

**Written Thesis in Submission for the Candidature of
Doctor of Philosophy**

**RADICAL TASMANIA:
Rebellion, Reaction and Resistance:
A Thesis in Creative Nonfiction:
Volume II: The Selected Histories**

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Tasmania Map of Selected Histories

...so many of them always coming in big boats¹

The History and Legend of Tarenorerer's Guerrilla War in Van Diemen's Land

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, General Assembly resolution 260 A (III, Article 2), 9 Dec 1948.²

At the river shore there was another body washed up.³ The Tommeginer guerrillas stood waiting.⁴

A dog barked.

The woman scowled at the animal and uncocked her fowling piece as the sealers in their cockleshell skiff, alarmed at the dog, rowed about to drift back with the outgoing tide towards the river mouth to flee for the strait.⁵ As though obeying a silent order, her brother lowered his dogwood spear.⁶ They relaxed. The mutt dropped its head. The woman patted it, sighing.

She was Tare.ree.nore or Tarenorerer or Tarereenore, also known as Waloa or Walloa, alias Te Nor, alias Walyer, of the Tommeginer, a clan of what was vaguely termed the “North” tribe.⁷ She was from the north coast, near Timelener, also known as Toimblinnoke or Toimblinnore and now called Table Cape.⁸ This is on the island known by some of its original inhabitants as Trowenner or Trou.wer.ner and also as Lou.trou.wit.ter.⁹ The island was renamed in 1642 by Dutch explorers to Van Diemen's Land and renamed again by British invaders in 1856 to Tasmania. Tarenorerer's rage roamed far and wide from 1828 to 1831 at the height of what the whites called the “Black War”.¹⁰

So what is in a name?¹¹

Tarenorerer's names translate to one meaning: sealer's woman.¹² We do not know her childhood name, before she became, in effect, a possession of sealers—whether by her own will or by force.¹³ Her adult identity was mostly as someone else's possession, as property, as a slave.¹⁴ Then she began to resist the sealers and the rest of their British

ilk, the *luta tawin*.¹⁵ She had learnt to despise them as she despised the “black snake”, the island’s most venomous reptile.¹⁶ In her last days, after betrayal by men and yet more slavery, she was forced to change her name again.¹⁷ The British authorities took Tarenorerer from sealers except they did not recognise her at first, but an excited friend did; unwittingly uncovering the identity of the warrior who had been dubbed the “Amazon” and who would be referred to by historians as a “Joan of Arc” and the “tigress of the north”.¹⁸ She had waged her campaign as part of a general struggle of her people which their enemies dubbed a “battle with a shadow”.¹⁹

Near Antill Ponds they came out of the shadow, armed and firing.²⁰ Convict labourers scattered for the third time in five days. The warriors taunted them in outrage.

“Parrawa, Parrawa,” they shouted. “Go away you white buggers. What business have you here!”²¹

Soon Mr Harrison will ask for a detachment of redcoats to protect his property and convict labourers. He will get only a constable from the field police.²² Time was when the Aborigines would fly from the presence of men with guns, yet now they will face even the soldiers sent in pursuit of them.²³ A soldier was speared on Mrs Burns’s property²⁴.

The constable, a convict on ticket-of-leave, patrols up from Antill Ponds to Mr Eddie’s place. The previous evening, Aborigines had appeared here from out of the heavy forest at the base of the tier and chased another nameless, convict stock-keeper around a perfect weed-fringed marsh and across the baked midlands.²⁵ It was fine sport. Mary lead the chase and could have killed the stock-keeper as they had killed others, yet the real game was to send a message to Mr Eddie.²⁶ The constable, heavily armed, surveys the more open bush, cleared of undergrowth where the cattle graze. A woman, her hair cropped short in the traditional style, draped in seal and possum skins and a necklace of gems reflecting pink and blue over disks of mother-of-pearl on her otherwise bare breasts, with what could have been a gunpowder horn hanging half out of view, had strode out into that hard and cutting sunlight while watching him.²⁷ As he looks her way, she yells abuse in a pretty English.

“Shoot me, your royal bastard. Shoot, your most imperial bugger. Come on. What’s the matter?” She grins, bends over and dares him with her giggling arse. “You are scared, constable coward. Fire, you white bugger! Shoooot!”²⁸

Damn, it is her, for sure! he thinks.

Jorgen Jorgenson, the Danish “King of Iceland”, now dethroned and “Viking of Van Diemen’s Land”, can feel his skin prickle.²⁹ But she is just out of accurate range of his Brown Bess, even with its load of scything buckshot, and he knows that she knows she is.³⁰ He could try a long shot if he reloads with a solid ball.³¹

Yet it is a trap for certain, he reckons.³²

Even if his shot finds its target then he would, no doubt before he could reload, be rushed by her comrades, surely hidden, waiting for her command.³³ According to the press, there could be hundreds of them.³⁴ His fingers stroke the engraved fleur-de-lis on the handle-butt of his Miquelet pistol.³⁵ Only one more shot and only at close range; it would not be enough to stop them. Then he would have only his socket bayonet, now hanging from his belt as a spare sidearm. Not much of a defence against a flurry of spears. If he is lucky, they might finally priest him by smashing his skull with their heavy, ironbark waddies.³⁶ If not, a mob of squabbling devils would gnaw at his wounds before he took his last breath.³⁷ Jorgenson, the life-long adventurer, tries to control his shivering by glaring into his opponent’s brazen eyes. She laughs another challenge. And vanishes. Tonight her warriors might enjoy the mild, natural brew from the sap of the cider gums higher in the tier.³⁸

Jorgenson’s flannel shirt is sticking to his furious chest. He turns slowly, keeping an eye on the shadows around, to walk back over the chewed country to the Main Road.³⁹ He curses the Governor for not sending him the horse he was promised for this pitiless job.⁴⁰

...Let’s see if the blacks can outrun the Viking on a horse, he muses. My kingdom for a horse!. Now it was Jorgenson’s turn to laugh.⁴¹

The constable will give his report to Mr Eddie and Mr Harrison and their chums over mugs of rum in the nearby White Hart Inn.⁴² Vengeance ferments naturally in Jorgenson’s blood.⁴³

Jorgenson would get a chance to vent his humiliation, alongside the genocidal mercenary, John Batman, and many other like-minded sons of empire, in a brutal plan devoid of any negotiation with the Aborigines.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, the colonial government experimented with a ruse. On the 30 March 1829, George Augustus Robinson, anointed “the conciliator” by Lieutenant-Governor George Arthur, began his journey to disempower, by whatever means profitable, the Aborigines of Van Diemen’s Land.⁴⁵ Ostensibly, his “friendly mission” began as one of peaceful contact for future negotiation.⁴⁶ But this was against the background of a total war being waged by Arthur

and the “settlers” on the Aborigines. Already, in 1828, Arthur had forbidden all natives from entering lands seized by the British and he had then followed this with a proclamation of martial law.⁴⁷ This passed legal licence for the capture, and in effect, the killing of Aborigines by men sworn as officers of the Crown, such as the bounty hunters recruited to the “Roving Parties”.⁴⁸ In October 1830, as Robinson was searching the country of the north-east to lure “ferocious Aborigines” into what would be revealed as prison on the Furneaux Islands, Arthur began his master military campaign, the “Black Line”.⁴⁹ This was a strategy to drive the Aborigines before 2000 soldiers and civilians, stretched across the north from renamed Quamby Bluff (*Lartitickitheker*) in the Western Tiers to Saint Patrick’s Head (*Wimmerterwalehennor* or *Wummerterwalenennor*) near the east coast, into the bottle-neck of peninsulas in the south-east now called Forestier and Tasman (*Nallerwanene*).⁵⁰ In this context, Robinson’s party can be seen as a deceit in what was otherwise a strategy of forced removal backed by organised violence.⁵¹ As Arthur’s campaign captured only two Aborigines and so, as the Colonial Secretary begrudgingly admitted in the press, it was not “attended with the full success which was anticipated”, it was initially lampooned as a failure.⁵² John Fawkner, habitually agitating against Arthur through editorials in his *Launceston Advertiser*, satirised it in simile to Napoleon Bonaparte’s doomed “Grand Army”.⁵³ However, it pushed the Aboriginal tribes towards panic.⁵⁴ After this, Robinson had generally only to tell his spiritually exhausted quarry what they most wanted to hear: promises of peace and security for their physical being and traditional culture away from redcoats, armed settlers and marauding sealers.⁵⁵ “All” the elders had to do was to relinquish their lands.⁵⁶ Some of them agreed to this after being misled by Robinson into believing that they had negotiated a treaty with terms for a temporary exchange of their lands for a distant yet free life.⁵⁷ Robinson, on the other hand, knew only too well what he was doing despite his promises, boasting to himself in his journal how easy it was going to be to “capture” Aborigines.⁵⁸ He might have begun his work with some compassion, and he did not know at first what would be Arthur’s final solution to follow the gesture of conciliation, but as largesse was bestowed to him by the Lieutenant-Governor, Robinson’s tactics, if not his motives, became little better than those of a glorified bounty hunter marching to a *Bible*-thump for those entwined deities of the Methodist god and private property.⁵⁹ (Though later, in a career move to Governor of Wybalenna on a prison island for captured Aborigines, he indulged himself with acts of contrition in his journal; he eventually cashed in his colonial status for retirement to life as a “gentleman” in Bath, England.)⁶⁰ He would even seize Aboriginal

children as ransom to force their parents to surrender and would “bring in” some Aborigines at the point of a gun.⁶¹ Not to be conned nor intimidated, Tarenorerer took up arms and defied the colonial authority, terrifying Robinson and calling the bluff on his impossible offerings.

Habitually stroking his own ego (he would later even lacquer his curls to make himself look like a British Prime Minister), Robinson told himself at first how easy it would be to capture her whole force.⁶² To his shock, he discovered that he was the quarry and she and her warriors were the hunters.⁶³ Robinson, forever the confidence man, sought what he called an “interview”, resorting to the usual trick of an offer of cheap beads as a token of his friendship. The offer was refused. Tarenorerer and her warriors melted into those once vast forests.⁶⁴

Tarenorerer had not always been so adamant as to who was her real enemy. It seems that she might first have gone to live with sealers after a confrontation with her people. This could have been triggered by violence or merely the wilful ways of a teenage rebel or even the custom of sometimes seeking a husband outside of the tribe.⁶⁵ Neither do we really know why she returned. The sealers have a dire reputation to this day, yet this is a generalisation and many Aboriginal women opted to continue living with whites on the islands.⁶⁶ It seems probable that she was treated badly yet it is also possible that the sealers told bad jokes and farted in their sleep. Or she was bored with them.⁶⁷ Regardless, after returning from the islands, she found that the traditional Aboriginal tribal structures were collapsing from years of violent intercourse with the growing number of whites.⁶⁸ She might have tried to reunite with the surviving members of her clan and been rejected or otherwise found that it was no longer an option. She soon collected about her a group of disaffected Aborigines near Port Sorell, including her two brothers, Lin.ne.tow.wer and Line.ne.like.kay.ver, and her two sisters, Tril.do.bor.rer and No.en.dap.per.⁶⁹ By reputation, her early forays were nothing more than those of a common bandit, a *lumpenindegene*, attacking and plundering blacks and whites alike.⁷⁰ The story is that she was even speared by Larmairremener warriors from the powerful “Big River” tribe.⁷¹ Perhaps because the wounds from the barbless spears used by these Aborigines were clean and more easily healed, she survived.⁷² Then, like the Victorian bushranger Ned Kelly years on, she is deemed to have experienced an epiphany, a revelation, which brought forth in her a political and military vocation to drive the British, particularly the farmers with their crops and stock on country which once abounded with game, out of Aboriginal lands.⁷³ Other Aboriginal warriors in Van Diemen’s Land found such a calling. The maligned Musquito, and “Black Jack”,

Kickerterpoller (“Black Tom”), Mannalargenna, “Black Dick” and Eumarrah, to name some, lead guerrilla wars of resistance against the British invaders; a strategy for which the British military were poorly trained to counter.⁷⁴ Yet it was Tarenorerer who sent shivers through the military machine of “Arthur’s terror”: she was not only known as a leader of men, she had a reputation for carrying firearms.⁷⁵ The spectre of Aborigines with guns meant that Georgian men found a particularly loathful image in her, variously described as an “athletic woman”, “the big woman” and as a “sanguinary and dreadful character”.⁷⁶ Sanguinary, the blood-thirsty, was a term especially reserved for the most feared Aborigines.⁷⁷

Nonetheless, there is a shadow of doubt in her history. Robinson is the primary archival source on her; with only a passing comment from his contemporaries like Jorgenson.⁷⁸ It was good business for Robinson to construct Tarenorerer as an *uber-indigene*, the black super woman who could carry the tag of “the Amazon”— a Georgian nightmare; a castrating, throat-slitting gunwoman who ran at the head of a “party”, “mob” or even “tribe” of warriors to rob and kill both blacks and “plenty of white people”.⁷⁹ It was the phantom of this shadow warrior which helped Robinson to sell his services to the colonial authorities, both before and after her death. It has also built a legend. A warrior woman bestriding slain settlers lent a dramatic note to the stuff of late colonial historians and continues to have its uses for today’s History Wars.⁸⁰ But the evidence is mostly hearsay: Robinson’s tales of Tarenorerer are, in the main, merely what he claims he heard from others.⁸¹ His notes on his own confrontations with her in the field are fleeting; a glimpse in the distance, a quick game of cat and mouse, a cross exchange of words with his translators, a frightened band who flee their camp as soon as Robinson brazenly charges into it as they leave behind dogs, kangaroo skins, blankets and spears.⁸² With not a gun of theirs in sight!⁸³

Yet, to the chagrin of the likes of Jorgenson, there is still room in Tarenorerer’s story to find a potent symbol of resistance.⁸⁴ What disturbed Robinson the most about her was Tarenorerer’s reputation for a charisma coupled with a steely resolve to oppose white authority. This suggests she had a talent as a political animal, inspiring Aborigines, both men and women, while frightening her enemies. As well as stories of her bloody battles on the mainland, she was known to have urged for a violent mutiny against the sealers in Bass Strait.⁸⁵ When she fell into his control, Robinson was relieved to have had Tarenorerer separated from his other captives and sent to Gun Carriage Island.

But in this tale of men snaring their supposed tigress is a tragedy of trust.⁸⁶

She had stared down into the gaping mouth of Dobson's blunderbuss, disbelieving. He had enticed her and her sisters into his skiff with sweet promises. The sealer was old and she had known him a long time and then she knew that she did not know him well enough.

The hills of her home country bob in a blur through the drizzle over the shot-grey strait as her sisters howl alongside her to no-one but themselves and the gulls. Dobson's mate rows relentlessly. Betrayal, it is so easy because trust is as gullible as a puppy. Dobson had sold her to other men before this and yet over time, because he had also helped her when she was hurt all over and hurt all through, she had forgiven him and come to trust him again.⁸⁷ Her teeth bite as though pulling a stopper from a powder horn. If only she had killed him when she had the chance on the island of many snakes.⁸⁸

Never believe these snakes again, she swears to herself.

Dobson's skiff crunches ashore on another island. Which one is this, there are so many islands? Strange white men are gathered about and she decides she will answer only to her alias of "Mary Ann", a useful name in a country of black Marys, in case a reward is posted for her as some had said would surely happen like night follows day. A dog leaps onto her. Whiskey!⁸⁹

She moans, "Halloo, halloo."⁹⁰

Then feigns a strangeness.

Friends, loyal friends from her band, turn about and gasp surprise and a gleeful welcome. The strange men watch intently. They make quickly for their guns and advance with their muzzles drawing on her impudent grin. She is no longer a stranger. They know she is Tarenorerer and she knows they do. So what is in a name?

At 3 PM, 5 June 1831, on a Sunday and no doubt not long after a religious service where fearful folk prayed for suffering souls, a brief note was received from Gun Carriage Island that three Aborigines, known to the whites as "Peacock", "Jack" and "Walyer", had died.⁹¹ Tarenorerer had succumbed to that British weapon of mass destruction, the flu. She was presumed to be in only her thirty first year. So be it. Or so they thought. Her legend still grows.

History might be true at first light and it might be a lie by noon.⁹² Interrogate the "lies" and you might find the meaning. And believe. Tarenorerer's resistance is alive and fierce in Tasmanian folklore.⁹³

The Hagley Clique

The Tenant Farmer Movement and Its Defeat in Northern Tasmania

Even the weather was angry. It twisted down from the Western Tiers when Mt Cradle's fagus was in its last glow as Autumn gave over.⁹⁴ We shut the windows in the hall against the sleet and the Antarctic gale which bowled over anyone caught in the open on Hagley Station Lane as it funnelled the wind south to north, between the highlands and Bass Strait.⁹⁵ Oak and gum leaves lay folded together in puddles and the wind drove the ice and rain against the puny green locomotive at the station and the hall was crowded and the windows misted over from the heat and smoke inside. The men argued through their pipes, billowing wet clouds from cheap tobacco spiced with bush herbs. They also smelt of mud and sweat; some sweet from red loam and improved pasture, some sour and bitter.⁹⁶ Some smelt beery. Strange faces mixed among them, a few with pens poised on pads of paper.⁹⁷ Here was uncommon talk of the common good.

The press called them the Hagley Clique. They were tenant farmers, some of them old hands struggling to stay out of the Launceston Invalid Depot, reviled because they demonstrated against their landlords.⁹⁸ Many of the landlords were also farmers, but they were pastoralists, the “Midlands Gentry” and “Shepherd Kings”, or they were absentee owners counting their coin throughout the empire; their power over their tenants was limited only by the horizon which circumscribed their lands.⁹⁹ A thoroughbred's gallop from Hagley for about the length of the Launceston Cup is Quamby Estate.¹⁰⁰ This had been the home of Richard Dry, the first Tasmanian-born Premier (1866-1869) and also a Knight of the Realm, famed amongst his class peers for his Waterloo ball—an event graced by even Lieutenant-Governors.¹⁰¹ Even though his career was never hobbled by the public knowledge that his father had been a political prisoner from Ireland (with a nose for fine real estate), Sir “Dicky” had been a member of the “Patriotic Six”, resigning his seat in protest because the stigma of convicts retarded business, and had later done his damndest to bring an end to transportation. A penal economy looked bad in the newspapers and upset the middle class at breakfast. By bourgeois reputation, Dry had been egalitarian.¹⁰²

As chairman of the Launceston and Deloraine Railway Association and president of the Northern Tasmanian Railway League, he championed the new transport system for the island.¹⁰³ Lucky for him that he did not live to see the Great Rail Rebellion of 1874 when the Tasmanian Government tried to impose a tax for building a rail line from Launceston to Deloraine.¹⁰⁴ Northern landowners would benefit from the rail but they

were adamant that they were not going to pay for it; at least not more than what the midlands landowners paid for the Launceston to Hobart line. So, with influence in the press, and cooperation from local council magistrates and their police, they resisted the tax.¹⁰⁵ To highlight their campaign of “passive resistance”, they rallied small farmers and townfolk to burn effigies of the colonial ministry.¹⁰⁶ Even riots occurred in Launceston—with a blessing from some of those in authority.¹⁰⁷ The government achieved a pyrrhic victory in seizing goods in lieu of the tax and then it eventually accepted total responsibility for the financial costs of the Launceston and Western Railway by incorporating it as a State responsibility.¹⁰⁸ The northern landowners had made their point. This high arrogance would later force a counter-movement from Tasmania’s commons and a core source of the squire’s wealth and power: the tenant farmers around the village of Hagley, centred in the most “English” region of Tasmania—including its class system.¹⁰⁹

When the Hagley movement appears in 1888, the Drys and about thirty eight other families who owned Tasmania’s best lands, and not forgetting the Lords Talbot ensconced in 40,000 acres of river frontage on the South Esk, have had their family crests embossed on estate crockery imported from England.¹¹⁰ Such finery demands a grip on the top of the social ladder, now increasingly precarious to hold. Competition for power is emerging out of the mining boom which has fanned out across the northern half of the island from the west coast to the lower Tamar in the north and to Ringarooma and the Blue Tier in the north east and up the Fingal valley in the east.¹¹¹ The suburbs of Launceston are growing fat with stockholders who have invested in gold, silver, copper, tin and iron. The smart money is in extracting osmiridium from gold to use for a newfangled mass manufacturing of fountain pen nibs.¹¹² The island’s landlord gentry is nervous at the prospect of a new capitalism.¹¹³ And then these yeomen, nay, upstart peasants, if they are even that for they are mostly of dispossessed convict stock, want to upset this balance.¹¹⁴ The press, reporting on the meetings at Hagley, have the temerity to suggest that some landlords might be narrow-minded, grasping and short-sighted.¹¹⁵ Future letters to editors of the local press would even go on to complain that such a social system could lead to revolution and civil war.¹¹⁶ If the families can help it, the Hagley Clique will be shown its station.

It was an imposing hall, large and clean and noisy, and 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.¹¹⁷ The fire grate was made of two lengths of train rail fitted neatly so they could hold up the mixture of native hard woods and

British-type soft woods and with a plough-shear at the back to reflect the heat. This made the fiercest fire of all. There was a lost calabash on the mantle piece, so I stoked it with some stale dregs of tobacco, lit it with a brand from the fire and took a theatrical pose to blow me own smoke.¹¹⁸

I knew the boss faces; not master bosses, just little bosses. There was John Millar, George Scott, Stearne Phillips, William Blair and John French.¹¹⁹ Good farmers, all of them; a few of them, I regret, were better farmers than they were men. Then there were the lesser lights like Cheek, Breadon, Monds and Badcock. These were better men than they were farmers because, they reckoned, the law was made to keep them so. There were others I did not really know; at least not by name. The press loitered about. Council police were keeping a watch on almost everyone.¹²⁰

The chair and leader of our cause, Dan Burke, the Warden of the district, with his Old Testament beard and glaring green eyes beneath a forehead as craggy as the Walls Of Jerusalem, was trying to start the meeting with a reading of a letter from the Reverend and most Honourable Thomas Reibey, one time Premier of this forgotten isle of the British Empire, a local member and a free trade advocate.¹²¹ (The Reverend was once caught up in a seduction scandal and found himself sued for libel. However, he is a smooth gentleman, and within a few years Tommy took his charming manner into the House of Assembly.)¹²² Burke loathed Reibey, mostly because of the latter's free trade stance which made life hard for tenant cereal croppers, yet he accorded the letter a patient respect; so much so that the pro-free trade press would report the "speech" while omitting the subtle truth that Reibey had not attended.¹²³

The letter was friendly, in a quiet farmerly sort of way, towards our plan to get changes to the Landlord and Tenant Act. To produce crops which sell at a fair price for both buyer and farmer, a tenant needs to improve the land. The law begrudgingly recognised that tenants often did make capital improvements to their landlord's property, such as drainage, fencing, clearing, fertilising and the construction of buildings. This point was greeted with many knowing puffs of acrid smoke. No matter if the air was thickening, we could see what should be ours. Tommy then detailed his concerns that the Act only credited these capital improvements to the tenant if the tenant, on completion of the term of his lease, took such drains, fences, pastures, soils and barns with him. Clause 4 of the Act made it a requirement that such removal could only be lawful if a tenant gained his landlord's permission to take these capital improvements with him.¹²⁴ Experience had shown that one was as nearly as difficult to achieve as the other.

“How much does it cost a farmer,” asked Badcock from the back of the hall, “to dig up a drain to take it with him?” There were guffaws and Burke’s brow frowned. “How much does it cost a man,” Badcock continued, “to dig up his soul and lug it around as a snail carries its shell?”

Disapproval drifted throughout the hall like thunder banks of cumulonimbus. Burke’s frown unstitched and his brow recomposed slowly, as though it was reluctantly conceding to the force of gravity. Quite a brow. Tommy, Burke continued with the occasional lift of said brow, wished to suggest a most politic course of action. We should realise how beneficial it would be for all concerned, tenants, landlords and the national advantage of this fair colony, our common good, if we moved to divide the value of the capital improvements to a tenant farm into three equal parts: one part for the tenant, one part for the landlord and one part, and I quote, returned to sustain the productiveness of the farm.¹²⁵ No wonder Tommy made Premier. King Solomon only reckoned to cut the baby in two and here Tommy wanted to cut it into three and then give us the arse-end!

“What if a landlord should be made in law,” I heard meself inquiring of the chair as I pointed the pipe about, accusingly I suppose, “to rank with an ordinary creditor in recovering rent from a bankrupt tenant?”¹²⁶

Even I gasped at me own impudence. At first, all that could be heard were pencils scratching up future headlines and spittle cooking in meerschaum bowls. A sheep dog, ruddy with mud or embarrassment, got up from the fire hearth and trotted outside into the clearing weather. Some deep primal urge made me want to follow, just to share a tree as dogs and men are known to do when the awkward moments seem about to overpower them. It was Millar who followed the dog, mumbling something about it being time for a break in the meeting. So Burke conceded to his request.

The meeting split into groups; mobs of varying disgruntlement. I had to join someone, so, after they beckoned me with an inviting glance, I ambled over to Cheek, Breadon, Monds and Badcock. Some others that I did not know also joined us. Not one of us in this group ran a farm of more than four hundred acres; barely enough to feed a small family let alone pay rent up front. Then Burke wandered over. He was cordial enough while explaining that as the chair he had to be seen to be impartial. He walked away as I wondered it would better for him to voice his needs from the floor. Two other groups had also formed, more or less consistent with their status or aspirations.

On his way back in, Millar snatched the pipe out of me hand with notice to the effect that he had not left it on the mantle for the likes of a black Irish, half-breed selkie like

meself.¹²⁷ There is nothing more grumpy than a religious convert; as if any man can leave behind his real identity. Sporting his recovered property, Millar conversed briefly, though intently, with that group of farmers who owned land and also tenanted other blocks, the best off of all of us, as well as the police, then demanded that Burke call the meeting back to order. The dog returned and made itself comfortable on me feet on the hearth. This warmed both of us.

Me question was to be put aside for the moment. Millar's group put up a motion for immediate consideration. It went something like this:

That, in the opinion of this committee, the existing Landlord and Tenant Act requires amendment in such a manner as to secure to the tenant, on leaving his farm, compensation for the unexhausted value of any improvement which may have been made at his expense during occupancy: provided such improvements are effected, either with the consent of the landlord, or by the authority of arbitrators to be appointed by the landlord and tenant.¹²⁸

That such an amendment would lead to eternal disputes about exactly how tenant and landlord and arbitrators could agree on the "unexhausted value of any improvement" seemed, with the wisdom of hindsight, to be exactly the stalling point that Millar's group was angling for. It was me first experience of filibustering. It had also become apparent that Millar was Reibey's proxy. Burke stroked his beard, contemplating his options. Smoke again filled the room and the temperature began to climb even higher than before. I tried to push the dog off me feet. The damned mutt only growled and would not move. So I moved meself. Always having to move meself, that should go on me headstone.

The din was growing and fists were clenching and threatening and farmer turned against farmer as motion after motion was proposed and then failed to gain enough votes. Millar's group and our group were always opposed, with the middle group splitting and reforming and splitting and reforming until Badcock, tenacious little terrier that he is, turned the meeting back to me previous question, this time as a motion. It was seconded, debated and for a while it seemed it would be passed despite Millar's opposition. It failed to gain a majority by one vote.¹²⁹ That middle group of nameless men never really seemed to know where they belonged and had split or abstained just enough to serve anyone's interest but their own or ours. Millar proposed that, as the hour was growing late, the meeting be deferred. Besides, some farmers had a train to catch. It was the only motion in that meeting which was passed.

So I returned to the farm to confront me family's prospects when oats, potatoes and hops were down in acreage and me apples and pears were ravaged by codlin moth.

After nine months of drought, me few mangy sheep were also starving.¹³⁰ Me children and wife were not far behind. Despite this day's storm, there was still not enough moisture to hold a man in his grave. We would be moving again though the debt collectors, always sure of our identity, would invariably find us.

As I rode the train passed the Meander River at dusk, the sky returning to the gun metal blue of a stubborn dry spell and with the wind gone back to a northerly, mild and empty of any more rain, I saw Millar wading a riffle around a freestone wash which had become re-exposed in the now falling stream. Silhouetted in fine detail against the blue light, he was casting one of those fashionable split cane rods of hexagonal build from Alnwick and with a dandy centre-pin reel throwing a silk line spliced to a gut leader on which he had tied some feathery lure with upright white wings and a scarlet sash.¹³¹ Too late now, I thought, you deluded twit.

In the draughty carriage with me were mine workers from the west. They were cheery and polite and wrestling with each other over a bottle of rum and they smelt like trouble of a new order. I waited for me station, me eyes avoiding their grubby stares, and watched the land, its tiers and forests and cleared fields and furrows and crops and stock and river, fade away through the window with me dreams purling down to the sea. Eventually, only sky remained.

The Hagley Clique had hoist its sail on the fair breeze of rising liberalism in Tasmania, only to founder on the rock which was the implacable dispute between protectionists and free-traders. Higher cereal prices and reform of property laws could have tipped the balance of power away from the wool-grazing landlords. This was one note in a howl from the under-dogs in Tasmania, echoing general demands for broader social reforms. Then in 1901 came Federation and with it Section 92 of the Australian Constitution which guaranteed free trade between the states.¹³² A win for the graziers. Conversely, in 1906 came the Closer Settlement Scheme to redistribute large estates to small freeholders, and then in 1909, the Legislative Council, as the bastion of the political interests of the landed elite, was forced to concede to property reforms with the Landlord and Tenant Act.¹³³ The real victors however were the emerging mining and manufacturing capitalists, small compared to those in the rest of Australia and tiny compared to the powers of the northern hemisphere, yet big enough to dominate little Tasmania. Landed power, big or small, had begun its steady decline in this island. As for the aspirations of a stout yeomanry tilling the fertile soils of an antipodean arcadia, it was to be buried in the failure of the various Closer Settlement schemes for the ever-

present reason in Australian farming that capitalism forces consolidation into larger and larger holdings.¹³⁴

The defeat of an independent politics for small farmers in Tasmania saw its rural culture devolve into an Australian Ozark of relatively small communities which were arch-conservative in mores, politics and religion, and individualistic, yet free if freedom is the space and time to eat local and seasonal through semi-subsistence farming and to hunt and fish for recreation or to supplement meagre incomes and to play football and cricket, drink beer and not to worry about more than the barest clothes for the children.¹³⁵ Faceless, monolithic agribusiness, including plantations and logging, with the owners residing in the global metropolises, is Tasmania's postmodern elite. The Hagley Clique sparked a challenge to the forces shunting Tasmania into a greater Australian commonwealth: not everyone wants to travel to the end of the line.

Earth Bound!**Max Bound: Communist and Green**

It was not an easy time in Max Bound's life when he agreed to an interview for *Radical Tasmania*. His wife and comrade, Barbara, was fighting a severe illness. When we first spoke on the phone, he sounded brave. Then months later he lost Barbara. When we did meet in his apartment in Claremont on a bright summer's day, the Derwent River reflecting Tasmania's ozone-thin sunlight through the lounge room windows as we chatted, he mentioned that his youngest daughter, Susan, who is a highly qualified registered nurse, had damaged her back lifting patients, and he was concerned for her overall health. He sighed quietly and offered me a cup of tea. As tough as it was for this octogenarian, Max wanted to talk.

The kettle hummed and Max poured skim milk into a couple of mugs as I watched a regatta of small yachts racing up the river from the club at Bellerive, their spinnakers billowing and collapsing and billowing again in the fickle breeze like the bright red vocal sacks on mating frogs. We made idle chatter about the working class yachty culture, perhaps peculiar to Hobart. I congratulated Max on his view up the river. He dismissed it with an angry wave of his hand, bemoaning the dumping of heavy metals and toxic chemicals into the river by the handful of manufacturers whom the government had attracted into the valley in the days when hydro-electricity offered a competitive advantage over other energy sources, before domestic consumers here were forced to subsidise power for big business.¹³⁶ (This latter issue was brought to public attention by Max in 1953 and then further pursued by Communist activists in the Launceston Railway Shops and, while in State opposition, the Liberal Party.)¹³⁷ The river, wrinkling like blue satin sheets, looked picture-postcard clean. It was deceiving. Years earlier, when there was a public outcry about tainted fish being caught off the Hobart wharf and about children with burnt eyes after a dip at Cornelian Bay, once a popular place for families because it is sandy and shallow and sheltered, the authorities responded by banning fishing at the wharf and placing "No Swimming" signs along the river. Sometimes a black smudge of mysterious muck washes up along the river banks. Of course, no one claims responsibility and, more disturbingly, no one is officially called to account. It's all business as usual, Tassie style. I told Max how I had once caught a flathead on a surface lure over deep water (a strange event as flathead are bottom-dwellers) while trolling in the river for the migratory pelagic and therefore safe-to-eat sea trout, taken the flathead home, naively cooked it to eat and then spat the first

mouthful back onto the plate.¹³⁸ It tasted of, well, a cocktail of who knows what industrial sludge except that motor oil was obvious. He nodded knowingly.

Max might have been the public face of Communism for decades in Tasmania, yet, like the intestinal line in the otherwise translucent whitebait which the sea trout come into the river to hunt, there has long been a distinct green centre running through Max's socialism.¹³⁹ He has a Bachelor of Arts in Environmental Design, a Graduate Diploma in Urban Planning and, after working in the Trade Union Community Research Centre (TUCRC), was active in the Social Ecological Economic Cultural Alliance (SEECA) in the early 1990s. SEECA was formed in the aftermath of the 1992 State election to create links between the environmental movement, unions and community groups. It agitated for ecological sustainability, a change in the economic direction of Tasmania away from the outmoded industrial and agribusiness mindset of the twentieth century and for social justice.¹⁴⁰ In recent years, Max has taken his commitment to red-green politics ("radical ecology", as he insists) into Now We The People Tasmania (NWTPT), a "broad spectrum" of "cross-party" representation of the left.¹⁴¹ NWTPT includes Tasmanian activists such as Tim Thorne, Pete Hay, Austra Maddox and Greens Senator Christine Milne.¹⁴² Max's conference presentations and published titles include issues about hydro-electricity, people with disabilities, monopoly capitalism, public health services, public housing, employment, unions and the environment, global warming and politics, the media, the future of the left, and water conservation and distribution.¹⁴³

Yet, as I said to Max as I clicked on the tape recorder, we need to begin at the beginning; that is, at his political beginning at the tender age of 17 in 1941. As millions of Hitler's *Wermacht* and murderous *Schutzstaffel* and other Axis troops were storming across the Soviet Union, Max joined the Communist Party of Australia (CPA). With effort for a man whose best days of physical prowess are well behind him, he lifted his soft voice to an earnest tone. Even a beginning, he began, has a preface.

His father was a miner in northern Tasmania.¹⁴⁴ Not the lungs-dusted, black-faced, thick-armed, fight-the-bosses type who is idolised as the very stuff of the working class by George Orwell in his *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1937). Max's father was a mine owner who employed about 12 or more staff; technically, even if merely petit bourgeois and with a social conscience about an employer's responsibilities to his workers, he was a member of the capitalist class which Max would spend so much of his life denouncing.¹⁴⁵ He died from a heart attack at the age of 45 when Max was only four.¹⁴⁶ Max's politics later developed not as the act of a vengeful son rebelling against the legacy of an oppressive bourgeois patriarch, but as a radicalised extension of his father's

Labor-voting politics and social democratic or left liberal sentiments. He shared this with his widowed mother.¹⁴⁷

Having been awarded the Merit Certificate through an external examination, Max left school at the age of 13.¹⁴⁸ The Great Depression, still smouldering like a wild fire in the peat bogs of Tasmania's highlands, was resistant to the efforts to control it. The mine was now managed by less skilled though still hard working men. The family farm had run down as Max's older sisters married and his two oldest brothers sought work on the mainland. Another brother, Charlie, four years his senior, had become "the man of the house". Together, they did their best to work the farm, cutting wood, milking cows, mending fences and growing vegetables. To supplement the family income, Max also found work as an apple packer, a cook, and washing miners' clothes by hand. When three brothers moved back home to manage what had been his father's mine, and his younger sister, Iris, took on a job as typist in nearby Devonport, his family followed. So Max joined his brothers in the mine, now run on a much smaller scale and less successfully.¹⁴⁹

The four brothers attempted to join the union, the Australasian Coal and Shale Employees Federation.¹⁵⁰ However, working in a family business made Max and his brothers "self-employed" and so application for a union card was denied. This was a function of the politics of the union's large branch at Cornwall, in the Fingal Valley, dominated by the Australian Labor Party (ALP).¹⁵¹ Max left the mine, yet his brothers persevered and, a year or so afterwards, they and a brother in-law were admitted into the union.

The bitter industrial struggles of the depression era had witnessed the Federation membership turning in 1934 to a faction known as the Militant Minority Movement, resulting in the first all-Communist leadership of a national union in Australia.¹⁵² This was a period of growth for the CPA and, with the Tasmania branch formed in the late 1920s, some of Max's neighbours were regularly reading the CPA's paper, *Tribune*.¹⁵³

"Here y'are, son. The Popular Front against Hitler and Mussolini, read all about it."

Of course, the Treaty of Non-aggression, or Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact, between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1939 complicated matters. Then came Hitler's Operation Barbarossa. The white heat of socialist struggle against fascism, otherwise nominated in banal histories as the Second World War, would never again be in doubt. It is dialectical, the CPA explained.

Looking forward to his eighteenth birthday, Max was slight build had strengthened from hard physical labour and sport and he was developing even stronger, adult

opinions. As he was part of an essential war industry, the only arms he would be allowed were a pick and a shovel. With the support of Iris and another young Communist, Gary Bell, he arranged a meeting of local youth and together they formed the Cobbers Club.¹⁵⁴ This was at a time when youth organisations were traditionally controlled by adults. The Cobbers Club recruited over 100 members, ran several sports teams and other activities and was led by an executive committee of seven young people, including the two young Communists. Max was voted up as Secretary of the Cobbers Club and was its recognised leader. At the same time, he played a substantial role in setting up a Junior Cricket Association in Devonport and was elected as its Secretary, working alongside a priest who was its President.¹⁵⁵ This was a period when Max began to forge the skills which are essential for the major role in building an organisation in an area where none had existed. He learnt how to organise with a range of people and how to ride disagreements on important issues.

Following a visit to Tasmania by Bert Williams, who represented the CPA's youth wing, the Eureka Youth League (EYL) a Tasmanian wing of the EYL was formed. The Cobbers voted to become a branch of the EYL, then grew into the biggest and most diverse and active of the branches in Tasmania. Max was elected as State Secretary. After the end of the war, he agreed to move to Hobart where he got a job as a cleaner at the City Hall and worked hard to develop the small EYL group in the south. The Cold War was spreading its chilling pall, and his health collapsed because of overwork and poor living conditions. He narrowly escaped an early death from pneumonia and was saved with the introduction of penicillin into the island's medical services for the general public. Reduced to a stick figure and exhausted, he returned to his family in Devonport. It was early summer and with the advantage of youth, his mother's delicious country cooking and regular exercise, including swimming in the then clear and inviting sea at popular Bluff Beach, he recovered his health. Max was soon back at work again in the coal mine, though only for a short time.¹⁵⁶

At the urging of a Melbourne doctor, also a Communist, the CPA allowed Max a respite from political activity. Towards the end of this period, Max accompanied his mother on a trip to visit Iris, then living with her husband in Sydney. There he was active again in the EYL and, as a builders' labourer, began his education in union politics as a member of the then right-wing Builders Labourers Federation (BLF). (He was later to meet and become a friend of the BLF's high-profile Jack Munday at national CPA meetings as Munday was developing his "green bans" and Max was turning to environmentalism.)¹⁵⁷ Here he was persuaded by CPA leaders to abandon his

plan to look around Australia while working as a builders' labourer and return to Hobart. Max toiled incessantly to wrestle the BLF out of the clutches of the then Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners of Australia (ASCJA) and its indifferent executive which operated mostly to collect union dues and provide a vote for the "ultra" right-wing leadership at a national level.¹⁵⁸

After working on smaller jobs as a builders' labourer, Max obtained employment at the Goodwood State Public housing site (the Agriculture Bank Project) where he set about organising union activities, and so was elected job delegate. Then in conjunction with BLF members from the larger Boyer paper mill construction site (where the first Communist to be elected as an ASCJA Secretary, George Franks, was also agitating), Max began turning the gears of union politics. As delegate at the Goodwood site, he negotiated with his own Secretary to arrange a union meeting at the Hobart Trades Hall (then in Davey Street).¹⁵⁹ Out of this, the embryo of a new builders' labourers' union structure was conceived. Max presumed that his strategy was running smoothly and, relatively inexperienced in union politics, he took off time to attend a National EYL meeting in Sydney on the verbal understanding that his job was not at risk. During this struggle to build the new union structure up to a Tasmania-wide organisation, builders' employers became alarmed at Max's capacity to represent his members and so they sought to have him blacklisted. The Thomas brothers, leading the then right-wing Management Committee of the BLF in Sydney, intervened.¹⁶⁰ (A year or two later, they would send "Speed" Morgan — so-called because he was a cycling champion and prize-fighter — as their Tasmania Secretary and "hatchet man".)¹⁶¹ So there was no job for Max on his return to the Goodwood site. He managed to find a couple of temporary jobs elsewhere, but he was on the blacklist, and the employers and the right wing of the union closed ranks. Consequently, Max soon found himself run out of the BLF and the building industry.¹⁶² (Though he was able to join the Building Workers' Industrial Union as a carpenter and the Electrical Trades Union years later.)

Max became a trammy instead, where as an employee of the Hobart City Council Tramways he could ring the trolley car bell while trundling up Collins Street on route to the Cascade Gardens without the building bosses' running dogs chasing him.

"Actually it was not a bad job", Max recalls.¹⁶³

As he had been obstructed from union activism, he would dedicate himself as a cadre in the party rising quickly as the most feared by the big end of town. Though he did get a chance to joyously throw himself into the great "coats-off" union action when a tram conductor was sacked for the heinous crime of taking off his heavy uniform coat on a

hot day.¹⁶⁴ In solidarity, fellow trammies “went out” and a brave few later worked with their coats off too. The coat fetishists in the Tramways got the point and the suspended trammy was reinstated. The choice of wearing or not wearing a coat became a right, rather than an excuse for an overzealous inspector to suspend a Tramways employee. It was not a mass action, Max emphasises, but it did raise mass consciousness even if the original issue seems trivial.¹⁶⁵

At a dance at a church hall in Launceston, three years after becoming a trammy, Max meet Barbara.¹⁶⁶ It was to be the beginning of a life of commitment together, yet, strangely, Max would not at first tell Barbara about his job, let alone about his CPA membership.¹⁶⁷ Then he told her that he was not just a Communist, he had become State Secretary of the CPA. Inevitably her parents found out and, entrenched in the values of small business, they gasped with horror.¹⁶⁸ Barbara, scolded as downright “contrary”, was dragged along to the local constabulary for, as the middle class likes to say, a good talking to.¹⁶⁹ Inspector Billing wagged his finger about a Communist “fifth column” and, that bourgeois nightmare, how Max would not be acceptable in decent people’s drawing rooms.¹⁷⁰ The young couple rejoined with the peal of wedding bells and Barbara left with Max for Hobart. Despite their initial opposition, Barbara’s parents came to embrace the couple and enjoy their grandchildren, left politics and all.¹⁷¹

As some wit observed, the Cold War was warming up by 1949. The decade of hysterical anti-Communism lay ahead. Max, as State Secretary of the Communist Party, had to confront Liberal Prime Minister Robert Menzies’s attack on the CPA¹⁷² Menzies’s referendum, *Constitution Alteration (Powers to deal with Communists and Communism) 1951*, was a concerted attempt to formally ban the CPA. Along with the anti-Vietnam War movement of the 1960s-1970s, it forced the most dramatic struggle in Max’s activist life and was an issue with implications beyond the CPA. He recalled that ALP Premier Cosgrove refused to chair a meeting in Hobart with Labor’s Federal leader, “Doc” H.V. Evatt, who was running a “No” vote campaign.¹⁷³ Tasmania recorded a narrow “Yes” vote, and Max speculates that Cosgrove had also probably voted “Yes”. Cosgrove would not have been alone in the ALP as the Communists were a threat to Labor’s hold on a number of unions. Like Menzies, many on the Labor right also saw the CPA as a national security threat. As Menzies failed to get a majority of states and an overall majority of votes (both majorities are necessary to pass an Australian referendum), the CPA survived. Evatt, in his finest political hour, had contributed to keeping the likes of Max out of gaol. So the anti-Communists in the ALP had to find another way.

