one of the narrators says, "*I hung up me old seal skin on the coat rack to dry*". There is a lingering history in rural Tasmania of lower income groups (with lower education and/or literacy levels) using the singular objective personal pronoun "me" without varying it to the attributive determiner "my".[1268] Or this narrator uses the Irish slang for Wellington boots, "topboots",[1269] intoning his probable ancestry (convict). On other occasions, the vernacular deployed is ahistorical (not of the subject's period) because it is a device for speaking more directly to a readership of the here and now. A pragmatism is utilised whereby the sense of the narrative should be apparent to readers who might be unfamiliar with a particular vernacular. For example, see the references to "Shell",[1270] "short-con" and "spin"[1271] as metaphors for a public confidence trick in "Fellow Slaves!", or the "fagus"[1272] in the "The Hagley Clique" as an atmospheric device to contextualise this history's beginning in Autumn—as the season of decline, etc. It is also an articulation of the preference for patois over what Orwell calls "pretentious diction": the (often Latinate) affectation of an elitist lingo used to fudge the truth and suppress the vulgar (Anglo-Saxon) tongue.[1273]

[1266] R. Flanagan, *Sydney Writers Festival Closing Address* (2009) http://www.randomhouse.com.au/editor/documents/richardflanagansydneytalk.pdf (21 Jun 2009).
[1267] A description of Jim Bellow's editorial strategy in hiring Jimmy Breslin for the *New York Herald Tribune* (1963); see M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p70.
[1268] For example, Ethol Bishop (of Irish descent) is quoted as saying, "Here's me dinner now. Oh blast me dinner. I don't know about me dinner." See J. Marwood, *Valley People* (1984) p60.
[1269] "He voted for it and put on his topboots to ride to Dublin from the Ards of Down to do so." See J. Joyce, *Ulysses* (1990) p31.
[1270] Also known as Pea & Thimble, Shell is a gambling game which is essentially a swindle disguised as a sleight of hand (hence "short-con") and often used by practised "natives" to lure naïve tourists; hence it is illegal in many public places.
[1271] A modern parlance, "spin" is disingenuous public relations often used by politicians and other high profile figures to manipulate public opinion.
[1272] The phenomenon known as the "turning of the fagus": a deciduous Tasmanian beech (*Nothofagus gunnii*) of Gondwana origin which has leaves which turn through lustrous gold to deep red in Autumn.
[1273] "Bad writers, and especially scientific, political and sociological writers, are nearly always haunted by the notion that Latin or Greek words are grander than Saxon ones…" See G. Orwell "Politics and the English Language" in *Inside the Whale and Other Essays* (1962) p147; Don Watson champions Orwell's argument in the former's *Death Sentence* (2003) and *Watson's Dictionary of Weasel Words, Contemporary Clichés, Cant & Management Jargon* (2004). In the full fury of the Narrative Wars, Dirk

The Selected Histories are more or less structured around the actions of central characters as is common in many genres of the modern novel ("Earth Bound!" tends to the biographical) rather than around impersonal and abstract "forces" like economics, geography, group power relations, nationalism, revolution, neoconservatism, etc., which are the focus of sociological and historical stucturalists. (Though historical forces are narrated as "tectonic" elements into relevant "backstory" and/or are implied in relevant *mise-en-scéne*.) As already noted in discussing Orwell, it is in stories of individuals that a tangible connection can be made with "the current struggles of the world"[1274] such that the narrative art solicits an emotive imagining to link the particular with the universal.

The selected histories are paragraph formatted and referenced with endnotes so that the lay-out resembles the common styles of popular histories. Notes have experienced a decline and then a partial renaissance in popular history as modern software and internet technologies have changed their efficiency and utility. They have a fluid status in popular text in general. Evelyn Fishburn, adapting a metaphor from William Rowe, describes them as "'reading machines' that make holes in the text to redistribute it allowing for different configurations".[1275] Vulgar Press added endnote references to its second volume of *Radical Melbourne* after receiving anecdotal information that secondary school history teachers had not taken the first volume of *Radical Melbourne* into the classroom because its omission of notes made it a poor pedagogic tool for teaching young history students.[1276] Notes returned to the centre of the History Wars with the self-proclaimed reference scrutiniser himself, Windschuttle, offering *Quadrant* readers a "footnoted version" of what was later revealed to be a bogus article at the core of the "Gould" hoax.[1277] Putting aside the irony of Windschuttle ensnared in notes, it is becoming a trend for publishers to offer "enotes" (notes supplied separately on digital technology). The potential of "ebook" technology (digital text which can be

---

Den Hartog lambasts "the Marxist (*sic*) and populist claims that the point of elaborate language is to produce class distinctions". See D. Den Hartog, "In Praise of Polysyllables" (2-3 Apr 2005) p2.

[1274] G. Orwell, "Raffles and Miss Blandish", *Decline of the English Murder and Other Essays* (1965) p79.

[1275] An observation made in the context of a discussion on the writings of Jorge Luis Borges which has a general application; referenced to William Rowe, "Reading Machine/Hole Machine" in "How European is it?", *Borges and Europe Revisited*, edited by E. Fishburn, London, 1998, pp31–36; see E. Fishburn, "A Footnote to Borges Study" (2008) http://americas.sas.ac.uk/publications/docs/Fishburn.pdf (23 Jun 2009) p2.

[1276] A comment passed on to Ian Syson at Vulgar Press which originated from Stephen Hodder, a history teacher at Whittlesea Secondary College, Victoria.

[1277] See after the fake biography endnoted in S. Gould, "Scare Campaigns and Science Reporting" (Jan-Feb 2009) http://www.quadrant.org.au/magazine/issue/2009/1-2/scare-campaigns-and-science-reporting (7 Jan 200);

downloaded by computer) would make it possible to offer generous notes as an option for a popular publication of *Radical Tasmania*. Enotes for history titles might see a return to the pre-Rankean tradition of enhanced literary devices such as explication, personal affront, sarcasm and the witty aside, even changes in points of view, which are a hallmark of the elaborate notes in, for example, Marx's *Capital* (also a model for other Marxist publications, like those of "world-systems theory"). In his fictional essay, "A Natural History of the Dead" (1933), Hemingway uses a footnote to satirise an historiographical style ("Natural History") while also mocking the extinction of "Humanists" (a "literary sect").[1278]

Of course, in this thesis, references are mandatory for the examination process and so more notes with more details are supplied than might be the case for a popular readership. While some of the specific literary devices are discussed below, the inspirations for many of the devices are flagged by endnote references. The referencing in this exegesis is usually specific to a particular term in a sentence and so is often necessarily indicated mid-sentence (not just at the end of clauses as is the style of the Modern Language Association) to avoid the confusion which could arise from several or more superscript references bunched together at the end of the same clause or sentence. In relief, the histories references are all indicated at the end of sentences to maintain a narrative flow which approximates more closely to the expectations for popular history. Some of the notes in the exegesis are repeated in the volume of histories as the references of the latter are not dependent on the former.

The first history, "…so many of them always coming in big boats", begins with an epigraphic quotation which is the United Nations definition of genocide.[1279] This is to indicate that genocide is both a theme of this history and that it connects with the topic which has been the "eye of the storm" in the History Wars in Australia and elsewhere. The aspirations to a Gonzo historiography preclude the detailed discussion like that which occurs on the topic in academic publications, an essential sacrifice to a necessary style. So the debates about genocide and other issues of the History Wars are also flagged, and sometimes elaborated for detail, by the endnotes. This is to demonstrate

[1278] E. Hemingway, "A Natural History of the Dead" in *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (1987) p338, f.n.
[1279] United Nations, "Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Article 2)" (9 Dec 1948) http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/p_genoci.htm (23 Oct 2007).

much of the historiographical "iceberg" supporting "…so many of them always coming in big boats" whereas it is largely "beneath" the narrative in the following histories.

This history then moves immediately into a fictional device in italicised lines:

> *At the river shore there was another body washed up. The Tommeginer guerrillas stood waiting.*

These are an adaptation of Hemingway's famous opening lines to his "Indian Camp"[1280] (a story with indigeneous characters and an Anglo "saviour" which explores survival, trauma and death) to indicate that this history begins *in media res* or "into the middle of things". (This is a device which is used again to open "Coming Out, Speaking Out and Marching Out" in reference to Orwell, discussed below.) The "thing" here is the Black War and so metaphorical licence is taken with particular evidence[1281] to imply that death is rising, as it were, on an historical tide.[1282] The Tommeginer are described as "guerrillas" in a confrontation with Windschuttle's argument that the Aborigines were cowards rather than patriotic warriors.

This history twice asks the question, "What is in a name?" While it is an obvious reference to a famous and somewhat overused line from Shakespeare,[1283] the main intention is to call up the discussion in this exegesis about naming as a strategy of conquest and of resistance;[1284] a struggle which continues to this day as the names of Aboriginal tribes, persons and places were still in contestation while *Radical Tasmania* was being researched.[1285] (This urge for what might be termed *appellation d'origine*

[1280] "At the lake shore there was another rowboat drawn up. The two Indians stood waiting." See E. Hemingway, "Indian Camp", *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (1987) p67.

[1281] Robinson reports that the sealers on Clarkes Island reef "must have been all drowned" due to "unusually bad" weather and that "NIC.ER.UM.POW.WER.RER.TER, alias Mary, one of the women from the westward, said that she lived with Starker, that was drowned and whose body I found near the Leven River." See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p295 & p301 and see other details on p615.

[1282] The "river shore" here is the Leven River estuary which receives its flood tides from Bass Strait.

[1283] "What's in a name? That which we call a rose/ By any other name would smell as sweet"; see *Romeo and Juliet* (1599) act II, scene II, lines 45-46 in W. Shakespeare, *The Globe Illustrated Shakespeare* (1986) p174.

[1284] For example, see J. Jorgenson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land* (1991) p76.

[1285] For example, in a dispute over an Aboriginal land claim, hear Nigel Mansell (Tasmanian Aboriginal Land Council) refer to "Eddystone Point" as "*larapuna*"—an appellation which is possibly a construction in modern *palawa kani* (it is not listed as an Aboriginal name for the point in Alexander's appendix) and so *larapuna* is a tactic of resistance; download the video at C. Duffy, "Tourist hot spot at centre of land rights dispute" (25 Jun 2009) http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2009/s2608874.htm (26 Jun 2009) and see J. Taylor, "Appendix 1: European-Aboriginal Index of the Palawa (Tasmanian Aboriginal) Place

contrôlée[1286] even extends to traumascape such as Risdon Cove — see "About PAR" — which is "marked" by archaeological evidence and is then re-marked by the controversy to de-archaeologise (remove) Government historical signage and even "rewrite" historical dates because it is also the site of British "invasion" or "first settlement", depending on the politics of the markers.)[1287] This struggle is embodied in the protagonist, Tarenorerer, who still undergoes name changes which are both Aboriginal and Anglo, and which act as a "trail" in telling and even in making her tragic story as heroine and as villain in her life and after her death, including folklore. The latter is emerging through a figurational tension to particularise Tarenorerer as a champion of both contemporary Aboriginal politics and feminism,[1288] to the chagrin of some in the past and today.[1289]

There is a return to the issues of naming with the opening line, "Call me Jammo", in the history, "Keeping Labor Out of Town". While this is clearly a reference to the opening of Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick* (1851), "Call me Ishmael", and the novel's themes of the tension of the fantastic and the real in a story replete with environmental themes, it is also a literary "hook" about the real name of "Jammo" (surname, Jamieson) and his reasons for a name change. This is revealed in the ending.

"The Hagley Clique" begins with the weather. Elmore Leonard's first rule of writing is, "Never open a book with weather".[1290] However, Hemingway, in an echo of his younger days when he famously used repetitive description of elemental imagery—such as leaves and water in his opening to *Farewell To Arms* (1929)[1291] and his Ch. V vignette in *In Our Time* (1925),[1292] opens the memoir of his Paris days, *A Moveable Feast* (1964), with a description of the weather. It then moves, as though by camera dolly, to a

---

Names" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p504. This dispute echoes some of the issues around Kutikina Cave, formerly Fraser Cave, during the Gordon-below-Franklin campaign; see Justice P. Slicer, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (9 Dec 2008).

[1286] The often controversial French system of "controlled term of origin" for labeling wine.

[1287] For example, see K. Windschuttle, "Foreword to *John Bowen and the Founding of Tasmania* by Reg Watson" (2005) http://www.sydneyline.com/Reg%20Watson%20foreword.htm (6 Oct 2008); and also see G. Pearce, "Will we be commemorating Tasmania's bicentenary too late?" (20 Jun 2003) http://www.abc.net.au/stateline/tas/content/2003/s884765.htm (6 Oct 2006).

[1288] For example, see R. Langford, "Tare-Nore's Journey" (2006) http://www.artmob.com.au/artists/langford/26.html (3 Nov 2007).

[1289] For example, see J. Jorgenson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land* (1991) p80 and K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p267.

[1290] E. Leonard, "Easy on the Adverbs, Exclamation Points and Especially Hooptedoodle" (16 Jul 2001) http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=940CE3DD103BF935A25754C0A9679C8B63 (13 Sep 2008).

[1291] E. Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms* (1977) p7.

[1292] E. Hemingway, *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (1987) p95.

scene inside a café where the atmosphere is similarly moist and thick and tense.[1293] In "The Hagley Clique", the aim is to frame the history in the elements of Tasmanian storyscape by referencing climate (an Autumnal storm) and terrain as a type of *mise-en-scéne* for a farmers' reform movement; a history which ends in defeat. Another line (also discussed above in another context) is intended to continue the atmospheric outside-is-inside effect: "…*I hung up me old seal skin on the coat rack to dry and put me tattered and greasy felt hat on the hook near the fire and jostled for a place to dry me topboots.*" This too is modelled on a line from the same scene discussed in *A Moveable Feast*.[1294]

For aesthetic purposes, some of the events recorded from various meetings for the Hagley farmers are conflated into one meeting. These are revealed in the dates of the sources in the endnote references. Likewise, the order for some of the details narrated in first person from the interviews in "Earth Bound!" are re-ordered for purposes of the narrative structure.

One of the sources for the opening to "Fellow Slaves!" is from the tourist information web site, "Theatre Royal"(2007), selected for its colourful description rather than proven historical accuracy.[1295] (Similarly, some other primary and secondary sources are utilised for aesthetic purposes rather than factual veracity.) This passage is an application of the frenzied style which Thompson used to open his proto-Gonzo, *Hell's Angels* (1966).[1296]

In this history, the final words of Mary McLaughlin have been changed from the press report of "Oh! My God!"[1297] to "Oh! My Lord!". This is meant as an artful implication of Charles Ross Nairne,[1298] her assigned master and the probable father (either by

---

[1293] E. Hemingway, "A Good Café on the Place St.-Michel" in *A Moveable Feast* (2009) p15.
[1294] "…I hung my old waterproof on the coat rack to dry and put my weathered felt hat on the rack above the bench and ordered a *café au lait*." See E. Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* (2009) p17.
[1295] "[After opening in 1837, the Theatre Royal] offered its original patrons entertainment ranging from music hall to cockfights and could even help to quench their thirsts at The Shades – a seedy tavern that operated beneath the auditorium with its own entrance into the theatre pit. Prostitutes, sailors and general riffraff would enter the pit with tankards full and create all sorts of drama of their own, much to the displeasure of the gentry in the boxes." See "Theatre Royal" (2007) http://www.about-australia.com/travel-guides/tasmania/hobart/attractions/relaxation-well-being/theatre-royal/ (7 Nov 2007).
[1296] H. Thompson, *Hell's Angels* (1999) p1. Compare this to the gritty opening of the article on which Thompson based his book; see H. Thompson, "The Motorcycle Gangs, (2 Mar 2005) http://www.thenation.com/doc/19650517/thompson (12 Jan 2008).
[1297] For a report of McLaughlin's final words, see the *Hobart Town Courier* (24 Apr 1830) cited in P. Tardif, *Notorious Strumpets and Dangerous Girls* (1990) pp1758-1759.
[1298] H. MacDonald, *Human Remains* (2006) p65.

seduction or rape) of McLaughlin's dead baby when she was hanged for infanticide while the father's name was suppressed throughout her trial and, with Reverend William Bedford's complicity, at her controversial execution to defend "respect" for the colony's gentry.

A later description of the gentry as "Defeated but not destroyed…" is a reference to Hemingway's use of the "double dicho", such as his famous, "A man can be destroyed but not defeated."[1299] A Hemingway double dicho is a statement which remains the same when the key clause is turned back to front; e.g., A man can be defeated but not destroyed.[1300] However, if the context is inverted as it is in "Fellow Slaves!", that is a characterisation of cowardice rather than bravery, then the double dicho in "reverse" narrates a resilient evil such as is similar to the portrayal of evil in Akira Kurosawa's critique of corporate corruption in his movie, *The Bad Sleep Well* (1960).[1301] It is used again, though in the spirit of Hemingway's use of the term to describe courage, in "About PAR".

"Coming Out, Speaking Out and Marching Out" draws on nonfiction, "The Emancipist", by Croome,[1302] a main subject of this history. It also draws on Proulx's fiction of homosexual cowboys, "Brokeback Mountain" (1999), (later adapted to screenplay), including her paragraph spacing in the shift from italicised to non-italicised font near the beginning.[1303] As mentioned, the opening structure is borrowed from an *in media res* of Orwell's *Down and Out in Paris and London* (1933).[1304] The image of the woman with hair like seal's fur is adapted from Hemingway's *œuvre* where short hair, especially on women, is an erotic motif of transsexuality.[1305]

The phrase, "Benjamin Franklin remarks somewhere…", is intended to engage the reader through a conversational tone— as in Marx's, "Hegel remarks somewhere…", in

---

[1299] E. Hemingway, *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952) p103.
[1300] See Hemingway's double dicho discussed by A.E. Hotchner, *Papa Hemingway* (1999) p73.
[1301] Inspired in part by Shakespeare's *Hamlet*; see A. Kurosawa, *The Bad Sleep Well* (2006).
[1302] R. Croome, "The Emancipist" (Spring 2008) p8.
[1303] A. Proulx, "Brokeback Mountain", *Close Range* (1999) p284.
[1304] See "Down and Out in Paris and London" in G. Orwell, *The Complete Works of George Orwell* (2003) http://www.george-orwell.org/Down_and_Out_in_Paris_and_London/0.html (31 Dec 2008); also see Orwell discussed in this context in T. Cheney, *Writing Creative NonFiction* (2001) pp14-15.
[1305] For example, see a discussion of hair and androgyny in Hemingway's *The Garden of Eden* (1986) in K. Lynn, *Hemingway* (1989) pp540-544.

his opening to *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.[1306] The reference from Franklin, "that so many are prepared to exchange their liberty for security",[1307] is sometimes also credited to Alexis de Tocqueville.[1308] As well, it is employed to call up the "Hobbesian calculus", *Protego ergo obligo*,[1309] in the context of the postmodern politics of fear and loathing.[1310] A later reference to *petite friture l'éperlans* (fried whitebait)[1311] is an "organoleptic"[1312] device intended for imaginative salivation so that the reader can picture the scene (a Hobart City Council banquet) through a fictional appeal to the aristological senses,[1313] as Hemingway often does.[1314] The Francophile affectation is a satirisation of exotic lingo as commonly used in that oxymoron, "Anglo cuisine"— itself a progenitor to another oxymoron, "Tasmanian cuisine".[1315] There was no such dish served at this function. It is also a subtle pun on survival. Whitebait is contextualised as an environmental issue in "Earth Bound!".

"Sexist Swine of Swansea" is narrated in the "historic present"[1316] (present tense) as adapted from Wolfe's *Esquire* stories. The expression, "Local folklore has it …", in the context of an account of killer whales killing and (sometimes) eating dolphins, is a device to draw attention to the tension between fact and fiction in "public memory"[1317] by exploiting the moral tension in the ambiguity of truth mediated by social value. A similar device is used in some of the other histories with the expression, "So they say".

[1306] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (2006) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/ch01.htm (21 Jan 2009).
[1307] G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p97.
[1308] H. McQueen, *Suspect History* (1997) p8.
[1309] "Protection therefore obedience" or "I protect you, thus I obligate you [to me]"
[1310] For a discussion of this phenomenon, see G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) pp35-36 & p144 &p207-208.
[1311] *Lovettia sealii* is a type of galaxia which is found only in Tasmania. These "whitebait", almost brought to extinction by professional fishers for the pet food industry, are now caught by licensed recreational netters for the table, usually in October. They cannot be legally sold.
[1312] The term, "organoleptic tasting", is borrowed from winespeak by Helen Greenwood to conceptualise literary descriptions of food as signifiers in both fiction and nonfiction, stimulating the reader to a sensual imagining of relevant scenes or characters, etc; see R. Koval, "How to write about food" (29 Jun 2009) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2009/2611170.htm (30 Jun 2009).
[1313] Aristology is the study of cooking and dining. The term was popularised in Tasmania by Edward Abbott, a bourgeois "radical" who founded the pro-Governor Franklin periodical, the *Hobart Town Advertiser* (1839), and wrote *The English and Australian Cookery Book: Cookery for the many as well as the "Upper Ten Thousand" by an Australian Aristologist* (1864). See M. Symons, *One Continuous Picnic* (1982) p45. Also see Tony Marshall, "Abbott, Edward" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p1. Symons sought a renaissance of the term amongst Australian "foody" society in general during the 1980s.
[1314] For example, see his description of fishing in the Seine River for *goujon* (dace) to fry and eat whole with Muscadet; E. Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* (2009) pp37-38.
[1315] See the reference to "Tas provincial" in "Sexist Swine of Swansea".
[1316] M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p83.
[1317] Bodnar describes a tendency of public memory to construct a "cognitive device to mediate competing interpretations and privilege some explanations over others"; see J. Bodnar, *Remaking America* (1992) p14.