The 1950s saw Max emerge as the most high profile Communist in Tasmania. This was not just a matter of the Australian Secret Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) opening a file on him— which would roll out into six volumes no less,¹⁷⁴ it was his choice to take the bit of class politics between his teeth and charge into the fray. He campaigned regularly for the CPA in Federal, State and local council elections. At first, he received only a handful of votes. Then the ALP was to find itself having to head off attacks from the newly formed Democratic Labor Party (DLP). The latter was spawned from within the right wing of the ALP's own ranks after an expulsion of the Catholic anti-Communists at a national conference in Hobart in 1955. The Tasmanian branch was led by former Labor Senator, George Cole.¹⁷⁵ (The DLP maintained a presence in Hobart's Trades Hall and so continued to influence the Tasmanian union movement.)¹⁷⁶ Max exploited the tension to find enough political space amidst the "morality of gentlemen" to antagonise the respective Labor parties so as to wedge left voters toward the CPA.¹⁷⁷ Paradoxically, despite the gloomy depths of the Cold War with a long-term fall in members for the CPA (though a reaction to Menzies's referendum caused a temporary surge in membership) and then the Soviet invasion of Hungary, votes for Max peaked at over 2,000 in the 1955 Federal election for the seat of Denison.¹⁷⁸ It remains a record for the CPA in Tasmania.

Max believes that he received useful publicity prior to this election when he organised a deputation to Jack O'Neil of the Labor Council, the "Tsar" of Tasmania's trade union movement, which detailed the bashing of two seamen by the police.¹⁷⁹ O'Neil had also once been a victim of police violence and so had powerful feelings about the issue. He brought his wily skills to bear on embarrassing the Cosgrove Government. A formal inquiry was held and disciplinary action in the way of a dismissal and a demotion was taken against the police officers who were investigated. The controversy framed Max's grassroots campaign on prices, civil rights and jobs in which he targeted strategic workplaces.¹⁸⁰ Recalling it brought a cheeky grin to the veteran class warrior's face.

Of course, the CPA never emerged as a major parliamentary force in any state in Australia. Indeed, Max surmises, the very improbability of the CPA winning a Federal election actually attracted "protest" votes. As the radical left is inclined to say, it is mostly a consciousness-raising exercise. Besides, gaining seats in the Houses of Parliament can hardly be the end goal of an ideology which insists that real power lies with control of the means of production, not of numbers on the floor. Anyway, Max adds, politics is only part of the solution: culture has to change too.

Tiring, he asked for a rest from the interview. During the intermission, he made more tea, offered organic biscuits and cursed the Howard Government with a spray of wholesome crumbs. It seemed to give him strength. He then payed out on a list of old opponents, including “the Trots”. Oops, I realised, I wonder if I should tell him that I am an old “Swampy” from an organisation (the Socialist Workers Party) which once nominated itself as Trotskyist.¹⁸¹ No matter, he will find out when he reads the write-up of the interview that I am obliged to give him as per my university ethics committee. (Like now, Max.)¹⁸² Instead, I told him that old joke about Trotskyists and light bulbs. You know, how many Trots does it take to change a light bulb? You don’t change it, comrade, you smash it! He knew it alright, he said, relishing it once more with a belly laugh.

With the tape recorder whirring again, Max explains that he came to reflect on politics differently in the 1960s. He still thought of himself as a revolutionary (and still does), yet realised that he was not a Leninist— at least not in the sense of advocating ruthless state violence in the name of the proletariat. He was persuaded by Marx’s mature observation that, where democracy is resilient, socialism might be achieved by peaceful means.¹⁸³ (He was later impressed by the writings of the Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci, on the relationship of the state and civil society in the context of western culture; it is a much more positive and relevant analysis, Max suggests.) The invasion of Hungary in 1956 had already dispelled any dogma about a monolithic socialism. Barbara, active in the Tasmanian Teachers Federation and the Tasmanian Trades and Labor Council, and the founder of the Tasmanian Branch of the Union of Australian Women (UAW), visited the Soviet Union in 1966 and returned to confirm with Max that the revolution had long ossified.¹⁸⁴ Then the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 left a further bad taste in his mouth. Like so many of the radical left throughout the world in the 1960s, including the CPA, he was repositioning. It was the time of the emergence of the New Left. He was relieved and, as a member of the CPA National Committee, supportive when the National Secretary, Laurie Aarons, condemned the Soviets. Stalinist hard-liners, led by the “hollow twenty”, split to form the Socialist Party of Australia.¹⁸⁵ Good riddance, thought Max, who would never leave the CPA until its final demise in 1991. Anyway, the Vietnam War had to be opposed and he was well placed as the “local Commo” to organise for the anti-war movement. He was to be elected as its Treasurer.

“Ho, ho, Ho Chi Minh,” thousands chanted in Hobart’s central business district with Max at the front of the march, glaring back at the lines of state police and the ASIO

agents he knew were slinking in the shadows. Menzies's introduction of military conscription in 1965 broadened and radicalised the opposition to the war, which initially grew amongst the students of the University of Tasmania. Max addressed a forum of students about the follies of the war in the same year. Opposition to the war accelerated after a returned soldier assaulted an anti-war academic during a university lecture in 1968.¹⁸⁶ It reached a peak in the moratorium campaign march of 8 May 1970, impelled by the political spectrum across the left in Australia from the ALP's Jim Cairns to the Maoists. Three thousand marched in Hobart. Neil Batt led the campaign in Tasmania before going on to be a Labor Deputy Premier (1977-1980) and then, as Max sardonically quips, finding his "rightful place" as a business executive with Ansett Australia.¹⁸⁷ When the march had made its way to the corners of Elizabeth and Liverpool Streets, Derek Roebuck and Max found themselves confronted by a violent anti-Communist.¹⁸⁸ The strong arms of a big wharfie in the march kept the peace. Roebuck, Professor of Law at the University of Tasmania and also a CPA member, continued for years as a social activist.¹⁸⁹

In a recruitment coup at the height of the Anti-Vietnam War movement, Max, with the support of CPA members involved in the national leadership of the Peace movement, lured Pierre Slicer from the left in the ALP, where Slicer was being cultivated as a prospective faction head, to replace himself as local CPA Secretary. Later Max, who was acting in an advisory capacity for the fledgling Tasmanian Aborigines movement, and with the support of the Aborigines, asked Slicer to become a legal officer for the Aboriginal movement. A role in which, Max believes, Slicer performed admirably, including helping Aboriginal activists to get the training and experience necessary to take on the task for themselves.¹⁹⁰ Max had also successfully approached Professor Roebuck to join the support group. The Professor then received, "more or less out of the blue", a cheque for \$70,000 in funding for the Aboriginal Movement from Gough Whitlam's historic duumvirate (two-man Ministry) in December 1972.¹⁹¹ Similarly to Roebuck, Slicer went on to become a notable campaigner for human rights and now sits as a judge in Tasmania's Supreme Court.¹⁹² It seems that Tasmanian justice has been well served by the Counter-Culture.

Meanwhile, the CPA remained active in organising workers in industrial disputes. Max was chairperson of the committee representing the building workers at the construction of the Wrest Point Hotel Casino by Federal Hotels. About 12 months before its opening (1973), Max was the initiator and a leader of a march through the city in a struggle for long service leave for that mainstay of the service industry, the casual

employees.¹⁹³ The dispute broadened across Hobart. It ended with a partial victory, he notes, only the gains later withered under the attacks of the neoliberal “reforms” of the ALP Hawke-Keating Federal Governments (1983-1996) and then even more so under the Howard Federal Government (1996-2007).

The 1970s was a period which sharpened the anti-authoritarianism which had been building during decades of struggle by the CPA, unions, the New Left and then the Counter-Culture, “second wave” feminism and environmentalism. While the oil shock of 1973 played unions and employers into a period of stagflation, itself a function in part of a deadlock in class power, a continued rising political consciousness saw both the union movement and the CPA drawn into a wider range of social causes. As Max was both the public face of Tasmanian Communism and a delegate of the then Hobart Trades Hall Council at this time, he was propelled to the forefront of further controversy with opposition to the flooding of Lake Pedder.¹⁹⁴ In the course of the struggle against the removal of the Tasmania College of Advanced Education, he was elected by an overwhelming vote of fellow students and subsequently appointed by a reluctant State Government, under the ALP’s Premier Doug Lowe (1977-1981), as the student representative on the Council of Advanced Education.¹⁹⁵ He continued to be involved in numerous other issues and his letters were published in the local press from time to time.

Yet, wondered Max as he peered in a reflective mood back onto the river, the racing yachts now skimming past his window in a bracing sea breeze, things could have been so different if the USSR and China had not snuffed out the chance of a democratic socialism in his own lifetime; despite the fact that capitalism is again turning to state intervention. And the radical left had not been so tardy in supporting Jack Mundy, New South Wales branch Secretary of the BLF, and his Green Bans on sensitive environmental sites around Sydney. The CPA’s Laurie Aarons had tried, but it was not enough.

A few years after the CPA dissolved, Max joined the Greens and worked closely with Christine Milne, whom he considers has done an “outstanding job” as their spokesperson on Global Warming. Yet always desiring a broader social issue agenda, he left the Greens to seek a more effective voice outside.

Active even in “retirement”, as well as his work with Now We The People, Max is now chairperson of the Derwent Waters Retirement Centre energy subcommittee, working to bring green technologies like solar power to the village and advising the occupants on how to save power and reduce costs.

“You see”, said Max as a yacht flipped on its side and the crew spilled into the choppy water, “the essential issue is the economy, how we produce things, and lifestyle.”¹⁹⁶ His eyes glistened up just a little as the late afternoon sun shone in. The recorder clicked to say, the end. For now.

Coming Out, Speaking Out and Marching Out¹⁹⁷**Rodney Croome, Gay Law Reform and Identity Politics in an Island State**

Market day in Salamanca Place, mid-morning. A swell of vendors' chants bounced off the convict-built wool stores and whalers' warehouses, spruiking on anything from mutton birds to sweat-shopped silk vests to "Tasmanian" passports to Tarot-readings to radical politics. Near me, early drinkers from Knopwood's Retreat Hotel, once a portside brothel for sailors and later named after Hobart's first reverend and magistrate, a flogging parson, had come out for some spectator sport.

A gaunt man, with a patch of dried vomit on his jumper, dragged a dag of his scummy hair out of the froth on his beer.

"Look at the cock suckers!"

*A woman, her hair cropped short and shiny like seal's fur, spun around and spat, "Like y' mum, hey?"*¹⁹⁸

*He grimaced, sculled and withdrew into the shadows of the bar. Activists for law reform gathered signatures and distributed leaflets from their stall. Like crows waiting to tear at helpless flesh, a murder of cops loitered nearby, cawing over their pink paper lists of suspects.*¹⁹⁹

*On a signal, the cops converged on the stall as a din of protests exploded and leaflets and pages of signatures flew in the sea-breeze like giant, oblong confetti. When the loaded paddy wagons drove out passed Parliament and the Supreme Court adjacent to the market, with faces imploring through the meshed windows of the wagons' rear doors, everyone stopped shouting to wonder at the disappearing eyes.*²⁰⁰

This was 1988.

Heterosexual relations in early Van Diemen's Land, putting aside such a pronounced gender imbalance, were a lagging representation of eighteenth century England when marriage was a business affair, mostly to protect the man's interests.²⁰¹ For the proletariat (those who owned little more than the shirts on their backs— if that), it was as pretentious as it was irrelevant.²⁰² Marriage was as useful for sexual love as a limp dick. In Van Diemen's Land, even Lieutenant Governors like John Bowen (1803-1804), David Collins (1804-1810) and William Sorell (1817-1824) reverted, as it were, to an older Georgian custom of serial monogamy and bastard children— though with parental affection.²⁰³ But values were changing as capitalism wrought a new strategy. Legitimate sexual love and biological reproduction was to be made the monopoly of property law,

blessed by churchmen. This handed ammunition to Sorell's opponents who were able to successfully exploit the changing morality to have Sorell recalled because, amongst other issues, he was cohabitating with a Mrs Kent— after 14 years of formal separation from his wife.²⁰⁴

Meanwhile, Reverend Robert Knopwood fell out with his colonial Governors.²⁰⁵ (Knopwood was also giving the bottle a proverbial flogging; perhaps developing bad habits after sharing too many of the gregarious Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Davey's favourite mix, *Blow M'Skull.*)²⁰⁶ Just as the colony had begun to reorient its sexual culture, Knopwood was replaced by Reverend William Bedford in 1823. Before Bedford developed a reputation as a liar, mischief-maker, back-biter and thief, he was a god-botherer on a mission of a conjugal sort, determined to promulgate the new gospel of the evangelical bourgeoisie.²⁰⁷ This archetypal fire-and-brimstone parson thundered from the pulpit against, as it would be impugned, "extra-marital" sex. He expected to see every adulterous convict behind bars.²⁰⁸ Then in the finest traditions of pious hypocrisy, "Hollie Willie", as the convict women dubbed him, made lecherous advances towards his parishioners in the Female Factory.²⁰⁹ This sort of behaviour, for which the clergy have earned an unenviable reputation over the years, promulgated mostly cynicism— through all classes. Alas, as some rebel boffin observed, religion is the sigh of the oppressed, and, as the convicts were definitively oppressed, they sighed religiously lest there be a worst hell than the hell of Van Diemen's Land.²¹⁰ So for convicts suffering even the worst of conditions, suicide was not an option. Their souls as well as their bodies were objects of the gaoler's discipline. The likes of Bedford made a living out of frightening the bejesus out of the begaoled like pedlars of ghost stories frighten children.

Even more, as children became to be deemed as the only justification of sex, only heterosexual acts would be approved. Though homophobia had been on the rise in British culture through the eighteenth century, this urgency of the ruling class to control all sex, and subordinate it to the imperatives of biological reproduction as a function of capital, invigorated homophobia with a profound urgency. So Van Diemen's Land's convicts, especially as they were usually forced into single gender confinement, were inevitably placed under a heightened scrutiny. The convicts resisted authority by exploiting their very confinement to enjoy same-gender bed-ins.²¹¹ The penal authorities responded with punishment for homosexuality (offending women were castigated as "pseudo-males") by separating and exiling offenders into assignment as servants in disparate corners of the colony, though the clergy were horrified that a "sodomite"

could enter a “respectable household”.²¹² (The crime of “Sodomy” in Van Diemen’s Land did not distinguish between same-gender sexual love and same-gender rape or paedophilia or even bestiality, including intent.)²¹³ Reporting on a sodomy case, the *Launceston Advertiser* complained, “...each day brings with it some fresh specimen of insubordination on the part of the very few prisoners stationed in [George Town], which already threatens the interests of the free population with destruction, and if permitted to continue, must drive every respectable inhabitant from the township.”²¹⁴ The despotic reflex was an extension of convict sentences, including hard labour, for sexualised rebellion; even flashing the flesh between same-gender prisoners could lead to a stretch in irons.²¹⁵

In Bedford’s wake, there arrived in 1831 yet another notable purveyor of souls, the Reverend John West. By 1841, West, with capital from Richard Aikenhead, had founded and was writing regularly in his *Launceston Examiner*, not a religious paper as such but a paper for the religious.²¹⁶ For West, God was to become a political calling: the abolition of convict transportation.²¹⁷ Though Hobart grew to be the biggest city in the Australian colonies in the 1840s, this boom soon spiked and clear signs that the economy of Van Diemen’s Land was stalling would become apparent even before Victoria’s gold rush wailed its siren song, enticing potential capital and labour to the other side of Bass Strait in the 1850s.

As early as 1843, West was howling against transportation at a meeting of the Congressional Union.²¹⁸ He was to prove to be as fervent and charismatic on the issue as the liberal Parliamentarian, Richard Dry, who led the abolitionist “Patriotic Six”.²¹⁹ Not surprisingly, transportation was anathema to the working class who were forced to compete with the slave labour extracted from convicts under the threat of the treadmill and cat-o’-nine-tails. But when the emancipists began to organise towards the end of the decade, West and his class peers recoiled in horror. West later described the workers’ Prisoners Protection Society (Tasmanian Union) as “monstrous” and “a memorable warning against penal colonization and the creation of a caste embittered by ignorance and revenge!”²²⁰ Nonetheless, this adroit political activist courted the working class and had united abolitionists throughout Australia by 1850.²²¹ Yet abolition was splitting the ruling elites in Van Diemen’s Land. The conservatives wanted a continued supply of cheap labour while the reformists could see that the “hated stain” warded off the skilled and financed free settlers that the likes of West saw as the economic future of the colony. (Ironically, West’s own press against the evils of convict society added to the

bad publicity.)²²² The ruse was to find an issue which his opponents could not refuse; in today's polispeak, he would "wedge" the conservatives.

West fell back on his Congregational hatred of a supposed "unnatural crime". A spectre haunted Van Diemen's Land, he bellowed from his pulpit, through his newspaper and at public meetings. It was the spectre of sodomy in the south seas. A piece of doggerel, in tribute "to the freemen of Tasmania" (so disowning the official nomenclature of Van Diemen's Land) by "Chrisianos" (possibly West himself) was published in the *Launceston Examiner*, linking the fate of Britain's sons and daughters with Sodom.

Shall fathers weep and mourn
To see a lovely son
Debas'd, demoralis'd, deformed,
By *Britain's filth and scum?*

Shall mothers heave and sigh,
To see a daughter fair,
Debauch'd, and sunk in infamy
By *those imported here?*

Shall Tasman's Isle so fam'd
So lovely and so fair
From other nations be estrang'd
The *name of Sodom bear?*²²³

From within government, the Colonial Secretary, William Gladstone (who had also fanned the flames of sexual innuendo to succeed in removing Lieutenant-Governor John Eardley-Wilmot in 1846), pressed the new Lieutenant-Governor, Charles Latrobe, to turn out every convict probation station for suspected homosexuals.²²⁴ Even clothing and bedding were inspected for semen stains.²²⁵ As evidence was scarce, Latrobe speculated that the mild Van Diemonian climate invited illicit behaviour outdoors, in the bush, hidden from the gaoler's watch.²²⁶ Fear and loathing invariably believes its own spin; in this sense it is the oxymoron of a "sincere" false-consciousness, a ploy in a bigger political arena.²²⁷ Homophobia emerged as the island's obsessive-compulsive disorder. It was mostly a witch hunt, though a few traumatised wretches were dragged before the courts and with even fewer convictions.²²⁸ Hangings for sodomy continued in Van Diemen's Land/Tasmania until 1863.²²⁹

West's tactic was decisive. Only a handful of hard-nosed graziers and a few other greedy merchants and their partisans in Parliament had the temerity to defend transportation.²³⁰ Most others on the island felt obliged to condemn it or risk being smeared as homophiles. Transportation ceased in 1853 and the island opted for the

moniker of Tasmania, which became official on the 1 January 1856, in the hope that its past could be forgotten. The real effect was to shift guilt from the bourgeoisie to the downtrodden emancipists. As for that “unnatural” history? Only “filth and scum” would dare to dredge it up. And they did.

Today, the pointy end of the state (cops and screws) is fond of drawing a distinction between the “Queen’s law” and the “Queen’s peace”. While the former is obviously a reference to parliamentary legislation, the latter, though it has a legal definition, tends to a euphemism for the exploitation of discretionary powers as fits the cultural values of the enforcement agencies; if by chance the discretionary power is not broad enough to “cover” a contingency, it implies the possible breach of legislation (in letter or spirit) as a means to an enforcement end.²³¹ It is often adjusted according to the enforcer’s perception of a detainee’s real power, as against the latter’s theoretical rights, and so is used more vigorously against groups with fewer economic and cultural resources— who are anyway the frequent target of the law’s actuarial logic (the judgement of people according to pre-assigned categories to guesstimate what they might do).²³² Of course, this is a whinging platitude of chardonnay socialists, latte lefties and other “elites” who presume to speak for ethnics (as if any of us are not!), blacks (who are apparently not ethnic?), the homeless, youth, and, until maybe recently, homoes, queers, faggots, fairies, poofs, nancies, pansies, shirt-lifters, hundred-and-seventy-fivers, water chestnuts, trannies, dykes, muffin-munchers, kissing fish and *vice allemande* and *etcetera* and *etcetera* and others of the other.²³³ (Notice how some groups are not illegal in themselves— as if that makes any difference.)²³⁴ Do not assume that your cultural capital, your middle class identity, will protect you. It is much more complicated. Social status waxes and wanes because power is always in flux. The norm is a process of negotiation backed by force; violence is its midwife.²³⁵ Like Billy Sorell, you just do not know when you might be deemed “unclean” and whisked away.

Rodney Croome, out front for the Tasmanian Gay and Lesbian Rights Group (TGLRG) and now described as “Australia’s most high-profile gay activist”, spent time in Hobart’s Liverpool Street lock-up where he listened to the cries of the arrested and then the grinding teeth of silence.²³⁶ His offence was in being right. Nothing unusual there. Croome is adamant that Tasmania has never been innocent.²³⁷ Except that his innocence was primal: the right to love. Tricky business, you say? Yes, lines have to be drawn somewhere. Tight lines? Maybe. But around whose necks and why?

History is marked and moved by convergences of currents which swirl into upwellings rich with life-forces. Stonewall Inn, Greenwich Village USA, was a

convergence of the social other. Here, reputedly in an establishment managed by the Mafia, a cross-current of American counter-culture mingled in a surge of anti-authoritarian lifestyle— if not vocation. The gay community, after suffering the witch hunts of the 1950s along with communists and other “un-Americans” (so forming defensive and therefore relatively conservative organisations like the Mattachine Society in 1951 and the lesbian Daughters of Bilitis in 1955), was finding a more strident identity hand-in-glove with other movements in the 1960s like those for Civil Rights, feminism, consumer protection, nascent environmentalism, Vietnam War protesters and sexual liberation in general.²³⁸ The Stonewall Inn had become popular not just with gays and lesbians yet also with the most marginalised of the marginalised: transvestites. The New York cops, like the institutionalised muscle of homophobia throughout the Anglosphere, made a sport (“poofster bashing”, as it is known in Australia) of raiding known night spots of LGBTs (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender/transsexual). At 1.20 A.M., 28 June 1969, cops from the Public Morals Squad burst into the Stonewall Inn.²³⁹ (Despite reforms to its anti-discrimination legislation, the Victorian “Tasty” nightclub was to experience a similar homophobic-motivated raid on 7 August, 1994; except the shift in social values since the Stonewall Inn raid saw the patrons successfully sue for \$millions.) As is their liking, the cops did their best to antagonise their detainees through various procedural degradations, especially against transvestites. But an angry crowd grew outside and the cops quickly lost “control”. To the shock of the cops, a counter-attack was launched by the fairies and their allies of stigma, like bums, druggies and hookers, in a succession of riots which rolled through the streets of Greenwich Village for days. And so gay power was born, struggled and quickly grew .

To celebrate this resistance, despite continued raids from the cops, the Gay Liberation Front organized a pride parade through New York and other major cities of the USA on the first anniversary of the riots. As a more conservative packaging replaced the militant slogans of the early events, the agitprop developed into a carnival of celebration with floats, dancers, drag queens (a special royalty), cheer girls and other parodies of gender identity in full queer gear. Initial setbacks like the Dan White assassinations in 1979 of San Francisco’s gay activist, Supervisor Harvey Milk (who had initiated gay law reform and defeated the homophobic “Proposition 6”), and gay rights ally, Mayor George Moscone, mostly served to strengthen the political will for gay rights.²⁴⁰ When even cops joined in with the parades in San Francisco’s famous Castro District in the 1980s it was obvious that great strides were being made in various senses.

Like many other countries, the LGBT community in Australia, no doubt finding inspiration in the University of Sydney lectures of politics academic, Dennis Altman, and his *Homosexual: Oppression and Liberation* (1971), followed with its Mardi Gras in the same city in 1978.²⁴¹ Formal permission from the New South Wales authorities was received and then, due to political pressure, revoked. The march went ahead anyway and the police moved to crush it. No doubt to their chagrin, most of the charges had to be dropped. Another Mardi Gras was organised for the following year and so it has been since on an annual basis, with television and radio broadcasting it live from the 1990s. Calling up Australian traditions, stubborn homophobic opposition has continued from upper house member and former minister of the Uniting Church, Reverend Fred Nile M.L.C., and his tang of the Old Testament.²⁴² Perhaps not surprisingly for someone of his views, he is particularly agitated at the “radical genderfuck artists”, the Order of Perpetual Indulgence, who danced around a giant replica of his head— on a plate of fruit, no less.²⁴³ Yet each year, as though in a play of historical comedy, he prays for rain on the parade.²⁴⁴ Nile’s zealotry is clearly subject to easy parody; Fred-Nile-look-alikes have even marched in the parade. With umbrellas! John West, who died in Sydney in 1873, must spin in his soggy grave.

A fatal complication arose in the 1980s with the first diagnosis in the USA of what would become known as Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) and the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV). Emerging as almost rampant²⁴⁵ in the gay community, it temporarily bogged the important gains made in social acceptability in the 1970s. Reactionaries like Nile preached from his *The facts on AIDS, “the gay plague”* (1984) and demanded that aids victims be thrown into gaol because, he claimed, the disease is punishment visited from above for “perversity”.²⁴⁶ The LGBT community responded to the holy stigma with a protest march explicitly against Nile.²⁴⁷ The Australian authorities, in contrast to policy in the USA which advocated sexual abstinence before marriage and zero tolerance of drug use, took the sober approach that the disease could not be contained by seeking to quarantine the three groups immediately in danger of infection (intravenous drug users, homosexuals and sex workers) into ghettos.²⁴⁸ Legislative reform and community education had become a public health imperative around HIV and AIDS.²⁴⁹ The Australian public was then confronted by an historic media blitz, initiated by the National Aids Campaign, with images of the Grim Reaper knocking down “bowling pins” of middle Australia in 1987.²⁵⁰ Two years later, an ALP Federal Government “white paper” recommended continuing education on the issue.²⁵¹ The new Liberal Minister for Health and Family

Services in 1996, Dr Michael Wooldridge, congratulated his Department's response for its "enlightened pragmatism...widely acknowledged as one of the best in the world".²⁵² He overlooks the heated struggle which was fought in Tasmania in this period.

Though common law is deficient on ethnicity ("race"), gender, sexuality and other issues of social identity, laws of anti-discrimination and/or equal opportunity were not enacted in Australia until 1966 when South Australia moved formally against racism with its *Prohibition of Discrimination Act*.²⁵³ The following year, with the "White Australia policy" in begrudging decline since World War II, and in the wake of the USA's *Civil Rights Act* (1964) and a rising international consciousness against racism mooring economic boycotts against formal ethnic segregation, a massive majority vote was returned in 1967 for the *Constitution Alteration (Aboriginals)* to finally recognise Australia's indigenous population as citizens in law.²⁵⁴ (Again, as many Aborigines have attested over the subsequent years, there is a yawning gap between legal recognition and the culture of law enforcement.) In 1973, the Federal ALP Whitlam Government passed amendments against the racist sections of the immigration laws, putting an end to the White Australia policy, and in 1975 it passed its historic *Racial Discrimination Act*. South Australia was in the vanguard to decriminalise some homosexual acts in 1972 and further reforms were achieved in 1975 and 1976.²⁵⁵ Then piecemeal, the various governments of Australia's states and territories began to pass anti-discrimination laws.²⁵⁶ Yet discrimination persisted as a day-to-day cultural practice and even gained in political profile in the 1990s with the surge to the right, manifest not only in Nile's continued re-election yet also in Federal politics with the rise of Pauline Hanson's One Nation and, from that master of Australia's neocons, Prime Minister John Howard's shrill dog whistling, "But we will decide who comes to this country..."²⁵⁷

It was against this background of a struggle over anti-discrimination law and culture which the LGBT community fought to gain legitimacy. In the corner and in the shadows there often lurked the John Wests, keen to cultivate and exploit homophobia for an ulterior agenda of power, almost regardless of the potential brutality of the means to their ends. While some progress was made legally and culturally on the mainland in the 1980s, by the end of the decade there was a running joke about Tasmania and a fictitious "Burnie Mardi Gras" where gays would ride sheepishly in the back of Holden utes while spectators would yell, "Go home, poofs!"²⁵⁸ The island state was now perceived as a homophobic backwater, a *Deliverance* country of Cahulawassee bushbillies in the deepest south who repressed their sexuality until a squealing violence was the only outlet.²⁵⁹ Inevitably, it was presumed, progress would drown the "inbreds"

in a flood of enlightened reason. Of course, as so often, it was not just hyperbole yet also a function of the mainland habit of transferring its guilt onto the smallest state.²⁶⁰ (Amongst numerous homophobic incidents on the mainland, two South Australian cops were unsuccessfully charged over the drowning of Dr George Duncan in the River Torrens in 1972, David Saint was bashed at a gay beat — that rictal pun! — in Adelaide’s South Parklands, on the 16 April 1991, dying of his injuries within hours, and the New South Wales Coroner’s Court re-opened an inquest in 2003 into the suspected murders of three gay men in Sydney’s eastern suburbs in the 1980s, described as “the tip of the iceberg” of violent gay-hate crime and apathetic cops in Australia’s biggest city.²⁶¹ Did Nile say grace? Did he pass the Twinkies?)²⁶² Regardless, the LGBT struggle in Tasmania took a decisive turn during those months of the Battle of Salamanca in 1988.²⁶³

Croome was an unlikely political animal. Born in 1964 and raised on a dairy farm in West Kentish (amidst the region of strongest Baptist affiliation in Tasmania) until he moved to Devonport at the age of twelve and then to Hobart at seventeen to study at the University of Tasmania, he looks back on himself as a nerdish history student.²⁶⁴ Nerdish or not, it has stood him well because conversation about his subsequent activism reveals a man keenly sensitive to Tasmania’s history, the philosophy of history and historiography. (He is also an avid student of literature, a writer and was once editor of Tasmania’s literary journal, *Island*, 1995-1999.) Typical of so many from the lush pastures of Tasmania’s northern rural communities, his youthful instincts were conservative.

“The only political party I had ever contemplated joining was the Liberal Party because I came from a familial and social environment in which that was the only party,” he said, grinning at the irony.²⁶⁵

It was, he reflected, a desire to belong; a notion which he argues is a powerful force in any society where the machinations of inclusion and exclusion are accentuated by an island identity.

Coming out in late 1987, coming out in the most personal and vulnerable sense, invariably a turning point in a life story — more so in era when such a declaration was evidence for an illegal act and harassment — Croome was anxious about where it might take him.

“Go to Melbourne like your cousin did,” his mum urged.²⁶⁶

Escape is a Vandemonian reflex, but escape does not oppose despotic authority, it just seeks to avoid as though that is change enough. Rather, the would-be member of

Australia's major conservative party pursued a radical solution. "Fortress Tasmania", the notion that the island was gay-less, would have to be challenged from within.²⁶⁷ So Croome stayed in Tasmania and attended a discussion group on gay rights and the law, from which emerged, in March 1988, the Gay Law Reform Group, which became the Tasmanian Gay Law Reform Group and then the Tasmanian Gay and Lesbian Rights Group.²⁶⁸

When Bob Brown, as the leader of Tasmanian Homosexual Law Reform Committee (THLRC), came out publicly to the press during his first Senate election campaign in 1975, his outing himself was virtually the exception proving the rule: closetness was all but *de rigueur*.²⁶⁹ When Tasmanian gays and lesbians meet in groups it was first names or false names only. This was the strategy of stealth, a hangover of America's Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis and also promoted by an Australian "Homintern" in bureaucracy who were fearful of persecution which would damage their careers.²⁷⁰ (Though Croome was to later argue that the label of "conservative" was an injustice given the challenges faced by the THLRC.)²⁷¹ Brown became more than preoccupied with environmental issues and, so Croome remarks, "People like their gurus sexless."²⁷² As the joke goes, it's not easy being green. So the leadership would have to be found in someone else. At the University of Tasmania there was the Gay University Students' Organisation (GUSTO).²⁷³ By 1988, younger gays and lesbians inside and outside of university sought a more active identity through newsletters, such as *Pink Thylacines*, and the direct lobbying of politicians. The ALP's Judy Jackson presented a TGLRG petition to the House of Representatives.²⁷⁴ But many in the House were unreceptive and some were hostile.²⁷⁵ Blaring against the TGLRG from the Federal arena, were MHRs Bruce Goodluck and Max Burr.²⁷⁶ Regardless, a stall was set up at the National Aids Conference in Hobart in August and, encouraged by its success, Croome and others decided to solicit potential support at the Salamanca Market.

In the late twentieth century, and perhaps still now, so many people in western culture, those of its omnipresent yet ever-so-vague middle class, presume that they have basic human rights and that these rights are protected and respected. Certainly the TGLRG shared this value.²⁷⁷ Benjamin Franklin remarks somewhere that so many are prepared to exchange their liberty for security.²⁷⁸ It would be more correct to assert that some, too many, are willing to exchange the liberty of others for the security of themselves, no matter how contrived the threat. The freedom of a minority, it was argued (and still is!), should be traded for the security of the majority.²⁷⁹ Drawing on the worst of the island's history, there was a rumour of dumping homosexuals on an

uninhabited island as though the Black War, when Aborigines were removed to Flinders Island, could be revisited as a “Pink War”.²⁸⁰ Perhaps in the absence of the vile confidence tricks of “the conciliator” (George Augustus Robinson), Tasmanian M.L.C. Darryl Challis wanted homosexuals thrown into sanatoriums.²⁸¹ The spectre of the hideous Invalid Depots, where emancipists too old to work were forced to rot in confinement for their last days, loomed from the putrid cracks of Tasmania’s penal past. In the market place of cheap morals, it was offered as the discount of an era.

When discussion at an activists’ meeting considered that they could, even should, establish a regular stall at Salamanca, a hush fell over the group. An every-Saturday stall would make an easy target for homophobes in authority. One man stepped forward. TGLRG history knows him as Chris, a library assistant from Burnie. Chris volunteered because, as is so often the case when resistance is transformed from passive to active, he was prepared to take the risk for the very simple yet irresistible reason that he had had enough.²⁸²

As it eventuated, popular support for the stall grew prodigiously and even Tasmania’s conservative press gave qualified approval to the activists. But there was little help from the big end of town. As well as Labor’s Jackson, those prepared to make their support known publicly included the ALP’s State Opposition member, John White, the ALP’s Federal Minister for Local Government, Queensland Senator Margaret Reynolds, and the Director of the Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, Chris Sidoti. So many others were strangely quiet. Except, of course, the Hobart City Council (HCC) faction for homophobia led by Lord Mayor Doone Kennedy, John Freeman and Barry Fischer. Kennedy acted on the basis of a single complaint and banned the stall.²⁸³ The Liberal Government, under Premier Rob Gray, threatened to invoke the infamous Sections 122(a) and (c) and 123 of the *Tasmania Criminal Code* with the possibility, albeit remote, of 21 years in gaol for an accused man. (Lesbians were not recognised one way or the other in Tasmanian law.)²⁸⁴

When the activists defied the ban, Kennedy asked the cops to arrest anyone staffing or, incredibly, patronising the stall or found with gay and lesbian rights petitions, posters or even the pamphlet on healthy sex for gays, *Safe*.²⁸⁵ A wave of protests surged towards Kennedy and her faction. It became the largest act of gay rights civil disobedience in Australia. Between the end of October and the 9 December, 130 arrests were made.²⁸⁶ For many, it was a coming out by cop— disseminated by television news.²⁸⁷

“The police,” says Croome, “were pretty rough sometimes.”

The cops were up to their usual regime of cynicism, shutting the vents on the paddy wagons to restrict air flow under that ozone-holed sunlight and then driving so as to toss the prisoners like beads in a rattle.²⁸⁸ It was and still is the Queen's Peace on wheels, hands-free bruising to soften resistance before formal interrogation. After a rubber-gloved processing of the arrestees, yet another tactic designed to give offence, and then detaining around 100 protestors in gaol for short stretches over the period, usually for trespassing, senior cops would release the prisoners with the threat that they would be arrested again as they left their homes for Salamanca. It might have been a bluff, yet Croome and other activists foiled it anyway by sleeping, on evenings previous to market days, at other addresses offered through a growing network of resistance.²⁸⁹ The ominous clicks and whirrs coming through telephones at home made it obvious that the Criminal Investigation Bureau was tapping lines.²⁹⁰

Yet, like so many movements spawned from the now old New Left, the LGBT community is not a proletariat, it has cultural capital. Back room sources were suggesting that Margaret Reynolds was intimating to Kennedy that she was not helping the HCC's submission for Federal funding.²⁹¹ Even editorials in the press could sniff their age old enemy of political censorship.²⁹² If not exactly for gay and lesbian rights, they were anti-Kennedy if homophobia meant curtailing free speech— which undoubtedly it did. A self-serving line, yet pragmatic and useful for both the press and the activists under the circumstances. Even before the court case, the isobars of invisible yet heavy political pressure were building on the Lord Mayor no matter how stubborn her stance. The storm was threatening to snap her mulish will at the neck. In November, Kennedy started to turn. The activists' stall, she offered, could proceed but with the condition that it more or less abandon its politics.²⁹³ It was an attempt to avert a probable defeat. Not surprisingly, the TGLRG rejected the proposal. Then by the 9 December the lawyers for both sides realised that the HCC had not gazetted its boundaries of authority around Salamanca Market; in effect, Kennedy had no power to ban the stall.²⁹⁴ The TGLRG was awarded \$10,000 in legal costs.²⁹⁵ The battle was won yet not the war. The substance of the issue was the necessity to repeal Tasmania's homophobic laws. What had been won for now was space to campaign, especially to fight the reactionary troglodytes who had for so long controlled Tasmania's Legislative Council.²⁹⁶

In 1982, the Tasmanian Law Reform Commission had recommended the removal of homosexuality as an offence under the *Criminal Code Act 1924*. The Legislative Council killed it, other than changing section 122 from "unnatural carnal knowledge" to

one of “unnatural sexual intercourse”.²⁹⁷ In 1989, the Labor-Green Government made a commitment to reform. It was debated in Cabinet, with the ALP right forcing concessions from Premier Michael Field, under the *HIV/AIDS Prevention Measures Bill 1990*.²⁹⁸ This was to place consenting relationships for adult homosexuals merely in the context of a public health issue.²⁹⁹ It was a belated 1980s HIV debate. Yet the politics around Salamanca had driven the issue forward. The gay and lesbian activists made their protest known that relevant reform should be seen as a human rights issue.³⁰⁰ Brown and Reverend Lance Armstrong, now both Greens in the House of Assembly, pushed the bill.³⁰¹ Yet the Legislative Council, urged by Liberal MHA Roger Groom and the Legislative Council President, George Shaw, stubbornly refused to decriminalise homosexuality.³⁰² The struggle would have to return to the streets.

Politics is theatre, and Croome took the campaign to the widest audience yet in Tasmania, the mainland and overseas.³⁰³ After being ejected from Parliament for staging a “kiss-in” at a sitting of the new Groom Liberal Government in 1992, the TGLRG organised public meetings around the island.³⁰⁴ Some were difficult. Various homophobic groups, encouraged by state Liberal Attorney General Ron Cornish and Federal Liberal M.P. Chris Miles, like Reverend Robert Beeston’s FACT, David Cunningham’s CRAMP for disaffected Christians and Liberal voters, TasAlert and, the almost satirical yet ludicrously earnest, HALO, sprouted and then withered quickly in the warm humus of the historic moment.³⁰⁵ Bumper stickers declared, “LABOR HOMOS RU(I)N TASMANIA”, or asked rhetorically, “ARE THE GREENS FOR NATURE OR AGAINST IT?”.³⁰⁶ A fishy character from Launceston cast the evangelical line that homosexuals need “help towards normality”.³⁰⁷ There was a media-free, face-to-face row with Christian fundamentalists at St Helens and the growing residence of Baptists in the Break O’Day region; a necessary confrontation which Croome remembers as unpleasant.³⁰⁸ (Now the town promotes itself to tourists as “Gay-Friendly”!)³⁰⁹ Behind his full-time commitment were stalwarts like Richard Hale, Nicholas Toonen, Lee-Gwen Booth, Roland Sinn, Lavinia Savell,³¹⁰ Jacki Russell-Green³¹¹ and Jason Rostant to name some. Miranda Morris did her bit while assiduously taking notes for her historiography, *The Pink Triangle* (1995). Savell argued that even though Tasmania’s laws made no mention of lesbians, the laws promoted homophobia and so implicated lesbians as victims of an oppressive ideology.³¹² Her clarion call had more women joining the cause. Between the late 1980s and 1997, opinion polls swung solidly behind the TGLRG.³¹³

Many Tasmanian goods and services are dependent on “export” to the mainland, so Croome called for a nationwide boycott of the only state clinging to its homophobic laws.

In Sydney and Brisbane, his supporters picketed Tasmanian tourist offices, waving placards, blowing whistles and chanting, “We’re here, we’re queer, and we’re not going to Tasmania”.³¹⁴

Croome, Rostant, Sinn, and Hale proved the “ass-end” of the law by signing statutory declarations to “confess” their sexuality. Savell also turned herself over to the cops, fessing up that she had aided and abetted Rostant by letting him have gay sex in her house. The State Director of Prosecutions, Damian Bugg, felt moved not to move.³¹⁵

“According to the DPP,” noted a wry Croome to the media, “the police can’t look for evidence, and when they are presented with evidence, they don’t want it.”

If it was evidence for anything it was that the street politics of the TGLRG was spilling into the Government.

The Greens, first in minority support in Parliament for the ALP Government (1989-1992) and then later for the Liberals (1996-1998), oiled the political wheels for legislative reform.³¹⁶ In reaction, the paleocon faithful were especially mustered in the seat of Greens leader, Christine Milne, who was championing gay rights in those Houses overlooking the scene of the protests years earlier at Salamanca. A gun nut shot holes in her posters and rent-a-coward made death threats.³¹⁷ She suffered the insult of hearing the “Mouth from the South”, Michael Hodgman MHR, describing her on ABC radio as “the mother of teenage sodomy”.³¹⁸ The gays, it was reasoned, were to blame for the parlous economy and even, regardless of the boycott, for repelling tourists. The hate politics in this small, intimate island served mostly to repel the public.³¹⁹

On the outside, so to speak, Toonen complained in 1991 to the United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC) that Tasmanian law was in breach of Articles 17 and 26 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* which proscribed sexual discrimination.³²⁰ Toonen was then sacked from his position as General Manager of the Tasmanian AIDS Council. He submitted to the UNHRC that the Tasmanian Government threatened to withdraw the Council’s funding unless he was given immediate notice because the Government was embarrassed by his very submission; the Government’s homophobia had become a tautology which proved its victims’ criticisms in spite of itself.³²¹ The UNHRC found for Toonen in 1994.³²² Wary of an international embarrassment, both the ALP Federal Keating Government and Alexander Downer’s Federal Opposition voted to pass the *Human Rights (Sexual Conduct) Act 1994*.³²³ The

global gaze focused on Hobart. In 1997, Croome took the Tasmanian Government to the Australian High Court in reference to the new Federal law. The High Court dismissed the Tasmanian Government's application to have Croome's action struck out.³²⁴

Tasmania's wagon fort of sexual discrimination was wholly breached.