This is a play on Hemingway's, "Can you really remember that or did I just tell it to you?"[1318] The line, "Nature is a doddle compared to history", is intended as sarcasm about human society, like Hemingway's quip about "Natural History" which is implied in one of his opening lines, "It has always seemed to me that the war has been omitted as a field for the observations of the naturalist".[1319] It is used to separate history from nature here because this thesis borrows from the classical and Marxist traditions of history as evidential human change over time and as humanity making its own destiny.

All these histories more or less draw on Proulx's devices (possibly inspired by the geography-as-destiny thrust of Didion's New Journalism)[1320] for a geonarrative of "shifting circumstances overlaid by natural surroundings"[1321] as evidenced through the generational experience of the erosion of aging cultures and rural alienation. As she elaborates, "Real rural life, enlivened with clean air, beautiful scenery, close-knit communities and cooperative neighbours, builds self-reliant, competent, fact-facing people; but it is also riddled with economic failure, natural disaster, poor health care, accidental death, few cultural opportunities, narrow worldviews, a feeling of being separated from the larger society."[1322] Though she is describing the American west (with which Tasmania has parallels, as discussed), this is also a persistent backstory (or "backhistory") in *Radical Tasmania*.

"Save Our Sisters" is the most detailed and longest of the histories. It utilises Proulx's multi-generational device where "the deep past" and immediate events partly shape the narrative.[1323] It also aims for "the little things that [help to] bring the big things to life"[1324] such as Hemingway learnt from the paintings by Paul Cézanne and Wolf learnt from the writings of Talese.

[1318] E. Hemingway, *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952) p9; this is also discussed above in "Poetics as Radical Praxis".
[1319] Note the cunning ambiguity in "of" rather than "by"; see E. Hemingway, "A Natural History of the Dead" in *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (1987) p335.
[1320] M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p111.
[1321] A. Proulx, "An Interview with Annie Proulx" (Spring 1999) http://www.missourireview.com/content/dynamic/view_text.php?text_id=877 (12 Oct 2008).
[1322] A. Proulx, "An Interview with Annie Proulx" (Spring 1999) http://www.missourireview.com/content/dynamic/view_text.php?text_id=877 (12 Oct 2008).
[1323] A. Proulx, "An Interview with Annie Proulx" (Spring 1999) http://www.missourireview.com/content/dynamic/view_text.php?text_id=877 (12 Oct 2008).
[1324] M. Weingarten, *From Hipsters to Gonzo* (2005) p83.

The phrase, "giggle of panic", in this history is an adaptation of a device developed by Tobias Wolff, "the rictus of panic",[1325] which is untimely laughter amidst or leading to horror. In this scene, it is a co-mingling of horror with the comical because the character's anguish is the butt of a joke for residents in St Marys. The character in this anecdote is fiction and this is one reason why the passage is italicised. However, it is based on the experience of a real person, Wendy Dawson, who lives in the area.[1326] Local story tellers have changed the identity of the historical subject so that the trauma is shifted away from any local identity and on to the resented mainland metro*riche* who occasionally holiday in this district. For the folk of St Marys, who often experience hard economic times, it opens space for humour. Hence, history conflates into fiction and, in turn, fiction serves history. This passage is also "adorned" with banal adjectival description to "kitsch-up" the narrative in mock imitation of the character's garb. On a similar note, "Save Our Sisters" also makes references to informal conversations with Tim Aulich, Uma Camplin and Colin Smart.[1327] This is not to cite their claims as evidence of true events, rather they are anecdotal evidence of some attitudes to (environmental) disputes in north east Tasmania and of Smart's recorded protest songs as potential vernacular history.

"Save Our Sisters" makes frequent use of the term, "in-mover". (Sometimes the American "greenhorn" is also used in the Fingal Valley to denote new arrivals with poor rural skills.) The term, in-mover, has parallels with the American use of "dude" to describe moneyed people who have come from the cities and who are perceived as ignorant of rural manners, as in Jonathan Periam's *The Home and Farm Manual* (1883); ecotourist farms are sometimes perceived in the Fingal Valley as green versions of the American "dude ranch".[1328]

[1325] For example, a Wolff protagonist, the literary critic and teacher, Anders, laughs during a bank robbery and so he is shot in the head; see "Bullet in the Brain" (first published in *The New Yorker*, 1995) as a possibly revised version in T. Wolff, *Our Story Begins* (2008) pp263-274; Wolff discusses this at R. Koval, "Our Story Begins" (22 Dec 2008) http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2008/2451571.htm (22 Dec 2008).

[1326] Dawson was riding a horse at the time, with the Chihuahua and a border collie running beside her. This was confirmed in a telephone conversation with an interviewee for "Save Our Sisters", Julia Weston (16 Mar 2009).

[1327] Wood refused a formal interview because he claims that he is a victim of logger violence and he is wary of an another attack, though he did give verbal permission for the use of his material in "Save Our Sisters".

[1328] For a discussion of "island gentrification" and island "creolization", see P. Hay, "A Phenomenology of Islands" (Mar 2006) pp25-26; also see the politics of "alternative lifestylers" in P. Hay, "The Moral Economy of the Bush" (2009) http://www.thefreelibrary.com/The+moral+economy+of+the+bush%3a+debates+about+logging+and+forestry+are...-a0153362714 (2 Feb 2009). For a discussion of the phenomenon of *anacthonous migaloo*

This history also uses a device similar to Mailer's author/narrator in the third person (discussed above)[1329] to declare that this author has a "real life" relationship with the area and its community. (See "*Some Hobbesian wit…*") While it is also meant as self-pejorative comic relief, it plays on many of the issues discussed in this exegesis around the problematic relationship of evidence and narrative meaning and of objective/subjective truth. It is also a reference to Hemingway's "Big Two-Hearted River" (1925) where the narrative point of view changes from third-person limited to first-person, while he reworks a cliché about anglers and lost fish, to make a joke about constructing a believable story out of the tension between truth and fiction.[1330] In these senses, this passage in "Save Our Sisters" is self-reflexive. The joke about Trotskyists and light bulbs in "Earth Bound!", appearing to have been told during one of the interviews with Max Bound, is similarly a self-reflexive device — on the function of ideology in a figurational tension — as the author did not reveal it to the subject until the latter read it in a draft copy of the history (so it is a type of literary metanarrative and hence it is also italicised). There is also a reflexive device in the notes for the multi-narrative history, "The Hagley Clique".

"Save Our Sisters" finishes with a rapid dénouement, implying that this is an "unfinished" history.

---

searching for "the next *SeaChange*" (*sic.*) around Byron Bay, NSW, see M. Lucashenko, "Not Quite White in the Head" (Summer 2003-2004) p20.

[1329] See above in "Creative Nonfiction".

[1330] Notice the juxtaposition of an omniscient "God" with the first-person pronoun "I" as the trout grows from "big" to "biggest" (then disappears): "That was a trout. He had been solidly hooked. Solid as a rock. He felt like a rock, too, before he started off. By God, he was a big one. By God, he was the biggest one I ever heard of." See E. Hemingway, "Big Two-Hearted River: Part II", *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (1987) p177. Hemingway also shifted narrative between first and second person; see E. Hemingway, "On Writing in First Person" in *A Moveable Feast* (2009) pp181-182 and also see Seán Hemingway's brief comment on this at p4 and in B. Frenette, "Sean Hemingway on the 'restored edition' of his grandfather's A Moveable Feast" (8 Aug 2009) http://www.nationalpost.com/m/blog.html?b=afterword&e=q-amp-a-sean-hemingway-on-the-quot-restored-edition-quot-of-his-grandfather-s-a-moveable-feast&s=Arts (16 Aug 2009).

Radical Tasmania Abides…

An overview of radical history in Tasmania suggests four broad periods of overlapping or "embryonic" chronology (a period begins within the "womb" of its antecedent period). In one way or another, the history of mainland Australia (with other areas of Anglophonic culture) and Tasmania tend to mirror each other. However, it is the Vandiemonian accentuation of political history with its peculiar forces, events and characters which is the focus here. The first period was marked by mass violence, followed by a politics which "lagged" behind that of the mainland in the second and third periods, then a burst of radicalism in the fourth period which often "led" (and still "leads") the mainland.

The first period is one of British conquest and subjugation of both the indigenous population and a lower "class" as embodied in the convicts, "bolters" (bushrangers)[1331] and emancipists from 1803. It is marked by genocide and a general brutality which was most intense during the administration of Lieutenant-Governor George Arthur (1822-1836) with the Black War and a strategy of State terror against malcontents amongst the white population. It ended with the near annihilation of the Aborigines, the crushing of violent resistance from whites, a reticent popular culture and the domination of Van Diemen's Land by a landed elite based mostly on wealth from wool exports. It constructs a traumascape of violence against society and nature which is an historical contextualisation, "that hated stain" (discussed above),[1332] for the ensuing periods.

The next period, emerging with a growing demand for Parliamentary representation, witnessed the transition from military administration to civil administration, an extension of male suffrage, a withering of State violence, a tentative liberalism, a rising homophobia, the end of transportation alongside a change of name for the colony, a tendency to decentralise State power,[1333] a slowing growth of average incomes and population, a brief flowering of working class politics, a loathing of the emancipists which gave rise to an informal caste society, a mining boom, a short-lived political movement of tenant farmers and women's suffrage (1903). The two movements with the most potential to fundamentally challenge the political structure, those of the

[1331] The term, "bushrangers", possibly originated in Van Diemen's Land; see it attributed to Reverend Robert Knopwood in M. Brooks & J. Ritchie, *Tassie Terms* (1995) p23.
[1332] H. Reynolds, "'That Hated Stain'" (1971) p23; see discussed above in "Radicals and Resistance".
[1333] Stefan Petrow, "The State" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p484.

working class and the tenant farmers, collapsed under the weight of a bourgeois phobia into a culture of quietism and their remnants were absorbed by a Parliamentary politics dominated by the graziers and other mercantile interests. Relative to the political struggles on the mainland, it was marked by reforms mostly initiated from Parliament rather than from mass struggle.

The third period witnessed the rise of Tasmania's manufacturing and hydro-electric power, a relative decline in domination by the landed elite, a growing industrial working class with trade unions, a heightened political consciousness spawned by the divisive issues of World War I and the Great Depression, isolationism and a renewed fear of radicals,[1334] then World War II, economic growth under the aegis of the Hydro-Electric Commission (HEC), modest immigration from Britain and southern Europe, the anti-Communist referendum, the anti-conscription campaign during the Vietnam War, the arrival of the 1960s counter-culture and a more strident popular culture. This is a period of only infrequent classic contest between organised labour and employers.

The fourth period encapsulates the decline of the HEC and its replacement as Tasmania's behemoth by the logging industry, along with the emergence of the politics of the New Left in feminism, environmentalism, the repeal of the redundant Master and Servant Act (1975), gay rights and Aboriginal activism, contrasted by neoliberalism and neoconservatism, economic instability— including a deep recession and a brief economic "boom", a three-cornered contest of Parliamentary parties with the founding of the Greens, a renewed period of liberal reform, militant protest against the justice system, the modest immigration of Asians[1335] and Africans as well as the phenomenon known as "tree-changers".

The history of radical Tasmania could be represented by a metaphorical "graph" (for example, chronology measured on the horizontal and frequency of radical activism measured on the vertical) which would show a curving "line" with the "downward turn" in frequency of radical activism correlating to late in the first period and well into the second. As mentioned, while important political struggles were gathering pace on the mainland during this time, Tasmania experienced an era of cultural and political

[1334] Matthew Cloudsdale, "The Depression of 1929-c 1935" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p103.
[1335] Many from the Hmong community left Tasmania after a dispute with the Government over the laws for human burial.

repression. The bloody defeat of mass resistance, following on the trauma of transportation for so many of the white population, gave way to what Boyce nominates as a "culture of fear" and an inclination to avoid authority rather than to confront it.[1336] This was underpinned by a widespread misery. As Reynolds observes, "In the mid-sixties [19thC.] the colony had more lunatics, more orphaned or abandoned children, more prisoners, more invalids and paupers than South Australia and Queensland together although their combined population was 2 ½ times greater than that of Tasmania."[1337] Politics was the privilege of the wealthy; physical survival the concern of the masses. The rhetoric of reform which accompanied the end of transportation and the change of colonial names was short-lived. The Anti-transportation League was (largely) indifferent to the welfare of convicts and was concerned instead by the dreadful reputation of penal society which impeded capitalist development by deterring both free labour and capital investment. (Hence the tone of sarcasm directed against the Anti-transportation League in "The Hagley Clique".) When the labour and investment did not materialise (a failure aggravated in part by a campaign of homophobia from the anti-transportationists while the mainland promised the allure of new gold fields), the ruling elite fell back on tactics of suppressing the emancipists to maintain the supply of cheap rural labour. The relatively small Tasmanian middle class[1338] collaborated with the landed hegemony.

It was not until the 1880s, on the back of new mining and manufacturing wealth, that liberalism gained in stride and challenged conservative power.[1339] Newspapers like the *Tasmanian News* (1884-1910)and later the *Clipper* (1893-1909), respectfully speaking for a liberal urban bourgeoisie and the new labour movement, positioned themselves to affront the old power as represented by newspapers like the *Mercury* (1853-present).[1340]

[1336] J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p9 & 234-235.
[1337] See H. Reynolds, "'That Hated Stain'" (1971) p21.
[1338] An aggressive land grab by the wealthy elite tended to constrain the growth of Tasmania's middle class for most of the nineteenth century; see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p220.
[1339] The term "landlord gentry" is used in "The Hagley Clique" to echo Marx's notion of an embourgeoised landlord class in British imperial capitalism and which in turn can be seen to influence Boyce's thesis that especially in Tasmania's northern midlands did the ruling elite aspire to reproduce the "environment" of rural 18th Century England; that is, a Tasmanian capitalist aristocracy or *noblesse oblige*— inherited landlord power with many privileges yet relatively few obligations. The important correlation is that in Tasmania, as in England, it was a rural group from within the capitalist class which tended to reactionary politics when confronted by the nascent power of another type of capitalism, the metropolitan bourgeoisie. See K. Marx, "Classes" in *Capital, Vol. III* (2007) http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1894-c3/ch52.htm (14 Sep 2008); and see J. Boyce *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p214 & 254.
[1340] Alison Alexander and Stefan Petrow, "Hobart" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p176.

As industrialisation gathered speed in the 1920s, the ALP mounted the new economic power to establish its Parliamentary supremacy. While cheap hydro-electricity attracted manufacturing, so too did a docile workforce led by tame unions. As Renfrey Clarke summarises, "…at grass-roots level the Tasmanian labor [*sic.*] movement has mostly been parochial, ill organised and ideologically backward".[1341] This was amplified by the arrival of the ultra right National Civic Council (NCC) in the 1950s which gained control of a number of unions in Tasmania and, although they were mostly small unions with some notable exceptions like the Federated Clerks' Union, they were guaranteed delegates to the influential bodies of the labour movement. (The NCC won a majority in the Hobart Trades Hall Council and its federal affiliate, the Tasmanian Trades and Labor Council, in the 1960s.)[1342] So opportunities for the organising of labour radicals fell outside of the ALP in the brief appearance in Tasmania of the likes of the International Workers of the World (the "wobblies") or the more resilient Unemployed Workers' Union and the Communist Party of Australia (CPA). The union militancy of the Launceston railway workshops is the exception proving the rule; not least because the CPA was dominant amongst its organisers. A late development in union militancy arrived in the mining industry in the 1970s, mostly because of the appointment by EZ Industries of an aggressive management, and then in the 1980s with radical organisers.

So the histories which have been selected for this thesis are included because, amongst other reasons, they narrate the metaphorical parabolic line for the four periods of Tasmanian radicalism if they were read in chronological order, allowing for overlap or embryonic relationship. In this sense, they would also offer the historiographical equivalent of a "quasi-novel": a selection of short stories which, if read in the published order within a book, would convey the structure of a novel.[1343] With such a structure, the protagonist of this history would not be an individual human character or even characters, but the historical elements of courage and vocation in tension against the antagonists of wealth and power swirling in a vortex of class, gender, ethnicity, economics, terrain, climate, etc. Given the persistence of geonarrative in Tasmania's radical history, it suggests an overarching theme and thus an adaptation from a verse of

[1341] R. Clarke, *The Picket* (1984) p22.
[1342] R. Clarke, *The Picket* (1984) pp22-23. Amanda Lohrey's *The Morality of Gentlemen* (1984) is a fictionalised portrayal of the Hursey conflict between a proto-NCC and "traditional" labour on Hobart's waterfront in the 1950s. Also see the discussion of the NCC's electoral manifestation, the Democratic Labor Party, in Tasmania during the 1950s in "Earth Bound!".
[1343] Examples of the quasi-novel are Patti Davis's *Home Front* (1986) and *A House of Secrets* (1991) and John Updike's *Bech at Bay: A Quasi-Novel* (1998).

the *Bible* which Hemingway referenced in the title of his novel, *The Sun Also Rises* (1926):[1344] Generations come and go, but radical Tasmania abides…[1345]

However, as discussed in reference to Orwell, poetics demands that abstract historical forces remain in the rear while human characters are brought to the fore so that the reader's empathy can then more easily link the particular with the universal. Again, this emphasises history as human action. So such a chronological structure for the selected histories is abandoned in favour of one which brings the human characters to the front of the historical "stage" against the "background" of abstract forces in "scenes" of Tasmanian storyscape. For this reason, the histories are ordered according to a suggested tour of the island as was the original inspiration for the Armstrong tours of political history which lead to *Radical Melbourne*. A map of Tasmania with the referenced locations appears at the beginning of *The Selected Histories* in the suggestion of a similar spatial tour. Its also details a chronology with the relevant discussed periods nominated alphabetically for the main characters of each history (first period: "A", second period: "B", and so on).

While further radical histories could be included, as they probably would be in a popular history,[1346] the logistical issue of word space means that the histories which appear are selected because they best approximate and articulate the major themes discussed in this exegesis. For example, "Earth Bound!", with Tasmania's most high-profiled Communist, Max Bound, covers the same broad ideological, historical and political issues which arose in various industrial confrontations, the anti-Vietnam War campaign and environmentalism to name some. All of the selected histories echo other radical confrontations in Tasmania in one way or another. A regretted omission is a specific history of the TAC and the attendant struggle for Aboriginal land rights in Tasmania and related issues. Two interviewees for this thesis who were important non-Aboriginal contributors in the early phase of this politics, Bound and Justice Pierre Slicer, strongly urged that such a history should only be broached through formal

[1344] "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: but the earth abideth forever./ The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to his place where he arose." See "Ecclesiastes", 1: 4-5 in *The Holy Bible* (1970) p465. The notion of "forever" is beyond a secular study like history, so it is omitted the adaptation in the main body of the text above.

[1345] Hemingway explains, "The point of the book to me was that the earth abideth forever—having a great deal of fondness and admiration for the earth and not a lot of fondness and admiration for my generation and caring little about Vanities." See E. Hemingway, "To MAXWELL PERKINS, Paris, 19 November 1926" in *Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters* (1981) p229.

[1346] The word count for each of the publications on radical history from Vulgar Press is about 80,000-100,000.

approaches to the TAC and that Heather Sculthorpe, a senior administrator, archivist and historian for the TAC, is the correct person to contact.[1347] Alas, though implicit agreement for an interview was received in an initial email, efforts to pursue this communication did not produce the necessary permission to proceed.[1348] So out of respect for the Palawa, such research has had to be deferred to (hopefully) the publication of *Radical Tasmania* by a commercial press.

Radical Force in Tasmania

A common element in the histories of radical Tasmania since 1803 is defeat at some level. The movement for gay law reform is the major exception.[1349] Power can claim a moral victory for feminism though at a significant personal cost.[1350] The St Marys environmentalists, despite their fortuitous victory, sense an aggressive recommencement of hostilities by the logging industry in the near future because their options, they fear, are spent.[1351] Yet out these defeats, some of which have been substantial, alongside temporary setbacks, partial victories and strategic victory, has grown a force for reform in Tasmania; more so since the emergence of late twentieth century environmentalism. So "defeat" has to be qualified.