Its defenders were slow to negotiate terms of surrender. They had already held out against legislative reform in 1996. Indeed, at one point they even bluffed that they would increase the gaol penalties for homosexuals up to 25 years.³²⁵ Then in 1997, Milne made concessions on the Liberal Government's budget bills and, in return, expected that Premier Tony Rundle would accept the inevitable for gay law reform. Rundle told Milne, in effect, that she would have to apologise to Hodgman for his insult to her.³²⁶ Somehow or other, Milne managed to work a deal that made the key players look like winners. So Rundle conceded to a conscience vote.³²⁷ It went down to the proverbial wire with Paul Harriss, an independent in the Legislative Council, stalling his run until the last with an equivocal speech which had TGLRG representatives in the Parliamentary gallery holding their collective breath until he declared his vote for reform in the last sentence.³²⁸ So Tasmania came in from the cold with its *Criminal Code Amendment Act 1997*.³²⁹ With the ALP's election victory led by Jim Bacon in 1998, the previous reform was then consolidated and broadened with Attorney-General Jackson's *Anti-Discrimination Act 1998* and the *Relationships Act 2003*.³³⁰ (The latter passed through the Legislative Council only after the Government agreed to remove recognition of parenthood for lesbian partners of biological mothers.)³³¹ Croome praises Jackson, regardless of her quirks as a public figure, comparing her political talents to the "dumb" genius of the Roman Emperor, Claudius, for what the LGBT community proclaims as world best legislation.³³² (Richard Flanagan was to later accuse Bacon of opposing Jackson's motions for further reform in the Cabinet.)³³³ In 2007, the "Pride and Prejudice" anti-homophobia policy was implemented in schools.³³⁴ This was an historic consummation of a campaign which had been waging at least since 1978 when California's "Proposition 6", seeking to ban gay and lesbian teachers and their supporters from schools, was defeated at the polls.

In hindsight, as Milne is reported to have declared, 1997 was as though a proverbial "Franklin Dam" of history had burst; the surge carrying Tasmania to the forefront of progressive reform.³³⁵ The victory, Croome proclaims, was ultimately a result of the open-heartedness and generosity of Tasmanians and their capacity for change. (He did not mention that Hale, Toonen and himself were officially honoured by Government for, as it were, bravery under political "fire".)³³⁶ Consequently, Tasmania has come

from worst to best.³³⁷ (Though the press still exploits homophobia for cheap titillation.)³³⁸ Community education, organised by the TGLRG and distributed in part by the media, was a key. Even newsworthiness, as journalists like to say, became a political force for reform.

Croome has since continued his activism to seek equal recognition for the LGBT community around issues of blood transfusion and marriage.³³⁹ Health agencies, such as Red Cross, have a policy of screening out blood donations from homosexuals because of concerns about HIV/AIDS.³⁴⁰ Croome has vigorously opposed the policy as out of date and discriminatory.³⁴¹ The Liberal Federal Howard Government did its doublethink-best to ban same-sex marriages with its Marriage Amendment Bill (2004) while claiming that it was not targeting gays.³⁴² Croome accused the Government of trying to “set in concrete the second-class status of same sex relationships for years to come.”³⁴³ It was an all too familiar neocon ploy:

The Coalition government has a long record of beating up minority issues into threats to middle Australia and then presenting itself as the only solution to these threats.

First it was Aborigines and Wik. Then it was refugees and the *Tampa*. Now it's homosexuals and marriage. Pink is the new black.³⁴⁴

The irony is that Howard's ploy had the effect of moving the issue to centre-stage for the LGBT community.³⁴⁵ (Though subsequently both ALP Prime Minister Kevin Rudd and ALP Tasmania Premier David Bartlett have resisted internal party endorsement for same-sex marriage.)³⁴⁶ Croome wants to see laws for Tasmania modelled on Canada and the Netherlands, including registered partnerships to provide same-sex couples the legal and social benefits of traditional marriage.³⁴⁷ Yet, if same-sex couples want to marry then they should be given equal right to do so. Generations weaned on Frederick Engels's revolution against marriage and by second-wave feminism, which also sees the institution as a ham-fisted brothel in all but name—or even worse, are still sceptical of wedlock.³⁴⁸ Croome argues that this is a baby-boomer perspective not shared by X's and Y's. Feminism, he claims, has “defanged” marriage, so there is little left to fear so long as it is a right distributed equitably.³⁴⁹

In 2007, the TGLRG thought it appropriate to seek a formal apology from the HCC as a gesture of reconciliation for both sides and to move related issues forward.³⁵⁰ Eagerly taking up the suggestion, Lord Mayor Rob Valentine offered to make a formal apology on behalf of the HCC on the twentieth anniversary of the Salamanca victory, the 10

December 2008. The preliminary event was TRESPASS, an initiative of the TGLRG with the support of the HCC. It was a photographic exhibition of the protests twenty years earlier held on sight in a wool store at Salamanca.³⁵¹ Then framed by the huge copper organ pipes atop polished blackwood at the formal reception in the Town Hall, Valentine declared the HCC's resolve never to perpetrate such oppression again.³⁵² With Senators Brown and Milne and the new ALP Premier, David Bartlett, in the audience, the formal apology was read to those arrested, their supporters and council officers at the time.³⁵³ (The HCC will also open a public exhibition to commemorate the 1998 arrests.)³⁵⁴ Croome embraced the gesture for a more inclusive culture on behalf of the TGLRG as equal citizens in a just land.³⁵⁵

“We've gone from being one of the most oppressive places in the world to one of the most progressive,” he declared.

The audience roared its applause. Croome cried. The celebration continued over finger food (the *petite friture l'éperlans* was particularly good), beer and Taz bubbly and eventually rocked to a night spot up the road.³⁵⁶

Yet sometimes there is political will and sometimes there is pig-headed denial. Aldermen John Freeman and Darlene Haigh were on the HCC when it closed the stall at Salamanca. They resent the apology. Haigh told the press that the HCC should have “kept on confiscating”, as if people can truly give up their sexuality to the state.³⁵⁷

As with environmentalism of the 1980s, the TGLRG grass-roots campaign, taking the issues to the public in the streets and homes of the island through the gloomy days of the 1990s recession, was able to forge ahead in unison with other movements, such as Aboriginal activism and feminism, to open what is arguably the most liberal period in Tasmania's history.³⁵⁸ It is an eminent example of the potential power of street politics and the force it can bring to bear on the formalised power of a council or a parliament. Though Croome considers that this is not recognised enough on the Australian mainland where negative stereotypes are still the stuff of media stories on Tasmania.³⁵⁹ Nonetheless, legal historians reference the TGLRG campaign as a significant development in Australia's anti-discrimination laws. It also raises thorny questions about the reflex to gaol (state violence by any other name) as a first strike in a controversy over human rights. Lest we forget. Again.

From the Kaos Cafe, the same place where the LGBT community partied after the HCC apology two days earlier, Croome and I wandered down North Hobart's Elizabeth Street towards our cars after an interview over lunch. (The muzak, chatter with the service staff, salad crunch and drink slurps inadvertently recorded on tape for posterity!

What would Keith Windschuttle make of such “oral” history?). We chatted about his future. Croome mentioned that he is planning to publish his narrative of collected Tasmanian folk stories and fairy tales in the near future. It seems an almost dream-change from the traumas of the past twenty years. After publication, he said wistfully, he is going to look for “regular employment”. For a reluctant radical, it is a return to the norm but never to the way it was. It is where Rodney Croome belongs.³⁶⁰

Fellow Slaves!**State Terror, Class Oppression and Resistance in Van Diemen's Land—Tasmania**

Then there were the cock fights in the Theatre Royal with the emancipists and sailors slopping down tankards of smuggled rum on draughts of the local beer from The Shades tavern nearby and rolling in amongst a gaggle of pipe-chewing prostitutes, orphans, the homeless, paupers, insane and haggard, already sozzled on chipped cups of gin or colonial grape wine, to barrack in the pit or dance to the strains of a hurdy-gurdy, fiddle, hoboy and tambourine, if just to annoy the gentry in the boxes above.³⁶¹ The gentry was easily annoyed.³⁶²

This was when you could take a stroll by the docks in Hobart Town to watch the swell course up the Derwent River with a surge powered by whales which were once so playful there they kept the colonials awake at night.³⁶³ Envisage an islet where the docks are today and from which grew an arching Blue gum with a canopy almost covering it from shore to shore. A mature example of the species (which was to become Tasmania's floral emblem) it was first admired by British administration as a fine gibbet tree.³⁶⁴ This was on Hunter Island.³⁶⁵ Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Davey used this tree to hang the bodies of executed wretches in chains. State terror was aimed at all new arrivals, convict and free alike.

The ultimate in colonial discipline here was first extracted against Thomas England, a marine from the New South Wales Corps, when he was forced to take that "launch into eternity" in 1806 for the heinous crime of stealing pork.³⁶⁶ Consecutive Lieutenant-Governors continued with their in-your-face hangings for twelve years.³⁶⁷ But the sight of dead men waving in the sea breeze was not a greeting fit for ladies, opined the press.³⁶⁸ It was gallant of the *Hobart Town Gazette* to come to the rescue of the said delicate disposition of the women, yet bodies rotting above the wharf are not usually the best advertising with which to attract trade. So, in concern for middle class discomfort, Lieutenant Governor William Sorell had new gallows erected at Queensborough (eventually the site of the Wrest Point Casino), out of the sight of genteel dwellings.³⁶⁹ At this rise on 28 April 1821, Sorell had ten men hanged, Van Diemen's Land's first mass execution.³⁷⁰ Multiple hangings delighted the press and years later, after five men were hanged in a day, it was lauded as the social occasion of the week.³⁷¹ The noose was applied for murder, rape, burglary, forgery, "bolting" (absconding from a gaol or penal settlement), homosexuality and duffing stock.³⁷² Men, women and children, sometimes in their thousands, gathered around the gallows as though it was as

entertaining as a circus, munching cake and guzzling lemonade or something stronger, even as thieves picked their pockets while the condemned had their spines stretched for similar breaches of law.³⁷³ So much for deterrence.

The two-faced despot, Lieutenant-Governor George Arthur, arrived in 1824.³⁷⁴ An idolater of power, especially his own, he had the earnest faith of his class peers in the sanctity of property, and used his term in office to contrive for himself generous tracts of Van Diemen's Land.³⁷⁵ He was also fond of his autograph, especially on death warrants.³⁷⁶ Confronted by an rapid increase in the incidents of escaped convicts, described as bolters or later as bushrangers (this term possibly originated in Van Diemen's Land), including cannibals and a baby killer, Arthur's reflex in a crisis was clinical state violence.³⁷⁷ He had a tendency to sadism in the style of traditional English mustard, quaintly vicious without any overt sexual stimulation and very legal.³⁷⁸ Ostensibly an anti-slaver while also an ardent defender of convict labour, he would protest to his superiors on religious grounds about having to govern with the rope and the whip, and then dispensed death and pain with more frequency on the island than any other government before or since.³⁷⁹ During Arthur's reign, there were more people hanged for crimes against property than for murder.³⁸⁰ One hangman, "Happy" John Dougherty, who was a favourite of Arthur's and of the gallows crowds', was also a flogger who enjoyed a drink after his deadly labours.³⁸¹ Happy was deliriously busy under Arthur. He executed 23 men in just five days, building to 103 men in 1826 to 1827 alone, giving the Lieutenant-Governor a trophy count of 260 executions for his 12 years of tenure in this office.³⁸² This included four Aborigines and, as the local press was inclined to say, "criminals of the other sex".³⁸³ Arthur took a ghoulish delight in having bodies slung up in public space, where ravens and other devourers of carrion could tear away a belly full of human flesh, because it terrified the public even more than the actual pain of death inflicted with the noose—dubbed by gallows humour as the hearty choke with caper sauce.³⁸⁴

While the average annual rate of executions declined after Arthur, with 1839 being notable as a year of zero hangings, the noose remained a frequent recourse of the judicial system until the late 1860's; there were 15 hangings in 1851 alone, 51 hangings between 1856 and 1865 (of which 29 were for crimes other than murder), while mass hangings continued to demonstrate their morbid efficiency until 1859.³⁸⁵ We can only speculate how many died from wounds inflicted after shootings, bayonetings and beatings by the Red Coats, Field Police, head hunters and private posses in pursuit of suspects.³⁸⁶

The first woman to feel sting of the rope breaking her neck was Mary McLauchlan in 1830.³⁸⁷ A convict-servant with a husband and two daughters in Scotland, her gaol report surmises that Mary's social connexions are "respectable" but her character is "troublesome".³⁸⁸ She was seduced by allegedly "a person of better education and higher rank in society than herself", and then gaoled for six days on bread and water before being sent down to a six month stint in the House of Correction for leaving the residence of her assigned master, Charles Ross Nairne, without his permission.³⁸⁹ The body of her new-born son was later found in the toilet of the local "valley of the shadow of death", the Female Factory.³⁹⁰ While her infant's father (probably Nairne) hid behind his cloak of respectability, Mary was made to stand trial under the "improved British System", pronounced guilty of murder on circumstantial evidence by an all-male jury of military officers, (who later begged Arthur's mercy for Mary), sentenced to capital punishment by Chief Justice Pedder, hanged and then dissected.³⁹¹ Mindful of colonial propriety, Reverend William Bedford artfully persuaded her not to name and denounce the father from the gallows as she had intended while he contrived, more than likely with threats of eternal damnation in hell, to get Mary to name her accomplice in the Female Factory, Mary Cameron— possibly her only friend in Van Diemen's Land.³⁹²

*As she fell into the drop, Mary uttered her last words, "Oh! My Lord!"*³⁹³
Indeed, Master Nairne.³⁹⁴

Public executions continued until 1856.³⁹⁵ This was the same year the colony officially changed its name to Tasmania and began self-government. (The ruling elite, while cultivating a rising homophobia against Van Diemenonian sodomy, were hopeful of marketing a new image to attract capital and immigrants against competition with the gold rushes across Bass Strait.³⁹⁶ They were also trying to manage a home-grown economic recession which coincided with the decline of cheap convict labour from the end of transportation in 1853 and their dread of the political potential of the growing number of emancipists.)³⁹⁷ To this parade of state sadism, add the threats of "secondary punishment" such as the floggers' dreamtime of Sarah Island and later the psychological dungeon of the "Silent System" at Port Arthur where prisoners were made to endure their terms without breathing so much as a sigh in protest.³⁹⁸ Arthur also introduced chain gangs in 1826 as a permanent feature of the penal discipline, much to the applause of the business elite.³⁹⁹ The same men were known to resort to illegal assault on their convict servants, if just to same them the bother of having to request official punishment through bureaucratic process. Few convicts saw the point of complaining to a magistrate because such officials were themselves of the same class as

the perpetrators of the violence.⁴⁰⁰ In sensitive consideration for minors, the government built a prison just for juveniles transported as convicts, near Port Arthur, with the innocent name of Point Puer (the Latin for boy is *puer*).⁴⁰¹ Van Diemen's Land also gained the option of the penal settlement at the hell hole of Norfolk Island in 1844.⁴⁰² Other technologies of persuasion came in the form of the cat-o-nine-tails, the treadmill, public stocks and reduced convict rations—sometimes to deliberately induce scurvy and dysentery.⁴⁰³ No need here for extraordinary rendition or torture by proxy, though the elite did experience moments of anguish. The right Reverend Robert Knopwood complained to his church congregation that the cries from the flogged men had cost him sleep.⁴⁰⁴ Given that he was also the Supreme Court magistrate who administered flogging sentences like he did communion hosts – *in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*—a holy hypocrisy might have occurred to those seeking his blessing. The sum effect was that the convicts were generally too awed to organise a broad resistance to this terrible authority.⁴⁰⁵ Religion, rum and dreams of escape into the bush, for convict and emancipist alike, were their usual opiates to balm the pain.⁴⁰⁶

Backgrounding the relentless machinery of official violence was the Black War (1824-1832), inflamed by the ruling class greed for land and their consequent strategy of genocide (as now defined by international convention), devolving for its own sake, which resulted in the deaths of hundreds of whites and innumerable more Aborigines, including women and children on both sides.⁴⁰⁷

Consider these distant facts and perhaps you can fathom why barely an eye blinked when a husband sold his wife for a barrel of rum and some sheep.⁴⁰⁸

Suppose you can put these events behind you. Then take a turn up nearby Campbell Street, in what was the working class suburb, if not the slum, of Wapping, and wander two blocks or so to number “29”.⁴⁰⁹ This is where you will find the Royal, in the style of a Georgian provincial theatre and designed by Peter Degraes (founder of the Cascade brewery in 1832), which opened in 1837.⁴¹⁰ It stands with an imperial air on a site which has also hosted stage plays, bare-knuckle boxing matches, religious meetings and a host of rallies—inside and outside. Walk up the steps, and turn about. Imagine it could be the 1850's and a crowd, similar to the one which would be inside, is milling below you on the street. Along with public auditoriums at the Albert, the Market and the Circus, this is a site of Hobart's theatre of street politics and you are on the stage.⁴¹¹

Some years after the opening of the Royal, the gentry were very annoyed by the tenacious little black man who railed at them on the front steps with his speeches calling for the workers to resist atrocious laws. He would announce himself with the call,

“Fellow slaves!”⁴¹² He knew slavery too well.⁴¹³ This was the son of a Negro slave, in turn enslaved as a political prisoner and sent in chains to Van Diemen’s Land with ten other politicals on the *Adelaide* in 1849.⁴¹⁴ He was a salty 61 years old when he arrived and, even before he had finished the term of his ticket-of-leave (t-o-l), he would rise on thin legs, made bandy by overwork, and speak out to political rallies at his full height of four foot and eleven inches (150 centimetres).⁴¹⁵ And, despite the phobia of the authorities, he was the only political prisoner sent to this island who stayed here and rejoined the movement for workers’ rights.⁴¹⁶

Meet William Cuffay, the militant Chartist who learnt his agitation skills with the tailors during their struggles in Britain in the 1830s and 1840s.⁴¹⁷ His charisma, dedication and fury inspired others to follow him as a leader of the Chartists’ left wing of “physical force” in their campaign for democratic rights. In light of his reputation, he was arrested after attending meetings of the “Orange Tree Conspiracy” in 1848 (a year famous for rebellions) where several speakers urged direct action against the government.⁴¹⁸ Vilified with racist slurs by the British press,⁴¹⁹ Cuffay proclaimed his innocence at his trial only to be prosecuted on the spurious evidence of the police spy Thomas Powell, convicted by a bourgeois jury (against whose pedigree of property qualifications he vehemently protested) and sentenced to a draconian 14 years transportation for the crime of “seditious convening of a public meeting and speaking at the same”.⁴²⁰ Of a married couple on a worker’s wages at most, his wife, Mary Ann, after an impoverished stay at the Chatham Workhouse following the trial, managed to raise the passenger fare with the help of sympathisers and eventually sailed to live with her husband in Hobart in 1853.⁴²¹ William moved out of residence at 77 Elizabeth Street, near his place of employment as a tailor where he worked for exploitative wages, to rent a cottage with Mary Ann at 42 Patrick Street.⁴²²

The island’s years of most extreme violence were behind it —not withstanding public entertainment at the occasional mass hanging and the continuation of the hideous Port Arthur prison —as the colonials settled into the complexities which characterise the class struggles of an emergent capitalism.⁴²³ In yet another symbolic gesture to new-found colonial identity, and also in royal celebration of the success of imperialist adventures against the Russians in the Crimean War, all political prisoners were granted an unconditional pardon in Tasmania in 1856.⁴²⁴ This was merely a legal stamp for Cuffay. He had already been hauled before the office of Lieutenant-Governor William Denison and received a metaphorical flogging for breaking the conditions imposed on t-o-l’s, forbidding him from entering such dens of iniquity as theatres and billiard

rooms.⁴²⁵ He was allowed to join religious or temperance societies yet Cuffay's calling was secular and of a spirit more distilled than disavowed. So he had reverted to the camouflage of a "model prisoner" while he operated as a covert radical.⁴²⁶

Then, as a free man, the radical re-emerged like a lion from his cage and leapt tenaciously into agitation for the workers' cause. The conservative press recoiled in horror.⁴²⁷ It was more than enough for the conservatives that Cuffay's prior arrival on the island had more less coincided with the birth of a political movement for emancipists, the Prisoners Protection Society in October 1850, later renamed the Tasmanian Union.⁴²⁸ It was variously dubbed a "mobocracy"—translated into the Latinate "ochlocracy" by those fellows sporting an education, or even the "Slumocracy" by the big end of town.⁴²⁹ The liberal's liberal, the Reverend John West who had led the abolitionist campaign against transportation, quickly rediscovered his true class interests and chewed bile with his elitist peers at the prospect of having to share privileges, like the right to vote, with a "caste" embittered by the bloody-minded oppression of British justice.⁴³⁰ This was a crisis for bourgeois power; the urgency to revamp the island's reputation was not only born out of economic competition with other Australian colonies who had raced ahead in seven league boots on the gold fields, drawing ten thousand labourers across Bass Strait.⁴³¹ Liberal reform, powered by the energy of anti-transportation welling up from the working class, had seemed to be as progressive as it was inevitable, if just to slow the exodus of free men.⁴³² While the increased costs of labour power had to be absorbed in the short term, the horror of a party of emancipists in Parliament was a price too high for employers; penal capitalism had not yet run its course.

The answer to both problems, the elites figured, was to be in new legislation for a Master and Servant Act which would in effect bind the servants (many of whom were emancipists) to their employers, even in breach of common law.⁴³³ Cuffay called a spade a dirty, rusty shovel in asserting that the authors of the Bill wanted to reduce working people to serfs.⁴³⁴ It threatened servants with thirty days solitary confinement with hard labour, denial of appeal, gaol without trial for specified periods and other terrors to deter, for example, quitting a job without a master's written permission, disobedience, swearing, "insolence", "immorality" (sexual misdemeanours on a master's premises were treated very harshly, especially for women), and other trivial offences normally the province of penal discipline.⁴³⁵ This would be adjudicated by magistrates drawn from self-approving "polite society"; which is to say, from the very same class of employers, particularly the graziers ruling fiefdoms of large land holdings

with numerous farm hands.⁴³⁶ It was to be further enforced by the founding of municipal police forces to target the “old hands” (emancipist labourers) not deemed to be fitfully employed; indeed, men were gaoled for weeks and even months for this offence.⁴³⁷ The intention was for the majority emancipist and born-of-emancipist population to be herded and exploited like animal stock.⁴³⁸ It condemned thousands to a life of itinerancy in search for work. The problem for the elites was how to control the potential nuisance of unruly men and women in between seasonal jobs. So along with legislation and the courts, the masters set about constructing a culture of revulsion for all things emancipist.⁴³⁹ Fear and loathing were the extra-political technology of control.⁴⁴⁰

Parliament passed its new Master and Servant Act in 1854.⁴⁴¹ At first it was viewed with a general disbelief and collective gasps at the arrogance of the elites. Then as details of its harsh injustices became public knowledge, a wave of angry resistance grew and formalised as the Committee of Working Men in 1855.⁴⁴² An election loomed for the following year. Politicians prevaricated, trembled, dribbled feint utterances of regret, shifted blame and then shifted allegiance. Suddenly, gentlemen considered reform. Employers were nervous, then stifled their angst as they became quietly assured that their political representatives were moulding a shifty plan. Politics is the art of compromise of course except when it is the art of only appearing to compromise.

Following workers’ meetings and a petition, a Bill of reform was introduced to the Legislative Council in July 1855.⁴⁴³ After its first reading, when its progressive intent became all too apparent to the interests of property, the reactionary forces channelled the process sideways through a Select Committee before a second reading could take place, buying valuable time to lobby members in the Council.⁴⁴⁴ Subsequently, the Bill was lost by September of the same year. The trick then, like a game of Shell, was to swindle the public so that another Bill would seem to move the legislation to where the reformists wanted it when, in fact, there would be no change in substance other than a begrudging reduction of gaol terms to fines in excess of what some servants earned in a year!⁴⁴⁵ And fine defaulters could still face gaol. The “new” Bill was passed in February 1856. It needed a deft sleight of hand, someone practised in the gentleman’s short-con, to spin it to the public. Charles Eardley-Wilmot had just the trappings of class, it was thought.

A son of Sir John Eardley Eardley-Wilmot (sic.), Lieutenant Governor of Van Diemen’s Land from 1843 to 1846, Charles was a veteran of the British wars against the Māori in New Zealand.⁴⁴⁶ He was full of good advice, and had previously published

*Advice to immigrants, in the shape of a few familiar chapters : pointing out their duties towards their employers and towards each other.*⁴⁴⁷ Here was just the friendly fellow to explain the new Bill to the vulgar masses. So he took up the task of self-publishing his lengthy pamphlet, *The Master and Servant Act, 1856: with explanations for the benefit of employers and employed*, because, he pontificated, workers seldom, if ever, peruse a newspaper.⁴⁴⁸ Why the workers would prefer to read his patronising gloss on the Bill rather than in the popular press or refer to the conventions of their own oral culture, Eardley-Wilmot does not explain. What is explained is that the “Bush-lawyer” cannot be trusted but that, apparently, he can be.⁴⁴⁹

While the pamphlet’s spruiking of the Bill proved only the cynicism of the elites, which alienated many from further appeal to the Legislative Council, it otherwise made not one jot of impression on the workers. Though, incredibly, the Bill remained on the statutes until the 1975, with some reform in the 1880s and again in 1934, the working class moved to a strategy of non-compliance, often in contempt towards official authority, and exploited competition between employers whenever labour shortages occurred.⁴⁵⁰ The Bill’s weakness lay in a medieval desire for master-servant relations in a volatile capitalism; simply, it was past its use-by date even before it appeared in the law books.⁴⁵¹ The formal legislation along with the concurrent culture of fear and loathing were countered with an extra-politics from the servants themselves: insolence, disobedience, idleness, feigned illness, violence and sabotage were their arts of resistance.⁴⁵² It became commonplace for the use of that classic tactic of workers’ struggle: the good old go-slow. So a counter-culture of recalcitrance was easily grafted over from the convict legacy. Even tramps resorted to arson if land owners refused them a meal.⁴⁵³ The servants’ tactics won them a quiet victory. From 1860, the Bill largely fell into disuse.⁴⁵⁴ Tasmania settled down to decades of genteel repression.⁴⁵⁵ Defeated but not destroyed by this, the gentry still had a nasty trick to play on the emancipists.⁴⁵⁶

Meanwhile, William Cuffay, “an old radical” as he now called himself, had been unflinching in his opposition to the Bill and the big end of town in general. The *Hobart Town Courier* scathingly named him as “the management” for a public meeting in opposition to the Bill.⁴⁵⁷ He was in fact voted up to chair the meeting. He later received a vote of thanks and, after tumultuous applause and cheering, took the liberty to remind the audience that the fight for democracy was what had landed him and others like him in Tasmania in the first place, and that was why the conservative press tried to smear him.⁴⁵⁸ Within days, the *Hobart Town Daily Advertiser* could not hide its disgust that men like Cuffay were agitating for the vote without property qualifications, and so it not

too subtly implied that he was ignorant, injudicious and violent.⁴⁵⁹ In 1861, Cuffay had some revenge in helping a hostile crowd to eject the proprietor of the *Hobart Town Daily Advertiser*, C.W. Hall, who had done his best to disrupt their meeting.⁴⁶⁰

Cuffay had numerous allies, emancipist and immigrant alike, agitating for universal suffrage, equal electoral districts, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, no property qualifications for members, payment to parliamentarians, a free press and better employment conditions for the working class.⁴⁶¹ Men like Sylvenius Moriarty, Charles Walker, John Walker and Joseph Jones. In the election of 1857, Cuffay lent his political acumen to Maxwell Miller's successful campaign.⁴⁶² Then there were those whom a contemptuous conservative press could not even bring itself to give a first name, as though calling convicts to muster, like W.H. Thompson, W. Lemon, W. Williams, Richards, Jeffrey, Hurst, Harris, Drury, Hollis and Filer.⁴⁶³ Cuffay also threw his energies into supporting the short-lived, reformist Ministry of Thomas Gregson.⁴⁶⁴ He was involved in no less than four election campaigns over 1861 to 1862.⁴⁶⁵

In 1866, Mary Ann died, and Cuffay, now in his seventies, sapped of strength, unable to work and forced by poverty to leave the little cottage in Patrick Street which he had shared with his wife for 13 years, withdrew from public agitation.⁴⁶⁶ He was in effect sentenced to endure his final days in that cruel, ruling class joke on emancipists: the Brickfields Invalid Depot, a prison for ex-prisoners who had nothing left to give up but their lives.⁴⁶⁷

Tasmania's Invalid Depots were a response to the growing number of old hands who arrived homeless in town streets when the labour cycle was in decline, especially for farm labourers, such as in winter. Rather than have the embarrassment of the gutters choking with the elderly freezing to death in frost or snow, the "traps" opened their gaol cells.⁴⁶⁸ For many ex-cons, it was an irony they had to gulp down with their breakfast skilly of oatmeal and water flavoured with a little dried meat. The government then institutionalised the process by converting convict labour hire depots into holding depots. At first, the emancipists could come and go as they needed. At this point, it might have seemed charitable. But the bourgeois, forever a bourgeois for the working class, was nervous.⁴⁶⁹ So prisons and charities, the two edges of the middle class sword of contempt for all things prole in Tasmania, were to meet at the brutal point of what the press nominated as a "stern necessity".⁴⁷⁰ A law was passed in 1872 which made work in the depots compulsory (except for the ill) and which disallowed freedom of movement from the depots.⁴⁷¹ Go to gaol: do not pass go: do not collect a pittance: sign here. Refuge became prison until death, if prison was not death itself for those too old

for wage labour. The ageing innocents were then subjected to in-house discipline: drinking, gambling and swearing were prohibited, staff wielded considerable punitive powers, and the “inmates” had no substantial recourse to complaint. Just shut the door! Government reports smugly confided that the broken, old cons were well behaved.⁴⁷²

This was William Cuffay’s final remuneration for services to democracy.

He had aggrieved to one of his last public meetings, “I’m old, I’m poor, I’m out of work, and I’m in debt, and therefore I have cause to complain.”⁴⁷³

Destroyed but never defeated, he spent his last days as a quiet and an inveterate reader in the Brickfields Depot.⁴⁷⁴ Cuffay died of “Senilis” at the age of 82 on the 29 July 1870.⁴⁷⁵ He was buried in the Holy Trinity Church cemetery in North Hobart. By special desire, his grave was marked in case friendly sympathisers might have placed a memorial stone on it.⁴⁷⁶ But the Church was extended years later and the marked graves were moved to nearby St Andrews Park. Many of the headstones are now illegible. The remains from the unmarked graves were buried close to what is now the Campbell Street Primary School. It seems that children’s indifferent steps are now all that mark in memoriam the grave of the black Chartist.

Ah, Billy Cuffay! Ah, Tasmania!⁴⁷⁷

About PAR**Deaths in Custody and the Movement for Prison Reform**

Failure to communicate is a watchword of prison warders who enjoy their job.⁴⁷⁸ It lies between the Nazis' Nuremberg Defence of "only following orders" and the sadist's sardonic sneer, "It hurts me to do this, but...".⁴⁷⁹ Her Majesty's Prison Risdon was a shrine to Tasmania's fear and loathing of the "criminal classes". Daubed in a hue as innocent as a Governor's new-born babe, the prisoners knew it as "the Pink Palace". For them, it was a palace of horrors. And that was how the authorities wanted it.

Here was a salute to the principles of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon that no one, not prisoner, not guard, not visitor, inside or outside, could so much as twitch without prison staff watching. Well, that was the confidence trick. As so often happens, penny pinching had compromised efficiency. Many of the cameras in the electronic surveillance system were inoperable.⁴⁸⁰ Over time, prisoners could work this out for themselves. Camera blind-spots became notorious as sites of assault.⁴⁸¹ So the guards felt obliged to turn to traditional technologies of control: batons. Nonetheless, escapes, illegal drugs and contraband were a significant cultural diversion.⁴⁸² The Ombudsman observed with dry wit that Risdon Prison was "one of the least secure maximum security prisons in Australia".⁴⁸³ The official rhetoric was of "the right balance" between containment and rehabilitation.⁴⁸⁴ In fact, the very insecurity of the prison had created a phobia to make security of containment as not so much a goal as simply the goal, almost to the exclusion of all other concerns.⁴⁸⁵ It became infamous for treating all prisoners as "serious offenders" regardless of their crime or their motive, including those with mental illnesses who were detained in its "special institution".⁴⁸⁶

Prison is a clean, well-lighted place where suicide is only a bed sheet's length away.⁴⁸⁷ There are no waiters of course, only terrified toadies, and the brandy is eau de les misérables, double-distilled, taken in snifters whenever one has mind The coffee is to die for. Some do.⁴⁸⁸ Here are the killing fields down under.⁴⁸⁹ "Deaths in custody" is screw-speak for "Yipee!" Welcome to hateville, the arsehole of the culture wars.

After a convict flogger was found extracting sexual favours from his potential victims and the cat-o'-nine-tails was banned at Port Arthur in 1848, (with floggings perhaps already down to about a restrained 1 in 50 convicts for the whole island in 1846), Commandant William Thomas Napier Champ and George Courtenay adapted the Silent System to have recalcitrant convicts hooded and forced to lie in silence—for the good

of their souls, if not the back of their heads.⁴⁹⁰ The gaol bosses were enamoured enough with this discipline that they had built a dark cell where inmates were dumped until they went blind and mad. Champ became so popular with the middle class that he was elected Tasmania's first Premier (1856-1857). Port Arthur closed in 1877.

Gone too is the golden age of gaols, especially the mainland's, when screws would routinely greet hardened crims with all the grace of a royal fart catcher's curtsy; then, at the whim of Her Majesty's pleasure, said crims' kidneys were thrashed with batons at their reception biff until they pissed blood.⁴⁹¹ For such sacrifice to duty, these robust screws were paid extra.⁴⁹² Some say the mainland is way ahead.⁴⁹³ But Justice Nagle whinged...⁴⁹⁴ In the shadow of every liberal skulks a fascist. Now supermax correctional facilities, even complete with racial segregation, do what batons never could.⁴⁹⁵ Ah, Prison Reform: for the benefit of the working class.⁴⁹⁶ Oh, for bleeding kidneys! Elsewhere, in low to medium security, the screws have no end of tricks. New crims are shut into a welcome-cell for several hours where their eyes strain to tears in the dark and only the stench of an open dunny can, filled to the brim with the turds of this week's visitors—society's excreta, signals one end of the cell from the other. Grumpy crims are given a chance to protest the occasion, to vent their feelings, to proclaim their supposed rights.⁴⁹⁷ For example, the screw or cop might "bump" or otherwise subtly antagonise an aggrieved crim. (Or it might not be so subtle, as in the ritualised humiliation of strip-searches.) The latter, fit to burst, will probably respond with vigorous body language. It's all the screw needs. A murder of dark uniforms is whistled up. Batons are drawn for a bit o' biff. Crim will whimper behind bloodied fingers. Lesson learnt. Though the screw might return for a night visit just to sink a boot into a sleeping face.

A favourite trick to play on the uninitiated is an upgrade of the old Silent System.

Screw: "Don't say another word. Capisce, bright boy?" (Screws love tough-talk cliché.)⁴⁹⁸

Crim: "Sure."

Screw: "'Sure'? 'Sure' is another word. You can't say you weren't warned."

And so, with the pedagogic aid of broken ribs, another lesson is learnt. Of course these are the mind games of brainless sadists.

The real fear, the real technology of control, the Benthamite dreaming, is in not truly knowing your fate. You are now somebody else's "responsibility"; which is to say, they will do with you as they see fit; you are the mouse in the cat's claws. It is the annihilation of that hackneyed phrase, making history. On the outside this is only perceived in the abstract as psychological control. In prison it is understood in a sense

best described as the emotion of falling down a bottomless pit; at least the pit had better be bottomless or else a splattering death is certain. To imagine prison you need to conjure this dread of the unfathomable, alone, at night and without a light.⁴⁹⁹ It will speak to you of what “the dead of night” means: Our nothing who art in nothing, nothing be thy name, nothing be your name, your name, yours, you, nothing.⁵⁰⁰ So why do we build these walls? For that blood-lust of middle Australia, Law & Order? Omertà.

Risdon was Tasmania’s main prison from 1960, when inmates were transferred from the old convict barracks in Hobart’s Campbell Street, until 2006.⁵⁰¹ It was built in the Hobart suburb of Risdon Vale, only a carronade’s long shot up a brook’s gully from the site of the massacre of Aborigines at Risdon Cove in 1804.⁵⁰² This is where the British began their invasion of the island the previous year under Lieutenant John Bowen— in case the French had the same intention. (France’s alleged territorial ambitions for Tasmania have been realised only to the extent that it now uses Hobart as a base for its Antarctic operations.) No doubt King George III grinned madly at such imperialist innovation. The area has retained an air of the violent and the sad. Despite Premier Ray Groom’s return of land at the cove to Aborigines in 1995, it remains a traumascap.⁵⁰³ The local council and real estate developers would rather not mention it. Mark “Chopper” Read used to call Risdon Prison home, of a sort. Martyn Bryant still does.

Hobart’s climate is what meteorologists are inclined to term “mild temperate oceanic”. It is so “mild” apparently that keepers at the old Beaumaris Zoo on Queen’s Domain had Tasmania’s last confirmed “tiger” (also known by the Aborigines as “Corinna”, the Brave One) in such scant shelter, on a concrete floor behind bars, that it froze to death overnight as the spring air dipped below zero degrees Celsius in 1936.⁵⁰⁴ A similarly perverse attitude prevailed when it came to keeping humans in cages at Risdon. This was a prison which the media reported as modelled on an old design from America’s Deep South because the cells actually opened up and into the open air.⁵⁰⁵

In warders’ humour, “It’s cool, man.”

As time would prove, this prison was not so much about a similarity of penal architecture between the American South and Tasmania, it was about a similarity of penal cultures, including the legacy of the oppression of a class emancipated only in name; black slaves in the former and convict slaves in the latter.

In the 12 years up to 2001, the prison authorities oversaw 18 deaths in custody which were caused by “apparent unnatural causes”; in a word, suicides.⁵⁰⁶ Five of these, the

deaths of inmates Chris Douglas, Thomas Holmes, Jack Newman, Laurence Santos and Fabian Long, occurred over five months in 1999 to 2000. The subsequent coroner's report accused the authorities of a "superficial" level of supervision, buck-passing and not responding "in any meaningful way" to previous coronial recommendations.⁵⁰⁷

Tasmania gained the ignominious title for the highest death rate of all penal jurisdictions in Australia.⁵⁰⁸ When 100 prisoners rioted in protest at the conditions, Peter Patmore, then Tasmania's Attorney General, felt moved to express his heart-felt concerns:

"I feel no sympathy for the prisoners of Risdon. Every time I think of a prisoner and start worrying about his or her conditions, I think of the victims."⁵⁰⁹

In Patmore's public lexicon there were no victims of the system. Though behind closed ministerial doors he relented to discussions on the issue with the Office of the Ombudsman which was troubled enough to initiate its own investigation into Risdon Prison.⁵¹⁰ The Ombudsmen, Janine O'Grady, concurring with the State coroner, reported to the Government that the authorities had breached their duty of care.⁵¹¹ O'Grady particularly damned the Government's treatment of prisoners with mental illnesses.⁵¹² Meanwhile, fuel for a violent confrontation continued to build. Prison Action and Reform (PAR) tried to alert the Government to the growing tension.⁵¹³ It was in vain.

On 7 May 2005, some prisoners took a prison officer hostage along with several other inmates, demanding the resignation of Attorney-General Judy Jackson and her departmental minions. Jackson, appointed to the office a few years earlier and who brought with her a ministerial style which was both impulsive and ham-fisted, made public her contempt of the prisoners. A siege ensued for another two days.⁵¹⁴ In their list of demands, the prisoners included a pizza order. It was a joke meant to highlight the deplorable food. Though pizzas were delivered, a hostile media pounced to report it as evidence of a gaol festooned with luxury appointments where the prisoners could only complain about, as it were, *la scienza in cucina e l'arte di mangiare bene* (the science of cooking and the art of eating well).⁵¹⁵ Prisoner advocates were compelled to specifically deny that the prisoners had asked for breakfast in bed on Sundays.⁵¹⁶

Then on a churchy Sunday in 2006, as Tasmanians chomped on Easter eggs or cracked the soft-boiled variety and dipped buttered fingers of hot toast while resting back against fluffed pillows, prisoners took keys from a female prison officer and entered into a 20 hour stand-off against the authorities. Jackson paraded her plans for a new prison, just nearby. PAR and a criminologist, Professor Rob White, pointed to the

obvious: the issue was not about bricks and mortar, it was about the culture of prison management.⁵¹⁷ The essential point was the abuse of human rights. The Government gritted its penal teeth. This siege ended when officers attacked with chemical weapons to subdue the 26 inmates holed up in a division of the prison.⁵¹⁸ With an election looming, the shadow Attorney-General, Michael Hodgman, repeated his demands for more prison staff so, as the media reported it, “to keep a lid on the troubled jail”.⁵¹⁹ Both sides of the Parliamentary chamber danced around the core of the prisoners’ complaints.

Caroline Dean had been studying sociology at the University of Tasmania, completing a major in crime and criminal justice, while also working in the Criminology Research Unit with Professor White and Kevin Tomkins, an ex-prisoner.⁵²⁰ Her academic studies had lead her to a conviction in rehabilitation for prisoners, particularly for those convicted of non-violent crimes.⁵²¹ She focused particularly on education like literacy, emotional intelligence, life skills and vocational skills, and the creation of strong re-integration strategies in and after prison.⁵²² Appalled by the reports of the conditions at Risdon Prison (including strip-searches of visiting children), and wanting to understand penology in reality, not just theory, she took on employment as a Prison Support Officer when she received an Australia Council grant for a project that involved exposing prisoners to various art forms, including poetry, film, playing drums and song writing.⁵²³ She assisted prisoners in getting their poems published in the literary journal, *The Famous Reporter*. In conjunction with local Aboriginal Art gallery, Art Mob, she also established the Yala Aboriginal arts program which encouraged Aboriginal prisoners to learn to paint and then to sell the paintings. They held an inaugural prisoner art exhibition and found sponsors to support the program.

Dean quickly discovered that penal officialdom was adversarial to anyone perceived as an outsider. Her experiences at Risdon, where her obvious values earned her respect from the prisoners while making her vulnerable to bullying by staff as an alleged “crim lover”, brought her to understand the modern penal system as a function of bourgeois violence.⁵²⁴ The problems were aggravated in Tasmania because its uni-prison system, unlike the multi-prison system in other Australian states, does not allow an internal measure of relative accountability. Instead of following examples like New Zealand which had undergone extensive and successful reforms 30 years earlier, Risdon’s warder culture remained paramilitary. At times Dean felt as though she had joined a proverbial Gestapo to reform the Nazis. It became clear that prison management was not really interested in rehabilitation, only in the spurious strategies of detention,

punishment and deterrence. The prison itself was an injustice. Staff had dubious discretionary powers and the system tended to be an arbitrary reflex of the characters who controlled it. Worse, it lacked what she calls cultural memory and tended to reinvent the same game of “discipline” over and over.⁵²⁵ Incensed by this offence to humane sensibilities, she sought out PAR.

PAR was an activists’ group formed in response to the five deaths in custody that occurred between August 1999 and January 2000. Chris Wever, Vickie Douglas, Rose Macaulay, Judith Santos and others founded PAR to struggle for reform of what they saw as a primitive and brutal system which had been starved of funds. Douglas had lost her son in prison and Macaulay and Santos had also lost loved ones there.⁵²⁶ Educated in the literary arts as well as relevant social sciences and committed to the cause of prison reform, Dean would later emerge as the President and media spokesperson of PAR.

Using their visitor access to prisoners, as well as Dean’s official access as she continued to work “undercover”, PAR compiled a detailed list of 509 complaints made by the inmates about their conditions from issues of physical and psychological abuse, inmate management, family support, safety, food, custodial officers, physical and mental health and information access.⁵²⁷ Jackson, no doubt mindful that PAR had called for her resignation in 2003 and with a reputation for imbibing power neat and in double shots, mustered all her empathy to ban PAR from entering the prison.⁵²⁸ PAR in turn sought an administrative review in the Hobart Magistrates Court.⁵²⁹ Misrepresentation, perceived by PAR as a slur campaign against it, was then launched under the cover of Parliamentary privilege.⁵³⁰ Jackson loaded her political artillery with her own version of mustard gas and volley-fired battery after battery.

The authorities interrogated Dean about PAR. She refused to confirm or deny her association. Suddenly, she was obstructed in her work at Risdon. It became increasingly harder for Dean to meet the prisoners that she needed to talk with, she was unable to carry in her tools of trade, she was closely scrutinised and frequently delayed by officers when she entered Risdon or attempted to access other areas of the prison, her requests were ignored, she was accused of being “too close” to some prisoners, she was relentlessly questioned about her activities, and she was investigated for “trafficking a contraband item”—an essential oil.⁵³¹ As security was unable to obtain evidence of a breach, the tactics were revised. She then found herself “restructured” out of the prison pay roll, though she was able to continue for a while as a prison tutor on a voluntary basis. Meanwhile, Jackson was thundering about Dean as the “external tutor” with

access to the prison.⁵³² It was a warning which Dean could not quite figure. She was then tagged with a ridiculous, yet even more serious, breach of security: prison officials made the accusation that she had allowed one of her prisoner-students to steal plans of a new prison from an employee's desk while she was conducting a tutorial so that prisoners so could organise a mass escape after they had been shifted into the complex.⁵³³ The threat, of course, was that she could find herself locked inside the very institution that she had so passionately wanted to reform, a victim of the very inhumanity of which she had been the whistle-blower.⁵³⁴ This was officialdom's cruel joke. Charges remained only a threat, though Dean was banned from the prison and the accusation was never rescinded despite her written requests to the Director of Prisons.⁵³⁵ She then outed herself as a member of PAR and took the fight into the public arena. The group even camped outside the prison throughout the violent confrontations between inmates and warders in 2005, acting as a negotiator and media conduit for the protest.

As so often happens to small groups under pressure from the authorities and bereft of resources other than will power and courage, PAR began to crack. The very personal reasons which drove its founding members re-emerged as individual battles with the State. Dean's ambitions for a radical overhaul of the penal system had become to be seen as too broad and idealistic. (Though she describes herself as a "utopian pessimist" and as a "grounded practitioner" with little tolerance for "airy fairy theoretical perspectives".)⁵³⁶ Her approach was what she calls "macro" while other PAR members wanted to focus on the "micro" of day-to-day prisoner complaints. It became a quarrel about their overall strategy and the best economy of their resources. Dean argued that the Government would stall reform indefinitely if PAR did agitate for structural changes in the penal system. In the end, the inability to put aside personal issues brought about PAR's downfall.⁵³⁷ Vicki Douglas pursued legal action against the Government and won.⁵³⁸ But PAR was left exhausted. So was Dean. She collapsed with a nervous breakdown and could not work for 18 months.

Almost destroyed but never defeated, Dean remains passionate about bringing information and empowerment to the marginalised and against injustice, and is now a specialist trainer in workplace bullying and conflict.⁵³⁹ She might even return to PAR.⁵⁴⁰

Despite the opening of the new prison in 2006, conflict continued to erupt as PAR and others had predicted. Even the Community and Public Sector Union, representing prison staff, began to demand an independent inquiry in 2007.⁵⁴¹ The prisoners became a pawn in a power struggle between organised labour and management over working

conditions. True to the blind tradition established by his predecessors, the new Attorney-General, Steve Kons, threatened to cut “rehabilitation programs” and transfer the funds to pay a \$250,000 damage bill after what the media dubbed a prisoner “boredom-breaker riot”.⁵⁴² Indeed, what we have here is a determined failure to communicate. And so the penal cauldron continues to boil. It is evidence for the sceptical philosophy that the lesson of history is the obstinate refusal of so many to learn from history.⁵⁴³ Yet activists persist in agitating for reform in the brave hope that somebody somewhere in authority is not too arrogant to take the class.

As Abraham Lincoln observed, nearly anyone can stand adversity, but if you want to test for character, give a person power.⁵⁴⁴

Sexist Swine of Swansea
Feminist Struggle and “Assholes” on Tasmania’s East Coast⁵⁴⁵

There is a Swansea in Glamorgan, Wales, And there is a Swansea in Glamorgan, Tasmania. Glamorgan is known for its pigs.

Tasmania’s Swansea is a coastal village tucked between Great Oyster Bay and Moulting Lagoon where it lolls behind a swell of crystal blue crisping against the bone white of Nine Mile Beach. Here, on the lee side of the island where westerly weather arrives with a spent gasp, after the moisture laden fronts have dropped their load on the rainforests and highlands before the horizon, the climate is sunny and soothing in Tasmania’s oldest rural municipality, established, as claimed on council letterhead, in 1860.⁵⁴⁶ The locals, now more mindful of tourist dollars, nominate this as the “sun coast”. Protected from most of the turbulent gales which curse the other coastlines of Tasmania, the sea is so clear here that local legend recalls that the famous French diver, Jacques-Yves Cousteau, once emerged from pure depths to declare this site the finest temperate diving waters in the world. So they say. Today, international celebrities, like the English writer Nicholas Shakespeare, are grabbing the real estate in a little piece of paradise. They can boast to Northern Hemisphere metropolises of enjoying an “off-season” summer alongside an obscure sea (the Tasman), where beds of abalone stare up at the hulls of racing yachts scudding around hillside vineyards, in turn cultivating a *champenois* bead for plutocratic triumphalists, “somewhere down there below...”. Around the pinnacled glory of Freycinet Peninsula, commercial and game fishers chase the world’s last migrations of the delicious and tenacious southern bluefin tuna.⁵⁴⁷ There is also an annual fishing competition for the estuarine black bream on the nearby Swan River.⁵⁴⁸ This is a good comp for the kids; not so good for the bream. Languid visitors, postmodernity’s eco-tourists, wallow in a new service industry of national parks, penguin and devil shows, scuba diving escapes and cafes and restaurants peddling “Tas provincial”. Famous chefs, such as Michel Roux senior with three Michelin stars, are brought out by Brand Tasmania to chew-‘n’-spruik east coast regional, a type of *haute cuisine* with twang.⁵⁴⁹ Francophiles here, of a down-under sort, celebrate a biannual festival, From France to Freycinet, with a cycling race, model yachts and music. It’s a salute to that nagging question, what if French plough shears had invaded here instead of British sheep? Would a *cordon sanitaire* have been any less brutal than Arthur’s

Black Line? And why do guide books resort to describing Swansea with a cliché like, “laid-back friendliness”?⁵⁵⁰

In the bay and in full view of shocked tourists catching an eye-full along the scenic Tasman Highway, packs of killer whales have been spotted lunging at dolphin pods like Kelpies rounding up sheep, snapping at the dolphins to force them into the shallows where they panic-jump onto sandbanks, then to be left stranded as the tide recedes. When the tide rises again, the whales glide in to feast on dolphin meat.⁵⁵¹ Sometimes they don't even bother to return to eat their erstwhile prey. It seems that the whales sometimes kill their *Delphinidae* brethren just for the sport. Of course, it upsets animal lovers. Local folklore has it that Parks & Wildlife rangers have dispersed the whales by shooting phosphorescent flares into the water. Hey, it's nature! What gives them the right? On the other hand, this story of Swansea is about people. Nature is a doddle compared to history.

Like so much of scenic Tasmania, this area has a history with an ugly underbelly. It also has its heroes: accidental champions of a modern morality who paid the price of being ahead of a backward time and place—a legacy of the Georgian brutality which invaded this gentle terrain.

This history begins in January 1989 with a hairdresser who arrives with her fiancé as pioneering sea-changers. Rural Tasmania is numbed as traditional industries of farming, forestry and fishing cling to outdated technologies and then crack under the “recession Australia had to have” in the following year.⁵⁵² The abyss is yawning. So is Swansea.

Shortly before the recession, Denise Power, brimming with hope and enthusiasm after the fetid airs of Sydney, opens a small hairdressing salon, Denise's Place, in Swansea and signs on an enthusiastic apprentice, Sharon Coleman.⁵⁵³ Sharon is a young woman born from generations of local blood-line and who has dreamt for years of an opportunity to enter the beauty industry. The dream is to end in a breakdown and a shattered career, a victim of a prejudice which, like the nearby Blind Velvet worm, devours its prey with a toxic saliva.⁵⁵⁴ Denise's fiancé, Derek Wills, has ventured with Denise to this seemingly sleepy snug to offer his skills as a plumber. It is a long time since the town had a plumber-in-residence, so his trade is much appreciated. Denise's business is also soon thriving. The couple settle into their new life. They are relieved to have escaped the rabid scramble of a big city. Swansea seems to be a cradle of contentment.

Meanwhile, the Glamorgan branch of the Returned Services League of Australia (RSL), its current premises having stood sentinel over the town since 1957, continues

with business as usual as the centre of power in Swansea and the surrounding district.⁵⁵⁵ Here, even though the Glamorgan RSL's constitution prohibits canvassing, the town's important business and political decisions are argued and resolved over eights of Cascade Draught in the club's Members' Bar.⁵⁵⁶ Nosey tourists are diverted to the town's only hotel, the Swan Motor Inn, where men and women can equally admire the long public bar built of solid and rare Huon Pine.⁵⁵⁷ It is the sort of distraction which tourists can wonder at while the townsfolk sneer at the trivialities of greenie sentimentalism. Around here, folks get on with the real business of lopping trees for processing into export woodchips at the Australian Paper Mills plant in nearby Triabunna, not slobbering over the relics of a Gondwana yesteryear.

Swansea is on the border of Tasmania's "Mason-Dixon Line", a gentleman's agreement between the State's only two breweries, Cascade and Boags, to divide the island market for draught beer into two halves along an imaginary east-west line from Swansea to Derwent Bridge and on to Strahan.⁵⁵⁸ It is a line which exploits provincial squabbling. The breweries' agreement doesn't concern a community who enjoy this spite for those "others", the people respectively of the north or the south depending on one's sworn allegiance. Swansea prides itself as a border town, loyally guarding the south against incursions from the north, even, as it would turn out, from as far away as Sydney—that Sodom of the distant and apparently foreign "mainland" Australia. In the classic view of the bush conservative, Swansea is fine just the way it is.⁵⁵⁹

Denise gets on with cutting, colouring, styling and other arts of cosmetology while for Derek, as the plumbers' joke goes, the pipes, the pipes are calling. On 3 April 1990, two female tourists from Adelaide make appointments with Denise to indulge themselves in holiday hairstyles the following day.⁵⁶⁰ Is there somewhere they might order an evening meal? Like most of Tasmania at this time, gastronomy here is somewhere between the military rations of a convict past and the processed muck of British capitalism. The island has built a superlative reputation for seafood, beef, lamb, cheese, fruit, vegetables and wine. Alas, the priorities of a post-colonial capitalism, an "apple economy" rather than a banana economy, mean that most of this primary produce is shipped off for export. Generally, Tasmanians are yet to appreciate, let alone prepare and cook, anything more than the Anglophile blandness which is their historical repast.⁵⁶¹ Amidst this parade of gastronomic ignorance, McDonald's hamburger franchises and their ilk are sprouting like toadstools. The foodie revolution will have to piggy-back into the island on the next millennia's immigrant surge of tree-changers. Meanwhile, food whingers are just the sort of issue which sets apart new arrivals from the aristophobia

bequeathed from Tasmania's past.⁵⁶² The choice is fast food or fast food served slowly. Tasmania's east coast is especially famous for its scallops. Sadly the bivalve molluscs served in this region are neither local nor fresh (those are for export dollars), but they are crumbed! One is supposed to be grateful for such contempt, notionally referred to as provincial cuisine. Denise wishes the women luck and hopes that visitors from one of the nation's richest gourmet capitals will experience only a forgettable meal. Perhaps out of habit from their tours on the mainland, they wander around the corner to the RSL for a taste of country hospitality, Tasmanian style.⁵⁶³ But there is no meal for them at the RSL and they won't forget.

The following morning they appear at the salon to tearfully cancel their appointments, explaining that they had been ejected from the RSL Members' Bar with a fusillade of four-letter words and accused of being "disgusting" members of their gender.⁵⁶⁴ They then accelerate out of Swansea to leave the town chewing its own bile. Denise hasn't only lost their business yet has to face the possibility that future tourists will suffer the same insult. Of course, this would be bad for business. Regardless, there is a lot more at stake. This is the butt-end of the 20th century. Surely equal rights for women, even in this antipode of Anglo-liberalism, have to be recognised? It must be a misunderstanding? Confused, Denise asks Derek, who is an associate member of the local RSL club, to sign her into the Members' Bar for an after-work drink, just to test the waters. Despite the fact that she has gifted cash to the club and personally knows the members and the executive, including the President, Harold Shirsten, she is refused service for no other reason than that she is a woman. Ignoring the reforms in the 1970s to allow women equal access to bars with a liquor license in all Australian states and territories, and the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984*, under the club's by-laws, all associate members must be male and no woman or child signed in by a member is allowed into the Glamorgan RSL's Members' Bar.⁵⁶⁵ The barman, Pete Dineen, points her towards the Ladies Lounge, that forum of licensed apartheid where men can be seen to be in "control" of "their" women.⁵⁶⁶

"Get out," Dineen snaps.⁵⁶⁷ "Men only!" he adds, as though it should be obvious in a bar festooned with signs such as "No Swearing Aloud Allowed" or cartoon caricatures like the one of a penis in "Magpies" footy garb or where members like to kangaroo hop, trilling their mating call, "You fuckwits!"⁵⁶⁸

Bewildered, offended and then, as they say in these parts, as angry as a bag of cats, both Denise and Derek leave the Members' Bar (which media sarcasm unsurprisingly dubs as Swansea's "centre of intellectual stimulation") determined to make wrong

right.⁵⁶⁹ The reactionaries on the club's executive gird their loins, quickly spread their scuttlebutt against these foreign intruders and arm themselves with a lawyer, no less than the dynastic power of the Parliamentarian (State and Federal), unreconstructed monarchist and "The Mouth from the South", Michael Hodgman Q.C.⁵⁷⁰

In her outrage, Denise decides to take her case to the Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission (HREOC) to ask for a ruling that she be allowed associate membership of the Glamorgan RSL club and/or access to its Members' Bar. She is also considering a legal suit, at least for a public apology. Shirsten and the Glamorgan RSL executive move to filibuster. They find a vague pretext to expel Derek from the club for life,⁵⁷¹ so making Denise's avenue to application for her membership all the more difficult. They also claim that permission to meet with the HREOC on the club's behalf can only occur after a vote of members at a special general meeting and then only after three months notice!⁵⁷² More importantly, Hodgman advises his client that, as an incorporated entity, its constitution, regardless of its blatant discrimination against women, is approved under Tasmanian law. Only reforming State legislation or a vote to alter the constitution by three quarters of the financial members of the club can force a change of rules.⁵⁷³ Despite widespread embarrassment by the State and National bodies of the RSL (with other branches offering Denise membership⁵⁷⁴ and then a recruitment drive for younger members, including women)⁵⁷⁵ as well as the Tasmanian Government and even the conservative media,⁵⁷⁶ the politicians and the club's members are unlikely to move on behalf of Denise and Derek. The HREOC?

"A toothless tiger," Hodgman informs his client through a broad lawyer's grin, picking at a sliver of Lobster Thermidor in his gold-filled molars after lunch at the Astor Grill, a silver service diner favoured by legal eagles in Hobart. "As they say, the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. Lest we forget."

Shirsten cudgels his mind to recall the origin of those words. A motto, perhaps?⁵⁷⁷ Not bad; worth a quote. Will someone pass the salt? Hodgman proffers advice of a cunningly simple strategy: Shirsten only has to stand his ground and give orders.

The Swansea men are to corral the women away from these interlopers, especially, as Shirsten snaps at Denise over the phone, "a trouble making bitch".⁵⁷⁸ Oh, this won't do. Shirsten must maintain the persona of an officer and a gentleman. Such an outburst is in breach of etiquette. Worse, it bespeaks a failure of discipline. This does not fit the public image of an elderly man with a silver-grey military haircut and spectacles.⁵⁷⁹ (Yes, yes, he's literally short-sighted.) So he apologises to Denise—through his wife.⁵⁸⁰ He then resolves to reassert control. Members have been signing women into the

Members' Bar for about three weeks. This will desist forthwith.⁵⁸¹ In this battle for hearts and minds, the lesson of history is don't talk to the media. Like prisoners of war, the members are only obliged to give no comment, no comment and no comment.⁵⁸² Logistical intelligence is analysed. The soldiers (as they once were, might have been or think they are) are deployed. A boycott is organised against so much as a cut-'n'-trim or a changed washer, and is then extended to refusing the hairdresser and the plumber and the hairdresser's apprentice everyday necessities like groceries and petrol. In effect, Denise's salon, Derek's trade, their home and cherished lifestyle, and Sharon's career, are besieged. The Glamorgan RSL want unconditional surrender: these radicals are to be run out of town.⁵⁸³

Before the year is out, even the full force of the Municipal Council of Glamorgan is brought to bear. At the lazy time of 9.30 A.M., the Council Clerk, K.H. Cleaver, leads a belated "dawn raid" into the hairdresser's salon where, drawing on all the rigour of years of intense training in local government and dodging the fire of bemused glances from witnesses in curlers and under dryers, he lobs a notice at Denise to inform her that she is in contravention of Section 43 of the *Traffic Act 1925* which forbids the placing of sandwich boards and other items of trade on footpaths.⁵⁸⁴ Denise will have to bring in her "OPEN" sign. In such trivia is spawned the violent fantasies of hateful men.

The manoeuvres of a phoney war play onto the field of contest. Shirsten concedes to a meeting with the HREOC on the 6 July.⁵⁸⁵ He appears to be conciliatory. Lawyers and aggrieved parties put their respective cases to the Regional Director, Robert Henderson, at a meeting in Hobart. The Glamorgan RSL representatives engage their enemies with the feint of tactical nodding. The media excitedly report that the Director has ruled that some of the club's constitution is illegal⁵⁸⁶ and has mentored an "agreement". The club will reinstate Derek if, as stipulated by its constitution, he pays outstanding membership fees. The committee will call a special general meeting within three months to put to a vote an amendment to allow women as members.⁵⁸⁷ As the media also observes that some committeemen have determined that this would be possible only over their dead bodies, it portends a dramatic turn.⁵⁸⁸ Back in Swansea and away from the Director's palaver about women's rights and the law and justice and the rest of the panoply which adorns modern democracy, they decide that they have lost the record of Derek's dues.⁵⁸⁹ It is a farce which they know that they can only play for so long. Instead, they contrive a tactic to preserve their honour.

Derek is summoned before a committee of eight officers, er, men,⁵⁹⁰ to face charges of, amongst other things, making derogatory remarks about the club to television

reporters, signing the media into the club's premises, and causing dispute and disharmony.

A committeeman glares a serious accusation at Derek, "Somebody has set out to defame this club."⁵⁹¹

No! To ponder such impertinence when the Glamorgan RSL has so stridently defamed itself. Derek plays a straight bat.

"I find that pretty hard to take."⁵⁹²

The committee orders him to leave while they consider the matter. In the time it takes to boil a pigeon's egg and pop a demi of bubbly for an officer's luncheon, about three minutes, they order him back in. He is handed a typed letter stating that he is severely reprimanded. Dismissed. Yet reinstated. As for Denise? He'll try to sign her into the club as soon as possible.

Denise answers the phone. A voice she doesn't recognise makes her an offer she can't refuse: leave town or upgrade her health insurance.⁵⁹³ The same goes for Derek. There is a telling line between courage and fear, and sometimes it is as fine as an optical fibre.

They seek the aegis of the law. For the police, it is a welcome opportunity to move the issue out of harm's way; preferably as far south as Hobart. This constabulary, as behoves Tasmania's national reputation with other police forces, brings all of its enforcement prowess to bear. A solicitor is called. The harangued couple receive the extra-legal advice, in the quaint vernacular, to piss off. Traditional afternoon tea and lamingtons afford the space to practise tying a hangman's noose, if just for recreation's sake, it is reported.⁵⁹⁴ They get the gist.

Coincidentally, a town meeting has been organised for the same day of the tactical retreat. While Denise and Derek are bunkering down, a concerned minority, about sixty of Swansea's 450 or so residents,⁵⁹⁵ or 25 per cent of the adult population,⁵⁹⁶ meet to vent their objections to the district's rubbishing in the media.

Let's have a peek inside the noisy hall:

The chair is badgering speakers not to name names. Someone might sue.⁵⁹⁷ Really? Look, there's Bill Lane, one of those rude journalists from television who has Swansea residents up in arms.

He's rehearsing an intro, "Now Swansea is just a quiet, little, lazy town and many of the locals just want to be left alone..."⁵⁹⁸

No comment. The banter from the floor is warming up.

"I want to ask you a question: Do you really want to come in the Bar and stand with all the men and drink or would you like to sit out in the Ladies' Lounge and drink?"⁵⁹⁹

“We would like the right to choose.”⁶⁰⁰

For sake of a reflexive exercise, dear reader, guess the gender of each speaker. That’s right, never have stereotypes spoken so truly. Now imagine those stereotypes again, yet turned inside out:

“The things they [the Glamorgan RSL] do for Swansea have been ignored. My wedding reception was at the RSL club. Where would I have had my wedding reception if it wasn’t for the RSL club?”⁶⁰¹

Profound. Cultural hegemony is alive and well in Swansea. The meeting is now dividing along the line of those who support Denise and Derek versus the RSL club up the road. It’s 16 hands on the left for the D’s and 44 hands on the right for the club.⁶⁰² In the manner of small towns, Swansea is closing ranks.

With an adroit display of public relations to near paleoconservative proportions, several participants in the meeting are turning on the media present, blaming them for “inflaming” (publicising) the issue. As we leave, nearly everyone refuses any further comment as they pass journalists and cameras outside the exit. Except for one concerned citizen.

After getting deaf responses from all he has asked so far, the indefatigable Lane yet again poses the question, “Do you think the meeting achieved anything?”

A lonely rebel stops to claim his right to free speech.

“What did it achieve? Oh, I dunno.”⁶⁰³

With such polysyllabic attack-vehicles do the publicly-minded of Swansea poleaxe the fourth estate.

This affair might be forgotten for the farce it is, except is it now really taking a dangerous route. Denise and Derek are in hiding in Hobart, reorganising their lives and looking for a suitable house in the suburbs from where they can re-establish their respective businesses. While they might be in retreat, they are still resisting. Denise is adamant that the Glamorgan RSL must be forced to allow women into its inner sanctum and that she is owed a public apology and financial compensation. These legal matters have a habit of becoming expensive. Sure, even though supporters are making modest cash donations to her cause,⁶⁰⁴ she is applying for legal aid,⁶⁰⁵ yet she knows that she can’t count on it, no matter how just her case, and so she has to keep digging into her own pockets to keep the issue going. Ironically, it is the savings from the profits made out of Denise’s Place in Swansea which has built up her resources for such a fight.⁶⁰⁶ Thus hair styles history.

Then a letter finds them. In a spew of misogynistic abuse, “James Hasslap”,⁶⁰⁷ in creative spelling, grammar and punctuation, tells Denise, “You fucking slutt...”, what he thinks of her “gutless sleaze boyfriend”, the utility of her genitals, the shape of her thighs, his recommendation that she becomes a sex worker and that, if he finds her in Swansea, he’ll burn down her salon. The alleged Hasslap finishes with the sort of school bully drivel which, for want of a phrase, articulates the fear and loathing simmering in some parts of Tasmania:

“Tell the stupid cunts in Sydney were men in Tasmania not like the assholes where you came from, your not long for this state of Tasmania. good bye second class bitch.

Victory!! To the RSL

Lest We forget assholes like you.

VICTORY.

TO. US.’’⁶⁰⁸

As if this isn’t frightening enough, Denise and Derek discover that somebody has surreptitiously entered their hideaway in Hobart. The lock on an entrance door has been fixed with glue so that the tumblers turn and the door’s lock sounds as though it’s snibbed, except it isn’t.⁶⁰⁹ This is a break and entry by somebody who is very familiar with the science and art of burglary, if not espionage. Now the police accept that the situation is very serious. Denise and Derek are placed under a witness protection programme; even a plain clothes officer masquerades as their gardener. Only weeds are caught.⁶¹⁰

As time goes by, Shirsten steps down as President of the Glamorgan RSL. The club under Len Arnol seems to have been forced to recognise second wave feminism. It is January 1992 and Denise receives the news that the HREOC has mediated a truce (another one!) so that the Glamorgan RSL will allow women into its Members’ Bar and will redraft its constitution to allow women, not excluding Denise, to apply for associate membership.⁶¹¹ Elated, Denise travels to Swansea with several female friends to celebrate in the Glamorgan RSL Members’ Bar. Champagne all around? Nope. The old constitution is dusted off, the women are ordered to leave, which they refuse, until the police arrive and yet again Denise is evicted.⁶¹² Arnol explains to an incredulous media that he thought there was going to be “a disturbance of the peace”.⁶¹³ He implies that the women had to leave for their own safety.⁶¹⁴

Can it end? In a manner. The Glamorgan RSL has changed its constitution⁶¹⁵ to recognise equal rights for women. It also wants to put its history behind it. Only

histories like this one won't allow it, lest we forget. Denise and Derek have an apology of sorts.⁶¹⁶ They have both continued with successful businesses in Hobart. Denise is still waiting for financial compensation...

Swansea was a backwater of oppressive provincialism. It was the misogynist's dreamtime. This isn't unusual in Australian history. Through the 1980s, discrimination against women in "old fashioned Tasmania" (sic.)⁶¹⁷ remained a thorny subject because the culture excused itself as, well, old-fashioned; with such a self-identity, change was resisted for the sake of resistance. It was argued that only the secure, the committed and the warriors would dare speak out.⁶¹⁸ What is peculiar to Swansea is that its awakening to gender and sexual liberation was so delayed by a localised reactionary politics which was as artful as it was stubborn, and therefore the issue was nationally topical when the town was brought literally screaming (mostly at the victims and the media) into line with contemporary expectations. Here is the archive of wide, open spaces which bred narrow, closed minds.

In Swansea today, behind the ticket boxes and serveries of a growing tourist industry, are recent immigrants searching for business and lifestyle opportunities in the balm of a liberated climate. As Daylesford has become for Victoria⁶¹⁹ so Swansea has become a rural focus of Tasmania's Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender community after reforms like those for feminism and to the State's homophobic laws and culture.⁶²⁰ The "pink dollar" is the new economy here.⁶²¹ (Though it meet resistance in stubborn Tasmanian backwaters, like Penguin.)⁶²² As is often the case, social values reflect business interests. Swansea is a model of modern major reform.⁶²³

So pearls of hope now glisten where once a repressive slime oozed in evidence for the axiom that none are more oppressed than those who oppress themselves. Without any note of irony, as though history flows in and out on the tide, Swansea has since won awards for Community Action, Heritage & Culture and Australia's Tidiest Town.⁶²⁴ And there's not so much as a grunt from the pigs. How neat!

Keeping Labor Out of Town⁶²⁵**Radical Unionism in Tasmania's West Coast**

*Call me Jammo.*⁶²⁶

Some years ago, I was a comrade in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).⁶²⁷ We were sneered at by the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and the Australian Communist Party as "loony Trots".⁶²⁸ My industrial politics had been hardened in the union movement in Melbourne in the 1970s and then at the steelworks in Wollongong as a delegate with the Federated Ironworkers Association in the early 1980s.⁶²⁹ A new capitalism was looming.

In 1983, I was approached by the National Secretary of the SWP, Jim Percy, to live, work and agitate in the mining town of Rosebery, in the West Coast region of Tasmania, with three comrades who had recently joined the SWP and who were up to their ears in battles with the boss.⁶³⁰ With family livelihoods threatened in this damp, drizzly bush, they were anxious and angry. There is a way we have of driving off the spleen.

Tasmania's West Coast, an island within an island, is exposed to the elements and is prone to windstorms, deafening squalls, blizzards, yafflers, carpetbaggers and human jackjumpers.⁶³¹ Wild by nature and wild by history, it bears the popular moniker of a "wild west".⁶³²

After 1833, when the British withdrew from their notorious "place of secondary punishment" on Sarah Island in Macquarie Harbour and George Augustus Robinson had done his worst in capturing the Aborigines here, it remained more or less empty of people (with only a brief return of convicts, 1846-1847) until the mining boom which began with the discovery of tin at Mount Bischoff in 1871. While the economies of logging (including the "piners") and commercial fishing were to develop later, it was mining which remained the dominant business of the West Coast until the Gordon-below-Franklin dispute (1979 to 1983) opened the world's eyes to the region's wilderness, its isolation itself becoming an attraction.⁶³³ Since then, the West Coast has had an identity drawn in the tension of its traditional businesses, especially mining and clearfelling for woodchips, and the new business of ecotourism, built on its unique rainforests, waterways, beaches, mountains, plateaus, some of them in the Wilderness World Heritage Area which lies in or otherwise hugs the West Coast.⁶³⁴ Like so much of recent Tasmania, Jammo's story is in the history of a society trying to straddle the shift from the old to the new, except here hard rock miners invited "greenies" to help

them reform their source of income into an eco-responsible livelihood to save jobs and the bush.

The West Coast's mountains of ore (tin, lead, zinc, silver, gold, platinum, osmiridium, nickel, barium, copper and pyrites) were turned into mountains of money for some Tasmanians and others, the shareholders. (Mount Bischoff investors received dividends of over 1000 percent on their initial capital.)⁶³⁵ Most of the rest in the mining industry sweated for wages in some of the most dangerous jobs in Australia.⁶³⁶ In between was the management staff, predictably not paid as much as the major shareholders and only some of the management were paid better than those who worked with grunt; yet, having to labour above ground, they enjoyed the value of safety. In Rosebery this division became embodied in the schism of hotel cultures: the "bottom pub" for a beer by the "the workers" and the "top pub" for a gin & tonic by "administration".⁶³⁷ Senior management preferred their scotch in the board rooms along the West Coast or in company offices in varied metropolises with the shareholders.⁶³⁸

Like so much of Australia, labour consciousness on the West Coast grew quickly during the 1890s depression. In 1896, miners went on strike at the Mount Lyell mine in Queenstown.⁶³⁹ Yet unionism in this region lagged. Ben Tillet began agitating for it in 1898.⁶⁴⁰ Mine bosses, like W.T. Batchelor at Mt Lyell, retaliated by sacking anyone whose politics they did not approve.⁶⁴¹ In defiance, the ALP discovered a rich vein of membership in the miners. Three of the first four Members of the House of Assembly to pledge to the ALP at its first conference in Hobart (1903) were from the mining West Coast.⁶⁴² Parliamentarians such as James Odgen (MHA for Zeehan and later ALP Senator) and James Long (who went to the Senate after being sacked by Batchelor) brought their politics to centre stage from the mines around Queenstown.⁶⁴³ "King" O'Malley, an insurance salesman who preferred to speculate rather than swing a pick and shovel, became a popular Federal member for the West Coast miners until his pacifism proved to be his undoing in a pro-conscription electorate during World War I.⁶⁴⁴

It took until 1925 before the Australian Workers Union (AWU) could claim a membership of 50 per cent of the Queenstown miners.⁶⁴⁵ This was despite a union-led strike by the Amalgamated Employees Federation of Australia (later merging into the AWU) over 56 days in 1911, which defended the eight hour day, and then the disaster in the Mt Lyell mine which killed 42 men in 1912.⁶⁴⁶ This lag might have been a result of the mining unions on the West Coast taking a defensive posture on wages and working conditions and generally acting as friendly societies (which Jammo dismisses

as “service unionism” today) while waiting for labour shortages to improve miners’ incomes. In these cases unions are ancillary to the “iron laws” of capitalist economics.⁶⁴⁷ The unions developed a strategy to maintain what they called the “wasting asset”, which meant protecting jobs by also making compromises to protect mining companies’ profits.⁶⁴⁸ (A mindset which has persisted.) Regardless, union structures were further established with peaks bodies such as the Combined Union Council (CUC), mostly consisting of shop stewards representing miners, electricians, engine drivers, firemen, and carpenters drawn from the AWU and what was to become the Amalgamated Metal Workers’ Union (AMWU) and the Federated Engine Drivers’ and Firemen’s Association of Australasia (FEDFAA).⁶⁴⁹

The unions on the West Coast developed under the triumvirate which came to dominate Tasmanian society, economy and politics: heavy industry controlled by a handful of companies, the Hydro-Electric Commission (HEC) and the ALP, with 14 Labor Premiers ruling in 62 of the past 100 years.⁶⁵⁰ Yet by 1973, the oil crisis forced capitalism towards the postmodern technologies of computers and satellite communications, “stagflation” of wage increases more than offset by price increases against a background of rising unemployment, and the sibling beasts of neoliberalism and neoconservatism stirring from their American lair. The capitalist class was preparing for a new aggression under the euphemism of “restructuring” the economy. Tasmania had to further confront the inconvenient truth that the HEC was losing competitiveness against the diversified sources of power from hydro, natural gas and coal on the mainland.

The Electrolytic Zinc Company (EZ), which owned the mines around Rosebery (producing millions of tonnes of copper, gold, lead, zinc and silver ore for more wealth than any other mine on the West Coast), decided in 1973 to further exploit its strike-free workforce by appointing a more aggressive management at a state level (it had the world’s second largest zinc smelter in Risdon on the Derwent River in Hobart) and on the West Coast.⁶⁵¹ A new management from South Africa had been appointed, headed by George Mackay, who had smashed organisations of black miners through the despotic laws of the apartheid regime.⁶⁵² It was then alleged that management used a “knock-down, drag-out approach” in Tasmania and also arranged company books so that bonuses were withheld from miners. This new culture of “deceit” was greeted at Risdon in 1974 by the company’s first strike in 66 years.⁶⁵³ Though an agreement was achieved and the union members came back to work, the long term response of EZ was to toughen its resolve and so, matching it, the workers became more organised. A tit-

for-tat struggle ensued between the unions and EZ until 1982 when the company responded to 31 union bans with strategic sackings.⁶⁵⁴ It turned into a classic industrial confrontation as EZ sought to purge union representation from its workforce and the unions in turn threw their weight into a campaign of survival. Into late 1983, only simmering down in 1984, there were bans, rolling strikes, lock-outs, more sackings, extensive pickets, interference from state and national executives of the unions as well as the Tasmanian Trades and Labour Council (TTLC), the Australian Congress of Trade Unions (ACTU), the ALP, State and Federal Governments, the police and the Arbitration Commission. The reputations of the ALP, TTLC, ACTU and the AWU (the latter unaffectionately dubbed by some as “Australia’s Worst Union”) waxed and waned.⁶⁵⁵ (Sensing an electoral surge in what had been a tiring Labor “heartland”, no less than six ALP Parliamentarians attended one meeting of the local Murchison branch.)⁶⁵⁶

Union representation survived through Rosebery militants like John Ackerly, “Trout” Reg Bracken, “Jock” Ferguson, Jim Gilleece, Tom Harding, John Rattray and Ray Woodhouse to name some.⁶⁵⁷ They were assisted by the Secretary of the Burnie Trades and Labour Council, Ray Devlin, FEDFAA officials, Jim Challis and Mike Grey, and SWP members, Dave Mazengarb and Leica Wagner.

It was into this maelstrom, with the company still threatening mass sackings, that Jammo arrived in 1984. Of the names of the local unionists who had loomed large in the 1983 dispute, only Ferguson, Rattray and Gilleece re-emerge in Jammo’s saga as militant organisers. (Though they were soon to retire.) This is not just because class battles have a telling rate of attrition on those workers who commit to their cause. Cadre of Jammo’s calibre stretch union politics further to the left. And something has to give.

Someone drilled in classical Leninism, as is Jammo, is in the long term always looking to politicise the workers, which might be traded off against the economism of traditional western unionism—the latter invariably being a function of the strategic aspirations of capital and the preferred agenda of the ALP and unions like the AWU. For example, the politics might necessitate foregoing immediate pay rises or other material advancements (an employer concession to guarantee company profits in the long run) so as to continue industrial action aimed at winning industrial democracy (worker management) or, supra-economy, to protect heritage sites (“green bans”) or public infrastructure like a local hospital. Yet this is always vulnerable to the workers “selling out” to defend jobs and/or income and conditions first. This is what was attempted on a grand scale in Paris in May 1968 when the General Confederation of Labour and the

French Communist Party attempted to break the mass mobilisation and general strike by millions of students and workers (also occupying factories) when the former negotiated substantial pay rises for workers.⁶⁵⁸ The offers were refused by the rank and file unionists, but the complicity of labour leadership demoralised and then demobilised the workers and so left the students isolated. It did force cultural reform in France yet ended in political defeat for the left with the electoral victory of President Charles de Gaulle. So what hope Jammo in a little mining town in a mountain wilderness?

A few weeks after Jammo started mining in Rosebery, there was a solidarity strike to support miners who had walked off the job at the Que River mine, near Waratah. The CUC had supported the strike with a unanimous vote by the rank and file members, but its continuation became unpopular with the rank and file.⁶⁵⁹ It has long been a tactic for the right wing of unions and/or bosses to provoke an unwinnable strike in the hope that left militants will back it to the bitter end. When the strike is broken, the militants lose support and the union rank and file are then malleable to the designs of a conservative executive allied with the bosses. It is a proverbial “abc” of Industrial Politics 101 and a lesson which all young union organisers (left-wing, right-wing and centre “independents”) as well as aspiring executives are supposed to learn by rote. Yet some students miss the class and so they are the ones targeted for an ambush. To be fair, the CUC at Rosebery had by then been engaged in a long run of bitter disputes with the bosses and strike action had tended to become a first reflex. But this did not allay their exposure. Jammo’s industrial antennae could sense a defeat and so, after discussion with his comrades, he proposed an end to the strike with a motion which also castigated the AWU organisers for a lack of general solidarity with the Que River miners. It was, he remembers with mixed pride, endorsed unanimously.⁶⁶⁰ The CUC retained its honour and the AWU officials left Rosebery in ignominy. Not only was it the first and last time that Jammo proposed a motion to end a strike, it also meant he was “outed”: the AWU executive knew it had something it feared even more than a “rat” in their ranks; here was the opposite, a God-damned “Swampy”, one of “Percy’s nuts”!⁶⁶¹ Rumour has it that Communists in the TTLIC, on hearing of Jammo’s “infiltration”, sighed for the “glorious Fifteenth” (Joseph Stalin’s historic purge of Trotskyists).⁶⁶² For Jammo’s part, he realised that he was fighting on two fronts against the AWU state executive and against the bosses.⁶⁶³

The relative isolation of the West Coast, including the long absence of a formal ALP branch in the Rosebery district and the departure of Bill Lowe to an AWU organiser’s position in Hobart, lent Jammo and others the space to campaign as a new team for the

union's Rosebery executive.⁶⁶⁴ He was elected Secretary (*circa* 1987-1988) with Lenny Blair as President along with Russel Murphy on the executive to create a team which became known as the "Enforcer", the "Tactician" and the "Priest".⁶⁶⁵ They represented about 1,000 miners in a town of about 2,500 people.⁶⁶⁶ Jammo was also elected as the Secretary of the Rosebery CUC, the shops stewards committee which had led the fight against EZ.

The ALP branch in Rosebery had folded years earlier, leaving Queenstown as the only town in the West Coast with an ALP branch by the time of Jammo's arrival. While Paul Lennon, later ALP Premier of Tasmania (2004-2008), was still Secretary of the TTLC (1984-1989), the ALP, as had been its historical inclination, looked to the mining unions to revive its activities in this region.⁶⁶⁷ Lennon asked for a meeting with union activist, Joe Pringle, in Zeehan. In turn, Jammo was also invited to attend the meeting only to be confronted by a furious Lennon who objected to his presence. But Pringle smoothed down the confrontation over jugs of beer and large steaks— on Lennon's tab. The future Premier, blushing from the excesses of the evening, did not intend to pay for their conversation alone.⁶⁶⁸ He had to pop the question.

"Well Joe, I've been here for several hours and paid for you and your mate's meals and drinks — what do you think about the Labor Party?"⁶⁶⁹

Ever so sweetly, Joe told him to fuck off.

Which, in a manner of speaking, both Lennon and the ALP did.

Stock markets were still humming to the tune of speculative mining in the late 1980s and a new and rich operation opened just north of Que River at Hellyer for lead and zinc, while gold prospectors found glitter on the upper Henty River.⁶⁷⁰ Historically, mining unions in Australia have often forged ahead for better pay and conditions which then follow on to workers in other industries. Miners' work is physical, skilled and dangerous. The use of heavy drills like "pumas", "panthers" and "jumbos" induce what the miners know as "white finger", a vibration injury in the fingers which can lead to amputations.⁶⁷¹ And then there are the fatalities. These give rise to an urgent drive for change.

To those mates and comrades who I have known, or knew through their families, who have ultimately suffered or endured injuries and excruciating pain, I can only pledge a life-long commitment. It is a deep seated hatred of the absolute bastards who actually engineered your fate that continues to propel me on. How could any human forget? Here's to you Austy, Moe, Nobby, Spud, John, Nathan, Squirrel, Chris, Peter and many more I knew, fought alongside, worked and drank with. I never want to identify any

*more workmates in a darkened hospital ward again, never ever.*⁶⁷²

In this wild west ride the brave, the desperate and the organised.⁶⁷³ The unions here were able to win a 38 hour week, giving the miners and allied trades a day off every month. But this was poor compensation for injury, let alone death.