As mentioned, the two groups who succumbed to a fundamental political defeat were the working class of the mid-nineteenth century and the tenant farmers of the late 1880s. The most tangible effect of the working class throughout the rest of that century was in building a culture of resistance to authority, especially to the landlord gentry. This was generally through disobedience to employers, drunkenness, theft, vandalism and other technologies of passive resistance which Scott would recognise. If this working class won a "victory" it was in gnawing away at the efficiency of the despotic Master and Servant Acts;[1352] more of an achievement of culture and economics than politics. As for the tenant farmers, they suffered the fate of so much Anglo small-farmer politics in the nineteenth century, with the exception of the mass farmers' movement of the American

[1347] See Ryan's acknowledgment of her debt to Sculthorpe for access to the TAC library at L. Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (1996) pxi.
[1348] This also means that authority has not been received to cite the email implicitly agreeing to the interview.
[1349] See "Coming Out, Speaking Out and Marching Out".
[1350] See "Sexist Swine of Swansea".
[1351] See "Save Our Sisters".
[1352] See "Fellow Slave!"

mid-west. It was a politics which was overwhelmed by historical circumstances. The Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land were offered no political space, and so their defeat was more of a military type. Their survival for contemporary Aboriginal activism is one of identity politics.

It is of profound benefit that the remaining histories of this thesis are informed by oral testimony going back to the Great Depression. As if by definition, the interviewees had and still have a vocation to change society (Tasmania). This is informed in some by complex ideologies, such as with Croome, Bound, Jamieson and Caroline Dean, as well as those who were interviewed and are not the central subjects of the histories, in Justice Slicer, Richard Flanagan and Jeff Sparrow.[1353] In some, it is a relatively intuitive, even naive, vocation which is complemented by tenacious personalities who were and are outraged by authoritarian arrogance, in such as the Save Our Sisters activists (SOS) and Power.[1354] This latter type can be grouped as "single-issue", or even "accidental", radicals. The former group tended to be supported by political networks, particularly by Leninist party-consciousness in the cases of Bound, Justice Slicer, Jamieson and Sparrow, and so their politics was/is dependent not on particular conflicts but on their capacity to direct popular political consciousness in the long term. The incapacity of the Prison Action Reform Group (PAR)[1355] to find a party-like discipline brought about its downfall.

To some degree, a Leninist explanation, as inferred from Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), suggests that the upsurge of radical activism in Tasmanian in the later decades of the twentieth century is an outcome of an advanced ideology percolating through an "underdeveloped" outpost of global capitalism; the dialectics of Tasmanian repression forcing a new political consciousness. Tasmania's wilderness issues proved to be fertile ground for leftist postmodern political praxis. From this, particularly for the gay law reform movement, changing expectations of Tasmania have impelled a left politics. Some, like Croome, also theorise that Tasmania's islandness has compounded this historical trajectory; though this is difficult

[1353] See respectively "Coming Out, Speaking Out and Marching Out", "Earth Bound!", "Keeping Labor Out of Town" and "About PAR"; also see the interviews with Justice P. Slicer (9 Dec 2008), R. Flanagan, (29 Nov 2006) and J. Sparrow (8 Nov 2006).
[1354] See respectively "Save Our Sisters" and "Sexist Swine of Swansea". The acronym for Save Our Sisters is pronounced "S.O.S." in reference to the Morse code distress signal (. . . — — — . . .).
[1355] See "About PAR". The acronym, PAR, is pronounced "par", meaning equality.

to prove and might be the "cognitive device"[1356] of a self-affirming Vandiemonian ideology.[1357] One outcome of Tasmania's new politics is the emergence of what is described here as reactionary-romantics: Tasmanians who do not perceive that they are represented by any of the major combatants, yet are nonetheless courted as potential recruits— especially in the logging disputes.[1358]

If there is a common quality shared by the interviewees, also confirmed through informal conversation with them "off the record", it is a belief that popular political consciousness can be "raised" and "the system" can be reformed; in a word, they tend to share a quality of political and cultural hope. To a degree, this is a function of a liberal hegemony in cultivating the political ethos that democracy will prevail because it should prevail; even, or especially, amongst the Marxist subjects like Bound, Justice Slicer and Jamieson because (western) Marxism sees itself as both liberalism's revolutionary off-spring and as a democratic *telos*. The interviewees are also passionate about the Tasmanian identity, including those who are immigrants like Power, many of the tree-change activists and Jamieson (who now resides in Western Australia). This tendency to optimism and sociophilia (political "love") is critical in finding the courage to engage with public issues and confront authority; they articulate "social responsibility" as a political vocation and so manifest a disgust with quietism and idiocy. As this is a rejection of the reticency which has lingered since the suppression of the working class in the nineteenth century, it is a radical cleansing of Tasmania's hated stain; a necessary act in the founding of "Vandiemonia".

[1356] J. Bodnar, *Remaking America* (1992) p14.
[1357] R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).
[1358] For examples of a yearning for a lost logging culture, see A. Morgan, "There's more than one way to save a Tasmanian wilderness" (14 Oct 2007) http://www.theage.com.au/news/opinion/theres-more-than-one-way-to-save-a-wilderness/2007/10/13/1191696234876.html (14 Oct 2007), Greg Borschmann, "The Battler" in G. Borschmann, *The People's Forest* (1999) pp107-108, and "a third group" or "largely invisible cohort" in P. Hay, "The Moral Economy of the Bush" (2009) http://www.thefreelibrary.com/The+moral+economy+of+the+bush%3a+debates+about+logging+and+forestry+are...-a0153362714 (2 Feb 2009). Hay also refers to this as a "third cohort"; see P. Hay, "Explaining A Durable Moral Economy: 'Bushers' And 'Fallers' Of North-East Tasmania [abstract]" (15 Dec 2006) http://www.utas.edu.au/sociology/HACRU/Isolation%20Conference%20Program.pdf (17 Mar 2009), p33

The Freedom of Necessity

Plato bans poets from his republic (while wanting to retain their insights) and then with Aristotle, as the modern vernacular has it, "they're back in town", even placed "above" history.[1359] This ancient conflict between opposing cultures of "truth" might also explain how difficult it is to write an engaging creative nonfiction for a thesis of political history. Institutionalised conventions are not only difficult to bend, the very tension between science and poetics has a capacity to compromise both at the same time; the narrative voice can become awkward, the creative "tongue" can feel numb while evidential analysis and empathetic imagination pull in different directions, and artistic judgment is dulled by its own science. The victory of the beige tone of understatement seems ever nigh. Steadman claims that Thompson described his early experiments with Gonzo as "'conceptual schizophrenia', caught and crippled in that vein, academic limbo between 'journalism' and 'fiction', hoist by its own petard."[1360] So figurational tension also conceptualises the opposition between the cultures of institutionalised truth and intuitive or "felt" truth.

The observation of Hay on academia's "preferred meaning"[1361] (quoted above)[1362] also touches on the imperialism of our rationalist culture. Taylor says that Jones told him that the "The Tasmanian Paradox" (1977) [1363] "was intended 'not to be a scientific article' but more 'like a novel'".[1364] The result was that Jones was smeared by some of his readers[1365] as an apologist for the genocide of Tasmanian Aborigines when his intention was to communicate his horror of such violence. Creative writing can be misread because art must take risks. Scientific culture is wary of this open-endedness in poetics. As if this cultural tension (monologic against heteroglossia) is not problematic enough, Carlo Gébler, the acclaimed novelist who turned his skills to writing popular history, is cited as describing the art of historiography as "like trying to pick bits of

---

[1359] See this discussed at D. Kelley & D. Sacks, "Introduction", *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain* (1997) p3.
[1360] R. Steadman, *The Joke's Over* (2006) p70.
[1361] P. Hay, *Vandiemonian Essays* (2002) px.
[1362] See above in "Narrative Struggle".
[1363] "The Tasmanian Paradox" was published in R.V.S. Wright (ed.), *Stone Tools as Cultural Markers* (1977).
[1364] Rebe Taylor, Interview with Rhys Jones (12 Dec 1998) Australian National University, cited in Rebe Taylor, "Reliable Mr Robinson and the Controversial Dr Jones" in A. Johnston & M. Rolls, *Reading Robinson* (2008) p115.
[1365] Taylor names Lyndall Ryan, Michael Mansell, Bobbi Sykes, Anne Bickford and Sandra Bowdler; see Rebe Taylor, "Reliable Mr Robinson and the Controversial Dr Jones" in A. Johnston & M. Rolls, *Reading Robinson* (2008) pp115-116.

liquid mercury off the floor".[1366] It is not so much a matter of "ships in the night" but of the creative intellect being forced to repel the advances of the rationalist reflex lest it be sunk without a trace of expression. Creative writing students learn, usually through workshopping each other's art, to read with empathy for the author so that out of the mist of ambiguity can be gleaned bright insight.

As argued, this thesis embraces the positive (classical) definition of freedom as the realisation of potentiality into actuality in preference to, though not excluding, the negative (liberal) definition of freedom as an absence of external restraint. It also embraces the classical description of politics as the pursuit of freedom. The production of institutionalised knowledge, including that of historians, is still grappling with the notion that truth does not have to be esoteric; it remains shy of the heteroglossia of democratic struggle.[1367] Academic history needs politics like a "voice" needs an "ear" so long, of course, that the audience can act on the narratives. Then the actors can become history-making in the fuller sense of the term; *Homo sapiens* can realise *Homo historia*. Yet, to borrow a metaphor from the history of the Save Our Sisters campaign, the line of "parapatry" (cultural bifurcation) between academia and a vulgar readership, research and meaning, evidence and story, science and art, narrative and identity, and historical truth and democracy can be overcome in mutual need. A resolution is possible if history and politics and poetics realise their potential through each other: the freedom of necessity.

[1366] Carlo Gébler, "Chasing the Slippery Facts of History", *The Australian Financial Review*, 6 Feb 2004, p12; cited in A. Moyal, *Alan Moorehead* (2005) p119.

[1367] In an article in the popular press, Princeton University's Professor Peter Singer decries the overwhelming of "liberal arts education" by "vocational and professional training" in Australia and the "fashionable" in academia who use "jargon" which "obscures the important issues at stake"; instead, he calls for a humanities education "to build a democracy that can solve the problems we face". See P. Singer, "We must nurture the humanities" (27 Jul 2009) http://www.theage.com.au/national/education/we-must-nurture-the-humanities-20090726-dxg1.html?page=-1 (27 Jul 2009).

Bibliography

Abetz, Senator Eric, Tasmania, Special Minister of State, "Workplace Relations Amendment (Work Choices) Bill 2005: Second Reading", *Hansard*, Commonwealth of Australia, Senate, 10 Nov 2005, http://www.aph.gov.au/hansard/senate/dailys/ds101105.pdf (25 Oct 2008).

Adams, Phillip (presenter), "Beyond Right and Left", *Late Night Live*, ABC Radio National, 19 Sep 2005, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/talks/lnl/s1463280.htm (20 Sep 2005).

——, "Inga Clendinnen: Who owns the past?", *Late Night Live*, ABC Radio National, (11 Oct 2006), re-broadcast 25 Jan 2007, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/latenightlive/stories/2007/1811812.htm (26 Jan 2007).

——, "Post-Modern Conservatism", *Late Night Live*, 7 Oct 2008, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/latenightlive/stories/2008/2384582.htm (8 Oct 2008).

——, "Richard Flanagan", *Late Night Live*, (Theatre Royal, Hobart, 26 Nov 2008), ABC Radio National, 27 Nov 2008, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/latenightlive/stories/2008/2431562.htm (29 Nov 2008).

——, "The Australian Legend", *Late Night Live*, ABC National Radio, 10 Dec 2008, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/latenightlive/stories/2008/2441390.htm (15 Dec 2008).

Adam-Smith, Patsy, *Moonbird People*, (1965), Seal Books (Rigby), Adelaide, 1970.

Alexander, Alison (ed.), *The Companion to Tasmanian History*, Centre for Tasmanian Historical Studies, University of Tasmania, Hobart, 2005, the hypertext site for the "Index", 2006, is at http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/index.htm (24 Sep 2008).

Allison, Alexander W., *et al.* (eds.), *The Norton Anthology of Poetry*, W.W. Norton & Co., New York, 1983.

Althaus, Catherine, *Calculating Political Risk*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 2008.

Aristotle, *The Politics*, see R.J. Kilcullen, Macquarie University, POL167: Introduction to Political Theory, "Tape 5: Aristotle, *The Politics*", 1996, http://www.humanities.mq.edu.au/Ockham/y6704.html (6 Dec 2006).

——, *Poetics*, translated by S.H. Butcher, Kessinger Publishing, Montana, USA, 2004.

Art, David, *The Politics of the Nazi Past in Germany and Austria*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2006.

Atkinson, Alan, "Four Patterns of Convict Protest", *Labour History*, No. 37, 1979, pp28-51.

Attwood, Bain, *Telling the Truth About Aboriginal History*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, NSW, 2005.

——, "Telling the Truth about Aboriginal History", 2005 Annual Public Lecture – Institute for Public History, 5 Sep 2005, Monash University, http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/public-history-institute/annual-public-lecture/lecture-2005/index.html (22 Oct 2006).

——, "Contesting Frontiers: History, Memory and Narrative in a National Museum", *reCollections* (*sic.*), National Museum of Australia, Vol. 1, No. 2, Sep 2006, http://recollections.nma.gov.au/issues/vol_1_no_2/papers/contesting_frontiers/ (19 Apr 2008).

—— & Foster, S.G. (eds.), *Frontier Conflict: The Australian Experience*, National Museum of Australia, Canberra, 2003.

Austin, Susan, "'Weld Angel' faces court", *Green Left Weekly*, No. 727, 10 Oct 2007, http://www.greenleft.org.au/2007/727/37711 (2 Feb 2009).

Australian Aborigines Protection Society, "Portion of the Report, Public Meeting Held Oct 19th 1838 In the Hall of the Mechanics' School of Arts, Containing the Speech of G. A. Robinson Esq., Commandant of Flinders' Island, and Chief Protector of Aborigines in the Colony", Hobart, (*Colonist*, 31 Oct 1838, no-by line) Noyes & Son, Bladud Library, Bath, England, 1865, http://www.law.mq.edu.au/scnsw/Correspondence/pdf/robinson.pdf (11 Nov 2007); see also *Original Documents on Aborigines and Law 1797-1840*, Centre for Comparative Law History and Governance, Macquarie University, & State Records New South Wales, http://www.law.mq.edu.au/scnsw/Correspondence/vdl%20speech.htm (11 Nov 2007).

Australian Press Council, "Adjudication No. 890", Nov 1996, & "General Press Release No. 210, Appeal re Adjudication No. 890", Jan 1997, http://138.25.65.50/au/other/apc/1996/64.html (4 Apr 2008).

Avineri, Shlomo, *The Social & Political Thought of Karl Marx*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1968.

Baird, Barbara, "Sexual citizenship in 'the New Tasmania'", *Political Geography*, Vol. 25, No. 8, Nov 2006, pp964-987.

Baker, Carlos, *Hemingway: The Writer as Artist*, (1952), Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1972.

Bakhtin, Mikhail, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, edited by M. Holquist, translated by M. Holquist & C. Emerson, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1981.

——, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, edited by C. Emerson & M. Holquist, translated by V.W. McGee, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1986.

Baldick, Chris, *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms: Oxford Reference Online*, Oxford University Press, Victoria University, Vic., 2008.

Barer, Shlomo, *The Doctors of Revolution: 19th Century Thinkers Who Changed the World*, Thames & Hudson, New York, 2000.

Barkan, Elazar, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices*, W.W. Norton, New York, 2000.

Barnes, Trevor, "Between Deduction and Dialectics: David Harvey on Knowledge", Noel Castree & Derek Gregory (eds.), *David Harvey: A Critical Reader*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2006, pp26-46.

Bartlett, David M.P., "Cabinet Decision On Sovereign Risk Agreement", Press Release, Tasmanian Government Communications Unit, Hobart, 30 Jun 2008, http://www.media.tas.gov.au/release.php?id=24138 (1 Jul 2008).

——, "500000 Strong: From the Premier's Desk", *David Bartlett: Premier of Tasmania*, Hobart, 26 May 2008, http://www.premier.tas.gov.au/ (14 Dec 2008).

Baxter, Leslie A. & Montgomery, Barbara M., *Relating: Dialogues and Dialectics*, Guilford Press, 1996.

Bellamy, Craig, "The History Wars Continue: Keith Winshuttle [*sic.*] Versus Simon Schama: A Hypothetical Trial", blog site and Digital Humanities, Oxford University, Oct 2003, http://www.craigbellamy.net/2003/11/13/the-history-wars-continue-keith-winshuttle-versus-simon-schama-a-hypothetical-trial/ (19 Dec 2007).

Bennett, Tony, *Outside Literature*, Routledge, London & New York, 1990.

Bennetto, Casey, "The Mateship", (2004), (*Keating! The Musical*, Company B, 2006), *The Centre Cannot Hold*, annotated by Loki Carbis, 2009, http://thecentrecannothold.net/keating-the-musical-annotations/the-mateship/ (11 Jun 2009).

Berkhofer, Robert, "The Challenge of Poetics to (Normal) Historical Practice", *Poetics Today*, Vol. 9, N0. 2, 1988, pp435-452.

Berger, Stefan & Feldner, Heiko & Passmore, Kevin (eds.), *Writing History: Theory & Practice*, Hodder Arnold, London, 2003.

Berman, Ronald, "Hemingway and the Search for Meaning", ("Hemingway's Questions", *Fitzgerald, Hemingway and The Twenties*, University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, 2001, pp132-148), *Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism: The Influence of Hemingway*, edited by Thomas J. Schoenberg & Lawrence J. Trudeau, Vol. 162, Thomson Gale, Detroit, 2005, pp244-253.

Best, Steven, *The Politics of Historical Vision: Marx, Foucault, Habermas*, Guilford Press, New York, 1995.

Betheras, Annette, *William Cuffay: "Black" London Chartist and Tasmanian Radical*, Honours Thesis, Department of History, University of Queensland, 1993.

Bird, Carmel, "Fresh Blood, Old Wounds: Tasmania and Guns", (*Meanjin*, Vol. 55, No. 3, 1996, pp 389-394), *Carmel Bird*, 1997, http://www.carmelbird.com/freshblood.html (16 Jun 2008).

The Black Arm Band, "Home", *The Black Arm Band*, 2008, http://www.blackarmband.com.au/ (22 Oct 2008).

Blainey, Geoffrey, *All for Australia*, Methuen Haynes, North Ryde, NSW, 1984.
——,*The Peaks of Lyell*, (1954), St. David's Park Publishing, Hobart, 1993.
——, "Australia - Two Peoples, Two Nations?", *The Age: Extra*, 12 Jun 1993, p2.
——, "Drawing Up a Balance Sheet of Our History", (Sir John Latham Memorial Lecture), *Quadrant*, Vol. 37, Jul-Aug 1993, pp10-15.
——, "Black Future", *The Bulletin*, 8 April 1997, pp22-23, also published as "Mabo, Wik: A Victory for Racial Discrimination', *News Weekly*, 17 May 1997.
——, "Writing Australian history", (17th Stephen Murray-Smith Memorial Lecture, State Library of Victoria, Nov 2008), *Counterpoint*, presented by Paul Comrie-Thomson & Michael Duffy, ABC Radio National, 26 Jan 2009, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/counterpoint/stories/2009/2471051.htm (6 Mar 2009).

"Bob Brown at Farmhouse Creek", (Albert Kohl, *The Mercury*, 1986), *Film Australia's Wilderness: Real and Imagined*, n.d., http://www.filmaust.com.au/wilderness/photos/struggle/page7.htm# (7 Jun 2009).

Bodnar, John, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1992.

Bonnell, Andrew & Crotty, Martin, "Australia's History under Howard, 1996-2007", *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 617, No. 1, May 2008, pp149-165.

Borschmann, Gregg (ed.), *The People's Forest: A Living History of the Australian Bush*, The People's Forest Press, Blackheath, 1999.

Bottomore, Tom (ed.), *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*, (1983), Basil Blackwell Publisher Limited, Oxford, 1985.

Boucher, Geoff & Sharpe, Matthew, *The Times Will Suit Them: Postmodern Conservatism in Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2008.

Bowman, Shayne &Willis, Chris, *We Media: How Audiences are Shaping the Future of News and Information*, edited by J.D. Lasica, The Media Center, American Press Institute, 2003, http://www.hypergene.net/wemedia/weblog.php (15 Jun 2009).

Boyce, James, "Journeying Home", *Island Magazine*, No. 66, 1996, pp38-63.
——, "'Better to be Mistaken than to Deceive': The Fabrication of Aboriginal History and the Van Diemonian Record", *Island*, No. 96, 2004, pp9-38.
——, *Van Diemen's Land*, Black Inc., Melbourne, 2008.

Branagan, J.G., *Frederick Smithies, O.B.E.: Explorer, Mountaineer, Photographer: A Great Tasmanian*, Regal Press, Launceston (c.1985).

Breen, Shayne, *Contested Places: Tasmania's Northern Districts from ancient times to 1900*, Centre for Tasmanian Historical Studies, School of History and Classics, University of Tasmania, Hobart, 2001.