The “whispering bulldozer”, Liberal Premier Robin Gray, proclaimed his new *Workers Rehabilitation and Compensation Act* in 1988.⁶⁷⁴ Ostensibly, it was a populist decision (with an election around the corner) to reform some of Tasmania’s archaic laws, but miners would lose because compensation for them would be based on “average earnings” rather than union endorsed contracts. For most miners, this equated to a loss of income for injury— a higher than usual probability by the average standard of Australian workplaces. Jammo, Pringle and Dave MacLane from Savage River made the winding, five-hour drive to the TTLC in Hobart to rally for opposition against the proposed bill.⁶⁷⁵ They were given a cool reception. So the West Coasters formed their own fighting force to battle now on four fronts against the Liberal Government, the employers, the TTLC and the AWU in Hobart.⁶⁷⁶ The Rosebery workers began rolling strikes which spread in a ripple effect through nearby Renison Bell and Savage River and then up and down the West Coast.⁶⁷⁷ The AWU Industrial Officer, Des Hanlon,⁶⁷⁸ finally admitted at the report-back meeting in Rosebery that the AWU executive supported the bill, including its “average earnings” clause for miners. When the details were passed on to the miners, Jammo saw his first noose, but not his last, tied at a union meeting.⁶⁷⁹ They seriously discussed painting a line on either side of Rosebery to declare it a non-AWU town;— though Lowe was to be allowed in as the exception because he still had family there. Instead, one hundred unionists journeyed to Hobart to fill the public gallery of the Legislative Council. Phone calls were made to rally hundreds of supporters and the media were informed. The Legislative Council handballed the issue back to Gray who, confronted by a resurgent Green movement (given impetus by the controversial plan for a pulp mill at Wesley Vale), arranged a meeting in the Rosebery Bottom Pub to negotiate directly with the CUC and then announced that the proposed bill would be amended so that miners would not be penalised.⁶⁸⁰ The TTLC and the AWU executive were left out in the cold.

The election portended the defeat of Gray, Tasmania’s longest-serving Liberal premier (1982-1989), and would usher in the short-lived Labor-Green Accord (1989-1990). The West Coast had remained divided over the Gordon-below-Franklin issue, yet the mining community had begun to sway to the greenies’ argument for the conservation of West Coast wilderness.⁶⁸¹ While the Greens party was not generally

viewed by the miners as an alternative in Parliament and the Liberals were still considered to be the arch enemy, there was a murmuring cynicism about Michael Field and the ALP. In light of this development, the SWP, looking to red-green alliances since its involvement with the Nuclear Disarmament Party (1984-1985) and carefully watching the rise of the German Greens, encouraged Jammo and other West Coast comrades to approach the Greens in Tasmania during the election.⁶⁸²

*A tentative question rumbled up from the mines, "Fucking hell Jammo, what are you up to this time?"*⁶⁸³

The real problem was not in convincing the miners; they were already outraged by the neoliberalism of the major parties. Bob Brown and Christine Milne met with Jammo and he even took them underground to meet the workers, yet Milne's body language made it clear that she was uncomfortable in courting an alliance with miners.⁶⁸⁴ With the advent of the Labor-Green Accord, Field began his austerity programme of financial cutbacks on education, health and transport so as to pay back public debt to the banks. The Greens were in bed with the political devil (which they would soon come to regret) and so Jammo and other unionists circumnavigated to the Wilderness Society. Here the ultra-greenies, represented by Bob Burton (who visited the Rosebery mine) and Alex Millar, saw mining itself as the problem.⁶⁸⁵ (The Wilderness Society would later demand the closure of the Rosebery mine because it was directly below the rainforest of Mount Black. It was the sort of contempt for the rural proletariat which was to sully environmentalism in Tasmania until Peg Putt almost single-handedly revived the Greens' fortunes in the next decade.) There would be no trucking with "watermelon" (red-green) politics and the West Coasters remained isolated.

*So it was back to running the red flag up again at election time.*⁶⁸⁶

Jammo contested several State and Federal elections, some of them on a SWP ticket. Though he attracted up to 13% of the vote in one election for the Tasmania Upper House, it was "a little experiment in bourgeois democracy" which he is glad to have left behind.⁶⁸⁷

The hospital in Rosebery had been a target for closure by the revenue-hungry Liberal Gray Government, and the Labor-Green Accord, tightening the health budget further, was no different.⁶⁸⁸ (Local legend has it that the first wives in Rosebery raised money for a hospital, but the men diverted it to build the Bottom Pub.⁶⁸⁹ Such are miners' priorities!) The Rosebery nurses called on the CUC for help. Mass petitions were circulated and elected delegates drove to Hobart to argue their case with politicians and Health Department bureaucrats. Health officials were also confronted by large and

angry meetings in Rosebery. A demonstration of 2,000 West Coasters marched in Hobart and a “miner’s claim” was pegged on the steps of Parliament with a caravan of irate Coasters parked over it for week in a general protest against the ramifications of the broader policies of both the ALP and the Greens.⁶⁹⁰ Not only was the old hospital saved (it is now the Mount Black Lodge for ecotourist accommodation), a new one was built by the Liberal Government in 1995.⁶⁹¹ Alas, Lennon, later as ALP Premier, was to avenge his humiliation on the West Coast by downgrading the hospital to a health centre in 2007.⁶⁹² In general, Government indifference to the plight of the West Coast, with the latter’s persistent youth unemployment, suicides, issues of drugs, alcohol and domestic violence alongside losses of medical and emergency services while the young are forced to leave home to continue their education beyond Year 10, remains arrogant, stubborn and brutal.⁶⁹³

Jammo and other militants retained membership in the AWU while holding back the interference of the state executive. Sometimes they played off the AWU executive against the FEDFAA by publicly spruiking up the latter and strengthening links with other unions.⁶⁹⁴ This included an alliance with Len Miles, who represented the Australasian Coal and Shale Employees Federation which mostly operated on the other side of the island, so that they could agitate for miners across Tasmania.⁶⁹⁵ This networking developed into a federation of unions known as Tasmanian Mining Industry Union Council (TMIUC), with Jammo as President. Every union at every mine site was entitled to two representatives to prevent the AWU from gaining over-representation.⁶⁹⁶

On the West Coast, when it rains it not only pours, it crushes souls. The fear was the collapse of markets and/or another round of mechanisation. The global economic recession broke over the West Coast in 1991. Massive sackings decimated the TMIUC. Union militants, like those in the TMIUC, were amongst the first targeted.⁶⁹⁷

Jammo’s last day underground in the Rosebery mine was his worst there. He received a phone call that his brother, a computer technician, had been killed that morning in a car accident. Jammo went to Launceston to arrange to have his brother’s body moved to Melbourne and then he followed to be with his family for the funeral.

The new mine owner, Pasminco, and the AWU struck in his absence. One hundred miners were sacked in Rosebery with the notice, “Effective Immediately”.⁶⁹⁸ This was followed by a wave of sackings through the mines in the West Coast and with the threat of more to follow. Jammo first heard of it on the radio while in Launceston and later learnt that the sackings began on the day of the funeral. Coincidence? He is not sure.⁶⁹⁹ When he got back to Rosebery 10 days after leaving, it seemed to be a ghost town.

Whole families had already packed and departed to find work interstate. And representatives of the AWU executive were back in town for the first time in years.⁷⁰⁰ At the insistence of Jammo and his union allies, an AWU meeting was called. The AWU executive had a list of those who were retrenched and decided that these workers should be excluded, by now especially including Jammo of course.⁷⁰¹ A motion was moved to allow all local AWU members to attend. But this was not just a vote about union democracy. It was Jammo and his allies versus the AWU. The winners would lead the members into “negotiations” with the bosses in a labour-buyer’s market. Simply, economic forces were squeezing union militants with a tectonic pressure. A panic for job survival was gripping the miners and feelings rose to a fury. Jammo managed to fight his way inside.

*It was probably the saddest and yet proudest speech I’ve ever made to a union gathering. It was simple - don’t tear the town apart and pit neighbours against neighbours, sons against fathers, mates against mates. Don’t tear the community apart, but never forget what we attempted to achieve and never forget these rats conducting this meeting. There were tears all round.*⁷⁰²

Jammo sensed it was over for him in Rosebery. The motion was put to the members and was lost by one vote.⁷⁰³ Jammo was out of the meeting, out of the AWU and out of a job. Pringle received a similar treatment at the Renison mine. Jammo took his case to the Human Rights Commission (HRC) where his claim was successful. Like so many others, he discovered that the HRC had little power and he would not be reinstated at Rosebery.⁷⁰⁴ He was now blacklisted again.

*For me and others it was into the wilderness in the wilderness.*⁷⁰⁵

Michael Cranage, the Principle of the Rosebery Catholic Primary School and a mate, invited him to teach music to the miners’ kids. (Though it might have been the first time that an alleged Trot was knowingly invited onto staff at a Catholic school, no one told the Pope.) Always the radical, Jammo even taught the kids how to play a *gaida* (Macedonian bagpipes made with a furry goat’s hide).

After also learning woodwork and even selling some furniture made from the exquisite Tasmanian timber which abounds in this region, Jammo found mining work at Renison Bell with the detested Faminco company.⁷⁰⁶ (Though he had once been keen to drive Faminco out of this industry, even Jammo was swallowing his pride in the recession just to make a living.)⁷⁰⁷ Someone on management recognised him and moved to give him the sack.

I had to threaten the Renison mine management with all sorts of dire consequences if

*they got me the sack even before I started work. I managed to keep my job but I was a marked man as far as Faminco was concerned. For the next two years I had the shittiest jobs I've ever experienced.*⁷⁰⁸

He then found work with a local contractor, Roger Luke. (The appearance of contractors was a symptom of the decline of union power, increases in the miners' working week and a compromise of safety standards.)⁷⁰⁹ But wages alone did not satisfy the calling. It was at this time that Pringle and MacLane suggested to Jammo that he should run for Municipal Council elections to keep his politics "alive".⁷¹⁰ On the second attempt, he was elected on the back of his reputation in the union movement and on a platform of resistance to government policies for health and welfare in the West Coast.⁷¹¹ He served three years of a four term (1997-1999).⁷¹²

Jammo also started writing a column, "Backchat", for *The Western Herald*, a weekly supplement in the *Advocate*. When he criticised Pauline Hanson's One Nation for its attacks on Asians and Aborigines, he received death threats.⁷¹³ He insisted that such cowardice could not represent the general revulsion for racism amongst his readers.

Though he had been blacklisted, Jammo was still active in union struggles. In the depths of this recession in March 1992, which hit Tasmania particularly hard, a industrial confrontation erupted between the Associated Pulp and Paper Mills (APPM) and its 1100 employees in Burnie. (APPM was a subsidiary of North Broken Hill with a new management known for its confrontational industrial relations.) The company wanted a union-free work force. In May, boilermakers were arrested for trespassing on their own workplace.⁷¹⁴ So unions set about resisting management's attempt to cut jobs and working conditions under the employers' euphemism of "award restructuring".⁷¹⁵ The workers fought a pitched battle at the main gate in June when a court ruled that the picket line could be broken,⁷¹⁶ even though it was maintained by hundreds of men, women and children day and night.⁷¹⁷ Despite the obvious drama, Jammo claims it was almost surreal and one of the funniest disputes in which he has been involved, with even the police donating \$10,000 to the strike committee.⁷¹⁸ Justice Wright threatened the police with a writ of mandamus because they exercised their discretionary power in not arresting the picketers so as to keep the dispute as peaceful as possible.⁷¹⁹ With such community support, APPM had to resort to hiring scabs and about 50 professional security, some of them thugs from Sydney trained in the martial arts— another reason as to why APPM got the local police off-side.⁷²⁰ The thugs physically confronted the picketers, with their boss gesturing that he would slit their throats. It might have been just pantomime, but the threat of violence was real.

*So I suggested to the strike committee there was only one real way to deal with that bastard and his thugs. We could possibly lose a couple of picketers to injury but we had to neutralise him and demoralise his minions. If they started violence, we would avoid a general blue where we could end up with a lot of serious injuries, but instead charge at their leader, grab him, hold him down and smash every bone in his hand and break his legs so he could never play a role in any strikebreaking again.*⁷²¹

This was relayed to the Inspector of Police at Burnie, Roy Fox, who, though pointedly displeased, passed on the information to APPM management. Suddenly the “karate kids” were flown out of Tasmania.

The unions won the dispute at the pickets by June, yet in a strategy which would be replayed on the waterfront between the Maritime Union of Australia and Patrick Corporation in 1998, the ACTU intervened through Laurie Ferguson. (In another precedent also adapted by Patrick’s, APPM used dogs to ward union members off company property.)⁷²² Though the ACTU had initially promised at least \$5 million to support the Burnie mill workers’ campaign, Ferguson cajoled the unions into accepting an ACTU-APPM agreement which recognised the unions on site but included a “competitiveness memorandum” whereby jobs and working conditions would remain a function of company profits; in other words, the union executives traded the pay and conditions of their members in return for formal employer recognition of their own positions.⁷²³ This was the wasting-asset strategy of the 1920s dressed in postmodern lingo. Jammo was on the outer because he was not an employee of APPM, but this did not stop him from engaging in a verbal confrontation with Jim Bacon, Secretary of the TTLIC (1989-1997) and later ALP Premier of Tasmania (1998-2004). Bacon accused Jammo of revolutionary ambitions and Jammo retorted that Bacon had sold out his revolutionary principles (Bacon had been a Maoist in Melbourne) for a bump into Parliament.⁷²⁴ When right meets right...

In 1997, Jammo took his politics into culture and worked with Paul O’Brien and others to form the Rosebery Miners, Axemen, Bush and Blarney Festival.⁷²⁵ He was inspired by the hidden talents of the West Coast’s working class families with musicians, storytellers, poets, actors and artists.

*I also took a cue from an old anarchist slogan, Remember kids, when you are smashing the state keep a smile on your lips and a song in your heart.*⁷²⁶

The following year, Julia Perkins from Rosebery and Jenny Shaw from Zeehan secured government funding for the community to write, produce, and perform a play based loosely on a poem by Marie Pitt, the first white women on the Murchison mining

fields and a committed socialist.⁷²⁷ Over 100 people were involved in the play with its opening night in Rosebery's Bottom Pub and later it was staged in Zeehan's historic theatre, the Gaiety. Even though it was a period play, it delighted the mining community with a scene of all-out strike against the boss. It spoke for the West Coast's defiance against the treatment of miners by the companies, and recalled the culture of militant unionism before it was broken by the recession, neoliberalism and collaborating Laborists.⁷²⁸

By the end of the decade with a whole raft of new industrial relations laws and culture, mining companies were insisting that contractors employ only "seagulls" (workers from outside the West Coast) in a behemoth lock-out of local miners.⁷²⁹

*For West Coasters, the blacklist became blacker.*⁷³⁰

In that fine Tasmanian tradition, Jammo was forced to go to the mainland in what for him was a back-to-the-future move to find work. So he took his family to Fremantle in Western Australia where he found a job as a wharfie. He is still a union activist and is also a member of the Revolutionary Socialist Party with old comrades from the SWP. Here he has bought a house with a built-in barbecue and a pool, and now enjoys his steak and beer under a warmer sky while listening to the crinkling of another west coast, except this one is famous for its surfing and beach cricket.

Jammo, *né* Andrew Jamieson, borrowed the name of "Ian" from his brother many years ago as a *nom de guerre* in his fights against the enemies of his industrial struggles who had put his name on a black list. He retains his brother's name in affection.

Save Our Sisters**“In-movers”, Environmentalism and Forest Wars in North-East Tasmania**

Tiger! Tiger! headlight bright
 On loggers' road in the night
 Whose unblinking No-Doz eye
 Squished you under a truckie's sigh?⁷³¹

It was good country.⁷³² For a long time it was good country.

Then, in 1830, this country deformed when Governor Arthur's Black Line beat south from here, at the head of the Fingal Valley, adjacent to that 694 metre conical peak the British sneeringly referred to as Paddy's Head. Arthur's guns drove a wedge along the gentle Break O'Day river between the Pyemmairrener people of the north east and the Paredarerme people around Oyster Bay. George Robinson chased a remnant group north along the nearby coast and conned them into surrendering so he could claim the bounty on their heads.⁷³³

This good country, though deformed, survived when hard and hungry farmers like William Talbot and Robert Vincent Legge arrived with freehold titles to thousands of acres of land and fought the very last hunter gatherers here, both Aborigines and “bushrangers” (convict escapees), in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Legge built his own church at “Cullenswood” in alleluia to his fortune.⁷³⁴ (Batman's Hill, just over a marshy saddle to the north west, is where John Batman scouted for Aborigines who had migrated down this valley and then boasted of murdering some of those he had captured.)⁷³⁵ Even after this violence, even with the sounds of the Aborigines crying in the wind and of leg chains dragging in the gullies, it remained good country, only not so good.⁷³⁶ It had become sad good country.

Now, drained through, cleared over, ploughed up, cropped out, grazed down, mined under, furrowed along and sprayed on, it is almost old country.⁷³⁷

Its stress can be seen in its shallowing streams and its dying bush and the thinning of its creatures. Not even the road kill is the palette of splodged species it was.⁷³⁸ Now it is mostly brushtail possums and the occasional tiger snake, burst and flattened like a discarded bicycle tyre. Today's roadside litter rarely includes devils, quolls, bettongs, echidnas, bandicoots, pademelons, wombats, native hens, wallabies or kangaroos. Though it was once their best country, forget thylacines. And the small emus have fled to the dreaming. Even the great parliament of owls which would sit on the Hydro's

posts along the Esk Highway seems to be in long recess. From time to time, the Aurora Australis weeps mother-of-pearl tears in a spray across the night sky over this country.

Occasionally, nature bites back. When the new millennium's War on Terror began, wealthy holiday makers from North Sydney, instead of jet-setting to Bali or Spain or New York or any of the other luxury destinations targeted by bombers, condescended to spend, as they say in Sydney, their "Fuck-you!-money" in the familiar exotica of one of the new wave ecoretreats fingering up through the litter of the fragments of rainforest sprinkled around St Marys.

As the madams of the metroriche are inclined to do, this one took her Chihuahuas for a stroll. Bejeweled with scant diamond flashes on her fingers, ears, in her cleavage and belly and along her designer sandals, not forgetting her tongue, she ambled up a logging trail with her darlings yapping at the mesh of shade rippling beneath the rainforest canopy, and of course not another person in sight. So it seemed only right to slip the leash clips off those rubied collars. And the doggies bounded along, sniffing their first wilderness freedom, snapping at Admiral butterflies and the chaste air, their coats gleaming like quartz in the nearby springs. From above, probably from an awful height, hurtled the swept-back wings of one the island's endangered Aquila audax fleayi, the biggest of Wedge-Tailed eagles. A neck was broken quicker than it takes to snap a twig. Coiffured eyebrows were raised with a giggle of panic as a little yapper was last seen ascending in a cradle of talons towards a spent rain cloud which had been selfishly seeded with silver iodide by a Hydro plane over the far western lakes.⁷³⁹ The cold air would refrigerate the doggie's limp body until it was stiff, making the task easier for a busy beak to shred it somewhere in the crown of a giant, not-yet-woodchipped Swamp gum.⁷⁴⁰ Perhaps the rubies made for a dessert? Traumatized more than any bomber could conspire, madam spent a few days in the under-funded local hospital before a private plane rollicked down the runway at St Helens and whisked her away from "pure" Tasmania and its fatal taint of nature.

This is still a favourite story in the public bar of the St Marys Hotel. The relish with which it is told, even re-enacted, says much about the aspirations and social tensions which abound in these parts.⁷⁴¹

The park-like open woodlands of broad eucalyptus and wallaby grass, and rainforests, some of them a Gondwana time-capsule of native pines, sassafras, myrtle, beech and blackwood, drape the hills which define the Fingal Valley and between the valley and down to the beaches. The forests, often nodding in the sea breezes which foam into cloudgardens on the ridges and then luxuriate down the gullies and into the main valley

as though the sylvan land is melting into air, are a link between what was good country and what could soon be just old country.⁷⁴² And forests bring “tree-changers”. Along the brilliantine coast, these new arrivals also call themselves “sea-changers”. The two groups form a species of a sort known as “in-movers”.⁷⁴³ Between the vestiges of the good country with its in-movers and the creeping old country with its people who call themselves “locals”, is a line of parapatry.

Parapatry, the boffins say, is a function of natural selection. It occurs when the habitats of two species with a similar ecological zone lie side-by-side but do not overlap. Like respectful neighbours, they might have contact at their common boundary and yet without transgressing into the other’s “home”, not so much as a hand shake. The theory of parapatry argues that two species cannot co-exist in the same location over a long time with the same ecological needs and that there might be something other than distance or ecology which keeps the two species apart.⁷⁴⁴ In the Eastern Highlands and the Nicholas Range around St Marys, the ecological niches of the Blind Velvet worm and the Giant Velvet worm form a line of parapatry.⁷⁴⁵

The in-movers, particularly the tree-changers as it is mostly in their country, are as proud of this regional phenomenon as the locals are as proud of the St Marys Football Club. The tourist information board in the centre of the town is festooned with an artist’s imagining of a monster Blind Velvet worm, like a promo for a science-fiction movie. Not surprisingly, the Blind Velvet was adopted in 2003 as the motif for the campaign to Save Our Sisters (South Sister and North Sister are in the Nicholas Range) from “selective” logging, a Forestry term which environmentalists claim is a euphemism for “strip clearfelling”.⁷⁴⁶ This campaign was bitterly resisted by some locals who cherished the “traditional” industries, even as much as it was obvious that such industries, apart from logging—worth about \$1 billion by 2008, were in decline.⁷⁴⁷ (It is even possible that such decline makes these industries more endearing because they represent a way of life which is seen to be threatened.) So the Blind Velvet came to represent the metaphorical line of parapatry between the locals and the in-movers.⁷⁴⁸

Of course, there had been such lines of tension before in this valley. For most of the 19th century, after the Aborigines, the bushrangers and the emancipists—the latter groups scratching out a living on so-called Crown Land, were brutally dispossessed by British troops (there is a preserved military cell in Fingal), the roving parties and even mounted posses, and well into the 20th century until postmodernism and its neoliberal “reforms” forced a social restructuring, these lines developed a sticky identity.⁷⁴⁹ They formed a cross-pattern between groups such as the grazing elite, like the Talbots and

Legges, and the few small farmers in this region along with the rural working class like farm hands, selective loggers and family mill operators sawing for lumber, or commercial fishermen, miners (coal, tin, zinc, tungsten and some gold) and small business folk.⁷⁵⁰ Or a line emerged between “bushies” and “townies”. Or it was lived between points of geographical identity marked by the small settlements scattered around the valley, usually fought out on the football grounds. The relevant lower house electorates (this is the largest Tasmanian seat, once called Wilmot— now Lyons, at State and Federal levels) tended to be shared amongst the conservatives and Labor.⁷⁵¹ (The Greens have secured State representation since 1989 under the Hare-Clarke system.)⁷⁵² The graziers and their ilk have tended to more control of local government. (Robert William Legge is currently Mayor of the regional Break O’ Day Council, a position he has held on and off for many years.) Bush commentators like Henry Lawson would have quickly recognised these social structures. If little else, they offered a relative security of place and social identity.

From the 1820s to the 1970s, the economy was Tasmanian traditional. After whalers and sealers had plundered the coast for sea mammals and Aboriginal women (some sealers met fatal retribution from Aborigines at Eddystone Point, Bay of Fires;— now reported as the best of *Lonely Planet*’s “hot destinations”, to the delight of Heath Garratt, general ecobusiness manager of the Bay of Fires Lodge, and to the chagrin of Mayor Legge)⁷⁵³ and the big graziers were moving in to clear the valley of opposition, the Colonial Government sent in troops and established a convict station on a rivulet in 1821 at St Marys, then known as Grassy Bottom.⁷⁵⁴ Their greatest task was to build a pass from the head of the valley through the highlands to emerge near the coast beneath a site which the locals dubbed “Miller’s Hill”. (So called because, as folklore has it, Miller was a brutal guard who was killed by convicts, “cremated” in a lime kiln and then mortared into the roadworks.)⁷⁵⁵ It remained largely a farming and forestry region until 1852 when gold was discovered and then coal mines were opened in the 1880s.⁷⁵⁶ So the Government opened a railway line in 1886 which linked the valley with Launceston and Hobart for both goods and passenger transport. The people here then settled down to a sort of *How Green Was My Valley* mining culture, only with more farmers, including a dairy industry for several decades, as well as the loggers, and fishers.⁷⁵⁷ Commercial fishing villages sprang up on the coast at St Helens (first settled by whalers) and Bicheno (which also had coal), then farm and holiday sites at Seymour, Falmouth, Four Mile Creek, Scamander, Beaumaris, Bay of Fires (including Binnalong Bay and The Gardens) and Anson’s Bay.⁷⁵⁸ Inland, the towns of St Marys, Fingal and

Avoca formed a spine of settlement down the Fingal Valley, with Royal George in the St Pauls tributary valley, and satellite hamlets (some with schools) scattered through the hills at Dublin Town, German Town, Irish Town, Gray (Tasmania's wettest settlement), Gould's Country, Goshen, Pyengana and Weldborough, and further mining at Rossarden, Cornwall, Mangana, Mathinna, Mount Nicholas, Jubilee and Lottah; a Chinese settlement was also established at Blue Tier to mine tin.⁷⁵⁹

What Cornwall local, Una Camplin, now calls Tasmania's "forgotten valley" became the State's major coal producer.⁷⁶⁰ (Though the coal here is inferior to the black coal mined in New South Wales.)⁷⁶¹ School children would later share their bus with faces dusted black like so many holes in their innocent space.⁷⁶² The miners were at first easily manipulated by the mine owners. Police were called to help the Cornwall miners defy armed strikers from nearby Mt Nicholas during a dispute in 1890 and "black-legs" or "scabs" (non-union strike breakers) were used during a strike in 1902.⁷⁶³ Abandoning the Federal Tribunal, employers reverted to lock-outs in the 1920s.⁷⁶⁴ Then the miners found a militant solidarity in the Great Depression of the 1930s as the Australasian Coal and Shale Employees Federation (APPM) squared off against the bosses, police and "Scotts" (strikebreakers possibly recruited from the Scottsdale region to the north)—after the latter would run the gauntlet of angry miners when they disembarked at the St Marys railway station.⁷⁶⁵ It was not exactly the Battle of Matewan as no one died during the fights which are said to have broken out on the station platform and into the main street.⁷⁶⁶ Yet there was a parallel given that the local police were reluctant to protect the hated bosses of the Cornwall Coal Company, or arrest the miners, because of the simple and inescapable fact that the police too were part of the community and they and their families would have to go on living in the valley. As is a common tactic of senior police world-wide when their officers are vulnerable to a localised vengeance, reinforcements would be railed in from distant barracks, like those at Launceston. This added fuel to the smouldering distrust of those from outside of the valley. Conversely, the mining union's steadfast struggle through numerous disputes made for a tighter community culture. (Even the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s raised St Marys political temper.)⁷⁶⁷ By 1941, almost 500 men were employed in the local collieries for an industry stabilising for output in World War II, and Tasmania finally caught up with the pension schemes offered in other states for coal miners.⁷⁶⁸ In later years, the Minister for Mines and ALP Premier Eric Reece (1958-1969, 1972-1975), born at Mathinna and once a miner and union delegate, worked assiduously to resolve disputes between miners and employers to avoid lost pay packets and Tasmania's coal supplies being shut down.⁷⁶⁹ In

contradistinction to the angry wave of environmentalists who would surge through Tasmania with the flooding of Lake Pedder in the 1970s, Len Miles, still living in St Marys as a retired miner and once President of the local branch of the union, has fond memories of Reece and his interventions.⁷⁷⁰

The graziers aside, ensconced in their aristocratic, convict-hewn sandstone Georgian mansions, the area was not known for high incomes and during the hard years of the 1930s many people were forced to chase extra money by shooting possums and even trapping platypus and marsupial water rats for the fur market.⁷⁷¹ “Parrots”, actually Tasmania’s Green rosella, were shot in vast numbers as a favourite bush tucker.⁷⁷² Wattle birds were taken in the winter, “only after the third frost”. As the Aborigines had done for millennia, swans’ eggs were gathered in the spring. They make for rich sponge cakes. The sea gave up more or less free delicacies like lobsters, scallops, mussels, oysters and abalone. This is the only coastline in Tasmania with a reliable run of prawns. Flounder was speared in the shallows, and nets, rather than rods, were often a first option for fishing because the goal was food on the table rather than sport. Not flush with cash if forced to visit the doctor’s surgery or the chemist’s shop, some would offer payment from the wilds such as a brace of rabbit or a string of trout or a bag of field mushrooms like Horse or Slippery Jack or Pine or the delicately nutty Shaggy Parasol. Others would offer regular farm produce such as a side of Suffolk lamb or a cloth-wrapped wheel of “tasty” Cheddar-style cheese or a box of strawberries and a billy can of fresh cream— unadulterated by pasteurisation, let alone today’s industrialised homogenisation.⁷⁷³ A few old timers were still brewing their own cider.⁷⁷⁴ The practicalities of just surviving like this entrenched self-reliant, fact-facing values about society and nature.⁷⁷⁵

The St Marys district alone grew to a population of several thousand people with the town boasting two fine hotels— “the miners’ home away from home”, and a department store which employed dozens of people.⁷⁷⁶ St Marys also held an annual show for the array of produce and animal husbandry which was displayed with regional pride.⁷⁷⁷ Rossarden grew to be big enough to have its own football competition while the Fingal District Football Association hosted games through the valley.⁷⁷⁸ There was also cricket in the summer, the perennial Tasmanian sport of wood-chopping was always popular, as well as horse race meetings at Avoca, an annual trots meeting at St Marys and “world championships” in coal-shovelling and roof-bolting in Fingal.⁷⁷⁹ Meanwhile, the coast, to which many valley people would retire at pension age, became famous for game fishing on tuna and marlin—which feed in the warm surge of water from the tropics

now known as the Great East Australian Current, and an abundance of sport fish off the beaches and rocky headlands and in the estuaries. On the Fingal Valley streams, famous Tasmanian angling luminaries and writers like Dick Wigram and David Scholes promoted the area's trout fishing to an international following. Scholes, a prolific and very popular angling author, even devoted one title to the Break O'Day river which, with its extraordinary hatches of "red" (orange) and black mayfly whirring like a galaxy of tiny sunbursts makes for a classic style of fly fishing known throughout the trouting world.⁷⁸⁰ A peculiar river which pours out of limestone caves in the Eastern Highlands to flow west through a slightly turbid necklace of broadwaters with the "stillwater" qualities of its current hugging the bottom and a nearly motionless surface, the Break O'Day's high calcium content builds a complex ecology of marine invertebrates like stick caddis, water snail and shrimp: all rich food for trout, perch and eels. The turbidity keeps the fish-eating cormorants at bay. Scholes nominated it as Australia's best trout stream. If the sea breeze shuts down the fickle mayfly, then there would invariably be trout rising to the flurries of white caddis moth dimpling the crystalline surface of the South Esk, Tasmania's longest river. Recreational hunters chased kangaroo, wallaby, rabbit, hare, duck, parrot, pigeon, quail and snipe, with herds of Fallow deer around Avoca and Rossarden, and driven shoots of purpose-reared pheasant and partridge released on the bigger properties. The valley and the nearby coast had developed into a sort of rough and tough "Arcadia" of humble yet dignified lives. Then an annual cull on wild animals attended by hundreds of shooters at Avoca was stopped in the 1972 after protests and even bomb threats.⁷⁸¹ The storm clouds of social change were swelling on the horizon.

First, the passenger train line to St Marys was closed in 1973 because of declining coal operations which could not compete with low cost oil from the Middle East.⁷⁸² Automation whittled down the remaining number of miners.⁷⁸³ New forestry technologies of clearfelling and "selective logging" (discussed below) were brought into the valley, though the implications were not yet understood, let alone questioned. In the 1980s, the Aberfoyle mine at Rossarden, after being bought by Kerry Packer (then Australia's richest individual) amidst promises of continued operation, was closed and asset-stripped.⁷⁸⁴ Rossarden became a near ghost town with more deer in residence than people. Wool, once the island's "golden fleece" as Tasmania set numerous world records for super-fine Merino, began a long slide in prices. Shearers and general farm-hands were sent to the dole office. Graziers increased lamb and beef production and then ominously, because it is so more demanding of the environment, turned to poppies

for the opiate industry. The dairy industry, unable to compete with upgraded technologies in other areas, had all but collapsed decades earlier. Besides, locals were noting that the annual average precipitation was decreasing; this was before the “greenhouse” theory of Global Warming was popularly disseminated.⁷⁸⁵ Dairying, the older generation remarked, had become impossible except in the lush corner of Pyengana. Even the local stud for breeding race horses closed and the owners moved to “pastures” of a more profitable sort on the mainland. Crack willow was choking the rivers and the Talbots at “Malahide” brought in bulldozers to “remake” the Break O’ Day river for flood mitigation and then set about annihilating its most famous trout pools. Though good fishing can still be had upstream from “Killymoon” to “Cullenswood”, it broke Scholes’s heart and saw disappointed fishing tourists retreat to the highland lakes.⁷⁸⁶

In the next decade, the Public Works Department completed the highway along the coast, making the Elephant Pass to St Marys Pass a mere windy detour. Petrol stations and mechanics workshops in St Marys were reduced from four to two. (Now there is only one.) The commercial fishing industry had a temporary boom with the discovery of huge schools of Orange Roughy around a deep water pinnacle off St Helens. While the fishoes argued with the Federal Government after the latter was advised by marine scientists to drastically reduce the catch, the species went in to collapse anyway and so too did the industry based on it. Japan’s troubled economy in this decade further restricted seafood exports from the region. All in all, the population dwindled.

By the middle of the 1990s, further blighted by a national recession, St Marys alone had shrunk to about 600 residents. It was compounded in all the inland towns of the region. Even schools were closed. In yet another blow, the local “Todd’s Hall”, renovated and trading as a wet cinema, café, and laundrette, even as an auditorium for the Australian Chamber Orchestra, was burnt down by a work-for-the-dole scheme which had set fire to the willows it had cleared from the rivulet.⁷⁸⁷ “Todd’s Hall” was a major focus for the community and its loss fractured many social networks.⁷⁸⁸ Forestry Tasmania was closing the local family lumber mills where it could, and where it could not, the private logging industry (now dominated by clearfellers like Gunns Limited and Forest Enterprises Australia) bought them out and closed them itself. Frighteningly, a killer was striking against targeted foreigners: lonely women tourists sun-baking on this coastline’s even more lonely beaches or riding a bike along its empty roads.⁷⁸⁹

Bus drivers were pointing out a guilty beach and saying, “That’s where the murder happened.”⁷⁹⁰

It was not the sort of publicity that local businesses could afford.⁷⁹¹

A desperate council offered deserted mining company houses to any one who would just pay the rates for two years. A regional identity who had Anglicised his name to “Stan Graham” gained title to a lot of the cheap property only to find it burnt down in a vendetta by locals against his business practices.⁷⁹² Some estimate that fifty houses were torched just in Cornwall.⁷⁹³ So he moved his venture to Rossarden where he offered cheap housing to prisoners on release from the State gaol at Risdon. It made for a neighbourhood with character, yet did little for the economy except to promote this district as Tasmania’s “dope capital”. (Marijuana crops are still prolific in the region’s forests in general; so are some addicted and psychotic users.) Other houses were pulled down so that the materials could be used for building “shacks” on the coast. Here was the contrast. Against the backdrop of Tasmania’s burgeoning reputation as a haven of nature with it engaged in major environmental disputes while advertising for ecotourists at one and the same time, in-movers were indeed moving in and rapidly so. It was a demographic revolution. But like all revolutions, it had its reactionaries. A few years earlier, *The Mercury* warned Tasmanians of a probable influx of “GUPPIES (green urban professional people) – in other words the dreaded mainland greenies.”⁷⁹⁴ The Break O’Day in-movers were generally less cashed-up than the feared GUPPY, nonetheless their attraction to this region’s double benefit of rural airs and cheap real estate began to stem the outgoing population tide.

Georges Bay at St Helens, as the cliché would have it, is just gorgeous. It has been a tourist destination for decades. The Council Chambers were relocated there in 1956 and enjoy the sea view.⁷⁹⁵ Yet general business growth in the municipality was sluggish until the late 20th century when postmodern economies sprang up along the coast. New wave farmers, like Frank Giles who had immigrated from South Australia, adapted micro-irrigation technologies for growing fruit orchards in the poor and acidic soils which are common here.⁷⁹⁶ The addition of the right nutrients to cheap land with the added bonus of a nearly ideal climate led to a planting boom. Not only orchards of various sweet fruits and nuts, yet also vineyards and olive groves appeared. With a boom in tourism, these businesses went hand in glove with a new food awareness and tourist infrastructure like restaurants and cafés. Artists and crafts people followed, keen to use the locally available materials and vistas for inspiration. Alternative life-stylers or “ferals”, people who supplemented their welfare payments with cash jobs and/or market-gardening as an extension of their preferred vegetarian diets, also made up the scene.

The general outcome was an ecobusiness mindset. After all, the west coast's Strahan has been an ecotourist success as the gateway to the Gordon river country, so why not picture-postcard St Helens or the forest surrounds of St Marys? So many set about coupling "green" technologies, like "biological farming", with tourist services.⁷⁹⁷ "Seaview Farm", amidst the mixed forests at German Town and directly below South Sister, was an early starter in the trend of combining green farming with accommodation for mainland and foreign tourists wanting a "wilderness experience".⁷⁹⁸ Some established "hobby farms" for a part-commercial subsidy of a lifestyle choice. Others used their postmodern on-line skills, while making do with the primitive dial-up internet access which is the fate of "remote" regions, to link commercial opportunity with virtual globalism. But it was a challenge. This fragile economy did not provide much security if these business ventures could not provide enough income in cash and/or in kind. Those with trade skills were more likely to remain in this clumsy hybrid of the old and new. Succumbing to a loss of social balance or, as nominated by Amanda Lohrey (a successful novelist now in residence at Falmouth), a type of "vertigo", many would leave.⁷⁹⁹ Regardless, they were soon replaced by a new surge of hopefuls as the economies in Launceston, Hobart and the Australian mainland improved from the mid 1990s and people cashed-in their urban properties to trade, as Lohrey says, for a pastoral impulse to a personal Eden.⁸⁰⁰ Some were retiring baby-boomers. Others, contrary to stereotype, were "city misfits" morally and spiritually traumatised by neoliberal capitalism and had bolted, like Vandiemonians of yore, from the metropolises to arrive with little capital and much hope.⁸⁰¹ This brought a flood of new social values into the region.

The in-movers were generally loathe to take nature for granted. Not only had they immigrated into the district for the trees, fresh air and sea views, those with a spiritual bent tended to see the environment as a cathedral of nature, transcendent and transforming.⁸⁰² Some with a more zealous calling from the wilds began to lobby by whatever legal means available against almost every proposed commercial development, attacking the "green shoe brigade" (an ecoversion of "white shoe" entrepreneurs) and also exotic fauna like trout as "underwater foxes". Conservation was meant to be literal. More, it was a patriotism of place, a duty to defend native Tasmania.

Once emancipists had avoided despotic authority by "going bush".⁸⁰³ They sought places like Gould's Country, just north of St Helens and with a reputation (probably part myth) as a type of Creole culture spawned from an intermingling of bushrangers and Aborigines, and where the police would not venture without guns drawn.⁸⁰⁴ Now it is an

upmarket weekend shackville known for garden tours and even a helicopter parked on a front lawn. In a postmodern similarity, some couples of “alternative” sexuality sought refuge throughout the Break O’ Day municipality.

To borrow from the language of military logistics, there emerged a balance of forces between the locals and in-movers as the declining traditional economy forced many locals to move out to find employment and as the new economy and spread of green values lured outsiders in. Though they recognised the benefits of an injection of money into what had become “struggleville”, the locals resented these new types and their challenge to traditional values. The social scene was like trying to mix vinegar and oil: they had to be shaken together and afterwards they would split back to their respective social levels. As clear as if in a cruet of rested salad dressing, the line of parapathy was drawn. Or so it seemed.

With the explosion of clearfell logging operations through the region, encouraged by Labor Premiers Jim Bacon (1998-2004) and Paul Lennon (2004-2008), both of whom had graduated into parliamentary politics from the union movement and as ALP apparatchiks lobbying for the forestry industry in the early 1990s, the in-movers who had come here for the rural aesthetics, more particularly and not surprisingly the tree-changers, were enraged.⁸⁰⁵ A public confrontation became inevitable.

In all the publicity around the disputes over Tasmania’s forests (“Forest Wars”) in its west and south, the great swathes of native flora which still covered so much of its north-east had been largely overlooked.⁸⁰⁶ Except the forestry industry, or one should say the now clearfell and plantation industry, was drawn to the region as the miners had been lured in a search for mineral wealth, only by the 1990s the “gold” was in woodchips. (The north-east is targeted by Gunns as the major source for its controversial proposed pulp mill on the west Tamar; forestry is the only Australian industry exempt from the Federal *National Environmental Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999*.)⁸⁰⁷ Tasmania’s traditional forestry had been mostly in selective logging for lumber in the actual sense of leaving more trees standing than were taken in a specified period of access to a coupe. Forestry Tasmania had enforced a strict regime to manage the forests as a renewable resource for future generations. The traditional technologies had included portable mills so the sawdust left behind became fertilizer, stimulating the growth of new saplings. Trees under six foot six (about two metres) around the girth at the butt were not to be touched, horses and bullocks were often used to drag the timber, and snig tracks were not allowed to head towards streams so that the

water courses were protected from the damage that might have been caused by dragging logs.⁸⁰⁸

Then, from about 1968, clearfelling developed. By 1970, loggers were buying up “the bush” at an increasing rate.⁸⁰⁹ By the late 1990s, Forestry either allocated large coupes of public land to private companies, mostly Gunns out of Launceston, or Forestry and the once behemoth quango of the island, the Hydro-Electric Commission (now Hydro Tasmania), sold the land at cheap prices to the industry.

As the name literally suggests, forests are clearfelled by large bulldozers dragging chains and a giant metal ball, and by cables, chainsaws and skidders. Sometimes explosives are used.⁸¹⁰ The larger hardwood logs of eucalyptus are then de-barked by machine, loaded onto semi-trailers and sent to the mills. Most of this is woodchipped and exported to paper manufacturers.