——, “Criminals and Pimps: Keith Windschuttle and Tasmanian Aborigines”, Evatt Foundation, 15 Nov 2005, http://evatt.labor.net.au/publications/papers/101.html (3 Jun 2007).

Brian, Denis, *The True Gen: An Intimate Portrait of Hemingway By Those Who Knew Him*, Delta, New York, 1988.

Brinkley, Douglas, “The Final Days at Owl Farm: Hunter S. Thompson, 1937-2005”, (excerpt from *Rolling Stone*, No. 970, 24 Mar 2005), *Rolling Stone*, 2009, http://www.rollingstone.com/news/story/7092353/the_final_days_at_owl_farm (25 Jan 2009).

Brooks, Maureen & Ritchie, Joan, *Tassie Terms: A Glossary of Tasmanian Words*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1995.

Brough, Alan, interview with Leslie Cannold, *National Afternoon Program*, ABC Radio 774, 9 Jan 2008, (not archived).

Brown, Bill, “Looking for Blackfellas’ Point”, *Hindsight*, transcript, ABC Radio National, 13 Mar 2005, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/history/hindsight/stories/s1318316.htm (21 Jun 2009).

Brown, Dee, *Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*, (c1970), Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York, 1971.

Buchanan, Pat, 1992 Republican National Convention Speech, (Houston, Texas, 17Aug 1992), *Patrick J. Buchanan — Right From the Beginning: Articles, Letters and Speeches*, transcribed by Linda Muller, 2009, http://buchanan.org/blog/1992/08/1992-republican-national-convention-speech/ (10 Feb 2009).

Buckman, Greg, *Tasmania’s Wilderness Battles*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, NSW, 2008.

Buddelmeyer, Hielke, “Some Observations on Labour Market Transitions and Welfare to-Work”, New Agenda for Prosperity: Melbourne Institute Economic and Social Outlook Conference, University of Melbourne, 27-28 Mar 2008, http://www.melbourneinstitute.com/conf2008/Presentations/Session%204B/Buddelmeyer,%20Hielke.pdf (30 Mar 2008).

Buell, Lawrence, *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1995.

Burch, Robert, “Charles Sanders Peirce: Part 3: Deduction, Induction, and Abduction”, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), Centre for the Study of Language and Information, Stanford University, California, 26 Jul 2006, http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/peirce/#dia (18 Sep 2006).

Burgmann, Verity, "The Industrial Workers of the World in Australia: Achievements and Limitations", (*Laborism and the Radical Alternative: Lessons for Today*, Socialist Alliance Conference, Melbourne, 30 May 2009), *Links: International Journal of Socialist Renewal*, Jun 2009, http://links.org.au:80/node/1104 (17 Jun 2009).

Burke, Kelly & Robotham, Julie, "Lies and the hint of truth", *The Age*, 7 Jan 2009, http://www.theage.com.au/national/lies-and-the-hint-of-truth-20090106-7b6p.html (7 Jan 2009).

Burke, Peter, "History of Events and Revival of Narrative", *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, edited by Peter Burke, Polity Press, London, 1991, pp238-239.

Byers, Susie, "Anna Clark 'Teaching the Nation'", *The New Critic*, Institute of Advanced Studies, University of Western Australia, No. 2, 2006, http://www.ias.uwa.edu.au/the_new_critic/archives/issue_2/anna_clark_teaching_the_nation__susie_byers (22 Apr 2008).

Calder, James Erskine, "Some Account of the Wars of Extirpation, and Habits of the Native Tribes of Tasmania", *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 3, 1874, pp7-29.

Cannold, Leslie, "All's fair in battle of ideas", *The Age*, 8 Jan 2009, http://www.theage.com.au/opinion/alls-fair-in-battle-of-ideas-20090107-7bym.html?page=-1 (8 Jan 2008).

Capote, Truman, *In Cold Blood: A True Account of a Multiple Murder and its Consequences*, (*The New Yorker*, 1965), (Random House, USA, 1966), Penguin Books, Camberwell, 2006.

Carney, Shaun, "End of a dream: Costello's unfulfilled ambition", *The Age: Insight*, 20 Jun 2009, p1 & p4, http://www.theage.com.au/national/end-of-a-dream-costellos-unfulfilled-ambition-20090619-cr9h.html?page=-1 (20 Jun 2009).

Carr, E.H., *What is History?*, (1961), Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1964.

Casey, William (Bill), "Bump Me Into Parliament", (c.1917), *Unions Songs: A Selection*, contributed by Mark Gregory, n.d., http://unionsong.com/u005.html (18 Jan 2009).

Catholic World News, "Shun relativism, Pope urges Polish faithful", 26 May 2006, http://www.cwnews.com/news/viewstory.cfm?recnum=44404 (1 May 2007).

Chatman, Seymour, *Story and Discourse: Narrative and Structure in Fiction and Film*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca & London, 1989.

Cheney, Lynne V., "The End of History", (*Wall Street Journal*, 224, 78, 26 Oct 1994, pA26), *Free Republic*, 24 Oct 2002, http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/767974/posts (25 Apr 2008).

Cheney, Theodore A. Rees, *Writing Creative NonFiction: Fiction Techniques for Crafting Great NonFiction*, Ten Speed Press, Berkeley, 2001.

Clark, Anna, "History in Black and White: A Critical Analysis of the Black Armband Debate", (*Country: Journal of Australian Studies*, edited by Richard Nile, No. 75, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 2002), The Australian Public Intellectual Network, n.d., http://www.api-network.com/main/index.php?apply=scholars&webpage=default&flexedit=&flex_password=&menu_label=&menuID=homely&menubox=&scholar=115 (22 Apr 2008).

——, *Teaching the Nation: Politics and Pedagogy in Australian History*, (2004), Melbourne University Publishing, Carlton, 2006.

Clarke, Arthur, C., *Greetings, Carbon-Based Bipeds! Collected Essays, 1934-1998*, St Martin's Press, New York, 1999.

Clarke, Daniel, "Not yet out of the woods", *Inquirer: The Weekend Australian*, 3-4 Jan 2009, p21, http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,24865691-5006788,00.html (27 Jan 2009).

Clarke, Marcus, *For the Term of His Natural Life*, ("His Natural Life", *Australian Journal*, 1870-72), (1874), eBooks@Adelaide, The University of Adelaide Library, University of Adelaide, 21 Feb 2004, http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/c/clarke/marcus/c59f/index.html (16 Nov 2007).

Clarke, Renfrey, *The Picket: Tasmanian mine workers defend their jobs*, Pathfinder Press, Chippendale, 1984**.**

Clarke, Stella, "Havoc in History House", *Weekend Australian: Review*, 4-5 Mar 2006, pp8-9.

——, "Wading into the deep waters of history", *The Australian – Books*, 7 Oct 2006, pp12-13.

Clendinnen, Inga, "True Stories", 1999 Boyer Lectures, ABC Radio National, 14 Nov-19 Dec 1999, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/boyerlectures/stories/1999/1715598.htm (26 Jun 2006).

——, "History Here: a View from Outside: 2003 NSW Premier's History Awards Address*" NSW Premier's History Awards*, Government House, Sydney,15 Oct 2003, http://www.arts.nsw.gov.au/awards/HistoryAwards/2003Hist/2003awards.htm#address (19 Jan 2007).

——, "The History Question: Who Owns the Past?", *Quarterly Essay*, No. 23, October 2006, pp1-72.

——, "Biography - The Impossible Art?", 2007 National Biography Award Lecture, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, 7 Nov 2007, broadcast as "Inga Clendinnen on the Impossibility of Biography", *The Book Show*, presented by Ramona Koval, ABC Radio National, 9 Nov 2007, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2007/2080177.htm#transcript (6 May 2008).

Cochrane, Peter, "Perspective: Colonial Ambition", ABC Radio National, 31 Jan 2007, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/perspective/stories/2007/1835597.htm (1 Feb 2007).

Colaiaco, James A., *Socrates Against Athens: Philosophy on Trial*, Routledge, New York & London, 2001.

Collingwood, R..G., *The Idea of History*, Oxford University Press, London, 1946.

Collins, Paul, *Hell's Gates: The Escape of Tasmania's Convict Cannibal*, (2002), Hardie Grant Books, South Yarra, 2004.

Comrie-Thomson, Paul, "Conservative Sociology", interview with Dr. Eduardo de la Fuente, *Counterpoint*, ABC Radio National, 1 Dec 2008, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/counterpoint/stories/2008/2434725.htm (6 Dec 2008).

Connell, Raewyn (née Robert William), *Southern Theory: The global dynamics of knowledge in social science*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, NSW, 2007.

Connell, R.W. & Irving, T.H., *Class Structure in Australian History: Documents, Narrative and Argument*, Longman Cheshire Melbourne, 1980.
——, *Class Structure in Australian History: Poverty and Progress*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1992.

Connor, Michael, *The Invention of Terra Nullius: Historical and Legal Fictions on the Founding of Australia*, Macleay Press, Paddington, 2005.

Cooke, Alistair, *Memories of the Great & the Good*, (1999), Pavilion Books, London, 2000, pp151-161.

Cooke, Dewi, "Conservative bible falls for furphy", *The Age*, 7 Jan 2009, http://www.theage.com.au/national/conservative-bible-falls-for-furphy-20090106-7b6m.html?page=-1 (7 Jan 2009).
——, "Revealed: the author of a hoax", *The Age*, 9 Jan 2009, http://www.theage.com.au/national/revealed-the-author-of-a-hoax-20090108-7cw8.html?page=-1 (9 Jan 2009).

Cooperative Research Centre for Forestry, "Comprehensive survey provides accurate figures on forestry, jobs and spending in Tasmania", Media Release, Hobart, 26 Jun 2008, http://www.crcforestry.com.au/publications/downloads/Forest-Industry-Survey-media-release_26Jun08.pdf (27 Jun 2008).

Cox, Robert, *Steps to the Scaffold: The Untold Story of Tasmania's Black Bushrangers*, Cornhill Publishing, Pawleena, Tas., 2004.

Cranston, CA (ed.), *Along These Lines: From Trowenna to Tasmania: At least two centuries of peripatetic perspectives in poetry and prose*, Cornford Press, Launceston, 2000.
——, "Rambling in Overdrive: Travelling in Tasmanian Literature", *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, Vol 8, No. 2, 2003, pp28-39.
—— & Zeller, Robert (eds.), *The Littoral Zone: Australian Contexts and Their Writers*, Rodopi, Amsterdam & New York, 2007.

Critchley, Simon, *Continental Philosophy: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001.
——, "Egalitarianism and Fairness", *The Philosopher's Zone*, interviewed by Alan Saunders, (Sydney Writers' Festival, Walsh Bay, Sydney, 22 May 2008), ABC Radio National, 21 Jun 2008, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/philosopherszone/stories/2008/2275460.htm#transcript (29 Jun 2008).

Croce, Benedetto, *History as the Story of Liberty*, (translated by Sylvia Sprigge from the Italian *La Storia*, Laterza & Figlia), Allen & Unwin, London, 1941.

Cronon, William, "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative", *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 78, No. 4, Mar 1992, pp1347-1376.

Croome, Rodney, "The Emancipist", *Island*, No. 114, Spring 2008, pp8-15.
——, "Your Gay & Lesbian Visitor's Guide", *Discover Tasmania*, Tourism Tasmania, Sep 2008, http://www.discovertasmania.com/__data/assets/pdf_file/0019/19054/G_and_L_web_Final.pdf (14 Feb 2009).
——, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania*, Hobart, 12 Dec 2008.

Curthoys, Ann & Docker, John, *Is History Fiction?*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 2006.
—— &——, "Is History Fiction?: The necessity for and difficulty of finding the truth in history", Evatt Foundation, 13 Mar 2006, http://evatt.labor.net.au/publications/papers/162.html (3 Jun 2007).

Curtin, Amanda, "'But It's Fiction!' – Getting It Right When You're Editing Fiction", *Island*, No. 110, Spring 2007, pp18-27.

Darby, Andrew, "Debate exposes 200-year-old massacre", *The Age*, 4 May 2004, http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/05/03/1083436539543.html?from=storyrhs (1 Jan 2007).

Davidson, Jim, "Tasmanian Gothic", *Meanjin*, Vol. 48, No. 2, 1989, pp307-325.

Dawson, John, *Washout: On the Academic Response to the Fabrication of Aboriginal History*, Macleay Press, Sydney, 2004.
——, "The Pentium Primitivism of Greg Lehman", *Quadrant*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 3, Mar 2004, http://quadrant.org.au/php/archive_details_list.php?article_id=703 (1 Jan 2008).

Dean, Caroline, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania*, (not taped),[1368] Salamanca Place, Tas., 4 Jul 2008.

Delbridge, A. (chief ed.), *The Macquarie Dictionary: Second Revised Edition*, The Macquarie Library, Macquarie University, NSW, 1987.

Demographic Change Advisory Council, "Demographic Change in Tasmania: Strategies for Addressing Challenges and Opportunities", Strategies Discussion Paper, Hobart, May 2008, pp1-18.
——, "Preliminary Population Projections: Tasmania and Local Government Areas", Consultation Paper, Hobart, May 2008, pp1-8.

Den Hartog, Dirk, "In Praise of Polysyllables", *Weekend Australian: Review*, 2-3 April, 2005, p2.

[1368] As the interviewee requested that the interview take place in a crowded café, the competing noise made it impractical to tape record the conversation.

Derber, Charles & Ferroggiaro, Karen Marie, *et. al.*, *What's Left?: Radical Politics in the Postcommunist Era*, University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, 1995.

Devetak, Dr Richard, "Blind to Their Armbands", *The Age*, 6 Mar 2002, http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2002/03/05/1014705048445.html (9 Jun. 2006).

Dionne Jr., E.J., "Cardinal Ratzinger's Challenge", *Washington Post*, 19 Apr 2005, pA19, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A64469-2005Apr18.html (1 May 2007).

Dodd, Andrew, "Premiers Past: Michael Field (Tasmania 1989 to 1992)", ABC Radio National, 19 Jan 2007, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/summer/2006/premiers/20070115.htm (2 Feb 2007).

Dombrovskis, Peter, "Morning Mist, Rock Island Bend, Franklin River, Tasmania", (1979), *Digital Collection Pictures*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, n.d., http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an24365561 (7 Nov 2006).

Dove, Richard, "The Doctrine of Agility: On HM Enzensberger's English Poems", *Modern Poetry in Translation*, New Series No. 16, poetrymagazines.org.uk, London, 2000, http://www.poetrymagazines.org.uk/magazine/record.asp?id=13146 (30 Dec 2007).

Doyle, Timothy, *Green Power: The Environmental Movement in Australia*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2000.

Duffy, Conor, "Tourist hot spot at centre of land rights dispute", *The 7.30 Report*, ABC TV1, 25 Jun 2009, http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2009/s2608874.htm (26 Jun 2009).

——, "Leaked documents confirm resident's fear of foul pulp mill", *The 7.30 Report*, ABC TV1, 30 Jun 2009, http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2009/s2612970.htm (1 Jul 2009).

Duncan, Phillipa, "What's Wrong with Tassie", *The Mercury*, 25 Mar 2008, http://www.news.com.au/mercury/story/0,22884,23427744-921,00.html (23 Sep 2008).

Dwyer, Michael "Keep it to yourself", *The Age*, 18 Jun 2009, p28, http://www.theage.com.au/news/entertainment/film/keep-it-to-yourself/2009/06/17/1244918081646.html?page=fullpage#contentSwap1 (20 Jun 2008).

Eagleton, Terry, *After Theory*, (2003), Penguin Group, London and Camberwell, 2004.

Earth First!, *Earth First! Journal*, (n.d.), http://www.earthfirstjournal.org/ (8 Jan 2007).

Eco, Umberto & Seboek, Thomas A. (eds.), *The Sign of Three: Dupin, Holmes, Peirce*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, c1983.

Elias, Norbert, *What is Sociology?*, (1970), Hutchinson & Co., Great Britain, Columbia University Press, USA, 1978.

——, *The Civilizing Process*, (1939, 1969), one-volume edition, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1994.

Elton, Geoffrey Rudolph, *The Practice of History*, (1967), Blackwell, Oxford, 2002.

Engberg, Juliana, "Southern Discomfort: Tasmania's Art Scene", *The Monthly*, Dec 2008-Jan 2009, http://www.themonthly.com.au/tm/node/1336 (4 Feb 2009).

Engels, Frederick, "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy: Part 1: Hegel", (published in *Die Neue Zeit*, 1886), Marxist Internet Archives, 1994, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1886/ludwig-feuerbach/ch01.htm (5 Dec 2006).

——, "Preface to *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*", (1845), Marxist Internet Archives, 1998, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/condition-working-class/ch01.htm (3 Jun 2007).

——, "Engels to Franz Mehring", (London, 14 Jul 1893), (*Marx and Engels Correspondence*, International Publishers, 1968), transcribed by Sally Ryan, Marxist Internet Archives, 2000, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1893/letters/93_07_14.htm (6 Jun 2008).

——, "Engels to Pyotr Lavrov In London (Abstract)", (12-17 Nov 1875), transcribed by Brian Basgen, Marxist Internet Archives, 2000, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1875/letters/75_11_17-ab.htm (6 Apr 2009).

Enzensberger, Hans Magnus, "A Critique of Political Ecology", (*New Left Review*, No. 84, 1974, pp3-31), in Ted Benton (ed.), *The Greening of Marxism*, The Guilford Press, New York, 1996, pp17-49.

Evans, Ray & Thorpe, Bill, "The Massacre of Aboriginal History", *Overland*, #163, Winter 2001, Footscray, Vic., pp21-40.

—— & Ferrier, Carole (eds.), *Radical Brisbane: An Unruly History*, Vulgar Press, Carlton North, 2004.

Farrell, Timothy, "Rethinking the End of History: Graham Swift's *Waterland*", Postimperial and Postcolonial Literature in English, National University of Singapore, 2002, http://www.scholars.nus.edu.sg/post/uk/gswift/wl/farrell5.html (7 Jan 2007).

Faulkner, William, "Address upon Receiving the Nobel Prize for Literature", Stockholm, (10 Dec 1950), *The Portable Faulkner*, edited by Malcolm Cowley, Penguin Books, USA, 1977, pp723-724.

Fishburn, Evelyn, "A Footnote to Borges Study: A Study of the Footnote", (valedictory lecture, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of North London, 7 Feb 2001), *University of London: Occasional Papers No. 26*, Institute for the Study of the Americas, University of London, 2008, http://americas.sas.ac.uk/publications/docs/Fishburn.pdf (23 Jun 2009).

Flanagan, Martin, "The Hunt for Tasmania", *The Age Saturday Extra*, 14 Aug 1999, p4.

——, "Weasel Words Kill Dissent", *The Age*, 28 Jan 2006, p5.

Flanagan, Richard, *A Terrible Beauty: History of the Gordon River Country*, (*A Terrible Beauty: a history of the exploration of, and changing attitudes towards, the Gordon River country*, Honours Thesis, University of Tasmania, 1982), Greenhouse, Richmond, Vic., 1985.

——, *Death of a River Guide*, McPhee Gribble, Ringwood, 1994.

——, *The Sound of One Hand Clapping*, Pan Macmillan, Sydney, 1997.

——, *Gould's Book of Fish: A Novel in 12 Fish*, Picador by Pan Macmillan Australia, Sydney, 2001.

——, "…an Invisible Contraband of Revolt", cover notes, see The Band That Never Was, *SouthWind: Music of the Convict Era*, Roberts & Smith, Port Arthur, Tas., 2001.

——, "The selling-out of Tasmania", *The Age*, 22 Jul 2004, http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/07/21/1090089215626.html (22 Oct 2006).

——, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania*, (not taped at the request of Richard Flanagan), Hobart, 29 Nov 2006.

——, "Out of Control: The Tragedy of Tasmania's Forests", *The Monthly: Australian Politics, Society & Culture*, May 2007, pp20-31.

——, "Battle Cry for Our Tasmania", (*The Mercury: Sunday Tasmanian*, 12 Apr 2008, http://www.news.com.au:80/mercury/story/0,22884,23523070-921,00.html (22 Apr 2008)), *Tasmanian Times*, 2008, http://tasmaniantimes.com/index.php?/weblog/article/battle-cry-for-our-tasmania/ (6 Apr 2009).

——, *Wanting*, Knopf (Random House), North Sydney, 2008.

——, *Wanting*, DVD, Random House, North Sydney, 2008; see also http://www.richardflanaganwanting.com.au/extras.aspx (14 Dec 2008).

——, *Sydney Writers Festival Closing Address*, (Sydney Writers Festival, Sydney, 24 May 2009), Random House, Sydney, 2009, http://www.randomhouse.com.au/editor/documents/richardflanagansydneytalk.pdf (21 Jun 2009).

Florida, Richard, "Tallahassee's creative age: Technology, tolerance, talent, territorial assets are our building blocks", *Tallahassee.com*, 16 May 2007, http://kccitallahassee.files.wordpress.com/2007/05/florida-op-ed.pdf (5 Feb 2009).

Flynn, Errol, *My Wicked, Wicked Ways: The Autobiography of Errol Flynn*, (Berkley, New York, 1959), Buccaneer Books, Cutchogue, New York, 1976.

Foster, S.G., "Contra Windschuttle", *Quadrant*, No. 47, Vol. 3, Mar 2003, http://www.quadrant.org.au/php/article_view.php?article_id=252 (16 Nov 2007).

Foucault, Michel, "Truth and Power", *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, edited by Colin Gordon, Harvester Press, Brighton, Sussex, 1980, pp109-133.

Frenette, Brad, "Sean Hemingway on the 'restored edition' of his grandfather's A Moveable Feast" (*sic.*), *National Post*, 8 Aug 2009, http://www.nationalpost.com/m/blog.html?b=afterword&e=q-amp-a-sean-hemingway-on-the-quot-restored-edition-quot-of-his-grandfather-s-a-moveable-feast&s=Arts (16 Aug 2009).

"Fresh air - at a price", (no by-line), Health, *BBC News*, BBC Online Network, 28 Sep 1998, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/health/182052.stm (31 Dec 2007).

Fukuyama, Francis, "The End of History", (*The National Interest*, Vol 9, Summer 1989, pp3-18), *Quadrant* 33:8, 1989, pp15-25.
——, *The End of History and the Last Man*, Penguin, London, 1992.
——, *After the Neo-Cons: America at the Crossroads*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney**,** 2006.

Gajdusek, Robert E., "The Mad Sad Bad Misreading of Hemingway's Gender Politics/Aesthetics", *North Dakota Quarterly*, Vol. 64, No. 3, 1997, pp36-47.

Gardiner, Michael, *The Dialogics of Critique*, Routledge, London, 1992.

Gee, Helen (ed.), *For the Forests*, The Wilderness Society, Hobart, 2001.

The George Orwell Memorial Fund, "Orwell Prize", *Book Trust*, 2007, http://www.booktrust.org.uk/info/prizes.php?action=3&przid=78 (7 Jun 2007).

Gessner, David (ed.), *Ecotone: Reimagining Place*, Creative Writing Department, University of North Carolina, Wilmington, USA, n.d., http://www.uncw.edu/ecotone/ (11 Nov 2006).

Get Up! Action for Australia, authorised by Simon Sheikh, Sydney, 2008, http://www.getup.org.au/ (15 Jun 2009).

Gilbert, Kevin, *Living Black: Blacks Talk to Kevin Gilbert*, Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, Melbourne, 1977.

Gilchrist, Catie, "Space, Sexuality and Convict Resistance in Van Diemen's Land: The Limits of Repression?", *Eras Journal*, Vol. 6, Nov 2004, http://arts.monash.edu.au/publications/eras/edition-6/gilchristarticle.php#a49 (4 Jan 2009).

Gillard M.P., The Hon Julia, "A Higher Education Revolution: Creating a Productive, Prosperous, Modern Australia", Australian Financial Review Higher Education Conference, Amora Hotel, Sydney, 13 Mar 2008, http://mediacentre.dewr.gov.au/mediacentre/Gillard/Releases/AHigherEducationRevolutionCreatingaProductiveProsperousModernAustralia.htm (16 Apr 2008).

Glover, Dennis, *Orwell's Australia: From Cold War to Culture Wars*, Scribe Publications , Carlton, 2003.

Gould, Bob, "Deconstructing the 1960s and 1970s: An open letter to Keith and Liz Windschuttle", *Ozleft*, Sydney, 30 Jun 2000, http://www.gouldsbooks.com.au/ozleft/windschuttle.html (1 Jan 2007).
——, "McGuinness, Windschuttle and *Quadrant*: The attempt to revise the history of the massacre of Aborigines on the British colonial frontier in Australia", (a revision of "Contesting 'White Whitewash' history. McGuinness, Windschuttle and *Quadrant*. The Revisionist attack on Australian History about British Conquest and Aboriginal resistance"), *Ozleft*, Sydney, 23 Nov 2000, http://www.gouldsbooks.com.au/ozleft/windschuttleblack.html (3 Jan 2007).

Gould, Sharon, (alias of Katherine Wilson), "Diary of a hoax: Too much tanking, not enough thinking", *Crikey*, 22 Nov 2008, http://blogs.crikey.com.au/crikey/files/2009/01/diary-of-a-hoax.html (7 Jan 2009).
——, "Scare Campaigns and Science Reporting", *Quadrant*, Vol. LIII, No. 1-2, Jan-Feb 2009, http://www.quadrant.org.au/magazine/issue/2009/1-2/scare-campaigns-and-science-reporting (7 Jan 200).

Gramsci, Antonio, "The Modern Prince: Spontaneity and Conscious Leadership", *Prison Notebooks*, (1929-1935), (*Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, International Publishers, New York, 1971), Antonio Gramsci Internet Archive, (marxists.org, 2000), 2007, http://www.marxists.org/archive/gramsci/prison_notebooks/modern_prince/ch15.htm (19 Jan 2008).
——, *An Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings, 1916-1935*, edited by David Forgacs, (A *Gramsci Reader*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1988), Antonio Gramsci Internet Archive, (marxists.org, 2000), 2007, http://www.marxists.org/archive/gramsci/prison_notebooks/reader/index.htm (20 Jan 2007).

Greider, William, "A 'New' New Deal", (15 Sep 2005), *The Nation*, 3 Oct 2005, http://www.thenation.com/doc/20051003/greider (24 Nov 2008).

Grenville, Kate, *The Secret River*, Text Publishing, Melbourne, 2005
——, "The Novelist as Barbarian", National Library of Australia Conference, Challenging Australian History: Discovering New Narratives, 14-15 April 2006, Canberra, http://www.nla.gov.au/events/history/papers/Kate_Grenville%20.html (2 Sep 2006).
——, *Searching for the Secret River*, Text Publishing, Melbourne, 2006.
——, "History and Fiction", *Kate Grenville*, ("The Question of History: Response", *Quarterly Essay*, No. 25, Mar 2007), Jan 2007, http://www.users.bigpond.com/kgrenville/TSR/history_and_fiction.html (8 May 2008).

Gutkind, Lee, "Style and Substance", *Creative Nonfiction: Articles*, editorial, No.10, 1998, http://www.creativenonfiction.org/thejournal/articles/issue10/10editor.htm (21 Apr 2009).
——, "What is Creative Nonfiction?", (*Creative Nonfiction: The journal devoted exclusively to the nonfiction genre*, No. 24-25, n.d., http://www.creativenonfiction.org/thejournal/articles/infactinfactcontents.html (8 Feb 2005)), *The Literature of Reality*, 2008, http://www.leegutkind.com/vid5.html (16 Jun 2009).

Gutman, G.O., "Arbitration In Contempt: The Hancock Report - Last Hurrah for the System", H.R. Nicholls Society, n.d., http://www.hrnicholls.com.au/archives/vol1/vol1-12.php (25 Oct 2008).

Gyles, Anna Benson (dir. & pro.), "Part 3: On The Ropes", *Hemingway: A Portrait in Four Parts*, British Broadcasting Corporation and Arts & Entertainment Network, Britain, 1987.

Haley, K., "Asian Entry Threatens Tolerance: Blainey", *The Age*, 19 Mar 1984, p1.

Hall, Eleanor (interviewer), "Fukuyama backs Obama for US presidency", *Lateline*, ABC 1 Television, 27 May 2008, http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2008/05/27/2257165.htm (29 May 2008).

Harman, Kristyn Evelyn, *Aboriginal Convicts: Race, Law, and Transportation in Colonial New South Wales*, PhD thesis, University of Tasmania, 2008, http://eprints.utas.edu.au/7467/2/Kris_Harman_PhD_Thesis.pdf (15 Feb 2009).

Harris, Samela, "Ern Malley: The Official Website", 2003, http://www.ernmalley.com/ (26 Dec 2006).

Harvey, David, "Revolutionary and Counter Revolutionary Theory in Geography and the Problem of Ghetto Formation", *Antipode*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Jul 1972, pp1-13.
——, "A Commentary on the Comments", *Antipode*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Jul 1972, p36.
——, *The Condition of Postmodernity*: *An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, (1989), Blackwell, Cambridge MA & Oxford UK, 1990.
——, "The Art of Rent: Globalization, Monopoly and the Commodification of Culture", *Socialist Register*, Vol. 38, 2002, http://www.socialistregister.com/recent/2002/harvey2002 (7 May 2007).
——, "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction", *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 610, No. 1, Mar 2007, pp21-44.
——, "David Harvey: Reading Karl Marx's Capital", *Links: International Journal of Socialist Renewal*, 2008, http://links.org.au/node/714 (31 Oct 2008).

Hay, Peter (Pete), *Vandiemonian Essays*, Walleah Press, North Hobart, 2002.
——, *Main Currents in Western Environmental Thought*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2002.
——, "Dr Pete Hay's Profile", School of Environmental Studies and Geography, University of Tasmania, n.d., http://fcms.its.utas.edu.au/scieng/geog/pagedetails.asp?lpersonId=340 (2 Apr 2007).
——, "A Phenomenology of Islands", *Island Studies Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Mar 2006, pp19-42.
——, "Bushers', 'fallers' and the tenacity of the moral economy: can pre-modern values flourish within late modernity? [abstract]", *Conference 2006*, School of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Tasmania, Hobart, 23 Oct 2006, http://www.geol.utas.edu.au/geography/documents/FULL%20PROGRAM%20with%20abstracts.doc (17 Mar 2009).
——, "The Moral Economy of the Bush", (*Arena Magazine*, No. 83, Jun-Jul 2006, pp15-16), *The Free Library*, Farlex, 2009, http://www.thefreelibrary.com/The+moral+economy+of+the+bush%3a+debates+about+logging+and+forestry+are...-a0153362714 (2 Feb 2009).
—— & Eckersley, Robyn & Holloway, Geoff (eds.), *Environmental Politics in Australia and New Zealand*, Centre for Environmental Studies, University of Tasmania, Hobart, 1989.

Haynes, Roslynn D., "From Habitat to Wilderness: Tasmania's Role in the Politicisation of Place", *Disputed Territories in Settler Societies*, edited by David S. Trigger & Gareth Griffiths, Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong, 2003, pp81-108.
——, *Tasmanian Visions: Landscapes in Writing, Art and Photography*, Polymath Press, Sandy Bay, Tas., 2006.

Hemingway, Ernest, *The Old Man and the Sea*, (Scribner & Sons, New York), Jonathan Cape, London, 1952.
——, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1940), Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England, 1955.
——, *A Moveable Feast*, (1964), Bantam Books, USA, 1965; see also the 2009 edition listed below.
——, *Death In The Afternoon*, (1932), Penguin Books, England, 1966.
—— (ed.), *Men At War: An Anthology*, (1942) Fontana/Collins, London, 1966.
——, *A Farewell to Arms*, (1929), Granada, London, 1977.
——, *Green Hills of Africa*, (1936), Triad/Panther Books, St Albans, 1977.
——, *Across the River and into the Trees*, (1950), Grafton Books, London, 1977.
——, *Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters: 1917-1961*, edited by Carlos Baker, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1981.
——, *The Garden of Eden*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1986.
——, *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway: The Finca Vigía Edition*, Scribner, New York, 1987.
——, *Hemingway: By-Line*, edited by William White, Grafton Books, London, 1989.
——, "The Art of the Short Story", (*Paris Review*, 1981), *New Critical Approaches to the Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway*, edited by Jackson J. Benson, Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, USA, 1990, pp1-16.
——, *True At First Light: A Fictional Memoir*, edited and with an introduction by Patrick Hemingway, (Simon & Schuster, USA) William Heinemann, London, 1999.
——, *Hemingway on War*, edited by Sean Hemingway, Scribner, New York, 2003.
——, *Under Kilimanjaro*, edited by Robert W. Lewis & Robert E. Fleming, Kent State University Press, Kent Ohio, 2005.
——, *A Moveable Feast: The Restored Edition*, (1964), edited by Seán Hemingway, Scribner, New York, 2009.

Henderson, Gerard, "The battle is not to be left behind", *The Age*, 24 Dec 2002, http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2002/12/23/1040511005690.html (2 Jan 2008).

Herodotus, *The Histories*, (circa 440 B.C.), translated by Aubrey de Sélincourt (1954), revised by A.R. Burn, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1972; see also *The History*, translated by George Rawlinson, The University of Adelaide Library Electronic Texts Collection, University of Adelaide, Adelaide, 2004, http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/h/herodotus/h4/ (26 Dec 2007).

Hess Jr., Karl & Baden, John A., *Writers on the Range*, Colorado University Press, Boulder, 1998.

Hexter, J.H., "The Rhetoric of History", *History and Theory*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1967, pp3-13.

Heyward, Michael, *The Ern Malley Affair*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1993.

Hilkovitch, Jason & Fulkerson, Max, "Paul Vidal de la Blache: A Biographical Sketch", 25 Mar 1997, http://wwwstage.valpo.edu/geomet/histphil/test/vidal.html (8 May 2006).

Hirst, John, *Sense and Nonsense in Australian History*, Black Inc. Agenda, Melbourne, 2006.
—— & Blainey, Geoffrey, "Sense & Nonsense", The Age Melbourne Writers' Festival, The Malthouse, South Bank, Melbourne, 31 Aug 2006.

Hobsbawm, Eric J., *On History*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, & The New Press, New York, 1997.

Hodder, Robert, *Line by Line: Angling and Print Media in Tasmania: Historical, Ideological and Political Development into Literary Art and Application for Creative Writing*, Masters Thesis, School of Communication, Culture and Languages**,** Victoria University, 2003.

Hollier, Nathan, "John Howard: Tweedledum(b) - Or Not So?", *Politics and Culture*, edited by Amitava Kumar and Michael Ryan, Issue 2, Association of American University Presses, Stonington, USA, 2002, http://aspen.conncoll.edu/politicsandculture/page.cfm?key=155 (8 Jan 2008).
——, "This Art Business", *Overland*, No. 191, Winter 2008, pp57-63.

The Holy Bible: Old and New Testaments in the King James Version, (1611), Thomas Nelson, Camden, N.J., USA, 1970.

Honeycutt, Lee, *What Hath Bakhtin Wrought?: Toward a Unified Theory of Literature and Composition*, Master of Arts Thesis, Department of English, University of North Carolina, Charlotte, 1994, http://www.public.iastate.edu/~honeyl/bakhtin/thesis.html (16 Jun 2005).

Hope, Deborah, "Smokescreen nullius", *The Australian*, 25 Feb 2006, http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,18263940-28737,00.html (18 Jun 2008).

Hotchner, A.E. (Ed), *Papa Hemingway: A Personal Memoir*, (1966)., Simon & Schuster, United Kingdom, 1999.
——, "Don't Touch 'A Moveable Feast'", *The New York Times*, 19 July 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/20/opinion/20hotchner.html?_r=1 (16 Aug 2009).

Howard M.P., John, "Some Thoughts on Liberal Party Philosophy in the 1990s", *Quadrant*, Jul-Aug 1994, pp21-22.
——, *Sir Thomas Playford Memorial Lecture*, Adelaide Town Hall, 5 Jul 1996.
——, "Racial Tolerance", *Official Hansard: House of Representatives: Commonwealth of Australia*, 30 Oct 1996, http://www.aph.gov.au/hansard/reps/dailys/dr301096.pdf (11 Feb 2006), pp6156-6181.
——, "The Liberal Tradition: The Beliefs and Values which guide the Federal Government, *Sir Robert Menzies Lecture*, media transcript, 18 Nov 1996, http://web.archive.org/web/19970212063226/http://www.nla.gov.au/pmc/pressrel/menzies.h (1 May 2007).
——, "Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Address to the National Press Club, Great Hall, Parliament House" National Press Club: Speeches, 25 Jan 2006, http://www.pm.gov.au/news/speeches/speech1754.html (6 Feb 2006).

——, "A Tribute to Quadrant" (*sic.*), (*Quadrant's* Golden Jubilee, Sydney, 3 Oct 2006), *Quadrant*, Vol. L, No. 11, Nov 2006, http://quadrant.org.au/php/article_view.php?article_id=2290 (24 Apr 2008).

——, "Policy Launch Speech: John Howard, Prime Minister", (Sydney, 28 Oct 2001), *The Soapbox*, Media and Communications, Faculty of Arts, University of Melbourne, 2007, http://soapbox.unimelb.edu.au/media/Transcripts/Speech_PolicyLaunch/2001_PolicyLaunchSpeech_LP_T.pdf (20 Jan 2009), also http://74.125.47.132/search?q=cache:xWq-Qpf0owIJ:soapbox.unimelb.edu.au/media/Transcripts/Speech_PolicyLaunch/2001_PolicyLaunchSpeech_LP_T.pdf+%22we+will+decide%22%2BHoward%2Bsoapbox&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=1&gl=au (23 Jan 2009).

Hudelson, Richard, "Review of *The Real World of Ideology* by Joe McCarney", (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., Humanities Press and Brighton, Harvester Press, 1980) *The Philosophical Review*, XCII, No. 4, Oct 1983, pp625-627.

——, "Marxist Science as Ordinary Science" *Noûs* (absorbed *Philosophical Perspective*), Vol. 20, No. 1, A.P.A. Central Division Meetings, Mar 1986, pp53-63.

Hughes, Robert, *Things I Didn't Know: A Memoir*, Knopf (Random House), Milsons Point, NSW 2006.

Hutton, Drew & Connors, Libby, *A History of the Australian Environmental Movement*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1999.

Ianziti, Gary, "Windschuttle at War: The Politics of Historiography in Australia", Paper presented to the Social Change in the 21st Century Conference, Centre for Social Change Research, Queensland University of Technology, 29 Oct 2004, pp1-11, http://www.socialchange.qut.edu.au/conferences/socialchange/docs/conf_papers2004/ianziti_gary.pdf (28 Dec 2007).

Iggers, George, G., *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Language*, University Press of New England, Hanover & London, 1997.

Illman, Deborah L., "1928: Vernon Louis Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought*", *UW Showcase*, edited by Alvin L. Kwiram, University of Washington, 1997, http://www.washington.edu/research/showcase/1928a.html (3 Sep 2007).

International Education Unit, "Tasmania, the island state", *Education Tasmania*, Department of Economic Development., Government of Tasmania, Hobart, 20 Aug 2004, http://www.studyintasmania.tas.gov.au/tasmania.html (16 Mar 2009).

Jamieson, Ian (*né* Andrew) a.k.a. "Jammo", "A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led", *Pre-Congress Discussion*, Perth Branch of the Democratic Socialist Perspective, Socialist Alliance, Perth, 2005, no pagination, unpublished copy supplied to Robert Hodder.[1369]

[1369] Jamieson recalls that a "A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led" was disseminated in the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) discussion bulletin, *The Activist*. As *The Activist*, apart from a selected few of its articles, is for DSP members only it is not circulated in the public arena and cannot be referenced in this context. However, the copy made available by Jamieson for *Radical Tasmania* is

——, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania*, Perth, 5 Jul 2006.

Jenkins, Keith, *Refiguring History: New Thoughts on an Old Discipline*, Routledge, London & New York, 2003.

Johnston, Anna & Rolls, Mitchell (eds.), *Reading Robinson: Companion Essays to Friendly Mission*, Quintus Publishing, University of Tasmania, Hobart, 2008.

Jonze, Spike (dir.), *Adaptation*, Columbia Pictures, distributed in Australia by Sony Picture Releasing, 2002.

Joyce, James, *Ulysses*, (*The Little Review*, New York, Mar 1918 - Dec 1920), Vintage International (Random House), New York, 1990.

Kaufman, Dr. Ned, "Is Westchester Some Place?", *Westchester Environment: News Magazine of the Federated Conservationists of Westchester County*, Jul-Aug 2002, Vol. 4, http://fcwc.org/WEArchive/070802/noplaces.htm (16 Oct 2004).

Kaye, Harvey J., "Towards a Biography of E. P. Thompson", *Socialist Register: Historiography and the British Marxist Historians*, No. 8, 1995, pp49-53.

Keenan, Catherine, "A Historical Balancing Act", *The Age: A2*, 20 Sep 2008, pp24-25, http://www.watoday.com.au/news/entertainment/books/a-historical-balancing-act/2008/09/18/1221331044345.html?page=fullpage#contentSwap2 (21 Sep 2008).

Kelley, Donald R. & Sacks (eds.), David Harris, *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, rhetoric, and fiction, 1500-1800*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997.

Kelly, Fran (interviewer), "Denial: History Betrayed", interview with Tony Taylor, *Breakfast*, ABC Radio National, 2 Sep 2008, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/breakfast/stories/2008/2352724.htm (26 Jan 2009), audio, http://mpegmedia.abc.net.au/rn/podcast/current/audioonly/bst_20080902_0806.mp3 (29 Jan 2009).

Keneally, Thomas, *Searching for Schindler: A Memoir*, Knopf, North Sydney, 2007.

Knox, Malcolm, "The Darville made me do it", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 Jul 2005, http://www.smh.com.au/news/books/the-darville-made-me-do-it/2005/07/08/1120704550613.html (14 Jun 2009).