Helicopters then return in the autumn to drop jellied petroleum—derided by environmentalists as “napalm”.⁸¹¹ The smoke has been so heavy that nearby populations have been evacuated. Even residents in Launceston and Hobart complained of the unsightly skies. There was a public outcry against the waste of precious timbers usually used for the crafting of furniture and musical instruments. Small millers licensed by Forestry to scavenge trees left behind by chipping loggers complained that the helicopters were burning the slags before they could finish collecting the resource. So, in a public relations exercise, Forestry began retrieval operations from some coupes before the bombing to sell rough planks of the highly sought sassafras, myrtle, blackwood and celery-top pine to the public.⁸¹² Gunns Timber Division also opened a retail outlet in Launceston to showcase and sell products from these fine woods; as an exercise in propaganda, it lends another meaning to “veneer”. The private coupes are then laid with 1080 poison (sodium fluoroacetate) to kill herbivores and, by implication, possibly carnivores which eat their toxic prey.⁸¹³ (Locals blame the poison for the dramatic decline of bush tucker like Green rosellas.)⁸¹⁴ Spotlight shooters move in at night to hasten the job, though local hunters complain that protected species are targeted along with pests.⁸¹⁵ Most public and private coupes are then aerial sprayed with herbicides and insecticides, furrowed and finally planted with a close crop of *Eucalyptus nitens*, *Eucalyptus globulus* or *Radiata* pine.⁸¹⁶ (A large portion of Forestry’s pine plantations were privatised and the public perception, in the wake of a mill closure scandal to the near north in Scottsdale, is that Forestry discriminates against some private interests to ultimately favour Gunns.)⁸¹⁷ The young trees, hungry for nutrients, draw huge amounts of water.⁸¹⁸ The South Esk stopped flowing in 2003 for

the first time in recorded history due to drought, irrigation for the poppy industry and the timber plantations around its headwaters. Aerial spraying continues as the plantations grow. In 2004, oyster farmers at Georges Bay suspected that the chemicals were killing their businesses, so they commissioned a report from marine ecologist, Dr Marcus Scammell.⁸¹⁹ The Department of Primary Industries and Water (DPIW) tried to muddy the proverbial waters with some spurious and much criticized “science” of its own, and the Council insisted that there “was no single reason”, implying that the problem was the influx of fresh water “following one of the largest flood events in the Georges River Catchment for many decades”.⁸²⁰ A couple of in-movers from South Australia, Howard and Michelle Carpenter, found that their farm’s water supply was contaminated with atrazine from the drift off the spray used on a Gunns plantation nearby.⁸²¹ The Minister for Primary Industries and Water, Steve Kons, staged a media stunt by drinking a glass of water allegedly laced with atrazine. For services to what environmentalists dubbed the “Gunnerment” of the “clearfell state”, he was later promoted to Deputy Premier.⁸²²

While the total tonnage of woodchips taken has been subject to “business in-confidence” legislation since 2000 (Forestry was exempt from the Freedom of Information Act from 1991 to 2004), the sheer aggression and mendacity of the logging industry and the Government, with some complicity from the private media, had an unexpected outcome: it began to blur the line of parapathy which Tasmanian politicians had so artfully exploited.⁸²³

The Aulichs have long been a family of loggers in the north east.⁸²⁴ So when Suzie Aulich, from Scottsdale, began protesting the clearfelling she brought the division right into the heart of traditional Tasmania.⁸²⁵ Of course, this was not the first time it had happened. The disputes around Lake Pedder and the Gordon-below-Franklin for example had split many Tasmanian families. But they were “over there”, on the other sides of the island. Suzie Aulich’s activism, specifically aimed at operations in this corner of Tasmania, signaled that green ideologies were taking root with the locals in a part of the island which had been amongst the most resistant. Like most of her neighbours, she had grown up with a fondness for Forestry and the “old forester”. Then the clearfelling brought the “new one”, the stranger with little sense of her traditional community.⁸²⁶ Neoliberalism was eating away at community identity around Australia and in rural Tasmania, with its aged intimacies, it hurt deeply.⁸²⁷ This provoked a politics of reaction and a longing for the old forester.⁸²⁸ Some who wanted to conserve the traditional logging culture formed Timber Workers for Forests in 2001.⁸²⁹ The

disillusionment grew with a volatile element which could swing social values to the right or to the left. An Australian chapter of Earth First! demonstrated its tendency to stuntism by seizing a Tasmanian log train and placing signs to claim that trees were being “spiked” (the insertion of rods into tree trunks to seize chain saws, potentially causing the saw to kick back and injure loggers). The only “threat” was to tip the press towards a reactionary alarm of “eco-terrorism”.⁸³⁰ (An issue which was to re-emerge as part of a “smear campaign” alleged by the Greens against the forest industry around the South Sister controversy.)⁸³¹ For Aulich on the other hand, logging issues morphed from reaction into radicalism as she reached out for new ideas to confront a new problem; in her vision of the future the past could be saved from the present. So she busied herself with the North-East Highlands Action Group and linked hands with other women in protest like Chris Haas, Frances Coughlan, Kim Matthews, Lesley Nicholson and Beris Hansberry.⁸³²

The struggle began to focus on Blue Tier, overlooking Gould’s Country, where a high plateau presents a stunning array of Tasmanian flora in concentration as each level of altitude gives way to different plant ecologies, from eucalyptus rainforest to ancient Gondwana forest to heath and native grassland. Lesley Nicklason, as the public face of Friends of the Blue Tier, took a conservation campaign to the public and media to stop clearfelling in the area.⁸³³ Smelling the prospect of ecotourist dollars on the back of a popular cause, the Break O’Day Council with its pro-business mayor, Steven Salter, passed a motion urging the State Government to conduct a Public Land Use Inquiry into the Blue Tier and an immediate moratorium on logging.⁸³⁴ The Greens, always looking to exploit the tension in Tasmanian capitalism between heavy industry and tourism, applauded the Council.⁸³⁵

In an appeal to a global readership, Richard Flanagan, an internationally acclaimed author of novels set in the vortex of eco-Tasmania like *Death of a River Guide* (1994) and *Gould’s Book of Fish* (2001) and also a veteran of environmentalism yet with an ambivalent relationship to the Greens, threw darts at the ALP Bacon-Lennon Governments.⁸³⁶ (The attacks on both sides would become personal with Bacon implying that Flanagan was a “cultural fascist” and then Lennon repeating time and again that “Richard Flanagan and his fiction is not welcomed in the new Tasmania”.⁸³⁷ Flanagan called the ruddy-faced Lennon a “burst saveloy”; to the amusement of his opponents, the new Premier went on a diet and donned a more fashionable range of suits.)⁸³⁸ The point of Flanagan’s barbs was that a corrupt government was wasting one of the most beautiful islands in the world and that, allied with corporate use of SLAPP

writs and vilification of protestors like the “Gunns 20”, it was suppressing broad public dissent to do it.⁸³⁹ The Deputy Premier and Minister of Infrastructure, Energy and Resources, Bryan Green, stepped up to take on Flanagan with accusations of “unTasmanian”, “sabotage” and “a betrayal”.⁸⁴⁰ The possibility that the pen might prove mightier than the chainsaw was clearly worrying the Tasmanian ALP (Greens Senator Brown exploited the issue to try wedge the Tasmanian and Federal branches of the ALP)⁸⁴¹ Flanagan’s long dispute with the Greens, that the latter ignored the rural working class, yet in the context of his charismatic and very public commitment to defending the island’s environment placed him at a strategic corner to link alienated locals with ecopolitics.⁸⁴²

Meanwhile, Friends of the Blue Tier set up a protest camp at Anchor Road near Lottah, and Flanagan arrived to give public support and raise its profile.⁸⁴³ Police moved in to affect evictions and the “Blue Tier Ten” were arrested.⁸⁴⁴ Hundreds of people marched through St Helens on the day of the trial. Magistrate Peter Wilson dismissed the charges against Tom Millen, Sylvia Gray, Tom Ball and Caroline Ball on technical grounds and did not record convictions against Gloria Andrews, Ebi Haas, Beris Hansberry, Sharlene King, Lesley Nicklason and Denny Walter. To defy the loggers’ 24-hour security, Bob Lowth flew his helicopter from nearby Gould’s Country and took pictures of the damage in an offending logging coupe.⁸⁴⁵

As the Federal election loomed, the politics of Canberra sought to intervene. The ALP leader of the Opposition, the unpredictable Mark Latham, gave his support to clearfelling.⁸⁴⁶ Then after a forest tour with Senator Brown and mindful of the history of Tasmania’s environmental issues in Federal elections, he tried to climb out of the hole he had dug for his party by offering an \$800 million dollar package to clearfellers to quit the forests.⁸⁴⁷ The weakness in his *Sustainable Development for Tasmania Fund* (2004) was a politician’s “promise” to replace old-growth logging with jobs in the craft and plantation industries. In the vagaries of Tasmania’s economy, probably only up-front bags of cash could have bought timber votes. Prime Minister John Howard, a master of spin, “guaranteed...his policy would not cause any job losses” to a meeting of cheering clearfellers in Launceston. (Gunns began laying off contractors in 2005.)⁸⁴⁸ He then joined with Lennon to produce *The Tasmanian Community Forest Agreement* (2004), replete with colourful graphics of old growth forests no less.⁸⁴⁹ Mostly it agreed to protect logging profits with a subsidy of \$250 million while some of the forests it named for protection were already reserved or next to impossible to access with machinery or would later be logged regardless.⁸⁵⁰

For the Break O' Day, a notable victory was the declaration of a forest reserve on the Blue Tier. But it was a cunning ploy. Only the area most obvious to tourists would be protected while the forests in the rear, around Lottah, would soon feel the chainsaws.⁸⁵¹ Howard won a majority in both Houses of Parliament, Latham resigned from politics, and Federal Labor's policy on clearfelling was dead. (It was overturned before the end of 2006 and then buried in 2007 by the new ALP leader, Kevin Rudd, in a perceived strategy to win back the seats of Bass and Braddon— to the immediate north of Lyons.)⁸⁵² Lennon was also to win the next Tasmania State election in 2006. The Break O' Day forests were now in the centre of Gunns's sight.

Colin Smart moved from Sydney to the Break O' Day region in the early 1980s for the fishing. Along with fishing, music is his passion. His inspiration is the outdoors. Smart joined the Save Our Sisters campaign by penning lyrics to popular tunes in satire of the Lennon Government. The regional radio station, Break O' Day FM, allocated regular airplay to his "Lennongrad" and "Gunna Gunna Do". Shoppers checked-out in St Helen's largest supermarket to new lines for Bob Dylan's "Hurricane" spilling from the public-address system. This was more than muzak:

Something shocking in the State I'm in.
Whose got the goods and who holds the key?
Whose making money out of what is yours?
And they shipped our forests I said overseas.
This is the story of the Premier
In the southern state they call Tasmania
And how corruption leads the way
It couldn't help but make me feel ashamed
To live in a land where Parliament is a game.
Now the pulp mill is smoking from the barrel of Gunns.
...

...⁸⁵³

Smart walked into the public bar of the St Mary's Hotel for what he thought would be the proverbial quiet beer only to be greeted with a logger's fist. He then had to deal with the so-called "Fox Taskforce" insisting that his coastal property was to be laid with 1080 for a pest no one could substantiate. He refused, so they returned with the police. Smart still wonders if there is a connection between Tasmania's fox scare and the timber industry's avid efforts to lay poison, speculating that it is a strategy to extend pesticides onto land near to plantations but not owned by the industry.⁸⁵⁴

"So call me paranoid!" he said with the tone of his obvious talent for sarcasm.⁸⁵⁵

Paranoid or not, this was a symptom of a conflict which was quelled only with overwhelming force.

For the St Marys district, the struggle started in earnest in 2003, amidst nearly innumerable logging disputes around Tasmania at the time, when it came to light that forestry maps indicated Logging Coupe NI 114A was planned for 50% felling on the overlooking peak of South Sister, a popular location for its vibrant ecology— of which many of the species would subsequently be claimed to be threatened.⁸⁵⁶ Besides, the soul-nourishing serenity of this forest had been a favourite with people in this valley for probably as long as there had been people in this valley. South Sister is where a cathedral of nature becomes a social identity of place; it is an integral character in the storyscape of the Fingal Valley. Simply, people are emotionally attached to “our ‘Big Sister’”.⁸⁵⁷

So, fearing also that the “sibling” North Sister could be next, the Save Our Sisters campaign (SOS) was launched with Dr Frances Daily as chair and the main spokesperson (sometimes for 15 hour days and 7 days a week for months on end).⁸⁵⁸ It would include such as David Clement, Julia Weston, Frank Giles, Ross Quinn, Isa Witton, Di Field, Ashley Mason, Stephen Bantik, Charles Trollope, Melanie Casey and Arthur and Sonia Progley as the organisers.⁸⁵⁹ SOS even received public support from an ex-Forestry Minister, Andrew Lohrey, who damned the proposed logging as a “state-sanctioned act of vandalism”, and joined forces with SOS.⁸⁶⁰ (He is still active around forest issues in the district.)⁸⁶¹ The local ALP Federal member, Dick Adams, smelt trouble and responded with a distribution of pro-Forestry leaflets.⁸⁶² Adams’s propaganda served SOS’s interests in part by ensuring that the issue was widely disseminated. Having inadvertently caught media attention, SOS then accused Forestry of a “coverup” which they dubbed “Sistergate”, and called public meetings in St Marys which would be attended by over 200 people at a time with all but a few against the logging.⁸⁶³

Weston and Giles, relying on spring water flowing to their “Seaview Farm”, were keen to solicit the advice of a geohydrologist.⁸⁶⁴ So SOS approached Dr David Leaman, and he agreed to research and write a formal report to be passed through the non-profit community legal centre, the Environmental Defenders Office in Hobart, for legal submissions to the Resource Management and Planning Appeal Tribunal (RMPAT).⁸⁶⁵ Amongst other concerns about the proposed forestry coupes, it argues that there is a risk of terminating the South Sister water supply to St Marys.⁸⁶⁶ Leaman also advised SOS that spring water sourced from South Sister would probably decline to a negligible flow,

potentially a personal blow for the business and lifestyle of Weston and Giles at “Seaview” and sixty other people dependent on it.⁸⁶⁷ There was now clearly so much more at stake than just sentiment. In growing concern, SOS also invited opinion from two landslip experts, Dr Ralph Rallings and Dr David Stapledon, an authority on lichen, Dr Gintaras Kantvilas, a zoologist on the line of paraptry and Velvet worms, Dr Alastair Richardson, a geomorphologist, Dr Leonie van der Maesen, and an entomologist to study the insects, Dr Peter McQuillan.⁸⁶⁸ More expertise on flora, fauna and even fungi was to follow for what excited scientists were reporting as a biodiversity hotspot. SOS was striving to defend it from becoming a biodiversity “hitspot”. Richardson, head of the School of Zoology at the University of Tasmania, sent SOS advice that the parapatric lines of the type discovered at South Sister are rarely identified and are landscape features that should be treated in the same way as a threatened species distribution.⁸⁶⁹ Rallings wrote to Minister Green and pleaded that the least the Government could do was to stall the logging to allow further investigation because of the danger of serious landslip.⁸⁷⁰ (Leaman tried to keep the main focus on water supply only to find that the legal machinations were sidelining his science.)⁸⁷¹ The issue was making world news and Weston received letters of support from, amongst others, the leader of the Liberal Democrats in England, Norm Baker, Australian film producer and high profile pundit, Phillip Adams, and Liberal New South Wales Senator and farmer environmentalist, Bill Heffernan.⁸⁷²

But the bulldozers were clanking in and, though up to 100 protestors succeeded in stopping cars, they could not halt the bigger machines and so Forestry began building the infrastructure.⁸⁷³ The RMPAT agreed that the logging should not proceed before the hearing was finalised, yet conceded to Forestry’s request that the infrastructure work could continue.⁸⁷⁴ During the preliminary manoeuvres, Forestry had its “scientific experts” contradict those working with SOS⁸⁷⁵ It constructed a convoluted argument that the landslip issues revolved around the qualifier of “possible” rather than “likely”.⁸⁷⁶ As a decoy, Forestry also threatened litigation for the delay. SOS was advised that its action was not vexatious, yet Forestry’s tactic of contradicting the SOS authorities with argument from its own was bogging down proceedings, a self-serving aggravation to the threat of litigation. (Leaman claims that this could have been thwarted if the Break O’Day Council and the Director of Environment had issued Environmental Protection Notices to Forestry as requested by the appellants.)⁸⁷⁷ SOS was legally advised to withdraw, which it did three days before the hearing finally scheduled for 14 October 2005, only to discover that Forestry’s latest submissions were

riddled with technical errors.⁸⁷⁸ Forestry responded by pushing harder for \$500,000 in legal costs from SOS. The RMPAT refused the outrageous demand.⁸⁷⁹

It might have been tempting to apply to re-open the hearing except that section 22c of the *Forestry Act 1920* made Forestry exempt from the Resource Management and Planning System and its principal planning legislation, the *Land Use Planning and Approvals Act 1993*, so placing the onus of proof on those objecting to the logging.⁸⁸⁰ Forestry would get all the benefit of the doubt.⁸⁸¹ And the struggle was telling at a personal level. Weston came close to a nervous breakdown, crying every day, and so withdrew from the front line. She gave over to doing what has been her strength since the days of the Lake Pedder dispute: a voluminous writing to Government, bureaucrats, business and opponents, often responding in the letter sections of the print media. (She continues assiduously with this craft to this day.) Daily and Clement took on the bulk of the labour. The campaign added to Clement's already high social profile and he was later elected onto the Council. It seems that the line of parapathy was healing over as even some of the locals were joining the in-movers to oppose Forestry and the loggers.

SOS now had to consider its next move. The Government was quickly shutting down the legal options. A physical confrontation, backed by a concerted political attack, was looming as the last tactic. Violence had been avoided at the proposed coupe through determined discipline, but it had broken out in public locations like the St Marys Hotel where SOS supporters were vulnerable to ambush and the coward's preferred challenge of a king hit from behind.⁸⁸²

Then a saviour came from a direction which was least expected. It came through the Sisters.

No one really knows how it started. Tall tales abound in this region as its tall trees once did and are just as prone to toppling over, leaving behind a few discarded chips of the truth. Some one put it about that the fire burnt from the camp site of a man from Launceston who, suffering depression from unrequited love, had come into the forest here to drink himself as blind as some of the Velvet worms, then he abandoned his camp and his fire to drown his smouldering embers of love in the estuary of the Scamander river or, with more determination, in the vicious rip off the Chain of Lagoons beach with its patrolling sharks. As with the other stories on a likely culprit, the only consistency is that no one in this region blames their neighbours: it is always the fault of "someone from outside"; not including in-movers. The line of social parapathy dissolved in the heat of the crisis.

Some say that bush fires roar. This one started on the 10 December 2006. The next day, in front of gale force winds in excess of 100 kilometres per hour through country as dry as old newspaper from prolonged drought, it slithered up the slopes of the Sisters with a hissing like one thousand hydra heads of tens of thousands of fat-headed Tiger snakes and its eyes of heat shooting fireballs of exploding eucalyptus gas.⁸⁸³ Over eleven days it destroyed or damaged 76 buildings in Scamander, St Marys, Cornwall, Four Mile Creek, Falmouth and St Helens. Numerous wildlife and stock were killed, yet somehow not people. But panic and evacuations were widespread. Some people were traumatised.⁸⁸⁴ Many spent nights and days in community halls. St Marys “Escape Café” came to have a more literal meaning. Millions of dollars would be sought in assistance from the Government.⁸⁸⁵ The fire came out of the Scamander river valley, pushed by the sea winds. The winds turned left with a renewed northerly and so did the fire, heading toward St Marys.⁸⁸⁶ It raced through timber plantations and then slowed long enough in the old growth forests on the north face of South Sister for the “firies” from the Tasmania Fire Service to redirect their trucks, under command of another branch of the Aulich family, and set up a line of defence in St Marys itself.⁸⁸⁷ An army of 132 firefighters, 28 tankers, eight bulldozers and two aircraft, including a water-bombing helicopter, were hurled into the battle.⁸⁸⁸ The media lapped up the drama and sent crews for live telecasts from the main street of St Marys to broadcast graphic accounts of the fire storming the downhill side of South Sister towards a town almost lost in the heavy pall of smoke and blizzard of burning twigs and leaves. “Bung” (so called for his time spent in the bar like the character from the comic strip, *Wizard of Id*) watched fire trucks race, in the opposite direction to singed sheep, across his paddocks beneath South Sister.⁸⁸⁹ Curious to see what the publican was going to do with the pet “Trapdoor spider” kept in a jar behind the bar and used to shoo out troublesome tourists, he tried to drive into town. He got only as far as the bikies’ clubhouse next door where the fire had jumped the road. So Bung and the bikies swilled their way through slabs of Jack Daniels & Cola in a night of fire-watching revelry as firies ran and jumped in silhouette against the raging bush as though it was an ancient corroboree. It is an aspect of local culture which is best described as phlegmatic.

On the other side of opportunity, Prime Minister Howard landed in St Helens to distribute PM’s advice. Someone from the throng of journalists asked whether he accepted scientists’ predictions on extreme weather due to Global Warming.⁸⁹⁰

“Let me put it this way,” he said. “I think the country should prepare for a continuation of what we are now experiencing.”

“In the long term, over a period of years?” he was asked with great expectation.

“Well, I think the likelihood of this going on is very strong.”

With this sage observation that the present might actually extend into the future, the media, desperate for a headline even hotter than the fire, speculated that the statement signaled a reassessment by Howard on “climate change”.⁸⁹¹

Some Hobbesian wit, watching the fire on television from his two-storey apartment in North Melbourne, was heard to utter that the only “likelihood” was that life under Howard would continue much like the Prime Minister himself: nasty, brutish and short. Having switched on the tele because he had a property off Irish Town Road, St Marys, he had stopped typing up his research on Tasmanian storyscape and phoned an insurance company to increase the cover on his holiday house due to the magnificence of a new and large deck for bracing al fresco bacchanalia. (He wishes!) The call-centre operator, perhaps confusing the man’s residential address for his insured property—in a postcode area now “flagged” as they say in the insurance game, processed the extra liability with a credit card number. Confident that it was effective immediately, the Melbournian opened a bottle of cold white wine, made himself comfortable in front of the tele, and estimated that the only thing between the fire, now at Paddy’s Head, and Kringels Creek was his eighty hectares of clearfell regrowth and recently extended shack.

The realisation moved him to chant, “Burn, baby, burn!” When the broadcast returned to normal schedule, he played The Doors “Light My Fire” over and over. His girlfriend eventually appeared at the top of the stairs to deliver the cruel news.

“The ‘Lizard King’ never lit anything,” she opined. “Jim Morrison just drowned in the piss and puke and blood in his own bathwater.”⁸⁹²

Her partner was incredulous; besides, his research was turning him into a sceptic of a professional sort.⁸⁹³

He did not get to claim his insurance. As fickle as the winds of fortune are in Break O’ Day, the fire did yet another left turn, this time burning all the way through the St Marys Pass to the coast, leaving the business junction of St Marys and the said shack untouched. The residents of Falmouth and Four Mile Creek were not so lucky, some having to evacuate even into the sea itself to escape the fury of the fire’s heat. Joe Sumrall, an expatriate American who had nearly finished building his house at Four Mile Creek with timber salvaged from the Rossarden Town Hall, fled at the last moment. He too rang a call-centre to get insurance, any insurance, only to be told that

Four Mile Creek was flagged. He later cried in a Philadelphian twang that the fire had destroyed the finest split-can fly rod he ever had the pleasure to double-haul over rising trout in the “Cullenswood” mansion-side pool. The Government compensated him thousands of dollars.

When all the drama cleared with the last of the smoke, members of SOS climbed South Sister. It was completely burnt out. This was luck of a different sort. Burnt logs are unsuitable for processing woodchips into paper. In a manner of speaking, nature had saved itself. SOS whooped with joy.

Postscript: Ribbons marking Forestry trails have again appeared on South Sister.⁸⁹⁴ And the firies are on alert in their new station, a centrepiece of St Marys.

List of Abbreviations

ACSEF	Australasian Coal and Shale Employees Federation.
ACTU	Australian Congress of Trade Unions.
ALP	Australian Labor Party.
AMWU	Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union.
APPM	Associated Pulp and Paper Mills.
ASCJA	Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners of Australia.
ASIO	Australian Secret Intelligence Organisation.
AWU	Australian Workers Union.
BLF	Builder Labourers Federation.
CPA	Communist Party of Australia.
DLP	Democratic Labor Party.
DPIW	Department of Primary Industries and Water.
DSP	Democratic Socialist Party.
EYL	Eureka Youth League.
FEDFAA	Federated Engine Drivers' and Firemen's Association of Australasia.
HCC	Hobart City Council.
HEC	Hydro-Electric Commission.
HREOC	Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission.
PAR	Prison Action Reform Group.
	Returned and Services League of Australia (1990).
RMPAT	Resource Management and Planning Appeal Tribunal.
RSL	Returned Services League of Australia, changed to
SA	Socialist Alliance.
SOS	Save Our Sisters.
SWP	Socialist Workers Party.
TGLRG	Tasmanian Gay and Lesbian Rights Group.
TTLC	Tasmanian Trades and Labour Council.
UAW	Union of Australian Women.

Endnotes

- ¹ “I knew it was no use my people trying to kill all the white people now, there were so many of them always coming in big boats.” Attributed to Truganini in a citation from James Calder (no ref); see Michael Shirrefs in M. Shirrefs, “Truganini, bushranger”, (8 Feb 2009) <http://www.abc.net.au/rn/hindsight/stories/2009/2477053.htm#transcript> (11 Feb 2009). For an account of the murders of members of Truganini’s family and her betrothed, Paraweena, by whites, see J. Calder, “Full Text of ‘Some Account of the Wars of Extirpation, and Habits of the Native Tribes of Tasmania’” (2001) http://www.archive.org/stream/someaccountofwar00caldrich/someaccountofwar00caldrich_djvu.txt (13 Feb 2009). For a brief history of the spelling of “Truganini”, see A. Onsmen, “Truganini’s Funeral” (Autumn 2004) <http://www.islandmag.com/96/article.html> (13 Feb 2009) Note 1.
- ² 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).
- Extermination of the Aborigines was demanded by many colonials and annihilationist views were often given public expression in the letters columns of the newspapers and at public meetings; for example, “A respectable settler, examined by the Committee, gave it as his opinion that the natives should be captured or *exterminated*; that Sydney natives, or *blood -hounds*, would contribute to their capture —had heard it proposed that decoy huts, containing flour and sugar, strongly impregnated with poison, should be used.” See Australian Aborigines Protection Society, “Portion of the Report” (1865) <http://www.law.mq.edu.au/scnsw/Correspondence/pdf/robinson.pdf> (11 Nov 2007) p5. Windschuttle attempts to disparage Raphael Lemkin (who coined the term “genocide” —from the Greek *genos* for family, tribe or race, and the Latin *-cide*, from *occido*, meaning to massacre —and then lobbied the United Nations to formally condemn such acts) for associating the concept with Tasmania; see K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p14; also see Windschuttle’s specific claims that “Van Diemen’s Land was host to nothing that resembled genocide or any attempt at it” and that “there was no genocide in Tasmania” in K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p399 and in “The Fabrication of Aboriginal History” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p127. From the other side of the History Wars, see Ch. 4. “Tasmania: A Clear Case of Genocide?” in H. Reynolds, *An Indelible Stain?* (2001) pp49-66. While Reynolds is equivocal on the exact relevance of the term “genocide” to Tasmania, he does imply, at the least, that there was a gross hypocrisy between the stated aims and actions of the British administration, which had the effect of genocide. For a retort to Windschuttle, see K. Harman, *Aboriginal Convicts* (2008) http://eprints.utas.edu.au/7467/2/Kris_Harman_PhD_Thesis.pdf (15 Feb 2009) pp220-222.
- ³ On drowned sealers, see G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p295 & p301 and see other details on p615. (N.B. Some historians reference Robinson’s journal, as published in N.J.B. Plomley’s *Friendly Mission* (1966), by page number, some by the journal date and some use both; the referencing adapted for this thesis is by page number as similar to J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008).) See the opening line in E. Hemingway, “Indian Camp”, *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (1987) p67.
- ⁴ Henry Reynolds attributes the first description of Aboriginal attacks as “guerrilla” to Henry Melville’s *The History of Van Diemen’s Land* (c.1835); see H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) p66. For disputation, see K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p64, f.n.12. Also see “the Aborigines’ spectacularly successful guerilla warfare” in V. Rae-Ellis, *Black Robinson* (1988) p33. On Aboriginal tactics, see J. Calder, “Some Account of the Wars of Extirpation, and Habits of the Native Tribes of Tasmania” (1874) pp8-9 & pp21-22. For Windschuttle’s definition of “guerilla warfare” and an implied issue with Melville’s italicisation of the term, see K. Windschuttle, “Doctored Evidence and Invented Incidents in Aboriginal Historiography” (2005) <http://www.sydneyle.com/National%20Museum%20Frontier%20Conflict.htm> (27 May 2007), and “History as a Travesty of the Truth” (2005) <http://www.sydneyle.com/History%20as%20Travesty%20of%20Truth.htm> (1 Jan 2007), and Ch 4. “The guerilla [*sic*] warfare thesis and the motives of Aborigines, 1824-1831” in *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) pp83-130 (especially pp102-103) & (on Reynolds) p64, and “Guerrilla Warrior and Resistance Fighter?” (Nov 2004) p221 & p233. The Aboriginal tactics could be described as *Fabian* (after Quintus *Fabius* Maximus, Second Punic War, 218-202 BC): a military strategy which avoids pitched battles in favour of logistical attrition. The Maoist notion of guerrilla war as a “war of the flea” includes a political strategy with insurrectionists agitating amidst the civilian population (R. Taber, *The War of the Flea*, 1970), but Lieutenant-Governor Arthur’s refusal to negotiate with “wild” Aborigines and the exclusion of the latter from white society precluded this type of a war. (For the debate on Musquito as a “guerrilla”, see notes below.) Robert Cox rejects Lyndall Ryan’s assertion that Pevay and Timmy were guerrillas; see R. Cox, *Steps to the Scaffold* (2004) p105.

⁵ There is a view that the sealers had destroyed the seal population in Bass Strait and then had left by 1810, and that those thereafter were outlaws and sociophobes, so “sealers” in this context is a misplaced yet persistent generic appellation; see P. Adam-Smith, *Moonbird People* (1970) p60. A “cockleshell skiff” is a double-ended, flat-bottomed boat used to sail over the numerous, shifting sand shoals and spits and submerged rocks around the Furneaux Islands, Bass Strait, and so to escape the British navy; see P. Adam-Smith, *Moonbird People* (1970) p60, p67 & p89. “[Probetter said] Walyer was with them [Laimairrener warriors]; she carried a little fowling piece and would fire at the white men’s huts and call to them to come out and the blackfellows would spear them, and make use of bad language.” See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p837; this is three years after Tarenorerer’s death (Jun 1831). Aborigines were reported to have killed a white and stolen a fowling-piece near Pipers River, not far east of Tarenorerer’s supposed territory; see G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p88 and J. Fawkner, “The Aborigines” (22 Mar 1830). Milligan lists the north-west Aboriginal word for musket as *rullé*; see J. Milligan, “Vocabulary of Dialects of Aboriginal Tribes of Tasmania” (1899) p421. For a populist representation of Tarenorerer with guns, see the graphic at J. Dowling, “Walyer” (Aug 1-12 2006) <http://www.artplace.com.au/exhibscurrent/catalogues/Dowling.pdf> (17 Oct 2007). On Van Diemen’s Land (VDL) Aborigines learning how to use guns while living with whites, see J. Calder, “Some Account of the Wars of Extirpation, and Habits of the Native Tribes of Tasmania” (1874) p10. Cox reports that Pevay, from the same tribe as Tarenorerer though of a different band (the *Parperloihener*), along with Timmy from the north-east and several women including Trucanini (Truganini, erroneously nominated as the “last of the Tasmanians”), rampaged through Victoria in 1841, killing two whalers and wounding several other whites, with an armoury of five single-barrelled and three double-barrelled shotguns and four pistols as well as shot, powder and a bullet mould, which is evidence of VDL Aboriginal proficiency with firearms; see R. Cox, *Steps to the Scaffold* (2004) p143. Windschuttle also cites the *Colonial Times* (10 Nov 1826, p3) on VDL Aborigines and British weaponry; see K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p76.

⁶ The Aboriginal dogwood spears were “exceeding hard”; see G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p646. The Aborigines are said to have also used spears of tea-tree, 2.4-5.4 metres long and thrown so they spun in flight for a lethal distance of 60-70 metres; see L. Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (1996) p12. For a discussion of Aboriginal use of spears and muskets in Van Diemen’s Land, see John Connor, “Recording the Human Face of War: Robinson and Frontier Conflict” in A. Johnston & M. Rolls, *Reading Robinson* (2008) pp174-176.

⁷ A memorial in Burnie identifies Tarenorerer as “Tare.Nore”; see also “Tare Nore” in Reconciliation Australia & The Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, “Dream Inspires Recognition of History” (Dec 1997) <http://138.25.65.50/au/other/IndigLRes/car/1997/7/Pages/WTDec11.htm> (8 Aug 2005). Boyce calls this tribe the *Tommeginne*; see his map of tribal boundaries in J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) px. See also L. Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (1996) pp15-16. Robinson rarely uses “Tare.ree.nore” or “Tare.re.nore”, generally preferring the alias “Walyer” for his journal entries; see G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p186 & p292. He also uses “Tarenore”; see C.S.O. 1/318 (27 Jul 1830) p17. It is Jorgen Jorgenson who uses the spelling of “Walloa”; see J. Jorgenson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen’s Land* (1991) p80. This is also preferred by James Bonwick; see J. Bonwick, *The Last of the Tasmanians* (1870) p219. The modern Aboriginal community seems to have settled on “Tarenorerer” in consensus, so that too is the preferred nomenclature in *Radical Tasmania*. The primary textual evidence of Tarenorerer is mostly from the journal of G. Robinson and his reports to the Government; see the journal notes in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) and entries on “WALYER” indexed by Plomley at p1074— though Plomley’s entries here are incomplete. V. Matson-Green spells Tommeginer as “Tomiginee” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p379 and as “Tommeginne” at V. Matson-Green, “Tarenorerer [Walyer] (c. 1800 - 1831)” in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (2005) <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/AS10455b.htm?hilite=Walyer> (15 Feb 2009). Ian McFarlane uses the spellings of “Tomeginer” and “Tomeginner” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p149 & p379. Ryan states that “the settlers were confronted by the Plairhekehillerplue led by a woman, Tarenorerer...”. See L. Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (1996) p141. The Plairhekehillerplue [pronounced *Pl-air-aka-hill-a-ploo*] were a clan from Mutetewaynartye (amongst many other Aboriginal names for the Anglicised “Emu Bay”), signifying it as a site of great importance; see J. Taylor, “Appendix 1: Emu Bay”, in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p504; named Emu Bay by the British, then renamed in 1842 to Burnie after William Burnie, a director of the Van Diemen’s Land Company. (The VDL Co. was responsible for the infamous Cape Grim massacre of 1828; see G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p175, pp181-183; Windschuttle refuses to accept Robinson’s account; see K. Windschuttle (2002) pp249-269.) Brian Plomley claims, “Walyer: native of St Valentine’s Peak, NW Tasmania (PLAIR.HE.KE.HIL.LER.PLUE)”; see N.J.B.

Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1976) p79. This problem of nomenclature has led to history by hearsay; for example, the Aboriginal artist, Julie Dowling, claims that Tarenorerer (“Walyer”) was a “Plair-Leke-Liller-Plue woman”; see J. Dowling, “Walyer” (Aug 1-12 2006) http://www.artplace.com.au/exhibscurrent/Dowling_0806/storytext.html (25 Aug 2007). Another Aboriginal artist, Rosalind Langford, has it that “Tare-nore led the Plair-heke-hiller-plue” (when remnants of this clan were only a part of Tarenorerer’s band) and goes on to imply that “Tar-nore” resisted Arthur’s Black Line; see R. Langford, “Tare-Nore’s Journey” (2006) <http://www.artmob.com.au/artists/langford/26.html> (3 Nov 2007) (also elaborated in notes below). Ironically, Windschuttle also fails to notice Ryan’s semantic subtlety, stating that “Walyer was head of the Emu Bay Aborigines”; see K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p267. Robinson mistakenly describes Tarenorerer as “a native of the East Coast” in an early report; see C.S.O. 1/318 (27 Jul 1830) p18.

⁸ Aboriginal place names are sourced from J. Taylor “Appendix 1: European-Aboriginal Index of the Palawa (Tasmanian Aboriginal) Place Names”, in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) pp502-510; some other Aboriginal vocabulary is sourced from J. Milligan “Vocabulary of Dialects of Aboriginal Tribes of Tasmania” in H.L. Roth, *The Aborigines of Tasmania* (1899) pp416-434.

⁹ TROU.WER.NER (Eastern dialect) and LOU.TROU.WIT.TER (Bruny dialect). See also 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. While the Palawa are reconstructing an Aboriginal language in Tasmania, the classic references are N.J.B. Plomley, *A Word List of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Languages* (1976) and *Tasmanian Aboriginal Place Names* (1992). For a brief history of some names and symbols of Tasmania, see CA Cranston, *Along These Lines* (2000) p1 & p21.

¹⁰ History Wars aside, some whites in Van Diemen’s Land referred to their compatriots as “invaders” and the Aboriginal resistance as “patriotism”; see J. Fawcner, editorial (11 Oct 1830) & C.S.O. 1/323 (various dates) pp83-84.

“The amazon...has collected the disaffected of several nations and roams over a vast extent of country committing dire outrages.” See C.S.O. 1/318 (27 Jul 1830) pp17-18. Also see V. Matson-Green in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p379. The extent of Tarenorerer’s territory is legendary; for example, Robinson blamed “the Amazon” as “the cause of all the mischief lately committed on the banks of the Tamar and the country towards Port Davey.” See C.B.E. 1/1/1 (20 Jan 1831) p85. Robinson also reported a claim that “WALYER had killed all the natives at Rocky Point”; see G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p188. Plomley disputes this, arguing that “it is not likely that WALYER would ever have got as far down the west coast as Macquarie Harbour.” See N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) e.n.128, p234.

This term, the “Black War”, has similar ideological connotations as does the “Vietnam War” which in Vietnam is known as the “American War” or more fully the “Resistance War against America” (*Kháng chiến chống Mỹ*).

¹¹ Jorgenson claims that Robinson considered that “the names of the natives were rather vulgar, and that he had bestowed others on them”. See J. Jorgenson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen’s Land* (1991) p76. It seems that this is a reference to Anglo names for Aborigines and that Robinson preferred pompous names.

¹² D. Lowe, *Forgotten Rebels* (1994) http://www.acr.net.au/~davidandjane/frebel_20000416.pdf (15 Feb 2009) p13. Also, Plomley notes that in Robinson’s wanderings in the north east that the “conciliator” encountered Aborigines at a ratio of seventy two men: six women: zero children. According to Plomley, “This is forceful evidence of the effect of the abductions by the sealers on the aboriginal population.” (The spread of gonorrhoea, mostly from sealers, also rendered the women infertile.) See N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966), e.n.51, p439. Also see a further comment on this at N.J.B. Plomley, “Robinson’s Adventures in Bass Strait” (1969) p38. Ryan estimates that in 1830 there were about thirty white men and twenty five Aboriginal women in “the eastern strait”; see L. Ryan (1996) p149. Robinson is reported in 1838 to have claimed, “It was an indubitable fact that...along the south coast of New Holland, the Aborigines had been mostly harshly treated...[by] sealers, whalers, barkers, stockmen, and others...Their wives and children had been forcibly taken from them, and sent into captivity in distant isles.” See Australian Aborigines Protection Society, “Portion of the Report” (1865) <http://www.law.mq.edu.au/scnsw/Correspondence/pdf/robinson.pdf> (11 Nov 2007), p6. Also, of the 26 Aborigines surviving from the Lairmairrener (Big River) & Paredarmerne (Oyster Bay) tribes alliance, which Robinson paraded in Hobart (7 Jan 1832), only one was a child; see V. Rae-Ellis, *Black Robinson* (1988) pp79-80.

¹³ Robinson says, “She [Tarenorerer] had disputed with her tribe and made her way to the sealers in the western straits.” See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p442. Yet interpretations

are divergent. Ryan claims, “As a young woman she [Tarenorerer] had been abducted by Aborigines from Port Sorell and exchanged for dogs and flour to the sealers.” See L. Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (1996) p141. Windschuttle uncritically accepts Robinson’s claim that Tarenorerer was a victim of Aboriginal violence and had fled to the sealers across Bass Strait with a broken back! See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) pp296-297 and K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p381. McFarlane says that Tarenorerer lived with sealers, with her brothers and sisters, after a “rift with her tribe”; see Ian McFarlane, “Walyer” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p379. He also describes the relationship of Tarenorerer and her sisters with sealers as “of an ambiguous nature”; see I. McFarlane *Aboriginal Society in North West Tasmania* (2002) p297.

¹⁴ “The Aboriginal female Mary informed me that the sealers at the straits carry on a complex system of slavery; that they barter in exchange for women flour and potatoes...they took her away by force, tied her hands and feet, and put her in the boat; that white man beat black woman with a rope.” See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p82. See this discussed in N.J.B. Plomley, “Robinson’s Adventures in Bass Strait” (1969) p39, L. Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (1996) p71, and J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p90. On the other hand, McFarlane challenges “the notions that Aborigines couldn’t make fire, didn’t eat scale fish and were in the habit of trading their women to the sealers for dogs, seals or to establish political relationships.” See I. McFarlane, *Aboriginal Society in North West Tasmania* (2002) pvi.

¹⁵ For a brief popular history of the Bass Strait “sealers” and their brutality and, in contradistinction, the origins of the Cape Barren Islanders born from sealers and Aboriginal women (a type of Tasmanian “selkie”— refer “The Hagley Clique” below), see P. Adam-Smith, *Moonbird People* (1970) pp41-42. Amongst the many Aboriginal words that Plomley lists for *White man*, he attributes two spellings directly to Robinson’s notes on “Walyer”; they are *lute.ta.win* and *lut.te.win*. See N.J.B. Plomley, *A Word List of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Languages* (1976) p318. In 1992, the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre began the project of *palawa kani* (“Tassie blackfellas talk”) as a reconstruction of Tasmanian Aboriginal language to invigorate Palawa culture; see “Alison Alexander, “Aboriginal Language Today” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) pp2-3.

¹⁶ “Turnbull informed me that WALYER had boasted to the other women how she had taught the black fellows to load and fire off a musket, and instructed them how to kill plenty of white people; and that she has been wont to recount her exploits, how she used to tell the black fellows how to act when they used to rob a hut, and has said she liked a LUTE.TA.WIN, i.e. white man, as she did a black snake.” See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p304. Tasmania’s “black snake” is also known as its “black tiger snake” (*Notechis ater*) and which often has a jet black colouration. Tarenorerer was forced to collect muttonbirds (short-tailed shearwater, *yolla* or *yula* in Palawa and known to science as *Puffinus tenuirostris*) from burrows often co-habitated by tiger snakes while she was held by sealers; see G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p301 & p615. For an account of black tiger snakes and Aborigines collecting *yolla* in Bass Strait in the twentieth century, see P. Adam-Smith, *Moonbird People* (1970) pp99-103. While it is a convention now to use the Aboriginal word *yolla* for muttonbird, Milligan does not credit this to the tribes of the north-west; see J. Milligan, “Vocabulary of Dialects of Aboriginal Tribes of Tasmania” (1899) p423.

¹⁷ “I have since learnt that Dobson and Williams made her [Tarenorerer] change her name.” See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p304. Also, “These lawless men [Dobson and Williams] for the purpose of concealing this woman [Tarenorerer] had made her assume the name of Mary Ann.” This is quoted from Robinson’s report of Feb 1831; see N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p442, e.n.80.

¹⁸ For a brief history of the disclosure of Tarenorerer, see V. Matson-Green, “Tarenorerer [Walyer] (c. 1800 - 1831)” in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (2005) <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/AS10455b.htm?hilite=Walyer> (15 Feb 2009). Robinson even uses this *nom de guerre*, “Amazon”, in his official reports; see, for example, C.S.O. 1/318 (27 Jul 1830) pp17-18 and C.B.E. 1/1/1 (20 Jan 1831).

The rhetorical descriptions, “Joan of Arc” and the “tigress of the north”, are from Bonwick; see J. Bonwick, *The Last of the Tasmanians* (1870) pp219-220.

¹⁹ The comment, “battle with a shadow”, is made by Robinson about the elusiveness of the Aborigines in general; see G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p552.

²⁰ Attack on the property of R. Harrison, Antill Ponds, 28 Nov 1827. The Aborigines were “armed; fired upon his men; third time within last five days.” Citation from C.S.O. 81 (28 Nov 1827); see N.J.B. Plomley, *The Aboriginal/Settler Clash in Van Diemen’s Land 1803 – 1831* (1992) p66.

²¹ “‘Parrawa Parrawa’, they shouted, ‘Go away you white buggers. What business have you here!’” See C.S.O., 1/316, Sherwin to Arthur, 23 Feb 1830. This incident was reported from the Clyde River (21 Feb 1830). It is a subject in N.J.B. Plomley, *The Aboriginal/Settler Clash in Van Diemen’s Land 1803 – 1831* (1992) p86, L. Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (1996) p106 and H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People*

(2004) p31 & p48. It is also the sarcastic title of a book review favourable to Windschuttle; 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). "... Tasmanian Aborigines did not act as if they demanded the exclusive usage of land. They had no concept of trespass." See K. Windschuttle, "Whitewash confirms the fabrication of Aboriginal history" (2005)

<http://www.sydneyle.com/Manne%20debate%20Quadrant.htm> (1 Jan 2008), p8.