Koval, Ramona (pres.), "Transforming Scholarly Writing", *Books and Writing*, ABC Radio National, 20 Mar 2005, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/arts/bwriting/stories/s1327971.htm (30 Mar 2005).

——, "Kate Grenville", *Books and Writing*, ABC Radio National, 17 Jul 2005, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/arts/bwriting/stories/s1414510.htm (8 Jan 2006).

——, "Narrative Non-Fiction and Suketu Mehta's Maximum City", *Books and Writing*, ABC Radio National, 1 Feb 2007, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2007/1837690.htm (1 Feb 2007).

available to sight on request.

——, “Lion of American Letters: Norman Mailer Dies at 84”, *Books and Writing*, (Edinburgh, 2000) repeat broadcast ABC Radio National, 12 Nov 2007, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2007/2087846.htm#transcript (12 Nov 2007).

——, “The Literary Karl Marx”, *The Book Show*, interview with Sam Stark, ABC Radio National, 6 May 2008, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2008/2235597.htm (1 Jun 2008).

——, “Our Story Begins: Tobias Wolff”, *The Book Show*, ABC Radio National, (24 Jul 2008), 22 Dec 2008, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2008/2451571.htm (22 Dec 2008).

——, “The godfather of creative non-fiction - Lee Gutkind”, *The Book Show*, ABC Radio National, 21 Apr 2009, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2009/2544342.htm (29 Apr 2009).

——, “James Wood on George Orwell”, *The Book Show*, ABC Radio National, 11 May 2009, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2009/2566126.htm (23 May 2009).

——, “The Tasmanian Journals of George Augustus Robinson”, *The Book Show*, ABC Radio National, 9 Jun 2009, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2009/2592798.htm (9 Jun 2009).

——, “How to write about food”, *The Book Show*, ABC Radio National, 29 Jun 2009, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2009/2611170.htm (30 Jun 2009).

——, “Australian Classics: Marcus Clarke’s His Natural Life”, *The Book Show*, ABC Radio National, 10 Aug 2009, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2009/2642204.htm (16 Aug 2009).

Kuhn, Rick & O’Lincoln, Tom (eds.), *Class and Class Conflict in Australia*, Longman, Melbourne, 1996.

Kurosawa, Akira (dir.), *The Bad Sleep Well*, (Toho International, Japan, 1960), DVD, Criterion Collection, USA, 2006.

LaCapra, Dominick, “Reading Marx: The Case of *The Eighteenth Brumaire*”, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language*, by Dominick LaCapra, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1983, pp76-81.

Lampedusa, Guiseppe di, *The Leopard*, (*Il Gattopardo*, 1958), translated by Archibald Colquhoun, Fontana Books, Britain, 1963.

Landow, George P., “*Waterland*: An Introduction”, Postimperial and Postcolonial Literature in English, National University of Singapore, n.d., http://www.scholars.nus.edu.sg/post/uk/gswift/wl/wlintro.html (7 Jan 2007).

Lang, William L., “Beavers, Firs, Salmon, and Falling Water: Pacific Northwest Regionalism and the Environment”, *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Summer 2000, Vol. 104, No. 2, http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ohq/104.2/lang.html (11 Jan 2007).

Langford, Rosalind, “Tare-Nore’s Journey”, Art Mob, Hobart, 2006, http://www.artmob.com.au/artists/langford/26.html (3 Nov 2007).

Latour, Bruno, "Why Has Critique Run Out of Steam?: From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern", *Critical Inquiry*, No. 30, 2004, http://criticalinquiry.uchicago.edu/issues/v30/30n2.Latour.html (10 March 2007).

Launceston Advertiser, editorial, 11 Oct 1830, no pagination.

Leaman, David E., *Water: Facts, Issues, Problems and Solutions*, Leaman Geophysics, Hobart, 2007.

Lehman, Greg, "Guest Editorial", *Island*, No. 96, Autumn 2004, pp5-8.
——, "Two Thousand Generations of Place-Making", *Welcome to Country*, Wellington Park Management Trust, Tasmanian Government, Hobart, 2006, http://www.wellingtonpark.tas.gov.au/pdf/welcometocountry06.pdf (15 Mar 2009).

Lenin (Ulyanov), Vladimir Ilyich, *What Is To Be Done?: Burning Questions of Our Movement*, (1902), (*Lenin Collected Works*, Vol. 5, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1961, Moscow, pp347-530), Lenin Internet Archive, 1999, http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1901/witbd/index.htm (12 Jan 2007).
——, "Conspectus of Hegel's *Science of Logic*: Book III (Subjective Logic or the Doctrine of the Notion)", (*Lenin Miscelleny IX*, 1929), (*Collected Works*, Vol. 38, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976), (Lenin Internet Archive, 2003), Marxist Internet Archive, 2007, http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1914/cons-logic/ch03.htm (12 Jan 2008).

Leonard, Elmore, "Easy on the Adverbs, Exclamation Points and Especially Hooptedoodle", see "Writers on Writing" in *The New York Times*, 16 Jul 2001, http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=940CE3DD103BF935A25754C0A9679C8B63 (13 Sep 2008).

Lester, Libby (Elizabeth), *Giving Ground: Media and Environmental Conflict in Tasmania*. Quintus Publishing: Hobart, 2007.

Lewis, John, "Thucydides and the Discovery of Historical Causation", Department of History and Political Science, Ashland University; see "Strong Brains", edited by Andrew Layman, 2005, http://www.strongbrains.com/thucydides_and_the_discovery_of_historical_causati.htm (20 Jun 2009).

Liauzu, Claude, "At War with France's Past", *La Monde diplomatique*, translated by Donald Hounam, Jun 2005, http://mondediplo.com/2005/06/19colonisation (30 Apr 2008).

Linenthal, Edward T. & Engelhardt, Tom (eds.), *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past*, Metropolitan Books, New York, 1996.

Lines, William J., *Patriots: Defending Australia's Natural Heritage*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Qld., 2006.
——, "Black and White Lies", *The Weekend Australian: Inquirer*, 14-15 Oct 2006, p21.

Loewen, James W., *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong*, New Press, New York, 1996.

Lohrey, Amanda, *The Morality of Gentlemen*, (1984), Montpelier Press & Vulgar Press, North Hobart & Carlton North, 2002.
——, "Groundswell: The Rise of the Greens", (*Quarterly Essay*, No. 8., 2002), *Four Classic Quarterly Essays on Australian Politics*, edited by Chris Feik, Black Inc., Melbourne, 2007, pp165-256.

Lopez, Barry Holstun, *Arctic Dreams: Imagination and Desire in a Northern Landscape*, (1986), The Harvill Press, London, 1999.
——, "Landscape and Narrative", ("Story at Anaktuvuk Pass: At the junction of landscape and narrative", *Harper's Magazine*, Dec 1984, pp49-52), *Vintage Lopez*, Vintage, New York, 2004, http://www.randomhouse.ca/catalog/display.pperl?isbn=9781400033980&view=excerpt (26 Dec 2008).

Lorimer, Doug, "Appendix: Existentialism and Marxism", *Marxist Writings on History & Philosophy by George Novack*, Resistance Books, Chippendale, 2002, pp263-267.

Love, Glen A., "Hemingway Among the Animals", (*Practical Ecocriticism: Literature, Literature, Biology and the Environment*, University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville, 2003, pp117-181), Thomas J. Schoenberg & Lawrence J. Trudeau (eds.), *Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism: The Influence of Hemingway*, Vol. 162, Thomson Gale, Detroit, 2005, pp174-184.

Love, Heather & Mills, Mara, "Sisters: Lynne Cheney's Feminism", *Rhizomes*, No.14, Summer 2007, http://www.rhizomes.net/issue14/lovemills.html#_ftn18 (25 Apr 2008).

Lucashenko, Melissa, "More Migaloo Words", see "Three responses to Robert Manne's *In Denial*", *Overland*, #163, Winter 2001, pp15-16.
——, "Not Quite White in the Head", *Griffith Review*, No. 2, Summer 2003-2004, pp11-21.
——, "Poor Fella My Pantry", *Island*, No. 112, Autumn 2008, pp16-18.

Luxemburg, Rosa, "The Problem of Dictatorship", *The Russian Revolution*, (written 1918, first published by Paul Levi, 1922), (translated by Bertram Wolfe, Workers Age Publishers, New York, 1940), marxists.org, 1999, http://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1918/russian-revolution/ch06.htm (22 Oct 2007).

Lynn, Kenneth S., *Hemingway*, (1987), Cardinal (Sphere Books), England, 1989.

Lyotard, Jean-François, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, (1984), translated by Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1997.

MacCullum, Mungo (chair), Henry Reynolds, Cassandra Pybus and Christopher Kremmer on the panel, "The Victors Write the History", Byron Bay Writers Festival, 2006, audio sourced through ABC North Coast NSW radio, http://www.abc.net.au/northcoast/stories/s1706811.htm (27 Sep 2006).

MacDonald, Helen, *Human Remains: Dissection and its Histories*, (2005), Yale University Press, London, 2006.

Macintyre, Stuart, "On 'fabricating' history: History, politics and the philosophy of history", (Blackheath Philosophy Forum,16 Mar 2003), Evatt Foundation, 22 Jun 2003, http://evatt.labor.net.au/publications/papers/92.html (3 Jun 2007).
——, *A Concise History of Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge & Port Melbourne, 2004.
——, (ed.), *The Historian's Conscience: Australian Historians on the Ethics of History*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2004.
——, "Research floored by full Nelson", *The Age*, 16 Nov 2005, http://www.theage.com.au/news/opinion/research-floored-by-fullnelson/2005/11/15/1132016792072.html (7 Mar. 2006).
——, "The History Wars", Evatt Foundation, 9 Sep 2006, http://evatt.labor.net.au/news/253.html (24 Oct 2006).
—— & Clark, Anna, *The History Wars*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2003.

Maddison, Sarah & Scalmer, Sean, *Activist Wisdom: Practical Knowledge and Creative Tension in Social Movements*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 2006.

Mailer, Norman, *Armies of the Night: History as a Novel: The Novel as History*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, (originally in the USA as New American Library, New York), 1968.

Main, George, *Heartland: The Regeneration of Rural Place*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2005.

Maloney, Shane, *Sucked In*, Text Publishing, Melbourne, 2007.

Malpas, Jeff, "Senses of Place", *Island*, Summer 2007, No. 107, pp8-11.

Manne, Robert (ed.), *Whitewash: On Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Aboriginal History*, Black Inc. Agenda, Melbourne, 2003.
——, *Left Right Left*, Black Inc. Agenda, Melbourne 2005.
——, "What is Rudd's Agenda?", *The Monthly*, Nov 2008, http://www.themonthly.com.au/node/1293 (8 Jun 2009).

Mares, Peter (interviewer), "New Broom or Lennon Lite?", *The National Interest*, ABC Radio National, 27 Jun 2008, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/nationalinterest/stories/2008/2287885.htm (30 Jun 2008).
——, "Science, nurture and nature: the great forestry debate", (conference, "Old Forests: New Management", Hobart, Feb 2008), *National Interest*, ABC Radio National, 9 Jan 2009, transcript, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/nationalinterest/stories/2009/2446364.htm#transcript (11 Jan 2009).

Mark, David, "Blainey supports PM on history", *PM*, presented by Mark Colvin, ABC Radio National, 27 Aug 2009, http://www.abc.net.au/pm/content/2009/s2669066.htm (28 Aug 2009).
——, "PM calls for end to 'History Wars'", *PM*, presented by Mark Colvin, ABC Radio National, 27 Aug 2009, http://www.abc.net.au/pm/content/2009/s2669063.htm (28 Aug 2009).

Marozzi, Justin, *The Man Who Invented History: Travels with Herodotus*, John Murray Publishers, London, 2008.

Marwood, Jim, *Valley People*, Kangaroo Press, Kenthurst, NSW, 1984.

Marx, Karl, *Capital, Vol. III: The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole*, (1894), edited by F. Engels, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1959; see also Marxist Internet Archives, 2007, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1894-c3/index.htm (2 Jun 2007).

——, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, (1847), Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975.

——, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, (1932), Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977; see also translated by Gregor Benton, Marxist Internet Archives, 1993, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/manuscripts/preface.htm (5 Dec 2006).

——, *Value, Price and Profit*, Speech by Marx to the First International Working Men's Association, June 1865, (1898), Marxists Internet Archives, 1995, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1865/value-price-profit/index.htm (15 May 2007).

——, "Letter from Karl to his Father In Trier", (Berlin, 10 Nov 1837)", (*Marx Engels Collected Works, Vol 1*), Marxists Internet Archives, 1998, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1837-pre/letters/37_11_10.htm (2 Jun 2007).

——, "Afterword to the Second German Edition", *Capital Vol. I*, (1873), Marxist Internet Archives, 1999, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/p3.htm (1 Feb 2007).

——, *Capital Vol. I*, (1867), (first English edition, 1887), Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1954; see also Marx/Engels Internet Archive, (1995), 1999, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/index.htm (11 May 2007).

——, "Marx To Engels In Manchester", (14 Jun 1853, London), (*Marx & Engels Collected Works*, 1975-2000, Vol. 39, p344, n.d.), transcribed by Anthony Blunden, Marxist Internet Archives, 2000, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1853/letters/53_06_14.htm (29 Jan 2008).

——, *The Grundrisse*, ("Notebook IV mid-December 1857 - 22 January 1858 [Circulation Process of Capital]"), Marxist Internet Archives, 2002, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1857/grundrisse/ch08.htm (9 Apr 2007).

——, *Theses on Feuerbach*, ("1. *ad* Feuerbach", Brussels, 1845), translated by Cyril Smith & Don Cuckson, Marxist Internet Archives, 2002, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/theses/index.htm (16 Nov 2006).

——, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, (1852), Marxist Internet Archives, 2006, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/index.htm (16 Nov 2006).

——, "La Liberté Speech", (delivered for The International Working Men's Association, Amsterdam, 8 Sep 1872, published in *La Liberte*, 15 Sep 1872), (K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain*, Foreign Languages Press, Moscow, 1962), Marxists Internet Archives, 2008, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1872/09/08.htm (4 Nov 2008).

——, "Letter from Marx to Arnold Ruge in Dresden", (Trier, 20 Mar 1842), (*Marx Engels Collected Works, Vol 1*, International Publishers, 1975, pp383-386), Marxists Internet Archives, n.d.,

http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1842/letters/42_03_20.htm (14 May 2007).

——, *Theories of Surplus-Value [Capital Vol. IV]*, (1863), (Progress Publishers), Marxist Internet Archives, n.d., http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1863/theories-surplus-value/index.htm (3 Jun 2007).

—— & Engels, Frederick, *The German Ideology: Part One with selections from Parts Two and Three and Supplementary Texts*, (1845), edited by C.J. Arthur, International Publishers, New York, 1970.

—— & ——, *The Holy Family: Critique of Critical Criticism, Against Bruno Bauer and Company*, (1845), (*Marx & Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 4, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975), Marxist Internet Archive, transcribed by Peter Byrne, 1997, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/holy-family/index.htm (20 Apr 2008).

—— & ——, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, (1848), Marxist Internet Archives, 2004, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/index.htm (26 Feb 2006).

—— & ——, *Marx and Engels on Literature and Art*, (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976), transcribed by Andy Blunden, Marxist Internet Archive, n.d., http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/subject/art/index.htm (16 Jan 2009).

—— & ——, "The Moderns: A. The Spirit (Pure History of Spirits)" in *The German Ideology*, (1845), Marxist Internet Archives, n.d., http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch03b.htm (12 May 2007).

Marx-Aveling, Eleanor, "Biographical Notes on Marx's Literary Interests", (extract from *Marx Engels On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, 1976), transcribed by Andy Blunden, *Marx/Engels Biography*, Marxist Internet Archive, 2007, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/bio/marx/eleanor-literature.htm (16 Jan 2009).

Marxists Internet Archive, (index), 2007, http://www.marxists.org/index.htm (8 May 2007).

Matchett, Stephen, "A Great History War", *The Weekend Australian: Review*, 23-24 Dec 2006, p36, http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,20867,20952821-38856,00.html (24 Dec 2006).

——, "Gloomy George fares well", *The Weekend Australian: Review*, 8-9 Nov 2008, p40, http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,24600912-38856,00.html (11 Nov 2008).

McDermott, Carol, "Writers on the Range: The World's Best Job", *Denver Post: High Country News*, 23 Dec 2006, http://www.denverpost.com/writersontherange (6 Jan 2007).

McFadyen, Warwick, "Unflinching dissection of history denials", *A2: The Age*, 17 Jan 2009, p24.

McFarlane, Ian, *Aboriginal Society in North West Tasmania: Dispossession and Genocide*, PhD thesis, University of Tasmania, 2002.

McKee, Robert, *Story: Substance, structure, style and the principle of screenwriting*, Methuen, London, 1999.

McKenna, Mark, "Different Perspectives on Black Armband History: Research Paper 5, 1997-98", Politics and Public Administration Group, Parliament of Australia: Parliamentary Library ,10 Nov 1997, http://www.aph.gov.au/Library/pubs/rp/1997-98/98rp05.htm (13 Feb 2006).

——, *Looking For Blackfellas' Point: An Australian History of Place*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 2002.

——, "Writing the Past: History, Literature and the Public Sphere in Australia", *The Humanities Writing Project: Promoting Scholarly Writing for the Public Sphere*, Queensland College of Art, Brisbane, 1 Dec 2005, http://www.humanitieswritingproject.net.au/mckenna.htm (4 Mar 2006).

——, "Comfort History", *Weekend Australian: Review*, 18-19 Mar 2006, p15.

——, "Being There: The Strange History of Manning Clark", (Ch. 10, "Once More with Feeling: The Personal Voice of Manning Clark", *Against the Grain: Brian Fitzpatrick and Manning Clark in Australian History and Politics*, edited by Stuart Macintyre and Sheila Fitzpatrick, Melbourne University Publishing, Carlton, 2007), *The Monthly*, Mar 2007, pp22-37.

McKew, Maxine (interviewer), "Historians wary of history summit outcomes", *Lateline*, ABC TV, 18 Aug 2006, http://www.abc.net.au/lateline/content/2006/s1718847.htm (2 Jan 2006).

McKinna *et al* Pty. Ltd., *The Place-of-Origin Branding Report*, Albert Park, Vic., for Department of Economic Development & The Food Industry Council of Tasmania, Hobart, 21 Jul 2007, http://www.development.tas.gov.au/industry/Place%20of%20origin%20business%20case.pdf (23 Sep 2008).

McKnight, David, *Beyond Right and Left: New Politics and the Culture Wars*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, NSW, 2005.

McLaren, John, "The Shame of Cultural Warriors", *Overland*, No. 186, Autumn 2007, pp34-37.

McLean, Iain & McMillan, Alistair (eds.), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*: *Oxford Reference Online*, Oxford University Press, Victoria University, Vic., 2009.

McLellan, David, *Karl Marx: His Life & Thought*, Macmillan Press, London, 1973.

McQueen, Humphrey, *Suspect History*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 1997.

——, *A Framework of Flesh*: *Builders' labourers battle for health and safety*, commissioned by the Construction, Forestry & Mining Union through the Workplace Research Centre, University of Sydney, 2008, http://home.alphalink.com.au/~loge27/sborder/blf_framework_of_flesh.htm (12 Nov 2008).

——, "Keith Windschuttle: *The White Australia Policy*", *Australian History*, (n.d.) http://home.alphalink.com.au/~loge27/aus_hist/aus_hist_windshuttle.htm (2 Jan 2007).

McQueen, James, *Hook's Mountain*, Sun Books, Melbourne, 1982.

Meacham, Steve, "Powerhouse Dawn", *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 Mar 2008, http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/powerhouse-dawn/2008/03/21/1205602658624.html (19 Apr 2008).

"Meeting of the Working Classes", (no by-line), *Hobart Town Daily Courier*, 2 & 3 May 1855 (no pagination).

Megalogenis, George, "Welfare: tough love backfires", *The Weekend Australian*, 29-30 Mar 2008, p1 & p9.

Melleuish, Greg, "The Conscience of Liberalism", (*The Australian Financial Review*, 4 Feb 2005), *Articles and Executive Highlights*, No. 253, Centre for Independent Studies, 2005, http://www.cis.org.au/exechigh/Eh2005/EH25305.htm (31 Dec 2006).

Mellow, James R., *Hemingway: A Life Without Consequences*, Hodder & Stoughton, England, 1993.

Melrose, Robin, "The Seduction of Abduction: Peirce's theory of signs and indeterminacy in language", *Journal of Pragmatics*, Vol 23, No. 5, May 1995, pp 493-507.

Melville, Henry, *The History of Van Diemen's Land: from the year 1824 to 1835, inclusive during the administration of Lieutenant-Governor George Arthur*, (c1835), edited by George Mackaness, Horwitz-Grahame, Sydney, 1965.

Melville, Herman, *Moby-Dick*, (1851), J.M. Dent, London, 1993.

Menzies, Robert, "The Forgotten People", (radio broadcast, 22 May 1942), (published in *The Forgotten People and Other Studies in Democracy*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1943), *Menzies Virtual Museum*, Professor John Coghlan and Ms Sandra Mackenzie, The Menzies Foundation, East Melbourne, n.d., http://www.menziesvirtualmuseum.org.au/transcripts/ForgottenPeople/Forgotten1.html (6 Aug 2008).

Miller, Alex, "Truth in Fiction and History", *The Book Show*, ABC Radio National, 30 Nov 2006, http://www.rage.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2006/1800785.htm (16 Dec 2006), edited from lecture, *Written In Our Hearts: Thinking About Truth in Fiction and History*, hosted by the State Library of Victoria with Ramona Koval, Melbourne, 28 Nov 2006, also published as "Written in Our Hearts", *The Weekend Australian Review*, 16-17 Dec 2006, pp8-9.

Milner, Andrew, "Coming Up For Air: Orwell and the Left", *Overland*, No.177, Summer 2004, pp63-68.

Moorehead, Alan, *The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific, 1767-1840*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1966.

Mordue, Mark, "The Devil Is In The Details", *Australian Author*, Vol. 40, No. 1, Apr 2008, pp6-10.

Morgan, Anthony, "There's more than one way to save a Tasmanian wilderness", *The Sunday Age*, 14 Oct 2007, p22, http://www.theage.com.au/news/opinion/theres-more-than-one-way-to-save-a-wilderness/2007/10/13/1191696234876.html (14 Oct 2007).

Morris, Miranda, *The Pink Triangle: The Gay Law Reform Debate in Tasmania*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 1995.

Moussaoui, Rosa, "Benjamin Stora on French Colonialism and Algeria Today!", interview with Benjamin Stora, *l'Humanité*, 5 Aug 2006, http://www.humaniteinenglish.com/article259.html (29 April 2008).

Moyal, Ann, *Alan Moorehead: A Rediscovery*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 2005.

Murphy, Katherine, "Making Over the Story of Us", *The Age: Insight*, 9 Aug 2008, p5.

Musgrove, Brian, "States of Emergency", *Overland*, No. 191, Winter 2008, pp64-68.

Nabokov, Vladimir, "Good Readers and Good Writers", *Lectures on Literature*, edited by Fredson Bowers, Harcourt, San Diego, 1980, pp1-8.

Nash, Gary B., *National Standards for History Basic Edition*, National Centre for History in the Schools, USA, 1996, http://nchs.ucla.edu/standards/ (25 Apr 2008).

——, "Lynne Cheney's Attack on the History Standards, 10 Years Later", History News Network, George Mason University, Washington D.C., 8 Nov 2004, http://hnn.us/articles/8418.html (25 Apr 2008).

National Gallery of Victoria, *John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque*, Exhibition Catalogue, 13 Aug-3 Oct 2004, http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/glover/ (5 Jan 2006).

Nelson, Camilla, "Faking it: History and Creative Writing", *TEXT*, Vol. 11, No. 2, Oct 2007, http://www.textjournal.com.au/oct07/nelson.htm (8 May 2008).

Nelson, Brendon, "A Joint Statement by the Prime Minister and the Minister for Education, Science and Training: The Australian Government's Agenda for Schools: Achievement Through Choice and Opportunity", Department of Education Science & Training, Canberra, 22 Jun 2004, http://www.dest.gov.au/ministers/nelson/jun_04/npm_220604.htm (16 Jun 2008).

Newton, Matthew & Hay, Pete, *The Forests*, Matthew Newton, Hobart, 2007, no pagination.

Nichols, Dick, *Environment, Capitalism & Socialism*, Resistance Books, Sydney, 1999.

Nicholson, Brendan & Koutsoukis, Jason, "Howard's Battlers a Broad Church", *The Age*, 19 May 2004, http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/05/18/1084783513331.html?from=storylhs (4 Jun 2007).

Nobles, Melissa, *The Politics of Official Apologies*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2008.

Norman, James, *Bob Brown: Gentle Revolutionary*, Allen and Unwin, Crows Nest, 2004.

Oakeshott, Michael, *Experience and Its Modes*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1933.

Obama, Barack, *Audacity of Hope: Keynote Speech*, (Democratic National Convention, Boston, 27 July 2004), posted by Peggy Wilhide, Democratic National Convention Committee, Washington, 2004, http://www.librarian.net/dnc/speeches/obama.txt (14 Aug 2009).

O'Brien, Kerry (interviewer), "Flanagan Novel Condemns Modern Australia", *The 7. 30 Report*, ABC Television, 1 Nov 2006, http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2006/s1779192.htm (30 Dec 2006).

Ong, Walter J., *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, Methuen, London, 1982.

Orwell, George, *Inside the Whale and Other Essays*, Penguin Books, Ringwood, Australia, 1962.
——, *Decline of the English Murder and Other Essays*, Penguin Books, Ringwood, Australia, 1965.
——, *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell: Vol 1*, edited by Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, Penguin, Hammondsworth, United Kingdom, 1970.
——, *The Penguin Complete Novels of George Orwell*, Penguin Books, Ringwood, Australia, 1983.
——, *George Orwell: An Age Like This, 1920-1940 Vol. 1*, edited by Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, David R. Godine, Boston, USA, 2000.
——, "Looking Back on the Spanish War", (*New Road*, London, 1943), george-orwell.org, 2003, http://www.george-orwell.org/Looking_Back_On_The_Spanish_War/0.html (19 Dec 2007).
——, *The Complete Works of George Orwell*, George-Orwell.org, 2003, http://www.george-orwell.org/ (1 Apr 2006).
——, "Writers and Leviathan", (*Politics and Letters*, 1948), *George Orwell*, George Orwell Web Ring, 2004, http://orwell.ru/library/articles/leviathan/english/e_wal (20 Sep 2005).
——, "As I Please", (*Tribune*, 10 Mar 1944), *George Orwell Web Ring*, 2005, http://whitewolf.newcastle.edu.au/words/authors/O/OrwellGeorge/essay/tribune/AsIPlease19440310.html (20 Apr 2007).
——, "Review of *We* by E.I. Zamyatin", (*Tribune*, 4 Jan 1946), *Orwell Today*, edited by Jackie Jura, 2007, http://www.orwelltoday.com/weorwellreview.shtml (1 Jan 2008).

Packer, George, "The Spanish Prisoner", *The New Yorker*, 31 Oct 2005, http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2005/10/31/051031crbo_books?currentPage=all (11 Feb 2009).

——, "The Fall of Conservatism: Have the Republicans run out of ideas?", *The New Yorker*, 26 May 2008, http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2008/05/26/080526fa_fact_packer?currentPage=all (7 Dec 2008).

Palin, Michael, *Michael Palin's Hemingway Adventure*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1999.

——, *Michael Palin's Hemingway Adventure*, Vol. 1, Episode 2, directed by David F. Turnbull, BBC Worldwide, UK, 1999.

Parry, Naomi, "'Many deeds of error': Response to Windschuttle's Defence of his View of Musquito", *Labour History*, No. 87, Nov 2004, pp236-238.

Passmore, Kevin, "Poststructuralism and History" in S. Berger & H. Feldner & K Passmore (eds.), *Writing History: Theory & Practice*, Hodder Arnold, London, 2003, pp118-140.

Patten, John T. & Ferguson, William, *Aborigines Claim Citizen Rights! A Statement for the Case of the Aborigines Progressive Association*, (The Publicist, Sydney, 1938), Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra, 2007, http://www1.aiatsis.gov.au/exhibitions/DOM/PDF/m0011348_a.pdf (12 May 2008).

Pearce, Garney, "Will we be commemorating Tasmania's bicentenary too late?", presented by Judy Tierney, *Stateline*, ABC TV, 20 Jun 2003, http://www.abc.net.au/stateline/tas/content/2003/s884765.htm (6 Oct 2006).

Peirce, Charles Sanders, *Elements of Logic*: *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce: Vol. II*, edited by C. Hartshorne & P. Weiss, Harvard University Press, 1932.

Pickering, Karen, "Manufacturing Discontent: The Cultural Politics of the New Right in Australia?", The Australian Centre, University of Melbourne, Paper presented to the Social Change in the 21st Century Conference, Centre for Social Change Research, Queensland University of Technology, 29 Oct 2004, pp1-8, http://209.85.173.104/search?q=cache:0_O5OYd6xqoJ:www.socialchange.qut.edu.au/conferences/socialchange/docs/conf_papers2004/pickering_karen.pdf+%22Karen+Pickering%22%2B%E2%80%9CManufacturing+Discontent%22&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=1&gl=au (4 Jan 2008).

Pierce, Peter, "Our write of passage", *The Age: A2*, 10 Jan 2009, p21.

Pipes, David, "Herodotus: Father of History, Father of Lies", *The Student Historical Journal*, Department of History, Vol. 30, Loyola University, New Orleans, 1998-1999, http://chn.loyno.edu/history/journal/1998-9/Pipes.htm (24 Dec 2007).

Pirandello, Luigi, *Six Characters in Search of an Author: A Comedy in the Making*, (1921), English version by Edward Storer, (E.P. Dutton, New York, 1922), Eldritch Press, n.d., http://www.eldritchpress.org/lp/six.htm (19 Dec 2006).

Plomley, N.J.B. (Brian) (ed.), *Friendly Mission: the Tasmanian journals and papers of George Augustus Robinson, 1829-1834*, Tasmanian Historical Research Association, Hobart, 1966.
——, (ed.), *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land: Being a reconstruction of his 'lost' book on their customs and habits, and on his role in the Roving Parties and the Black Line*, Blubber Head Press, Hobart, 1991.

"PM calls for history teaching overhaul", (no by-line), *The Age*, 25 Jan. 2006, http://www.theage.com.au/news/National/PM-calls-for-history-teaching-overhaul/2006/01/25/1138066843328.html (6 Feb 2006).

Proulx, Annie, Proulx, Annie, "Brokeback Mountain", *Close Range: Wyoming Stories*, Fourth Estate, Great Britain, 1999, pp281-318.
——, "An Interview with Annie Proulx", (no by-line for the interviewer), *The Missouri Review*, Vol. 22, No. 2, Spring 1999, http://www.missourireview.com/content/dynamic/view_text.php?text_id=877 (12 Oct 2008).
——, "More Powerful than My Words", *The Age: A2*, 4 Feb 2006, pp11-13.
——, "Blood on the red carpet", *The Guardian*, 11 Mar 2006, http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2006/mar/11/awardsandprizes.oscars2006 (27 Jan 2009).

Pybus, Cassandra & Flanagan, Richard (eds.), *The Rest of the World is Watching*, Pan Macmillan Publishers, Australia, 1990.
—— & Maxwell-Stewart, Hamish, *American Citizens, British Slaves: Yankee Political Prisoners in an Australian Penal Colony 1839-1850*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton South, 2002.

Rae-Ellis, Vivienne, *Black Robinson: Protector of Aborigines*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton South, Victoria, 1988.

Ranke, Leopold von, *Leopold von Ranke: The Secret of World History: Selected Writings on the Art and Science of History*, edited by Roger Wines, Fordham University Press, New York, 1981.

Rayner, Michelle (pres.), "History Under Siege: Battles Over the Past: Pt. 3, Australia", *Hindsight*, ABC Radio National, 20 Apr 2008, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/hindsight/stories/2008/2206111.htm (24 Apr 2008).
——, "History Under Siege: Battles Over the Past: Pt. 4, France", *Hindsight*, ABC Radio National, 27 Apr 2008, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/hindsight/stories/2008/2206114.htm#transcript (28 Apr 2008).

Reynolds, Henry, "'That Hated Stain': the Aftermath of Transportation in Tasmania", *Historical Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 53, 1971, pp19-31.
——, "Aboriginal-European Contact History: Problems and Issues", (ANZAAS Congress, Hobart, 1976), *Journal of Australian Studies*, No. 3, 1978, pp52-64.
——, *An Indelible Stain?: The Question of Genocide in Australia's History*, Viking, Ringwood, 2001.

——, "Terra Nullius Reborn", *Whitewash: On Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Aboriginal History*, edited by Robert Manne, Black Inc. Agenda, Melbourne, 2003, pp109-138; see also edited extract, "Killing off the case for terra nullius", *The Age*, 23 Aug 2003, http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2003/08/22/1061529333638.html (10 Jan 2008), and "Too sure of himself", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23-24 Aug, 2003, pp8-9, http://www.agitprop.org.au/lefthistory/200308_reynolds_too_sure_of_himself.php (26 Nov 2007).

——, *Fate of a Free People*, Penguin, Camberwell, (1995), 2004.

——, "The Public Role of History: What public role does history have, particularly when issues such as Reconciliation are being discussed?", *Challenging Australian History: Discovering New Narratives*, National Library of Australia Conference, 14-15 Apr 2006, Canberra, http://www.nla.gov.au/events/history/papers/Henry_Reynolds.html (22 Oct 2006).

——, "A New Historical Landscape? A Responce [*sic.*] to Michael Connor's 'The Invention of Terra Nullius'", *The Monthly*, No. 12, May 2006, http://www.themonthly.com.au/tm/node/217 (18 Jun 2008).

——, "Wrestling our Van Diemens", *The Age: A2*, 16 Feb 2008, p21.

Reynolds, Michael, *Hemingway: The Paris Years*, Basil Blackwell, UK & USA, 1989.

——, *Hemingway: The 1930s*, W.W. Norton, New York & London, 1997.

Ricketson, Matthew, "The Capote Conundrum", *The Age: A2*, 25 Feb 2006, pp17-18, http://www.theage.com.au/news/books/the-capote-conundrum/2006/02/24/1140670217162.html?page=fullpage#contentSwap1 (12 Jan 2009).

Robertson, David, *The Penguin Dictionary of Politics*, Penguin Books, England, 1985.

Robson, Lloyd, *A History of Tasmania: Vol. II: Colony and State from 1856 to the 1980s*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1991.

——, *A Short History of Tasmania*, updated by Michael Roe, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1997.

Ross, Lillian, *Portrait of Hemingway*, ("Profile", *New Yorker*, 13 May 1950), Simon & Schuster, New York, 1961.

Roth, H. Ling, *The Aborigines of Tasmania*, (1890), F. King & Sons, Halifax, 1899.

Rowlinson, Matthew Charles, "Reading Capital with Little Nell", *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, Vol. 9, No. 2, Fall 1996, pp347-380.

——, "Matthew Rowlinson", Department of English, University of Toronto, Oct 2007, http://www.uwo.ca/english/site/fcltypgs/rowlinsm_1.html (15 Jan 2008).

Rowse, Tim, "Go Away, You White Buggers", *Australian Book Review*, archived at Flinders University, Feb 2003, http://dspace.flinders.edu.au/dspace/bitstream/2328/1305/1/10-11.pdf (15 Feb 2009) pp10-11.

Rudd M.P., Hon. Kevin, "The Global Financial Crisis", *The Monthly*, Feb 2009, http://www.themonthly.com.au/node/1421 (8 Jun 2009).

——, *Launch of first volume of Tom Keneally's "Australians: Origins to Eureka"*, (National Library, Canberra, 27 Aug 2009), Office of the Prime Minister of Australia, Canberra, 27 Aug 2009, http://www.pm.gov.au/node/6152 (28 Aug 2009).

Rudé, George, *Revolutionary Europe 1783-1815*, Fontana (Collins), Great Britain, 1964.
——, *Protest and Punishment: The Story of the Social and Political Protestors Transported to Australia 1788-1868*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1978.

Ryan, Lyndall, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, NSW, 1996.

Ryder, Martin, "Luddism, Neo-Luddites and Dystopian Views of Technology", School of Education, University of Colorado, Denver, (n.d.), http://carbon.cudenver.edu/~mryder/itc_data/luddite.html (7 Feb 2008).

Sainty, T., "Tasmanian places and Tasmanian Aboriginal language", *Australia Newsletter of the Australian National Placenames Survey*, Jun 2006, pp5-6, http://209.85.173.104/search?q=cache:EAPLZR4zzh8J:www.anps.org.au/documents/June_2005.pdf+%22Tasmanian+places+and+Tasmanian+Aboriginal+language%22%2BSainty&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=2&gl=au (7 Jun 2008).

Salusinszky, Imre, "Keating rejects Gallipoli identity", *The Australian*, 31 Oct 2008, http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,24579424-601,00.html (1 Nov 2008).

Sand, Georg, *Jean Ziska: Épisode de la Guerre des Hussites*, Project Gutenberg, 9 Apr 2005, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15584/15584-h/15584-h.htm (8 Apr 2008).

Sartre, Jean-Paul, "Introduction: The Search for Method I: Marxism & Existentialism", *Critique of Dialectical Reason*, (1960), Marxist Internet Archives, (translated by Mitch Abidor), n.d., http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/sartre/works/critic/sartre1.htm (12 May 2007).

Scalmer, Sean, "A Postscript, A Prospect", *Overland*, No. 191, Winter 2008, pp27-33.

Schama, Simon, *Dead Certainties (Unwarranted Speculations)*, Knopf, London, 1991.
——, *Landscape and Memory*, Harper Collins, London, 1995.

Schoenberg, Thomas J. & Trudeau, Lawrence J. (eds.), "The Influence of Ernest Hemingway: Introduction", *Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism: The Influence of Hemingway*, Vol. 162, Thomson Gale, Detroit, 2005, pp122-123.
——, "Writers on Hemingway", (Russell Banks, Charles Johnson, Michael Ondaatje, E. Annie Proulx, Bob Shacochis, Robert Stone and Terry Tempest Williams, interviewed by Steve Paul, the Plenary Session of the Hemingway Centennial Conference, 10-11 April 1999, John F. Kennedy Library and Museum, USA, first published as "On Hemingway and His Influence: Conversation with Writers", *The Hemingway Review*, Vol. 18, No. 2, Spring, 1999, pp115-132), *Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism: The Influence of Hemingway*, Vol. 162, Thomson Gale, Detroit, 2005, pp143-151.

"Scholars learn to write for general readers", (no by-line), University of Melbourne, *UniNew*s, Vol. 13, No. 2, 23 Feb-8 Mar 2004, http://uninews.unimelb.edu.au/articleid_1227.html (21 Mar 2006).

Scott, Irene, "A breath of fresh air?", ABC Victoria, 7 Mar 2007, http://www.abc.net.au/victoria/stories/s1842216.htm (31 Dec 2007).

Scott, James C., *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1985.
——, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1990.

Scott, John & Marshall, Gordon, *A Dictionary of Sociology: Oxford Reference Online*, Oxford University Press, Victoria University, Vic., 2009.

Seixas, Peter, "Schweigen! die Kinder! or, Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the Schools?", *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, edited by Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas & Sam Wineburg, New York University Press, New York, 2000, pp19-37.

Sellers, Simon, "Enemies Within: An Interview with Jill & Jeff Sparrow", *Sleepy Brain: Biomorphic Horror*, 4 Jun 2004, http://www.sleepybrain.net/enemies-within-jill-jeff-sparrow/ (15 Nov 2005).

Shakespeare, Nicholas, *In Tasmania*, Random House, Milsons Point, 2004.

Shakespeare, William, *The Globe Illustrated Shakespeare: The Complete Works: Annotated: Deluxe edition*, (*The Complete Illustrated Shakespeare*, Park Lane, New York, 1979), edited by Howard Staunton, Greenwich House, New York, 1986.

Shanahan, Dennis, "Kevin Rudd rejects Paul Keating's view on Gallipoli", *The Australian*, http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,24584117-31477,00.html (1 Nov 2008).

Shank, Jenny, "Annie Proulx Discusses History and Decline of Wyoming's Red Desert", *New West Boulder*, 30 Nov 2006, http://www.newwest.net/index.php/city/article/annie_proulx_discusses_history_and_decline_of_wyomings_red_desert/C94/L94/ (6 Jan 2007).

Shannon, Lucy, "Activism Changes", *Stateline Tasmania*, ABC TV 1, Hobart, 27 Jun 2008, http://www.abc.net.au/stateline/tas/content/2006/s2288225.htm (16 Jul 2008).

Shirrefs: Michael, "Truganini, bushranger", *Hindsight*, transcript, ABC Radio National, 8 Feb 2009, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/hindsight/stories/2009/2477053.htm#transcript (11 Feb 2009).

Simmonds, Diana, "Lovers Bogged Down in Writer's Research: Review of *Provenance* by Jane Messer", *Weekend Australian*, 31 Mar 2007, http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,20867,21456009-5003900,00.html (6 Nov 2007).

Simons, Margaret, "How Windschuttle swallowed a hoax to publish a fake story in *Quadrant*", *Crikey*, 6 Jan 2009, http://www.crikey.com.au/Politics/20090106-How-Quadrant-swallowed-a-giant-hoax-.html (7 Jan 2008).
——, "Outing 'Sharon Gould': the hoaxer's identity revealed", *Crikey*, 8 Jan 2009, http://www.crikey.com.au/Media-Arts-and-Sports/20090108-Outing-Sharon-Gould-Crikey-reveals-.html (9 Jan 2008).