²² "Redcoats" was slang for soldiers of the British Army because they wore coats of red, over variously coloured regimental under-garments, most commonly from the 17thC to the 19thC. For example, in the right background of John Glover's recently rediscovered painting, "Mt Wellington and Hobart Town from Kangaroo Point" (1834), a British Regiment of Foot is represented on parade in red uniforms. (The notable 40th had departed for India while the 63rd, 17th and 4th were on tours of duty in Van Diemen's Land in 1832, the year when Glover first sketched the remnants of the Lairmairrener here who had "come in" with Robinson and "modeled" for the artist. This painting is used for the cover of Boyce's *Van Diemen's Land*, 2008.) However, so as not to be disadvantaged when on manoeuvres in the Van Diemen's Land bush, the British soldiers wore grey clothes trimmed with the fur of native animals; see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p118.

Lieutenant Governor Arthur established the mostly convict-staffed field police in 1826, putting into service the brutal skills of many who were veterans of the Napoleonic Wars, and building to one policeman for every 88.7 people by 1835; this made the island one of the most heavily policed places in the world; see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) pp173-174 & p217.

²³ N.J.B. Plomley, *The Aboriginal/Settler Clash in Van Diemen's Land 1803 – 1831* (1992) p82.

²⁴ The soldier was attacked on the property of Mrs Burns, Green Valley, 14 Apr 1830; see N.J.B. Plomley, *The Aboriginal/Settler Clash in Van Diemen's Land 1803 – 1831* (1992) p88. (There is a Green Valley Road about 45 kilometres south of Antill Ponds and about 30 kilometres south of Constable Jorgenson's station at Oatlands.) Another soldier (along with a stock keeper) is recorded as killed at Boomers Creek, Oyster Bay, 8 Sep 1830; see H.R. Willis, *A tally of those killed during the fighting between Aborigines and Settlers in Van Diemen's Land 1803-34* (2002)

<http://www.historians.org.au/forumsupport/Casualties-VDL.PDF> (25 Mar 2008). Also, Robinson's journal records a story told to him by "eastern natives" who "Said that the soldiers had killed three of their people, and that they watched the soldiers asleep and killed two, a just retaliation". See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p263. Windschuttle dismisses this "as hard to take seriously and seems merely the bragging of warriors"; see K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p177. Also, Windschuttle makes much of Lieutenant-Governor Arthur's denial that "Aboriginal tactics amounted to anything that resembled real warfare... 'to attack a party consisting of even three armed men.'"; see K. Windschuttle, "Doctored Evidence and Invented Incidents in Aboriginal Historiography" (2005) <http://www.sydneyle.com/National%20Museum%20Frontier%20Conflict.htm> (27 May 2007). John Fawkner shared Arthur's opinion on Aboriginal tactics and so vented a sarcasm for the Lieutenant-Governor's call-to-arms; see *Launceston Advertiser*, editorial (27 sep1830).

²⁵ The deaths of convicts killed by Aborigines were often recorded by the convicts' type of labour rather than by their names —whereas deaths of free settlers were recorded by the settlers' names—as if the colonial authorities were more concerned to note the loss of convict labour rather than the loss of convict lives. See the list compiled from colonial records by N.J.B. Plomley, *The Aboriginal/Settler Clash in Van Diemen's Land 1803 – 1831* (1992) pp53-100. Also see H.R. Willis, *A tally of those killed during the fighting between Aborigines and Settlers in Van Diemen's Land 1803-34* (2002)

<http://www.historians.org.au/forumsupport/Casualties-VDL.PDF> (25 Mar 2008). "Between 1824 and 1831, 48 landowners were killed or wounded compared to 309 servants." See H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) pp72-73. Babette Smith observes, "When an official decision was taken in the 19th century to publish government records, it was accompanied by instructions to the editor to omit convicts' names unless absolutely necessary." See B. Smith, *Australia's Birthstain* (2008) p2.

For the problematic of truth as a mirage like a "perfect weed-fringed lake you see across the sun-baked plain", see E. Hemingway, *True At First Light* (1999) p5.

²⁶ "Mary" was a name commonly applied by whites to familiar Aboriginal women; for example, "Mary, who speaks English pretty fluently" is the name which Jorgenson uses for an Aborigine whom he accuses as "upon more than one occasion been the cause of the death of some stock keepers [near Mr Eddie's property, Antill Ponds]." See C.S.O. 1/320 (27 Oct 1829) p338. Also, Robinson records "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) p301. Calder notes that Aboriginal women who had lived with whites then "became the most hostile" towards the whites; see J. Calder, "Some Account of the Wars of Extirpation, and Habits of the Native Tribes of Tasmania" (1874) p11.

²⁷ “Mother-of-pearl” comes from the shell of abalone (*Haliotis rubra* or *Haliotis laevis*), called “mutton fish” by Robinson; see G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p625. For a brief description of Aboriginal necklaces, see J. Calder, “Some Account of the Wars of Extirpation, and Habits of the Native Tribes of Tasmania” (1874) p23.

²⁸ Kickerterpoller (“Black Tom”), a chief of the “Oyster Bay” tribe, would taunt, “Fire, you white buggers!” See R. Cox, *Steps to the Scaffold* (2004) p79. Also, Reynolds notes the propensity of the Aborigines to taunt, “Shoot you buggers, shoot”; see H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) p43. Robinson notes that even Aboriginal children “who have been with white people...could swear.” See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p216.

²⁹ Born in Denmark, Jorgenson led a *coup d'état* in Iceland abetted by the British before turning to other crimes in England and suffering transportation to Van Diemen's Land in 1826. “In 1828 [after receiving his ticket-of-leave in June 1827] he was appointed a convict-constable of the field police in the Outlands district and strenuously employed in pursuit of Aborigines.” See J. Dally, “Jorgenson, Jorgen (1780 - 1841)” in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (2006)

<http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020025b.htm> (2 Nov 2007). Jorgenson received a conditional pardon (3 Jun 1830), played a leading role in the Black Line (Oct-Nov 1830), and then his alcoholism forced him out of the Field Police (5 Nov 1833); see N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land* (1991) p31.

³⁰ A “Brown Bess” is a British Army Long Land Pattern Musket, .75 caliber flintlock, c1722-1838.

³¹ Reynolds discusses the efficiencies of relevant smooth-bore muzzle-loading muskets and other British combat preparedness and concludes that they had many inadequacies compared to tea-tree spears and waddies in the hands of a proficient Aboriginal warrior. (Perhaps curiously, Windschuttle is in furious agreement with Reynolds; see K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) pp355-356.) However, John Batman used to load his musket with buckshot, which would have greatly increased his firearm's capacity to hit his targets, including that of running (fleeing) Aborigines. In one ambush, he claims that his party shot at least 15 Aborigines; see C.S.O., 1/320, J. Batman to Anstey (7 Sep 1829); also see a reference to Batman's Hill in “Save Our Sister”. Reynolds's speculation that British guns during the Black War were “extremely unreliable”, “inefficient” and “inaccurate” does not take into account the military experience of those who lead the Roving Parties, like Jorgenson, combined with the use of buckshot, as did Batman, which suggests that he might be underestimating the lethality of this weapon; see H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004), p42, pp72-80 & p104. Windschuttle notes Batman's use of buckshot “which at a distance would wound rather than kill” while omitting Batman's explicit statement that he was “within 21 paces” of the Aboriginal camp when he ordered his men to fire upon the fleeing Aborigines and that he later estimated about 15 Aborigines had been killed outright or would die of the wounds (musket wounds infected by residual black gunpowder could lead to sepsis within hours and then death from septic shock); see K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p156.

³² “[Two sealers] told me of the amazon WALYER that headed a tribe and would stand on a hill and give orders to the natives to attack the whites, calling them bad names and telling them to come out and they would spear them.” See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p182.

³³ “Before the arrival of the sawyers the tribe was on the opposite banks, only the Chief was on this side. He kept threatening Mr. Jones and Mrs Jones, exclaiming ‘fire you white bastards – fire you white –’. Had the guns been so discharged, a rush would immediately have been made.” See J. Jorgenson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land* (1991) p88. “There is not a single instance on record that they [Aborigines] have dared to assail two armed men, if resistance has been offered; and even one armed man, boldly presenting in front, has succeeded in intimidating them, provided he directed his piece at anyone of them closer up without firing, for if firing, they would rush on him ere he had time to reload.” See J. Jorgenson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land* (1991) p50.

³⁴ As late as October 1830, nervous whites reported to the newspapers of Aborigines in bands of six hundred to seven hundred; one incredulous editor halved the number; for example, see J. Fawcner, editorial (4 Oct 1830). Compare this to the two hundred to three hundred Aborigines “brought in” by Robinson, 1830-1834, which in all probability constituted most of the surviving population; after rapid deaths, only about 134 lived to be removed to Flinders Island (Dec 1833); see V. Rae-Ellis, *Black Robinson* (1988) p109.

³⁵ A Miquelet pistol is a type of flintlock firearm associated with Spanish troops who fought alongside British allies on the Iberian Peninsula (1807-1814) during the Napoleonic Wars; the reference to the *fleur-de-lis* suggests the monarchical triumphalism of the Spanish Borbóns after their restoration to power in 1813 under King Ferdinand VII. It might have delighted the likes of Jorgenson, who loathed the symbols of the French revolution.

³⁶ The “ironbark” is *Eucalyptus sieberi*.

³⁷ The “devils” are *Sarcophilus harrisi*.

³⁸ The sap of the Miena cider gum (*Eucalyptus gunnii* ssp. *divaricata*) ferments naturally to a light alcoholic beverage with a taste reminiscent of apple cider, which Aborigines imbibed for ceremonial occasions and which settlers also enjoyed; the tree is now endangered by climate change. See D. Woodward, “Aboriginal Traditional Diet”, in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p7 and, for a note on its use by whites, see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p116; also see P. McGlone, “Australian Threatened Species” (n.d.) <http://www.environment.gov.au/biodiversity/threatened/publications/pubs/tsd06miena-cider-gum.pdf> (13 Dec 2007).

³⁹ Main Road is now known as the Midland Highway or the A1; see CA Cranston, *Along These Lines* (2000) p163.

⁴⁰ “Not only was Tasmania difficult for cavalry, the scarcity of horses made them a symbol of status and, as such, the ruling and wealthy elite did not share them with the lower classes.” See H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) p71. Though John Batman used horses while “black catching” (see below).

⁴¹ “One dance was a relation of a man who was with me named TAR.NE.BUN.NER, who had been chased by a man on horseback with a long whip, and of his out-running the horse.” See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p263.

⁴² It is claimed that John Presnall built the “White Hart” inn at Antill Ponds in 1830; see “Antill Ponds” (19 Dec 2005) <http://www.tasmaniacentral.tas.gov.au/site/page.cfm?u=254> (25 Oct 2007).

⁴³ With a hint of admission, Jorgenson notes, “His Excellency Sir George Arthur found it his duty to afford protection to the Colonists, but at the same time to restrain that impetuosity and thirst for vengeance which might be expected from men proceeding in pursuit of the Blacks after having witnessed the numerous victims who were almost daily sacrificed to the murderous tribes which pressed so hard upon the inhabited districts of the island.” See J. Jorgenson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen’s Land* (1991) p80. Jorgenson and his wife, Norah (also an emancipist), became alcoholics; see N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen’s Land* (1991) p30.

⁴⁴ Both Jorgenson and Batman took part in Arthur’s Black Line. Batman is accused as a “war criminal” by Jeff Sparrow and Jill Sparrow for killing 15 Aborigines in one attack (1 Sep 1829), including executing two wounded prisoners because they could not keep up with him; see J. Sparrow & J. Sparrow, *Radical Melbourne* (2001) p19; see Batman’s details in Batman to Anstey, C.S.O. 1/320 (7 Sep 1829) pp142-144. (This is also discussed at H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) p81, and J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) pp200-201; Boyce cites A.H. Campbell, *John Batman and the Aborigines*, Kibble Books, Melbourne, 1987, pp31-32.) Batman’s remorseless admission was tabled for discussion by the Aborigines Committee; see “Mr Batman’s Report” in C.S.O. 1/320, 7578, Vol. 5. Even Windschuttle notes, “In a technical sense, the declaration of martial law and their commission as officers of the Crown gave Batman and his men the legal authority to shoot any Aborigines they came across in the settled districts. However, in a moral sense, this shooting had no justification at all.” Nonetheless, Batman later changed his story to try to save his reputation. He was not charged (no white man was ever charged with murdering an Aborigine in Van Diemen’s Land) yet incredulity at Batman’s second account has prevailed even up to today’s white blindfolds; see K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p157. Even Lieutenant-Governor Arthur considered that Batman was accountable for “much slaughter”; see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p201. For Boyce’s condemnation of Windschuttle’s method on this, see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p346, e.n. 57. On the absence of the prosecution of whites for killing blacks, see R. Cox, *Steps to the Scaffold* (2004) p163; also for Boyce’s accusation of Windschuttle for an error on this latter issue, see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p190 & p345, e.n.14.

On Arthur’s refusal to negotiate a treaty, see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p284. Chief Justice John Pedder was one of the few in high officialdom to seek to change Arthur’s attitude on a treaty; see this discussed at L. Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (1981) p174, H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) pp106-107 & p129, J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p282 & p291, and V. Rae-Ellis, *Black Robinson* (1988) p69. Arthur later expressed hypocritical regret: “[If there had been a treaty with the Aborigines then] His Majesty would have acquired a valuable possession, without the injurious consequences which have followed our occupation, and which must forever remain a stain upon the Colonization of Van Diemen’s Land.” See Arthur to Hay (24 Sep 1832) PRO CO 280/35. Also see this discussed at L. Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (1981) p174.

⁴⁵ Originally, Robinson removed the Aborigines to Swan Island then to Gun Carriage (Vansittart) Island and then later to Flinders Island.

⁴⁶ I. McFarlane, “Frontier Conflict”, in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p149.

⁴⁷ “Whatever view the British had of New South Wales in 1788, they did not consider Tasmania to be a *terra nullius* when they made the decision to colonise the island.” See H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) p124.

The exclusion of Aborigines from entering lands seized by the British was declared on 15 April 1828 and martial law was declared 1 November 1828; see A.G.L. Shaw in “Arthur, Sir George (1784 - 1854)” at *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (2006) <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010034b.htm> (23 Oct 2007). “Furthermore, it was not until martial law was declared in late 1828 – effectively providing legal immunity for killing Aborigines – that much of the killing began to be reported.” See J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p196; Boyce also makes further comment on pp264-267.

⁴⁸ “Far from being an ineffectual force in the pursuit of Aborigines, as the roving parties have usually been described, they soon killed, or broke up through sustained pursuit, the few remaining large groups of Aborigines still to be found in the settled districts.” See J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p199. Also, the “documented success of armed parties in surrounding the last surviving bands of Aborigines in the midlands and east coast during 1828-29 suggests that killing Aborigines in the first phase of the conflict was far easier than has been claimed.” See J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p201.

⁴⁹ The description of “ferocious Aborigines” is used by Robinson with conscious irony as the same Aborigines served him a feast of roast kangaroo; see G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p263. Jorgenson makes the distinction between “half tame mobs” and “wild tribes”; see J. Jorgenson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen’s Land* (1991) p78. The Furneaux Group contains more than fifty islands over 1,992 square kilometres in eastern Bass Strait; see Kayleen Mort, “The Furneaux Group” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) pp150-151.

Thomas Anstey suggested the Roving Parties to Arthur who then responded that they were already contemplated; see J. Jorgenson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen’s Land* (1991) pp81-82. Jorgenson, who lead such a militia against Aborigines, then developed this into a plan to drive the Aborigines before six parties of militia; see C.S.O. 1/320 (18 Jun 1829) p275. This might have been the germ for the Black Line. The six week campaign began on the 7 October 1830; see Ian McFarlane, “Frontier Conflict” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p47.

⁵⁰ “The forces in the field amounted to about two thousand. Each division consisted of a number of sections of ten each, the whole under the command of some military officer, civilians and military being intermixed, except the Oatlands division, which were all civilians.” See J. Jorgenson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen’s Land* (1991) p107.

On the geographical ambitions of the Black Line, see C.S.O., J. Burnett, “Government Order No. 11” (22 Sep 1830). In a straight line, the distance from Quamby Bluff to St Patrick’s Head is about 150 kilometres, which equates to an average distance of 75 metres between each of Arthur’s men; more or less the average maximum distance for reasonable accuracy with the small arms technology of the day. Point 2 of the relevant Government Order states the goal was to “afford a good prospect of either capturing the whole of the hostile tribes, or of permanently expelling them from the settled Districts.” See Government Order, Colonial Secretary’s Office, *Launceston Advertiser* (9 Sep 1830).

⁵¹ On Robinson’s “deceit”, see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p279.

For a summary of the violent contradictions in the edicts of Lieutenant-Governor Arthur, see S. Petrow & B. Kercher, “Government Notices Concerning Aborigines” in *Decisions of the Nineteenth Century Tasmanian Superior Courts* (Oct 2006)

<http://www.law.mq.edu.au/sctas/html/1830cases/NoticesconcerningAborigines,1830.htm> (24 Dec 2007).

⁵² C.S.O., J. Burnett, “Government Notice No. 13” (26 Nov 1830).

⁵³ See J. Fawcner, editorials (15 Nov 1830, 29 Nov 1830).

⁵⁴ “...the Black Line marked the end of the Black War...[and]made Robinson’s work much easier.” See V. Rae-Ellis, *Black Robinson* (1988) p66.

⁵⁵ “The success afterwards of Mr. G.A. Robinson was *solely* attributable to the formation of the [Black] Line; it showed the Aborigines our strength and energy. But for that demonstration Mr. Robinson could not have allured the Blacks to follow him.” Also, “an Aboriginal tribe made its way to Cape Portland, where they brought the most exaggerated accounts of the many ‘red coats’, with thousands of others in pursuit, and would no doubt kill the Blacks, or starve them to death. A peaceful party was then at Cape Portland who explained to the Aborigines that if they would surrender themselves, the North East quarter of the island would be reserved for them to hunt, and that they would remain unmolested. Upon this the whole tribe of thirteen surrendered, and they shortly after succeeded in capturing [sic.] twelve more...It must be borne in recollection that the conciliatory mission had at that time been out 10 months without effecting anything good, and hence it is that although the Line did not succeed in capturing any of the Aborigines we must consider the grand movement in connection with the labours of the mission, and then it will clearly be seen that the success of the latter was entirely owing to the demonstration of the large

number of men in the field under the immediate command of Sir George Arthur.” See J. Jorgenson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land* (1991) p99 & p109.

⁵⁶ “Had Mr Robinson even hinted at any intention of sending them [Aborigines] to some other island [e.g. the Furneaux Islands] his mission would have totally failed.” See J. Jorgenson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land* (1991) p77.

⁵⁷ H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) pp149-157.

⁵⁸ G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) pp215-216; see this discussed in reference to the bounty and “Walyer” at V. Rae-Ellis; (1988) p55 & p58.

⁵⁹ “First and foremost, [Robinson] believed that the Aborigines were part of God’s creation and therefore had similar rights to other men.” See N.J.B. Plomley, “Robinson’s Adventures in Bass Strait” (1969) p37.

Also see “Robinson, George Augustus (1791 - 1866)” in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (2006) <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020340b.htm> (23 Oct 2006). For a note on Robinson as an evangelical abolitionist (not dissimilar to the gallows-loving Lieutenant Governor Arthur), see Patrick Brantlinger, “King Billy’s Bones: Colonial Knowledge Production in Nineteenth Century Tasmania” in A. Johnston & M. Rolls, *Reading Robinson* (2008) p52.

Robinson records that he felt induced “to act agreeable to the letter of instructions of conciliation”; see G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p216.

By 1832, Robinson had negotiated with the Aborigines Committee for a horse, a “reward” of £900, an up-front fee, salary, land and pension, and then in 1838, as commandant of the Flinders Island Aboriginal Establishment (Wybalenna) and a man enjoying his “fame”, he requested and received an extra grant of 3,000 acres of land as payment for the “subjugation” of the Aborigines; see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p290, p306 & pp311-312. In his fictional adaptation, Richard Flanagan characterises Robinson’s motives as “Money, money, money, and what money can make of life!”. See R. Flanagan, *Wanting* (2008) p231.

“As I am not conferred with respecting the aborigines, I cannot conceive what is intended, but I feel it my duty to persevere and leave the result.” See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p216.

“Robinson was by nature serious and by religion a Methodist.” See N.J.B. Plomley, “Robinson’s Adventures in Bass Strait” (1969) p37. “Robinson 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.

“Any endeavours to civilise [the Aborigines] were attempts to Christianise them and make them work... The outlook was that of a labour camp – work and atonement for past misdeeds – for it was considered that the Aborigines must be brought to a state where they would no longer hate the Europeans, and they would give up their old ways and accept the religion of their rulers and their belief in work and property.” See N.J.B. Plomley, “Robinson’s Adventures in Bass Strait” (1969) p41. Reynolds concludes that Robinson believed the Aborigines could become farmers; see H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) p132. For a discussion with Anna Johnston on Robinson’s “evangelical morality”, 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).

⁶⁰ For a history of qualified sympathy for Robinson’s remorse, in the context of his “prosperity... more enticing than piety” (p168), about the treatment of the Aborigines, especially after he demanded and received the authority for the care of the survivors of his “friendly mission” at Wybalenna, Flinders Island, see Henry Reynolds, “George Augustus Robinson in Van Diemen’s Land: Race Status and Religion” in A. Johnston & M. Rolls, *Reading Robinson* (2008) pp161-169.

⁶¹ Richard Flanagan adapts the history of Robinson’s kidnapping of Aboriginal children for his novel inspired by Mathinna (though she was actually born on Flinders Island); see R. Flanagan, *Wanting* (2008) pp64-65.

Regardless of his rhetoric of peace, the “conciliator” carried three pistols in his knapsack; see V. Rae-Ellis; (1988) pp50-51. Robinson ordered his men to “uncover their fusees [flintlock firearms]” and so sought to “intimidate the natives” into surrender; see N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) pp724-726 & p729. See Robinson’s use of arms discussed at J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p299-302. In later speeches, Robinson lied about his use of force; see Australian Aborigines Protection Society, “Portion of the Report, Public Meeting Held Oct 19th 1838” (1865)

<http://www.law.mq.edu.au/scnsw/Correspondence/pdf/robinson.pdf> (11 Nov 2007); Reynolds mistakenly accepts Robinson’s word (given in a similar lecture in Sydney in 1838) that the latter did not use force, see H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) pp133-134.

⁶² “G.A. Robinson was a self-satisfied fool, an upstart bricklayer who went back to England and lacquered his curls to make himself look like Benjamin Disraeli.” See M. Flanagan, *The Call* (1998) p115.

“I thought how easy it would be to capture all this tribe.” See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p215.

⁶³ “...on perceiving them to cross the western river [Rubicon River, or *Toebannemokekolyer*, which flows into the estuary of Port Sorell, reportedly the eastern border of Tarenorerer’s domain] and take a direction to where I had encamped the day before, I plainly saw that they were going to attack me and my little party.” See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p215.

⁶⁴ See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) pp214-216.

⁶⁵ “The women have an unaccountable aversion to marrying one of their relations, and even a man of their own tribe. An Aboriginal female of the Port Davey Blacks proceeded seventy miles with Mr Robinson’s mission to seek a husband in preference to any of her own kindred or friends.” See J. Jorgenson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen’s Land* (1991) p55.

⁶⁶ “Trugernanna informed me that she saw plenty of bones of the natives in the bush. Stansfield brought part of the skull of a black woman which he had picked up, and at all the places where the sealers stopped with their boats the ground is strewn with them. They have enticed them down by promising them dogs, bread, &c, and when they have got them within reach of their guns they have fired upon them.” See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p301. Also, Robinson alleged “the atrocious conduct of the sealers” in detail during a public speech in 1838; see Australian Aborigines Protection Society, “Portion of the Report” (1865)

<http://www.law.mq.edu.au/scnsw/Correspondence/pdf/robinson.pdf> (11 Nov 2007), pp5-6. Windschuttle argues that Robinson’s view of the sealers was self-serving and exaggerated; see K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) pp44-48. Certainly, the sealers represented a financial competition for Robinson as Bonwick observes that his “salary was raised to 250£” (sic.) in 1831 so as to further the resources for his mission; see J. Bonwick, *The Last of the Tasmanians* (1870) p220. Jorgenson claims that Robinson finally received about £8,000 and “large grants of land” plus further sinecure; see J. Jorgenson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen’s Land* (1991) p78. But Plomley finds that the evidence supports Robinson; see N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) e.n. 51, p439 (also quoted above). For the complexity of Aborigine-sealer relations, see V. Rae-Ellis, *Black Robinson* (1988) p71 & pp72-73.

Despite his best efforts to prove that Aboriginal women were “prostitutes” and “willing concubines” to the sealers, Windschuttle cites evidence which ironically indicates the possibility of loving relationships between some Aboriginal women and sealers; see K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p45 & p384. See also the story of a sealer-Aboriginal family at S. Breen, “Beeton, Lucy (1829 - 1886)” in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (2006)

<http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/AS10031b.htm> (5 Nov 2007). and P. Adam-Smith, *Moonbird People* (1970) pp89-92. In 1854, the Church of England’s Bishop Francis Nixon was impressed by the air of domestic union between the sealers and Aboriginal women at Gun Carriage Island; refer *The Cruise of the Beacon* (1857) also discussed in Adam-Smith above. See also J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p315— Boyce spells Lucy Beeton’s surname as “Beedon”. By 1862, there were reportedly 66 children in the island communities; see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p316. The descendents of Aborigines and sealers became known “as straitsmen or islanders, and are now recognized officially as Tasmanian Aborigines.” See V. Rae-Ellis, *Black Robinson* (1988) p71.

⁶⁷ “Walyer and her sisters No.em.dap.per and Tril.do.bor.er were resident with the sealers from time to time and their relationships with the sealers was [sic.] of an ambiguous nature.” See I. McFarlane, *Aboriginal Society in North West Tasmania* (2002) p297.

⁶⁸ McFarlane blames the “aggressive regime” of the Van Diemen’s Land Company for the quick collapse of the Aboriginal tribal structures in north-west Tasmania; see I. McFarlane, *Aboriginal Society in North West Tasmania* (2002) p133.

⁶⁹ The Burnie memorial to Tore.Nore references the “Punniler.Panner people”, however these were of the traditional social structure before tribal dislocation.

On Tarenorerer’s siblings, see G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p301. Robinson claims to have the names of all those accompanying Tarenorerer, a group which totals only 11 persons; see G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p186.

⁷⁰ An early report from Robinson claims, “Tarenonore, ‘alias’, Walyer who was at the head of an abor[iginal] banditti... The amazon is at war, with several nations of aborigines and many aborigines have been slain by her party.” See C.S.O. 1/318 (27 Jul 1830) pp17-18. Also on Tarenorerer’s aggression, see I. McFarlane, *Aboriginal Society in North West Tasmania* (2002) p133.

⁷¹ “KARNEBUTCHER and Jack said that WALYER was speared in the back by the LARMAIRENE aborigines...” See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p625.

⁷² See the wounding capacity of barbless spears discussed in Reynolds’s comparative critique of Aboriginal weapons and British firepower in H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) pp72-80.

⁷³ Ned Kelly's father, John "Red" Kelly, served a sentence in Van Diemen's Land's notorious Port Arthur prison; according to Boyce (who does not cite a reference here), Ned Kelly consequently referred to Tasmania as "that land of bondage and tyranny". See J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p250.

⁷⁴ Musquito, also known as Mosquito, Musquetta, Bush Muschetta or Muskito, was transported from New South Wales for raiding the British and later led the remnants of the "Oyster Bay" tribe in violent rebellion, for which he was prosecuted as a murderer and hanged alongside "Black Jack" by Lieutenant Governor Arthur, 25 Feb 1825. Initially, "most of the blame for the growing hostility was slated to Musquito..." See J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p190. Musquito became an issue of conflict between the revilists (John West, Jorgen Jorgenson, James Bonwick and Keith Windschuttle) and the revisionists now like Naomi Parry; for example, see K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) pp65-72, "Guerrilla Warrior and Resistance Fighter?" (Nov 2004) pp221-235, and N. Parry, "Many deeds of terror" (Aug 2003) <http://evatt.labor.net.au/publications/papers/110.html> (3 Jun 2007), "Many deeds of error" (Nov 2004) pp236-237 and "Musquito (c. 1780 - 1825)" in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, (Supp. Vol., 2005, p.299), <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/AS10366b.htm> (14 Dec 2007). For a recounting of Musquito's trial (seemingly with creative nonfiction), see H. Melville, *The History of Van Diemen's Land* (1965) notes, pp37-40. The name of "Mosquito" is listed on a monument in St David's Park, Hobart; see K. Harman, *Aboriginal Convicts* (2008) http://eprints.utas.edu.au/7467/2/Kris_Harman_PhD_Thesis.pdf (15 Feb 2009) p56. Harman discusses Musquito at various points in her thesis. J. McMahon, "The British Army" (1995-1996) pp58-59; see this discussed in J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) pp195-196.

⁷⁵ Though "Arthur's terror" was a title bequeathed on Arthur by hostile whites as he hanged 103 people in just 1826 to 1827 (see H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People*, 2004, p93), "terror" was formally recorded as a strategy for "Military Operations" against Aborigines by the colonial Government, 31 Oct 1828; see H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) p108. Also see this discussed at J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p266.

⁷⁶ C.S.O. 1/318 (27 Jul 1830) p18.

G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p287.

C.B.E. 1/1/1 (20 Jan 1831) p85.

⁷⁷ "...the Military will be mainly employed, [for] the capture of the Oyster Bay and Big River Tribes, as the most sanguinary, being of the greatest consequence." See C.S.O., J. Burnett (22 Sep 1830).

⁷⁸ J. Jorgenson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land* (1991) p80.

⁷⁹ It was once the predilection for historians to name Herodotus as the "father of lies" because, in part, his narrative on Amazon women warriors was anathema to western patriarchy.

On the descriptions of Tarenorerer's band, etc., see G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p304.

⁸⁰ See, for example, various adulations by V. Matson-Green, "Pallawah Women" (Jun 1994) pp65-70, "Walyer" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p379 and "Tarenorerer [Walyer] (c. 1800 - 1831)" in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (2005)

<http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/AS10455b.htm?hilite=Walyer> (15 Feb 2009), in contrast to K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p267, p381 & p384.

⁸¹ "Perhaps not all the stories told to Robinson were accurate." See L. Robson, *A History of Tasmania: Vol. I* (1983) p232; Windschuttle is variously keen to exploit this possibility—see especially his anti-Robinson crusade in K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) on numerous pages (see "Index", pp468-469).

"Walyer" is conspicuous by her absence in the 5,600 word press report of Robinson's three-hour talk on his experiences of Aborigines to a public meeting; see Australian Aborigines Protection Society, "Portion of the Report" (1865) <http://www.law.mq.edu.au/scnsw/Correspondence/pdf/robinson.pdf> (11 Nov 2007).

⁸² See Robinson's "meeting" with "Walyer" discussed at V. Rae-Ellis, *Black Robinson* (1988) pp57-58.

⁸³ G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) pp215-216.

⁸⁴ On Jorgenson's fear that history would portray "Walloa" (Tarenorerer) as a Vandiemonian Boudica ("Boadicea"), see J. Jorgenson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land* (1991) p80.

⁸⁵ Tarenorerer urged mutiny against Turnbull and other sealers on Clarkes Island; see G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p295 & p304.

⁸⁶ The memorial in Burnie asks, "Who could this young woman depend on or trust?"

⁸⁷ Robinson records Dobson "got" and "enticed" Tarenorerer and her sisters into his boat and "subjected them to slavery"; see G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p292 & p615. However, in one entry, Robinson has it that the women escaped while in another he has it that it was Dobson who brought Tarenorerer to Gun Carriage Island, her last place of incarceration. He also records, "Parish

started for Gun Carriage at 8 am, taking with him the amazon WALYER.” See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p298. In Windschuttle’s interpretation, “...Walyer, who assumed the name of Mary Ann and cohabitated voluntarily with John Williams on Penguin Island until removed by Robinson to join his group on Swan Island.” See K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p381. In yet another history it is claimed, “she was given to John Williams (‘Norfolk Island Jack’)”; see V. Matson-Green, “Tarenorerer [Walyer] (c. 1800 - 1831)” in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (2005) <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/AS10455b.htm?hilite=Walyer> (15 Feb 2009)⁸⁸ “On Forsyth Island I have seen [tiger snakes] so thick on the deep loose sand on a hot day that to describe them would be to court ridicule.” See P. Adam-Smith, *Moonbird People* (1970) p99. Forsyth Island is in the Passage Island Group, part of the larger Furneaux Group, in Bass Strait; most of these islands have numerous tiger snakes. (See also the note above on black tiger snakes.)

⁸⁹ G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p296.

⁹⁰ “WALYER’S sister...[said] she was with the tribe when I took away the dog named Whiskey from them at Port Sorrell and said I called ‘Halloo halloo’.” See G. Robinson in N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p335.

⁹¹ See N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) p359.

⁹² “In Africa a thing is true at first light and a lie by noon and you have no more respect for it than for the lovely, perfect weed-fringed lake you see across the sun-baked plain. You have walked across the plain in the morning and you know that no such lake is there. But now it is there absolutely true, beautiful and believable.” See the “fictional memoir” by E. Hemingway, *True At First Light* (1999) p5. Patrick Hemingway remarks, “Ambiguous counterpoint between fiction and truth lies at the heart of this memoir”. See “Introduction” by P. Hemingway in E. Hemingway, *True At First Light* (1999) p9.

⁹³ An explanatory note to a work of visual art by Rosalind Langford, “Tare-Nore’s Journey” (2006), claims: “Tare-nor [Tarenorerer] also saw and heard about many soldiers forming a line to hunt and round up her people—the infamous Black Line. Tare-nore could not stand by and let this destruction of her people go without resistance.” As this is not explicitly evidenced by Robinson’s journal, the archival “primary source” on Tarenorerer, this claim could be sourced from Aboriginal orality or Tasmanian folklore or it could be the author’s own construction. However, it is offered as evidence for the author’s claim, “‘Whilst her [Tarenorerer’s] story is told then her spirit will live on.’” Hence a figurational tension in a meaning drawn from evidence. See R. Langford, “Tare-Nore’s Journey” (2006) <http://www.artmob.com.au/artists/langford/26.html> (3 Nov 2007).

⁹⁴ *Fagus (Nothofagus gunnii)* is a deciduous Tasmanian beech of Gondwana origin; see M. White, *The Greening of Gondwana* (1998) p197. On the vernacular “turning of the fagus” and illustrative graphics of the plant’s Autumn colours, see J. Parker, “Turning of the Fagus”, *Scribbly Gum*, ABC Science Online (Apr 2000) <http://www.abc.net.au/science/scribblygum/April2000/default.htm> (13 Sep 2008).

⁹⁵ The term, “Antarctic gales”, is Tasmanian vernacular for strong and persistent winds which blow off the Southern Ocean in the cooler months and local hearsay has it that they arrive in intervals of no longer than seven years, bringing snow storms even to sea level.

⁹⁶ The “red loam” is the deep, ferrosol top-soils of northern Tasmania which are prized for primary production.

⁹⁷ “Never open a book with weather”; see E. Leonard, “Easy on the Adverbs, Exclamation Points and Especially Hootedoodle” (16 Jul 2001)

<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=940CE3DD103BF935A25754C0A9679C8B63> (13 Sep 2008). In contradistinction, see E. Hemingway, “A Good Café on the Place St.-Michel” in *A Moveable Feast* (2009) p15; also see his description of leaves and water in *A Farewell to Arms* (1977) p7 and Ch. V vignette (*In Our Time*) in *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (1987) p95.

⁹⁸ On the Launceston Invalid Depot (1868-1912), see Andrew Piper, “Aged Care” & “The Launceston Invalid Depot” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p11 & p210.

⁹⁹ On “Shepherd Kings”, see A. Alexander, “Midlands Landowners” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p236.

Breen claims that absentee owners resided in Melbourne, London or even Calcutta; see S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p52.

¹⁰⁰ The Launceston Cup is 2200 metres.

¹⁰¹ John Reynolds, “Dry, Sir Richard (1815 - 1869)” in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 1, (1966) <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010313b.htm> (5 Jan 2008).

¹⁰² Louise James, “Dry, Richard” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p110.

¹⁰³ John Reynolds, “Dry, Sir Richard (1815 - 1869)” in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 1, (1966) <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010313b.htm> (5 Jan 2008). Not to be confused with his father, Richard Dry Sr. who was the recipient of his family’s first grant of land at Quamby Plains; see W.V. Tenniswood, “Dry, Richard (1771 - 1843)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 1 (1966) <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010312b.htm> (5 Jan 2009).

¹⁰⁴ Sir Richard Dry died in 1869.

¹⁰⁵ S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p60.

¹⁰⁶ On “passive resistance”, see *Cornwall Chronicle* (31 Dec 1873 & 2 Jan 1874) cited in S. Petrow, “Resisting the Law” (1996) p91.

S. Petrow, “Resisting the Law” (1996) pp96-97 and S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) pp59-61.

¹⁰⁷ S. Petrow, “Resisting the Law” (1996) p94 & p97. S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) pp143-145. See also as popular history in I. Badcock, “Rail levy sparks riots” (3 Dec 2005) p3. Also see Stefan Petrow, “Police” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p279.

¹⁰⁸ Graham Clements, “Railways” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p299.

¹⁰⁹ Tasmania’s Westbury region, including Hagley, is still described by the tourist industry as “English”; for example, see “Westbury (including Hagley): Historic village with a decidedly English feel”, no by-line (8 Feb 2004) <http://www.smh.com.au/news/tasmania/westbury/2005/02/17/1108500206012.html> (22 Sep 2008).

¹¹⁰ Alison Alexander, “Midlands Landowners” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p236. For the consolidation of gentry power, see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p257.

A. Rand, “Talbot, William (1784? - 1845)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 2 (1967) pp502-503, <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020462b.htm> (23 Aug 2008). Breen estimates that about five per cent of the adult male population in the north owned productive land; see S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p61

¹¹¹ Greg Dickens, “Mining” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) pp238-239.

¹¹² Chris Tassell, “Osmiridium” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p261.

¹¹³ On the British imperial “landlord gentry” as *noblesse oblige* in charade and its reactionary capitalist politics in contest with the nascent power of reformist metropolitan capitalism, see K. Marx, “Classes” in *Capital, Vol. III* (2007) <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1894-c3/ch52.htm> (14 Sep 2008) and J. Boyce *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p214 & 254.

¹¹⁴ S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p61. For a discussion of Van Diemenian yeomen, see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p177.

¹¹⁵ “The Landlord and Tenant Act”, no by-line (9 Jun 1888) p10.

¹¹⁶ “Facts and Foibles”, letter to the editor, no attribution (2 Sep 1898) p2.

¹¹⁷ For an example of antiquated grammar in Tasmania, see conversation with Ethol Bishop (of Irish descent) in J. Marwood, *Valley People* (1984) p60.

On “topboots”, see J. Joyce, *Ulysses* (1990) p31. On “coat rack” (bringing outside inside), see E. Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* (2009) p17.

¹¹⁸ Calabash here is the generic term for a type of pipe set with a bowl of meerschaum (or other white clay) or porcelain; for a reference to the use of white clay pipes by men and women in rural Tasmania, see J. Marwood, *Valley People* (1984) p59.

¹¹⁹ These names were listed by the local press as “present” at a meeting in the Hagley Public Hall, Monday, (probably) 14 May 1888; see “Proposed Amendment in Landlord and Tenant Act”, no by-line (19 May 1888) p10.

¹²⁰ By 1866, 21 municipal councils controlled their own police, yet with widespread accusations of abuse and incompetence. The Police Regulation Act (1898) saw councils relinquish control of their police to a centralised, Tasmania-wide organisation. See Stefan Petrow, “Police” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p279. For observations on corrupt magistrates and police in this era, see S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) pp144-146.

¹²¹ The Walls of Jerusalem are dolerite peaks in Tasmania’s central highlands.

Thomas Reibey was the member for Westbury, Legislative Assembly, 1874-1903, he was Premier, 1876-1877.

¹²² Wendy Rimón, “Reibey, Thomas” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) pp305-306.

¹²³ “Perhaps the most commendable feature of the meeting was the patient and impartial hearing accorded by the advocates of protective ideas to the hon. Thos. Reibey, a staunch free-trader, whose speech, it is almost needless to say, was powerful and gentlemanly in tone, and pregnant with earnest conviction and conclusions, the outcome of world-wide study.” See “The meeting held at Hagley on Wednesday...”, editorial (28 Apr 1888) p4.

¹²⁴ “Proposed Amendment in Landlord and Tenant Act”, no by-line (19 May 1888) p11.

¹²⁵ “Proposed Amendment in Landlord and Tenant Act”, no by-line (19 May 1888) p11.

For a discussion of the conflicting ideologies of “individual liberty” and “common good” in late 19thC Tasmania, see S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p168.

¹²⁶ “Proposed Amendment in Landlord and Tenant Act”, no by-line (19 May 1888) p11.

¹²⁷ Marwood claims that Tasmanians of Irish descendant do not have an Irish accent, but their ancestry is “immediately apparent” when they tell a story; see J. Marwood, *Valley People* (1984) p54.

“Black Irish” is the myth of the legacy of a cross between Iberian survivors from the Spanish Armada (1588) and people from the west coast of Ireland who took them in; a selkie is an Irish or Scottish myth about seals who turn into people; sometimes both myths are, as it were, “cross-fertilised”.

¹²⁸ “Proposed Amendment in Landlord and Tenant Act”, no by-line (19 May 1888) p11.

¹²⁹ “Proposed Amendment in Landlord and Tenant Act”, no by-line (19 May 1888) p11.

¹³⁰ “Last Season’s Yield and Acreage”, no-by-line (19 May 1888) p11.

¹³¹ The fly rod and reel are probably made by the House of Hardy, Alnwick, England; the fly seems to be an English pattern called a “Royal Coachman”.

Brown trout (*Salmo trutta*) were introduced into Tasmania in 1864, with the trout propagating throughout the island’s streams and lakes over the next decades, and fly fishing was then promoted by the acclimatisation movement. See M. Allport, “Account of the Recent Successful Introduction of the Salmon Ova to Tasmania” (1864) cited in E. Rolls, *An Anthology of Australian Fishing* (1991) pp20-23.

¹³² S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p73.

¹³³ On the Closer Settlement Scheme, see S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p167.

On the Landlord and Tenant Act, see S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) pp73-74 & pp149-150.

¹³⁴ For a brief history of the various Closer Settlement schemes, see Tim Jetson, “Agriculture” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p13.

Marx’s theorisation of the “law of value” predicts that capitalism increases fixed capital relative to labour as a general tendency; for agriculture, *ceteris paribus*, this implies that land holdings will tend to increase in size. See “Necessity Theories”, no by-line, in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) p142.

¹³⁵ “Fresh vegetables [and milk] were...very hard to [buy] in most places. Evidently the locals grow their own.” Anecdotal observations of life in rural Tasmania in the 1930s; see G.E.J. Dawkins, *Trouting in Tasmania*, (1999) p49 & p62.