Singer, Peter, "We must nurture the humanities", *The Age*, 27 Jul 2009, p13, http://www.theage.com.au/national/education/we-must-nurture-the-humanities-20090726-dxg1.html?page=-1 (27 Jul 2009).

Slattery, Luke, "Fact and Fiction", *Weekend Australian: Review*, 1-2 Aug 2009, pp4-5, http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,,25848066-16947,00.html (4 Aug 2009).

Slicer, Justice Pierre, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania*, Supreme Court, Hobart, 9 Dec 2008.

Smith, Babette, *Australia's Birthstain: The Startling Legacy of the Convict Era*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2008.

Smith, Bridie, "Joining a long-standing tradition of tall tales", *The Age*, 7 Jan 2009, http://www.theage.com.au/national/joining-a-longstanding-tradition-of-tall-tales-20090106-7b6n.html?page=-1 (7 Jan 2008).

Smith, Wayne, "By Order of Lenin", *Courier-Mail*, (weekly lift-out), 24 Aug 1996, p1.

Snow, C.P., *The Two Cultures, and, A Second Look: An Expanded Version of 'The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution'*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1969.

Soanes, Catherine & Stevenson, Angus (eds.), *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary: Oxford Reference Online*, Oxford University Press, Victoria University, Vic., 2008.

Socialist Alliance & Resistance, *The Activist Toolkit Wiki*, 2008, http://activist-toolkit.wikispaces.com/ (27 Oct 2008).

Sokal, Alan, "A Physicist Experiments with Cultural Studies", *Lingua Franca*, May-Jun 1996, http://linguafranca.mirror.theinfo.org/9605/sokal.html (8 Dec 2006).
——, "Transgressing the Boundaries: Toward a Transformative Hermeneutics of Quantum Gravity'", *Social Text*, No. 46/47, Spring-Summer 1996, pp. 217-252, http://www.physics.nyu.edu/faculty/sokal/transgress_v2/transgress_v2_singlefile.html (15 Dec 2006).
——, "Transgressing the Boundaries: An Afterword", *Dissent*, 43 (4), Fall 1996, pp93-99, http://www.physics.nyu.edu/faculty/sokal/afterword_v1a/afterword_v1a_singlefile.html (15 Dec 2006).

Sparrow, Jeff, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania*, Coburg, Vic., 8 Nov 2006.
—— & Sparrow, Jill, *Radical Melbourne: A Secret History*, Vulgar Press, Carlton North, 2001.

—— & ——, *Radical Melbourne 2: The Enemy Within*, Vulgar Press, Carlton North, 2004.

Speed, Sarah (ed.) *EcoLit Journal*, California Polytechnic State University, Spring 2004, http://209.85.141.104/search?q=cache:WeaGKHlxnaQJ:cla.calpoly.edu/~smarx/courses/380/Journal/EcoLitJournal2004.pdf+ecolit&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=1&gl=au (15 Jun 2008).

Spooner, John, "Mr Windschuttle double-checks his sauce", *The Age*, 8 Jan 2009, http://www.theage.com.au/opinion/alls-fair-in-battle-of-ideas-20090107-7bym.html?page=-1 (8 Jan 2008).

Stallybrass, Peter, "Marx's Coat", *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects in Unstable Spaces*, edited by Patricia Spyer, Routledge, London, 1998, pp183-207.
——, "Peter Stallybrass", Department of English, School of Arts and Sciences, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Oct 2007, http://www.english.upenn.edu/People/Faculty/profile.php?pennkey=pstally (14 Jan 2007).

Stanley, Peter, "He's (not) Coming South: The Invasion that Wasn't", *Remembering 1942*, Australian War Memorial Conference, Canberra, 31 May 2002, (indexed as "Australia under threat of invasion"), http://www.awm.gov.au/events/conference/2002/stanley_paper.pdf (30 Sep 2008).
——, "Threat Made Manifest", *Griffith Review*, No. 9, Spring 2005, pp13-24.
——, "Was there a Battle for Australia?", Australian War Memorial Anniversary Oration, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, 10 Nov 2006, http://www.awm.gov.au/events/talks/oration2006.asp (30 Sep 2008).
——, *Invading Australia: Japan and the Battle for Australia, 1942*, Penguin, Camberwell, Aus., 2008.
——, "Battle Lines II: What Invasion?", *The Australian: Review*, 30-31 Aug 2008, p7, http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,,24244900-16947,00.html?from=public_rss (1 Oct 2008).

Steadman, Ralph, *The Joke's Over: Bruised Memories: Gonzo, Hunter Thompson and Me*, William Heinemann, UK, 2006.

Steger, Jason, "Flanagan's book of desire", *The Age: A2*, 1 Nov 2008, pp26-27.

Stevenson, Robert, "What's the use of the arts?", *Stock*, Contemporary Arts Services, Tas., 2007, http://www.stock-site.org.au/node/200 (2 Feb 2009).

Still Wild Still Threatened, *Campaign Update*, Camp Florentine, Tas., Spring 2008.

Stoltzfus, Ben, "Hemingway, Malraux and Spain: *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and *L'espoir*", *Comparative Literature Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 1999, http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/comparative_literature_studies/v036/36.3stoltzfus.html (21 Jan 2008).

Stone, Lawrence, "The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History", *Past and Present*, No. 85, Nov 1979, pp3-24.

Stoneback, H.R., "'Et in Arcadia Ego': Deep Structure, *Paysage Moralise*, Geomoral and Symbolic Landscape in Hemingway," *North Dakota Quarterly*, Vol. 65, No. 3, Summer 1998, pp186-203.

——, "Hemingway's Evocation of Place", ("Freedom and Motion, Place and Placelessnesss: On the Road in Hemingway's America", *Hemingway and the Natural World*, edited by Robert E. Fleming, University of Idaho Press, Moscow, 1999, pp203-219), *Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism: The Influence of Hemingway*, edited by Thomas J. Schoenberg & Lawrence J. Trudeau, Vol. 162, Thomson Gale, Detroit, 2005, pp158-164.

The Storyscape Project, (no by-line), *House of Night: The Lost Creation Songs of the Mohave People*, 2000, http://www.npr.org/programs/lnfsound/stories/000225.stories.storyscape.html (16 Oct 2005).

Stretton, Hugh, *The Political Sciences: General Principles of Selection in Social Science and History*, Routledge & Kegan, London, 1969.

Sullivan, Jane, "Annie get your pen", *A3: The Age*, 30 Aug 2003, pp4-5, http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2003/08/28/1062050604439.html (6 Feb 2009).

Summy, Ralph, "Nonviolent Politics: From Praxis to Research to Classroom to Praxis to Research to Classroom", (*Ahimsa Nonviolence*, Vol. 1, No. 4, Jul-Aug 2005, pp319-326), 2005, http://www.uow.edu.au/arts/sts/bmartin/dissent/documents/rr/Summy05.pdf (23 Jan 2009).

Swift, Graham, *Waterland*, (Poseidon/Simon & Schuster, New York, 1983), Heinemann, London, 1983.

Symons, Michael, *One Continuous Picnic: A history of eating in Australia*, Duck Press, Adelaide, 1982.

Szasz, Ferenc M., "The Many Meanings of History, Part 1", *The History Teacher*, Vol. 7, No. 4, Aug 1974, pp. 552-563.

Taber, Robert, *The War of the Flea: Guerrilla Warfare in Theory and Practice*, (Lyle Stuart Inc., New York, 1965), Herts: Paladin, St. Albans, 1970.

Tardif, Phillip, *Notorious Strumpets and Dangerous Girls: Convict Women in Van Diemen's Land, 1803-1829*, North Ryde, NSW, Australia, Angus & Robertson, 1990.

"Tasmania, Warts and All", editorial, *The Mercury*, 25 Mar 2008, http://www.news.com.au/mercury/story/0,22884,23433461-5006549,00.html (23 Sep 2008).

Tassell, Margaret & Wood, David, *Tasmanian Photographer: From the John Watt Beattie Collection*, Macmillan, South Melbourne, 1981.

Tatz, Colin, *Genocide in Australia*, Research Discussion Paper, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra, No. 8, 1999, http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/5747/DP08.pdf (21 Apr 2008).

Taylor, Cheryl, "Review: *The Littoral Zone: Australian Contexts and Their Writers*", *Jasal*, Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature, No. 8, 2008, pp152-155, http://www.nla.gov.au/openpublish/index.php/jasal/article/view/776/1169 (21 Feb 2009).

Taylor, Rebe, "Whitewash: On Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Aboriginal History", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 Oct 2003, http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/10/24/1066631621572.html?oneclick=true (8 Feb. 2005).

Taylor, Tony, "Howard's way fails school test", *The Age*, Fairfax Digital, 14 Jan 2008, http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2008/01/13/1200159274540.html (21 Jan 2008).
——, *Denial: History Betrayed*, Melbourne University Publishing, Carlton, 2008.

"Theatre Royal", (no by-line), *About Australia*, 2007, http://www.about-australia.com/travel-guides/tasmania/hobart/attractions/relaxation-well-being/theatre-royal/ (7 Nov 2007).

Thomas, Steve (Prod. & Dir.), *Shacks: Episode 1: Doctors' Rocks*, Roar Film, Hobart, 2002.
——, *Shacks: Episode 2: Titania's Palace*, Roar Film, Hobart, 2003.

Thompson, E.P. (Edward), *The Making of the English Working Class*, (1963), Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1968.
——, "Agenda for a Radical History", (from *Making History*, The New Press, New York, 1994), *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 21, No. 2, Winter 1995, pp299-304.

Thompson, Hunter S., *The Great Shark Hunt, Gonzo Papers, Vol. 1*, Random House, New York, 1979.
——, *Hell's Angels: A Strange and Terrible Saga*, (1966), Random House, USA & Canada, 1999.
——, *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas: A Savage Journey to the Heart of the American Dream*, illustrated by Ralph Steadman, (by "Raoul Duke" in *Rolling Stone* magazine, No. 95, 11 Nov 1971 & No. 96, 25 Nov 1971), Harper Perennial, London, 2005.
——, "The Kentucky Derby Is Decadent and Depraved", (*Scanlan's Monthly*, Vol. 1, No. 4, Jun 1970, republished in *The Great Shark Hunt, Gonzo Papers, Vol. 1, Strange Tales from a Strange Time*, Ballantine Books, New York, 1979), *Derby Post*, n.d., http://www.derbypost.com/hunter.html (12 Jan 2008).

Thompson, Willie, *What happened to history?*, Pluto Press, London & Sterling, 2000.

Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, translated by Rex Warner (1954), "Introduction" and notes by M.I. Findlay, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1972.

Timber Communities Australia, "The National Grassroots Community Organisation", *Timber Communities Australia*, 2008, http://www.tca.org.au/index.shtml (2 Feb 2009).

Tobin, George, "Native Hut of Adventure Bay", *Sketches on H.M.S. Providence, including some sketches from later voyages on Thetis and Princess Charlotte, 1791-1811*, State Library of New South Wales, 2008, http://image.sl.nsw.gov.au/cgi-bin/ebindshow.pl?doc=pxa563/a1279,seq=25 (2 Feb 2009).

Traynor, Ian, "Out of the shadows", (*Guardian*, *New York Times*) *The Age*, 10 Jun 2009, http://www.theage.com.au/world/out-of-the-shadows-20090609-c271.html?page=-1 (12 Jun 2009).

Tredinnick, Mark, "From the Heart: a review of *Heartland: The Regeneration of Rural Place* by George Main", *Australian Humanities Review*, No. 39-40, Sep 2006, http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/archive/Issue-September-2006/tredinnick.html (11 Nov 2006).

Trevelyan, G.M., *An Autobiography and Other Essays*, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1949.
——, *Clio, A Muse, and Other Essays*, (1913), Books for Libraries Press, Freeport, N.Y., 1968.

Tumarkin, Maria, "'Wishing You Weren't Here…': Thinking About Trauma, Place and Port Arthur," *Fresh Cuts: New Talents 2001*, Elizabeth Ruinard and Elspeth Tilley (eds.), API Network and UQP, St Lucia, 2001, pp196-205.
——, *Traumascapes: The Power and Fate of Places Transformed by Tragedy*, Melbourne University Publishing, Carlton, 2005.

Twain, Mark, *Following the Equator*, (American Publishing Company, Hartford, Connecticut, 1897), Literature Collection, n.d., http://www.literaturecollection.com/a/twain/following-equator/1/ (14 Nov 2006).

Understory, Department of Creative Writing & Literary Arts, University of Alaska, Anchorage, n.d., http://understory.uaa.alaska.edu/ (1 Apr 2008).

United Nations, "Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Article 2)", Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, approved and proposed for signature and ratification or accession by General Assembly resolution 260 A (III), 9 Dec 1948, *entry into force*: 12 Jan 1951, in accordance with article XIII, http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/p_genoci.htm (23 Oct 2007).

Vanouse, Donald, "Mourning and Melancholia in Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*", Department of English, State University of New York, Oswego, New York, 2005, http://www.clas.ufl.edu/ipsa/2005/proc/vanouse.pdf (18 Jan 2008).

Warburton, Annie, "Were Tasmanian aboriginal bushrangers freedom-fighters?", ABC Tasmania, 21 Apr 2004, http://www.abc.net.au/tasmania/stories/s1091882.htm (18 Oct 2007).

Ward, Russel, *The Australian Legend*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1958.

Watson, Don, *Death Sentence: The Decay of Public Language*, Knopf (Random House), Milsons Point, NSW, 2003.

——, *Watson's Dictionary of Weasel Words, Contemporary Clichés, Cant & Management Jargon*, Knopf (Random House), Milsons Point, NSW, 2004.

Weber, Max, "Politics as a Vocation", *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, edited by H.H. Gerth & C. Wright Mills, Oxford University Press, New York, 1946, pp77-128.

Weekley, Kathleen, "The Clever Principle of Similar Difference", *Overland*, No. 191, Winter 2008, pp5-9.

Weingarten, Marc, *From Hipsters to Gonzo: How New Journalism Rewrote the World*, Scribe, Melbourne, 2005.

"Weld Trout Fishery in Danger", (no by-line), (see under "Huon Valley Council Calls for an End to Old Growth Logging"), *Save Our State*, 2002, http://www.southcom.com.au/~sos/weldfish.html (15 January 2005).

Wheen, Francis, *Karl Marx: A Life*, W.W. Norton & Co., New York, 1999.
——, *Marx's Das Kapital: A Biography*, Allen & Unwin, Australia & New Zealand, 2006.

Wikipedia, Wikimedia Foundation, 28 Apr 2008, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Main_Page (29 Apr 2008).

The Wilderness Society, "Opinion Poll Backs Tasmania Together Plan on Oldgrowth Forests", *The Wilderness Society*, (2001), Hobart, 19 Apr 2005, http://www.wilderness.org.au/articles/20010911_mr/ (2 Jan 2008).
——, "Home", *The Wilderness Society*, Hobart, (n.d.), http://www.wilderness.org.au/ (13 Oct 2005).

Williams, Raymond, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, (revised edition), Oxford University Press, New York, 1983.

Wilson, Katherine, "Grassroots verus Democracy: Discrediting Democracy", *Overland*, No. 183, Winter 2006, pp13-17.

Windschuttle, Keith, *The Killing of History: How a Discipline is Being Murdered by Literary Critics and Social Theorists*, Macleay Press, Paddington, 1994.
——, "Archives", *Quadrant*, 1998-2007, (index for Windschuttle, some titles available online), http://quadrant.org.au/php/result.php?Submit=search&author=windschuttle&category=+&title= (3 Jan 2008).
——, "Guerrilla Warrior and Resistance Fighter? The Career of Musquito", *Labour History*, No. 87, Nov 2004, pp221-235.
——, *The White Australia Policy: Race and Shame in the Australian History Wars*, Macleay Press, Paddington, NSW, 2004.
——, "The myths of frontier massacres in Australian history, Part I: The invention of massacre stories", (*Quadrant*, Vol. XLIV, No. 10., Oct 2000), *The Sydney Line*, 2005, http://www.sydneyline.com/Massacres%20Part%20One.htm (30 Dec 2006).
——, "How Not to Run a Museum: People's History at the Postmodern Museum", (*Quadrant*, Vol. 45, No. 9, 2001, pp11-19), The Sydney Line, 2005, http://www.sydneyline.com/National%20Museum.htm (19 Apr 2008).

——, "The myths of frontier massacres in Australian history, Part II: The fabrication of the Aboriginal death toll", (*Quadrant*, Vol. XLIV, No. 11, Nov 2000), 2005, *The Sydney Line*, http://www.sydneyline.com/Massacres%20Part%20Two.htm (30 Dec 2006).

——, "The myths of frontier massacres in Australian history, Part III: Massacre stories and the policy of separatism", (*Quadrant*, Vol. XLIV, No. 12, Dec 2000), 2005, *The Sydney Line*, http://www.sydneyline.com/Massacres%20Part%20Three.htm (30 Dec 2006).

——, "Doctored evidence and invented incidents in Aboriginal historiography", (Paper to conference on Frontier Conflict, National Museum of Australia, 13-14 Dec 2001, reprinted in *Frontier Conflict: The Australian Experience*, edited by Bain Attwood and S. G. Foster, National Museum of Australia, Canberra, 2003), *The Sydney Line*, 2005, http://www.sydneyline.com/National%20Museum%20Frontier%20Conflict.htm (27 May 2007), also discussed by Windschuttle with Michael Duffy(presenter), "Counterpoint: Postmodernism and Aboriginal History", ABC Radio National, 24 Apr 2006, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/counterpoint/stories/2006/1619101.htm (27 May 2007).

——, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History, Volume One: Van Diemen's Land 1803-1847*, (2002), Macleay Press, Paddington, NSW, 2005.

——, "About", *The Sydney Line*, 2005, http://www.sydneyline.com/About.htm (31 Dec 2007).

——, "The Cultural War on Western Civilization", (*New Criterion***,** Jan 2002, reprinted in Hilton Kramer & Roger Kimball (eds.) *The Survival of Culture: Permanent Values in a Virtual Age*, Ivan R. Dee, Chicago, 2002), *The Sydney Line*, 2005, http://www.sydneyline.com/War%20on%20Western%20civilization.htm (28 Dec 2007).

——, "*Whitewash* confirms the fabrication of Aboriginal history", (*Quadrant*, Vol. XLVII, No 10, Oct 2003,), *The Sydney Line*, 2005, http://www.sydneyline.com/Manne%20debate%20Quadrant.htm (1 Jan 2008).

——, "History as a Travesty of the Truth", (*The Australian*, 9 Dec 2002), *The Sydney Line*, 2005, http://www.sydneyline.com/History%20as%20Travesty%20of%20Truth.htm (1 Jan 2007).

——, "Foreword to *John Bowen and the Founding of Tasmania* by Reg Watson (Published by the Anglo-Keltic Society, Lindisfarne, 2003)", The Sydney Line, 2005, http://www.sydneyline.com/Reg%20Watson%20foreword.htm (6 Oct 2008).

——, "Why I Left the Left", *Quadrant*, Vol L, No. 6, Jun 2006, http://quadrant.org.au/php/archive_details_list.php?article_id=2063 (3 Jan 2008).

——, "Margaret Simons and an apparent hoax on *Quadrant*", *Quadrant Online*, 6 Jan 2009, http://www.quadrant.org.au/blogs/qed/2009/01/margaret-simons-and-an-apparent-hoax-on-quadrant (7 Jan 2008).

——, "This hoax a dud cheque [*sic.*]", *Quadrant Online*, 7 Jan 2009, http://www.quadrant.org.au/blogs/qed/2009/01/this-hoax-a-dud-cheque (10 Jun 2009).

White, Hayden, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1973.

——, *The Content of Form: The Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1987.

Wolfe, Tom, *The New Journalism: with an anthology edited by Tom Wolfe & E. W. Johnson*, Harper & Rowe, New York, 1973.

Wolff, Tobias, *Our Story Begins*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2008.

Wood, James, *How Fiction Works*, Jonathan Cape, London, 2008.
——, "A Fine Rage", (*The New Yorker*, Vol. 83, No. 9, 13 Apr 2009, pp54-71), Expanded Academic ASAP, Gale, Victoria University, Vic., 22 May 2009.

Wood, Sam (dir.), *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, Paramount Pictures, USA, 1943, restored with previously cut scenes and re-released on DVD, 1998.

"Working Classes Meeting", (no by-line), *Hobart Town Daily Courier*, 26 Mar 1855, no pagination.

Wright, Edmund (ed.), *A Dictionary of World History*: *Oxford Reference Online*, (2000), Oxford University Press, Victoria University, Vic., 2007.

Wright, Gerard, "The twitter revolution", *The Age: Insight*, 20 Jun 2009, p5, http://www.theage.com.au/news/technology/the-twitter-revolution/2009/06/19/1244918192014.html?page=fullpage#contentSwap1 (20 Jun 2009).

Wurth, Bob, *Australia's Greatest Peril*, Pan Macmillan Australia, Sydney, 2008.
——, "Battle Lines I: Invasion Imminent", *The Weekend Australian: Review*, 30-31 Aug 2008, pp6-7, http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,24244898-16947,00.html (30 Sep 2008).