For oral history evidence on supplementing low rural incomes in the Fingal Valley, see J. Marwood, *Valley People* (1984) p57 & p86.

“The children who streamed out of the houses to see the caravan pass were very poorly dressed although they seemed healthy enough.” See G.E.J. Dawkins, *Trouting in Tasmania*, (1999) p79.

¹³⁶ For a brief history of the early decades of Tasmania’s hydro-electrification, see Bruce Felmingham, “Economy” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) pp423-424.

While Bound considers that subsidised electricity costs for big business began under ALP Premier Albert Ogilvie (1934-1939), he argues that this especially emerged as an issue during ALP Robert Cosgrove’s second term as Premier (1948-1958); M. Bound, interviews with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (18 Feb 2007 & 11 Nov 2008). In his then controversial pamphlet on the issue, Bound names Electrolytic Zinc Company (Risdon & West Coast), Australian Commonwealth Carbide Company, Goliath Portland Cement, Associated Pulp & Paper Mills, Australian Newsprint Mills and Mount Lyell Mining & Railway Company (information which he now says would be impossible to obtain under “in-confidence” arrangements between business and the Government); see M. Bound, *Tasmania’s Power Crises* (1953) n.p. He later publicised the issue in the context of employment losses in the Hydro Electricity Commission; see M. Bound & I. Paterson, *Jobs, Hydro and Tasmania’s Future* (1980).

¹³⁷ Tom Jones, who agitated against subsidised electricity for big business, was a Communist and President of the Combined Unions Committee in the Launceston Railways Workshop; refer M. Bound, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (11 Nov 2008).

¹³⁸ The vernacular term, “sea trout”, describes a sea-run population of Tasmania’s famous “brown trout” (*Salmo trutta*), which follow the “whitebait” into Tasmania’s estuaries in the Spring and are highly esteemed by anglers both as sport and for the table; sea trout quickly adapt to different salinity levels (*euryhaline*).

¹³⁹ See a description of Bound by Pete Hay in R. Wessman, “An Interview with Pete Hay” (Dec 2003) <http://walleahpress.com.au/hay.html> (31 Oct 2008).

The vernacular term, “whitebait”, is a type of galaxia which is found only in Tasmania. These whitebait (mostly *Lovettia sealii*), 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 live in the sea yet breed in fresh water (*anadromous*).

¹⁴⁰ Social Ecological Economic Cultural Alliance, “General Correspondence & Associated Papers Relating to the Social Ecological Economic Cultural Alliance” (1 Sep 1992 - 31 May 1996).

¹⁴¹ M. Bound, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (18 Feb 2007).

¹⁴² R. Wessman, “An Interview with Tim Thorne” (Jun 2007)

<http://walleahpress.com.au/FR35Thorne.html> (31 Oct 2008).

¹⁴³ As well as those titles specifically referenced in this history, Bound’s publications also include *Election Appeal to the Electors of Denison: Menzies Government Robs Pensioners and Hospitals* (1954), *Consequences of Monopoly Growth in Tasmania* (1961), *What Can the Trade Unions do to Play a Bigger*

Role in Protecting the Environment? (Jun 1976), *Access to Life: A Study of Barriers Facing People with Disabilities* (1985), “Media, Money and Political Power: Why We Need Alternatives” (Jul 2005), “Global Warming, Economy, Lifestyles and Quality of Life” (Sep 2006), “An Atheist’s View on Politics and the Reality of Global Warming” (Dec 2006), “Crisis and a Future for the Left?” (Summer 2006), *Water: Policy Needs and the Future*, (2008). He has also had several articles published in *Australian Options Magazine* in the 1990s; refer M. Bound, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (11 Nov 2007).

¹⁴⁴ M. Bound, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (18 Feb 2007).

¹⁴⁵ M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p1.

¹⁴⁶ M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p1 & p2.

¹⁴⁷ M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p2.

¹⁴⁸ M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p2.

¹⁴⁹ M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p2.

¹⁵⁰ The Australasian Coal & Shale Employees Federation was also known informally as the “Miners’ Federation of Australia”; see E. Ross, *A History of the Miners’ Federation of Australia* (1970).

¹⁵¹ M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p2.

¹⁵² E. Ross, *A History of the Miners’ Federation of Australia* (1970) p354.

¹⁵³ For a brief history of the Tasmanian branch of the CPA, see Max Bound, “The Communist Party” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p83.

M. Bound, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (18 Feb 2007).

¹⁵⁴ M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p3.

¹⁵⁵ M. Bound, *An after thought* (18 Mar 2009).

¹⁵⁶ M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) pp3-4.

¹⁵⁷ M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p4.

¹⁵⁸ M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p4.

¹⁵⁹ M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p4.

¹⁶⁰ M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p4.

¹⁶¹ For brief notes on Speed Morgan’s athletic prowess, see H. McQueen, “Tasmania” in Ch. Six, “Occupational Health” in *A Framework of Flesh* (2008)

http://home.alphalink.com.au/~loge27/BLF/OHS/ohs_07_chap_06_occupational_health.htm (12 Nov 2008).

¹⁶² M. Bound, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (11 Nov 2007).

¹⁶³ M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p4.

¹⁶⁴ M. Bound, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (18 Feb 2007).

¹⁶⁵ M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p6.

¹⁶⁶ B. Bound, “Tasmanian Teachers Federation” in *The Broader Fight* (1992) n.p.

¹⁶⁷ See B. Bound, “Tasmanian Teachers Federation” in *The Broader Fight* (1992) n.p.

¹⁶⁸ Barbara Bound’s parents were shopkeepers; see B. Bound, “Tasmanian Teachers Federation” in *The Broader Fight* (1992) n.p.

¹⁶⁹ B. Bound, “Tasmanian Teachers Federation” in *The Broader Fight* (1992) n.p.

¹⁷⁰ The original “fifth column” was not communist, but a right-wing “insurgent” force of the Nationalist General Emilio Mola during the siege of Madrid (1936-1939) in the Spanish Civil War.

¹⁷¹ To various degrees, all of the Bound’s four children have been active in peace and other social movements.

¹⁷² M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p4.

¹⁷³ M. Bound, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (18 Feb 2007).

¹⁷⁴ See Bound’s ASIO files listed at the National Archives of Australia (2008) <http://www.naa.gov.au/> (4 Nov 2008). As Bound was hesitant about having his files accessed (they would be placed on the internet for public view) they were not pursued, after initial inquiries, in reference to the conditions set by the University of Ballarat’s Ethics Committee for interviewing subjects.

¹⁷⁵ Peter Jones, “The Cold War” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p81.

¹⁷⁶ Michael Quinlan & Margaret Lindley, “Trade Unions” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) pp367-368.

¹⁷⁷ See A Lohrey, *The Morality of Gentlemen* (1984), a novel about left-right tensions in Tasmanian unionism in the 1950’s against the background of the ALP-DLP split.

¹⁷⁸ On CPA membership, see Max Bound, “The Communist Party” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p83.

This amounted to 5.7% of the total number of votes in Denison in the 1955 Federal election; see Australian Electoral Commission, “Commonwealth of Australia Legislative Election” (10 Dec 1955).

¹⁷⁹ M. Bound, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (18 Feb 2007).

¹⁸⁰ Max Bound, “The Communist Party” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p83.

¹⁸¹ The Socialist Workers Party, once the Socialist Workers League, was affiliated with the Trotskyist Fourth International until 1986. It later renamed itself the Democratic Socialist Party and then the Democratic Socialist Perspective within the left unity group of Socialist Alliance (SA); it is now considering a proposal to dissolve itself into the SA.

¹⁸² Bound responds that his “...experiences [with some Trotskyists] were not pleasant and I am well aware that there are some very good people who came out of the troskyite [sic.] movement to wit the late Denis Freney and still active Robert Durbridge both of whom I hold in high respect”; see M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p1. Freney, also a Sydney-based gay activist, died in 1995; his autobiography is *A Map of Days: Life on the Left*, Heinemann, Port Melbourne, 1991. Durbridge is with the Australian Education Union in Melbourne.

¹⁸³ “You know that the institutions, mores, and traditions of various countries must be taken into consideration, and we do not deny that there are countries — such as America, England, and if I were more familiar with your institutions, I would perhaps also add Holland — where the workers can attain their 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).

¹⁸⁴ Barbara Bound claims that the UAW were the first in Tasmania to commemorate Hiroshima Day and International Women’s Day; see B. Bound, “Tasmanian Teachers Federation” in *The Broader Fight* (1992) n.p.

An introductory note to her interview claims that Barbara Bound went to the U.S.S.R in 1968, but, in the transcribed interview, she says that she was asked to join the delegation in 1966; see B. Bound, “Tasmanian Teachers Federation” in *The Broader Fight* (1992) n.p.

M. Bound, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (18 Feb 2007).

¹⁸⁵ The “hollow twenty” is Bound’s description; see M. Bound, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (18 Feb 2007).

¹⁸⁶ Peter Henning, “The Vietnam War” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p376.

¹⁸⁷ M. Bound, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (18 Feb 2007).

¹⁸⁸ Bound speculates that the antagonist was a refugee from eastern Europe; M. Bound, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (11 Nov 2007).

¹⁸⁹ M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p9.

¹⁹⁰ M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p9.

¹⁹¹ On the unexpectedness of the Federal Government cheque sent to Roebuck; see M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p9; for other details, see M. Bound, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (11 Nov 2007).

¹⁹² Also see Justice P. Slicer, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (9 Dec 2008).

¹⁹³ M. Bound, interviews with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (18 Feb 2007 & 11 Nov 2008) and M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p9.

¹⁹⁴ M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p9.

¹⁹⁵ On Doug Lowe, see M. Bound, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (18 Feb 2007). M. Bound, “Dear Robert, Thanks for your draft...” (17 Mar 2009) p9.

¹⁹⁶ M. Bound, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (18 Feb 2007 & 11 Nov 2008).

¹⁹⁷ “We are coming out, speaking out and marching out like never before.” See R. Croome, “Why same-sex marriage matters” (17 Nov 1993) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2004/596/31875> (22 Dec 2008).

¹⁹⁸ On hair and androgyny in Hemingway’s *The Garden of Eden* (1986) at K. Lynn, *Hemingway* (1989) pp540-544.

¹⁹⁹ See the police “pink list” discussed at R. Croome, “The Emancipist” (Spring 2008) p12.

²⁰⁰ On beginning *in media res* (“into the middle of things”), see R. Croome, “The Emancipist” (Spring 2008) p8, A. Proulx, “Brokeback Mountain”, *Close Range* (1999) p284 (including her shift from italicised to non-italicised font) and G. Orwell, “Down and Out in Paris and London” in *The Complete Works of George Orwell* (2003) http://www.george-orwell.org/Down_and_Out_in_Paris_and_London/0.html (31 Dec 2008); Orwell is discussed in this context in T. Cheney, *Writing Creative NonFiction* (2001) pp14-15.

²⁰¹ On marriage and class in Van Diemen’s Land, see J. Boyce, “Marriage and Morality”, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) pp127-128; also see Henry Finlay, “Marriage and Divorce” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p228.

²⁰² The thesis that sexual relations were made subordinate to the reproductive forces of class society, such as capitalism, mostly originates with Frederick Engels, especially in his *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884). For a brief overview of the classical Marxist position, see Michèle

Barrett, “family” in T. Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1985) pp161-162. As to whether the emphasis should be on class or patriarchy, Marxist Feminists and Radical Feminists agree to disagree.

²⁰³ J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p128.

²⁰⁴ John Reynolds, “Sorell, William (1775 - 1848)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 2 (1967) pp459-462, <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020424b.htm?hilite=Sorell%3BWilliam> (8 Jan 2008); also Leonie Mickleborough, “Sorell, William” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p342.

²⁰⁵ Linda Monks, “Knopwood, Robert (1763 - 1838)” in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 2 (1967) pp66-67, <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020057b.htm?hilite=Knopwood> (3 Jan 2007).

²⁰⁶ “Blow My Skull”; see M. Symons, *One Continuous Picnic* (1982) p45.

²⁰⁷ Bedford would lose Arthur’s support and subsequently his ecclesiastical authority to Reverend Philip Palmer by 1833; see “Bedford, William (1781? - 1852)”, no by-line, in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 1 (1966) pp77-78, <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010074b.htm> (4 Jan 2009).

²⁰⁸ J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p179.

²⁰⁹ These accusations were recorded in the diary of a Catholic priest, Chaplain Robert Croke, in the 1840s; see R. Croke, *The Convict* (1958) p23 & pp25-26.

²¹⁰ “Religious suffering is, at one and the same time, the *expression* of real suffering and a *protest* against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the *opium* of the people.” See K. Marx, “Introduction to A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right” (2005)

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/intro.htm> (31 Dec 2007). For an adaptation of this towards anarchism and even a sarcastic nihilism, see E. Hemingway, “The Gambler, The Nun, and the Radio” (sic.), *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (1987) p367.

²¹¹ On convict “sexualised geography” as a technology of both oppression and resistance, see 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); see also an incident described in Rodney Croome, “Homosexuality” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p180.

²¹² On “pseudo-males”, see Rodney Croome, “Homosexuality” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p180.

On homosexuality and “respectable” households, see R. Croke, *The Convict* (1958) p104.

²¹³ For some examples, see “sodomy” in S. Petrow & B. Kercher, “Subject Index L-Z”, *Decisions of the Nineteenth Century Tasmanian Superior Courts* (Oct 2006)

http://www.law.mq.edu.au/sctas/html/subject_index,l-z.htm (7 Jan 2008).

²¹⁴ “R v Goodwin”, no by-line, *Launceston Advertiser* (12 Apr 1838).

²¹⁵ On hard labour for homosexuality, see J. Damousi, *Depraved and Disorderly* (1997) p60.

On punishment for trivial offences, see 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).

²¹⁶ B. Smith, *Australia’s Birthstain* (2008) p227.

²¹⁷ Religion could ward off “the inundation of the probation system”; see J. West, *History of Tasmania: Vol. II* (1966) p334.

²¹⁸ B. Smith, *Australia’s Birthstain* (2008) p228.

²¹⁹ John Reynolds, “West, John (1809 - 1873)” in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 2 (1967) pp590-592, <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020533b.htm?hilite=West%3BJohn> (5 Jan 2008). Transportation to Van Diemen’s Land was suspended for two years in 1846; see B. Smith, *Australia’s Birthstain* (2008) p232.

²²⁰ J. West, *History of Tasmania: Vol. I* (1966) p297.

²²¹ On Reynolds’s political acumen, see B. Smith, *Australia’s Birthstain* (2008) p230-231.

John Reynolds, “West, John (1809 - 1873)” in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 2 (1967) pp590-592, <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020533b.htm?hilite=West%3BJohn> (5 Jan 2008).

²²² B. Smith, *Australia’s Birthstain* (2008) p229.

²²³ The colonists had been referring to themselves as “Tasmanians” for decades; for example, see “Trial by Jury”, no by-line, *Launceston Advertiser* (20 Jun 1829).

The emphases are the author’s; see Chrisianos, “Shall fathers weep and mourn”, *Launceston Examiner* (5 May 1847).

²²⁴ On Gladstone and Eardley-Wilmot, see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p237.

²²⁵ J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p238.

²²⁶ J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p239.

²²⁷ Smith has it that West’s “reaction to homosexuality was simply that of a man of his times and religion, and was genuinely felt.” See B. Smith, *Australia’s Birthstain* (2008) p236. One could also argue that

Adolf Hitler's anti-Semitism was "genuinely felt", yet this hides neither its falsehoods nor its service in an ideological ruse towards power.

²²⁸ See B. Smith, *Australia's Birthstain* (2008) p238.

²²⁹ The last was Hendrick (or Frederick) Witnaldier. Croome claims, "The last man to hang for sodomy in the British Empire was in Tasmania in 1867." See R. Croome, "Homosexuality" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p180. However, there were no state executions in Tasmania between 1865 and 1875.

²³⁰ Richard Dry was conspicuous because he was both an abolitionist and a wealthy grazier.

²³¹ On the thorny issue of discretionary power and "...the occupational culture of policing, and the institutional values of the organisation which may compete with laws and rules (such as loyalty over legality)", see M. Findlay, Ch. 6, "Police Discretion and Police Powers", *Introducing Policing* (2004) pp70-85; the quotation is pp74-75.

²³² Actuaries are used in the insurance industry to assess risk. The point is that actuarial logic categorises people according to an abstract judgment of type rather than the record, or a test, of a person's behaviour; as car insurance generally costs more for a young male owner (even though that man might be an excellent driver) so police judge a "potential" offender by prejudices ascribed to ethnicity, age, gender, cultural capital (class), location, time, etc.

²³³ For examples of LGBT and homophobic vernacular, see W. Dynes & W. Percy, *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality* (7 Sep 2008) <http://www.williamapercy.com/wiki/index.php?title=Portal:EOH> (17 Jan 2008) and W. Dynes & B. Voeller, "Homolexis Glossary," *Homolexis* (15 Jun 2008) http://www.homolexis.com/glossary/index.php/Main_Page#W (17 Jan 2008).

"Rush Limbaugh's hit-list of 'commie libs...feminazis...environmental wackos...the homeless...and especially gays'." See B. Musgrove, "States of Emergency" (Winter 2008) p67.

²³⁴ For a brief note on the problematic of anti-discrimination legislation without the support of regulatory and cultural infrastructure, see N. Rees & K. Lindsay & S. Rice, *Australian Anti-Discrimination Law* (2008) p2.

²³⁵ "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power." See K. Marx, Ch. 31, "Genesis of the Industrial Capitalist", *Capital Vol. I* (1999) <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch31.htm> (17 Jan 2009).

²³⁶ On Croome, see D. Mills, "The Tasmanian tiger", *blue* (March 2005) p58; cited in B. Baird, "Sexual citizenship in 'the New Tasmania'" (Nov 2006) p965.

R. Croome, "The Emancipist" (Spring 2008) p8.

²³⁷ Commenting on the Port Arthur Massacre of 1996: "We were told that Tasmania had lost its innocence. Of course we know we have never been innocent." See R. Croome, "Port Arthur: 'Lost Opportunities'" in CA Cranston *Along These Lines* (2000) p86. For a discussion of this in the context of the stereotyping of Tasmania, see R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

²³⁸ Warren Johansson, "Mattachine Society" in W. Dynes & W. Percy, *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality* (7 Sep 2008) <http://www.williamapercy.com/wiki/images/EOHMSearchable.pdf> (17 Jan 2009) pp779-781. Evelyn Gettone, "Bilitis" in W. Dynes & W. Percy, *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality* (7 Sep 2008) <http://www.williamapercy.com/wiki/images/EOHBSearchable.pdf> (17 Jan 2009) pp136-138.

²³⁹ See Warren Johansson, "Stonewall Rebellion" in W. Dynes & W. Percy, *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality* (7 Sep 2008) <http://www.williamapercy.com/wiki/images/EOHSSearchable.pdf> (17 Jan 2009) pp1251-1254.

²⁴⁰ "Proposition 6" (also known the "Briggs Initiative" because it was sponsored by John Briggs) was placed on the California State ballot in 1978 to ban gays, lesbians and their supporters from working in California's public schools. It was part of a homophobic campaign led by Florida's Anita Bryant and her group, "Save Our Children". The politics behind the assassinations, the trial of Dan White and the riots which followed are the subjects of the documentary, *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984), directed by Rob Epstein, and the biopic, *Milk* (2008), directed by Gus Van Sant. (Also see the reference to *Twinkies*, below.)

²⁴¹ Croome's observation that "Dennis Altman has repeatedly voted Tasmania the state least likely to succeed in gay politics" reads almost as an affront and a personal challenge to Croome; see R. Croome, "At the Crossroads: Gay and Green Politics" in C. Pybus & R. Flanagan, *The Rest of the World is Watching* (1990) p107.

K. Raynor, *Rampant* (2007) <http://www.abc.net.au/programsales/studyguide/RAMPANT.pdf> (20 Jan 2009) p7.

²⁴² D. Marr, "The Power of One" (5 Jan 2008) <http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/the-power-of-one/2008/01/04/1198950075839.html?page=fullpage#contentSwap2> ((Jan 2008).

²⁴³ The Order of Perpetual Indulgence is the Australian chapter of the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence (founded in San Francisco, 1979) and so the Australian chapter is also known by the latter's title.

See an image of the caricature of Fred Nile at W. Yang, *The Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence and the head of Fred Nile [on a plate of fruit]* (1989) <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-vn3097644> (9 Jan 2008).

²⁴⁴ “Mardi Gras effortlessly survives [Nile’s] prayers for rain.” See D. Marr, “The Power of One” (5 Jan 2008) <http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/the-power-of-one/2008/01/04/1198950075839.html?page=fullpage#contentSwap2> ((Jan 2008).

²⁴⁵ *Rampant: How a City Stopped a Plague* (2007), dir. by Victoria Midwinter, is a television documentary telling the story of how AIDS was contained in Sydney in contradistinction to the USA; see also K. Raynor, *Rampant* (2007) <http://www.abc.net.au/programsales/studyguide/RAMPANT.pdf> (20 Jan 2009).

²⁴⁶ For commentary on Nile’s demand to have gays gaoled, see D. Marr, “The Power of One” (5 Jan 2008) <http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/the-power-of-one/2008/01/04/1198950075839.html?page=fullpage#contentSwap2> (Jan 2008).

K. Raynor, *Rampant* (2007) <http://www.abc.net.au/programsales/studyguide/RAMPANT.pdf> (20 Jan 2009) p6.

²⁴⁷ Some pundits on the left estimated the numbers at the march in Sydney (2 Oct 1989) to be 5000 people; for example, see M. Connors, “Gay Issues for the 1990s”, *Socialist Action*, (Nov 1989) http://www.anu.edu.au/polsci/marx/gayleft/gay_issues1990s.rtf (20 Jan 2009).

²⁴⁸ Community Services and Health, *National HIV/AIDS Campaign: 1986-1992* (1993) p1.

²⁴⁹ K. Raynor, *Rampant* (2007) <http://www.abc.net.au/programsales/studyguide/RAMPANT.pdf> (20 Jan 2009) p1.

²⁵⁰ The National Aids Campaign developed out of the ALP Federal Government’s National Advisory Council on AIDS (1984) and the “medically oriented” AIDS Task Force; see Community Services and Health, *National HIV/AIDS Campaign: 1986-1992* (1993) p1.

²⁵¹ Community Services and Health, *National HIV/AIDS Strategy*, (1989). This strategy was confirmed a few years later by another report; see Community Services and Health, *National HIV/AIDS Strategy* (1993) p1.

²⁵² Dr Michael Wooldridge, “Foreword” in Health and Family Services, *National HIV/AIDS Strategy* (1996); this is an echo of the comments by the editor, Chris Pirie, p1.

²⁵³ The term “race” is falling into disfavour because it implies a biological segregation whereas science is now more predisposed to accepting that it is a cultural construction and so “ethnicity” is tending to replace the former term because the latter term emphasises social identity.

N. Rees & K. Lindsay & S. Rice, *Australian Anti-Discrimination Law* (2008) p1 & p17; see their index for “Table of Statutes”, ppxxvii-xl (Tasmania, ppxxxiv-xxxv).

“Anti-discrimination law emphasises that which the law seeks to prohibit, whereas the focus of *equal opportunity law* is on that which the law seeks to promote.” Some legal historians tend to use the terms interchangeably; see N. Rees & K. Lindsay & S. Rice, *Australian Anti-Discrimination Law* (2008) p2.

²⁵⁴ The cornerstone legislation for the White Australia policy was Alfred Deakin’s *Immigration Restriction Act* (1901).

²⁵⁵ The *Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Amendment Act 1975* and *Criminal Law Consolidation Act Amendment Act 1976*; see M. Bull & S. Pinto & P. Wilson, “Homosexual Law Reform in Australia”, *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice* (Jan 1991) <http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi/ti29.pdf> (20 Jan 2009) pp2-3.

²⁵⁶ *Anti-Discrimination Act 1977* (NSW), *Equal Opportunity Act 1984* (SA), *Equal Opportunity Act 1984* (WA), *Anti-Discrimination Act 1991* (Qld.), *Discrimination Act 1991* (ACT), *Anti-Discrimination Act 1992* (N.T.), *Equal Opportunity Act 1995* (Vic.) and — last but not least! — *Anti-Discrimination Act 1998* (Tas.); see N. Rees & K. Lindsay & S. Rice, *Australian Anti-Discrimination Law* (2008) p2, f.n.6.

²⁵⁷ “But we will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come.” (28 Oct 2001). 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). On the politics of exclusion and the “children overboard” affair (Oct-Nov 2001), see G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) pp75-78.

²⁵⁸ “Go home, poofs!” is a line from a skit broadcast on television by the comedy series, *Fast Forward*; for details of a public meeting of homophobes in Burnie in November 1989, see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) p41.

²⁵⁹ In the popular and gruesome movie, *Deliverance* (1972) — a hillbilly gothic directed by John Boorman and adapted from the novel of the same name by James Dickey (1970) — the soon to be dam-flooded Cahulawassee River is a fictional setting for the man-rape of two “cityslickers” by two shotgun-wielding “moonshiners”.

²⁶⁰ “Perhaps this explains the eagerness with which some mainland journalists took up the ‘essential evil’ interpretation of the Port Arthur massacre.” See P. Hay, “Port Arthur: Where Meanings Collide”, *Vandemonian Essays* (2002) p35.

²⁶¹ On the South Australian murders, see L. Colquhoun, "Picking up the Trail" (2004) http://www.adelaidereview.com.au/archives.php?subaction=showfull&id=1175217077&archive=1176421689&start_from=&ucat=1& (20 Jan 2009).

On the suspected murders of Ross Warren, John Russell and Gilles Mattaini by teenage gangs "who as a pack bashed, robbed, and murdered men at known gay beats", see L. Lamont, "Detective exposes apathy in gay murder cases" (10 Mar 2005) <http://www.smh.com.au/news/National/Detective-exposes-apaty-in-gay-murder-cases/2005/03/09/1110316095497.html> (20 Jan 2009).

²⁶² The "Twinkie Defense" (sic.) is a pejorative derived from criticism of the 1979 Californian trial of Dan White for the assassinations of San Francisco Mayor, George Moscone, and gay activist, Harvey Milk, when the jury accepted that the defendant was suffering from depression and so had a diminished capacity for rational thought; amongst other testimony, White's consumption of junk food, *Twinkies* (finger sponges with a "creamy" filling), was offered as evidence of his depression. The jury returned a verdict of manslaughter; this led to the White Night Riots (21 May 1979). The term "Twinkie Defense", since used even in America law, has become a synonym for a legal defence based on pseudo-science (a flawed analysis of the White case) or a defence which uses science to offer an "out" to the bigotry of a jury; in this case, homophobia. For examples of populist analyses, see C. Pogash, "Myth of the 'Twinkie defense'" (23 Nov 2003) <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2003/11/23/INGRE343501.DTL> (26 Jan 2008) and "The Twinkie Defense", no by-line (18 Jul 2007) <http://www.snopes.com/legal/twinkie.asp> (26 Jan 2009).

²⁶³ On the Battle of Salamanca, see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) p27.

²⁶⁴ Though during the most intense years of the TGLRG struggle there has been a relative decline of many church affiliations, "...Baptists [remain] strongest in the North and North-West of the state, more or less corresponding with the location of churches in these areas." See J. Guenther, *Review of Trends in Religious Affiliation in Tasmania, 1986 to 2001* (2004)

http://www.catcom.com.au/pdf/religious_trends_tas.pdf (17 Feb 2009) p8.

R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

²⁶⁵ R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

²⁶⁶ See R. Croome, "The Emancipist" (Spring 2008) pp12-13. "...I want to be here when that great moment of renewal finally arrives." See R. Croome, "Life, love and belonging: Leaving" (26 Feb 2006) http://www.rodnycroome.id.au/weblog?id=C0_27_1 (20 Jan 2009).

²⁶⁷ On "Fortress Tasmania", R. Croome, "At the Crossroads: Gay and Green Politics" in C. Pybus & R. Flanagan, *The Rest of the World is Watching* (1990) p107.

²⁶⁸ R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

²⁶⁹ R. Croome, "Life, love and belonging: 1975", (26 Feb 2006)

http://www.rodnycroome.id.au/weblog?id=C0_27_1 (20 Jan 2009); Brown and the culture of closetness is also discussed in R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

²⁷⁰ Homintern is a portmanteau of Homosexual International; see details on the TGLRG's rejection of the Homintern strategy in M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) p9.

²⁷¹ R. Croome, "Life, love and belonging: 1975", (26 Feb 2006)

http://www.rodnycroome.id.au/weblog?id=C0_27_1 (20 Jan 2009).

²⁷² R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008); also see Brown's reasoning that he might be a media distraction, turning public focus away from the essential issues in this context, at M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) p20.

²⁷³ M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) p6.

²⁷⁴ M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) p27.

²⁷⁵ R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

²⁷⁶ "Letters to the editor", various, *The Mercury* (26 Sep 1988) p8.

²⁷⁷ R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

²⁷⁸ The observation on liberty and security is also attributed to Alexis de Tocqueville; for example, see H. McQueen, *Suspect History* (1997) p8 in contradistinction to G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) p97. For a discussion of the postmodern politics of fear and loathing, see G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) pp35-36 & p144 & p207-208.

See the opening line, "Hegel remarks somewhere..." in K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/ch01.htm> (21 Jan 2009).

²⁷⁹ Though hope springs eternal, or at least it springs President Barack Obama when he ordered the close of the American detention facility at Guantanamo Bay: "...we are not going to continue with a false choice between our safety and our ideals"; see A. Davies, "Obama orders Guantanamo closed" (23 Jan 2009) <http://www.theage.com.au/world/obama-orders-guantanamo-closed-20090123-7o18.html?page=-1> (23 Jan 2009).

²⁸⁰ See the allegation by Nicholas Toonen, of some people wanting homosexuals to be removed to an uninhabited island, at “2.5” in Human Rights Committee, “Communication No. 488/1992”, *United Nations Human Rights* (4 Apr 1994)

[http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/\(Symbol\)/CCPR.C.50.D.488.1992.En?Opendocument](http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/(Symbol)/CCPR.C.50.D.488.1992.En?Opendocument) (21 Jan 2009).

²⁸¹ It was Robinson who lured and then forcibly removed Aborigines to Flinders Island (1829-1834), as discussed above in “...so many of them always coming in big boats”.

On Darryl Challis, see letter to *Launceston Examiner* (11 Aug 1988) cited in M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) p11.

²⁸² R. Croome, “Life, love and belonging: Leaving” (26 Feb 2006)

http://www.rodneycroome.id.au/weblog?id=C0_27_1 (20 Jan 2009). This is possibly Chris O’Loughlin; see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) p15.

²⁸³ Tasmanian Gay & Lesbian Rights Group, “Council urged to support gay arrest apology” (12 Jun 2008) http://tgllrg.org/more/355_0_1_0_M/ (20 Jan 2009). For further details, see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) pp14-15.

²⁸⁴ See “3.1 (c)” in Human Rights Committee, “Communication No. 488/1992”, *United Nations Human Rights* (4 Apr 1994)

[http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/\(Symbol\)/CCPR.C.50.D.488.1992.En?Opendocument](http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/(Symbol)/CCPR.C.50.D.488.1992.En?Opendocument) (21 Jan 2009).

²⁸⁵ Produced by the Victorian AIDS Council; see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) p29.

²⁸⁶ J. Larkin, “Peace in gay market battle” (10 Dec 1988) p1.

²⁸⁷ Rodney Croome, “Homosexuality” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2006)

http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/G/Gay%20Law%20Reform.htm (14 Jan 2009).

²⁸⁸ R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

²⁸⁹ R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008); Morris claims that the threat came from Assistant Commissioner, Keith Viney; see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) p23.

²⁹⁰ R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

²⁹¹ R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

²⁹² “...the ban appears little more than an ill-advised attempt at political censorship.” See “Market ban is wrong” (26 Sep 1988) p8.

²⁹³ R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008); also see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) p24.

²⁹⁴ R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008); also see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) 25. In a casual conversation after the formal interview for this thesis, Supreme Court Justice Pierre Slicer recounted with mirth that, shortly after he had discovered that the HCC had not gazetted the boundaries for Salamanca Market in 1988, he noticed the body language of the lawyer for the HCC suggested the same realisation, so legal success for his client, the TGLRG, was clearly imminent by mutual agreement.

²⁹⁵ R. Croome, “At the Crossroads: Gay and Green Politics” in C. Pybus & R. Flanagan, *The Rest of the World is Watching* (1990) p109.

²⁹⁶ Tasmania’s Legislative Council was incorporated into the new bicameral Parliament of 1856 with Governor William Denison’s recommendation in 1848 to establish an upper chamber as a check on democracy; it has been historically dominated by conservatives, including many of its “independents”. See M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) p117 and Bryan Strait, “Legislative Council” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p213.

²⁹⁷ M. Bull & S. Pinto & P. Wilson, “Homosexual Law Reform in Australia”, *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice* (Jan 1991) <http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi/ti29.pdf> (20 Jan 2009) p2.

²⁹⁸ Croome accuses the ALP of attempting to “subvert” the momentum of the TGLRG; see R. Croome, “At the Crossroads: Gay and Green Politics” in C. Pybus & R. Flanagan, *The Rest of the World is Watching* (1990) p111. For details of the Parliamentary machinations around this bill, see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) pp63-79.

²⁹⁹ R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008); also see M. Bull & S. Pinto & P. Wilson, “Homosexual Law Reform in Australia”, *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice* (Jan 1991) <http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi/ti29.pdf> (20 Jan 2009) p2.

³⁰⁰ R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

³⁰¹ On Armstrong’s role, see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) pp56-57 & pp63-64.

³⁰² M. Denholm, “Gay law reform opponents lashed” (2 Dec 1991) p2.

³⁰³ “Politics is theater. It doesn’t matter if you win. You make a statement. You say, ‘I’m here, pay attention to me.’” See D. Black, *Milk* (2009) [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Milk_\(film\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Milk_(film)) (5 Feb 2009) p17.

³⁰⁴ The kiss-in was a tactic adapted from previous gay and lesbian campaigns; for example, students at the Clayton campus of Monash University, Victoria, staged public kiss-ins on the grass space between the Menzies Building and what was then the Student Union Building (now the “Campus Centre”) in the early

1980s. This was a traditional site for student political rallies until the administration covered it in landscaped hillocks not long after the kiss-ins.

³⁰⁵ On Ron Cornish and Chris Miles, see T. Flanagan, "Protests target Tasmania's anti-gay laws" (20 Jul 1994) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/1994/151/9317> (20 Jan 2009).

Liberal M.L.A. David Fry was a representative for FACT; see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) p104. Some Liberal voters had turned to the Greens during the Wesley Vale pulp mill controversy (1989) and then were in turn repelled by the Greens support for the TGLRG; see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) pp40-41. Several Tasmanian Church groups reacted against their mainland equivalent who favoured gay law reform; see a history of Tasmanian churches and gay law reform (mostly 1969-1995) in M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) pp45-62.

FACT: "For a Caring Tasmanian"; CRAMP: "Concerned Residents Against Moral Pollution"; HALO: "Homophobic Activists Liberation Organisation"; see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) pp1-2 & pp109-110.

³⁰⁶ M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) p35.

³⁰⁷ D. Scholes, "Letters to the editor", *The Mercury* (26 Sep 1988) p8; David Scholes (1924-2006) was a noted Tasmania fly fisher and angling author who lived in Launceston (see "Save Our Sisters" below).

³⁰⁸ On Christian fundamentalists at St Helens, see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) pp42-43.

J. Guenther, *Review of Trends in Religious Affiliation in Tasmania, 1986 to 2001* (2004)

http://www.catcom.com.au/pdf/religious_trends_tas.pdf (17 Feb 2009) p9. It is possible that this rise of Baptist residency, despite a concurrent rise of what Guenther defines as the "inadequately described" (religious quietists) in the same region (see Guenther, p4), could be a trend of Tasmanian retirees moving from the North West and other areas of once strong Baptist representation, like Scottsdale, to the "sunny" east coast; see also on "in-movers" in "Save Our Sisters".

R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

³⁰⁹ "St Helens' Gay-Friendly Accommodation", no by-line (2009) <http://www.stayz.com.au/gay-accommodation/tas/east-coast-tasmania/st-helens> (21 Jan 2009). For a discussion of the implications of gay law reform and "Tourism and the New Tasmania", see B. Baird, "Sexual citizenship in 'the New Tasmania'" (Nov 2006) pp973-975.

³¹⁰ T. Flanagan, "Protests target Tasmania's anti-gay laws" (20 Jul 1994)

<http://www.greenleft.org.au/1994/151/9317> (20 Jan 2009).

³¹¹ Russell-Green was the TGLRG's first lesbian media spokesperson; see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) p17.

³¹² T. Flanagan, "Protests target Tasmania's anti-gay laws" (20 Jul 1994)

<http://www.greenleft.org.au/1994/151/9317> (20 Jan 2009).

³¹³ Croome claims that support for decriminalisation of homosexuality in Tasmania moved from 31% in 1988 to 43% in 1989 to 59% in 1997; see R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008); see also his revised entry in the hypertext site for Rodney Croome, "Homosexuality" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2006)

http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/G/Gay%20Law%20Reform.htm (14 Jan 2009).

³¹⁴ T. Flanagan, "Protests target Tasmania's anti-gay laws" (20 Jul 1994)

<http://www.greenleft.org.au/1994/151/9317> (20 Jan 2009).

³¹⁵ "Four Tasmanian men who confessed to having sex with other men...", no by-line (29 Oct 1994)

<http://www.qrd.org/qrd/world/pacific/australia/tasmania/confessed.sodomites.not.to.be.charged-10.29.94>

(21 Jan 2009); this is evidenced in principle at R. Croome, "Not a morning person" (c.28 Jan 2005)

http://www.rodneycroome.id.au/comments?id=1425_0_1_0_C (21 Jan 2009).

³¹⁶ The informal Labor-Green alliance outlived the formal Labor-Green Accord (1989-1990).

³¹⁷ A. Lohrey, "Green Christine" (Feb 2008) <http://www.themonthly.com.au/tm/node/782> (21 Jan 2009).

³¹⁸ A. Lohrey, "Green Christine" (Feb 2008) <http://www.themonthly.com.au/tm/node/782> (21 Jan 2009).

³¹⁹ Croome describes this sort of politics as "proto-Rovianism" (Rovism), after Karl Rove, Deputy Chief of Staff to President George W. Bush, who orchestrated a campaign against gay marriage during the 2004 American Presidential election; see R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

³²⁰ For details of the political history in Toonen's appeal to the United Nations and the subsequent response of the Federal Parliament; see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) pp100-114. Morris's historiography finishes in 1994.

³²¹ On Toonen's submission, see "7.10", Human Rights Committee, "Communication No. 488/1992", *United Nations Human Rights* (4 Apr 1994)

[http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/\(Symbol\)/CCPR.C.50.D.488.1992.En?Opendocument](http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/(Symbol)/CCPR.C.50.D.488.1992.En?Opendocument) (21 Jan 2009).

³²² See especially “10” in Human Rights Committee, “Communication No. 488/1992”, *United Nations Human Rights* (4 Apr 1994)

[http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/\(Symbol\)/CCPR.C.50.D.488.1992.En?Opendocument](http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/(Symbol)/CCPR.C.50.D.488.1992.En?Opendocument) (21 Jan 2009).

³²³ Section 4 deals with “consenting adults acting in private” and so removes explicit legal discrimination against homosexuals. Morris observes that the vote in the House of Representatives was 114 to 4; see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) pxi & pp113-114. Morris argues that the Federal Labor Government “took pains to draft a conservative bill that would appeal to the more liberal members of the Opposition”; see p114.

³²⁴ For a brief discussion of the implications of this decision for human rights law in Australia, see N. O’Neill & S. Rice & S. Douglas, *Retreat From Injustice* (2004) pp37-38.

³²⁵ Amnesty International, “Tasmania to raise penalty in discriminatory law against homosexuals” (6 Feb 1996) <http://fra.controlarms.org/library/Index/ENGASA120021996?open&of=ENG-AUS> (21 Jan 2009).

³²⁶ A. Lohrey, “Green Christine” (Feb 2008) <http://www.themonthly.com.au/tm/node/782> (21 Jan 2009).

³²⁷ Rodney Croome, “Homosexuality” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2006) http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/G/Gay%20Law%20Reform.htm (14 Jan 2009).

³²⁸ R. Croome, “Grand Standing” (25 Mar 2005) http://www.rodneycroome.id.au/weblog?id=C0_20_1 (21 Jan 2009).

³²⁹ In the context of human rights law in Australia, see N. O’Neill & S. Rice & S. Douglas, *Retreat From Injustice* (2004) p38, f.n.53.

³³⁰ The Department of Premier and Cabinet, “Anti-Discrimination Act 1998”, *Tasmanian Legislation* (2009)

http://www.thelaw.tas.gov.au/tocview/index.w3p;cond=;doc_id=46%2B%2B1998%2BAT%40EN%2B20090114000000;hison=;prompt=;rec=-1;term= (22 Jan 2009); the search site for contemporary Tasmanian legislation is The Department of Premier and Cabinet, “Home”, *Tasmanian Legislation* (2009) <http://www.thelaw.tas.gov.au/index.w3p> (22 Jan 2009).

The Department of Premier and Cabinet, “Relationships Act 2003”, (17 Sep 2003), *Tasmanian Legislation*, 2009,

http://www.thelaw.tas.gov.au/tocview/index.w3p;cond=;doc_id=44%2B%2B2003%2BAT%40EN%2B20090114000000;hison=;prompt=;rec=;term= (22 Jan 2009); this was passed with the Jackson’s *Relationships Act (Consequential Amendments) Act 2003*. For a discussion of the legal implications of the act, see B. Baird, “Sexual citizenship in ‘the New Tasmania’” (Nov 2006) pp969-970.

³³¹ B. Baird, “Sexual citizenship in ‘the New Tasmania’” (Nov 2006) p969.

³³² R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008); also see R. Croome, “The Claudius Strategy” (20 Nov 2005) http://www.rodneycroome.id.au/weblog?id=C0_20_1 (22 Jan 2009); and Tasmanian Gay & Lesbian Rights Group, “Jackson praised as ‘great Tasmanian’”, (19 Nov 2005) http://tgllrg.org/more/148_0_1_0_M2/ (22 Jan 2009) and B. Baird, “Sexual citizenship in ‘the New Tasmania’” (Nov 2006) pp969-970. This is in contradistinction to Jackson’s perceived profile by activists for reforming the Tasmanian penal system (see “About PAR” above).

³³³ “When wrong-footed by history, Bacon was adept at being identified with the victors he once opposed. Though he later presented himself as a gay rights supporter, Bacon opposed gay law reform advocated in Cabinet by his own Minister, Judy Jackson.”; see R. Flanagan, “The selling-out of Tasmania” (22 Jul 2004) <http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/07/21/1090089215626.html> (22 Oct 2006). Morris identifies the current Minister for Energy & Resources and Minister for Planning, David Llewellyn (also an Anglican Lay-Preacher), and the then and now current M.L.A. Speaker, Michael Polley, amongst other ALP members “vocal in their opposition” to the earlier *HIV/AIDS Prevention Measures Bill 1990*; see M. Morris, *The Pink Triangle* (1995) pp76-77.

³³⁴ “Tas implements anti-homophobia school program”, no by-line (19 Mar 2007)

<http://www.abc.net.au/news/newsitems/200703/s1876211.htm> (22 Jan 2009).

³³⁵ R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

³³⁶ Queen’s Birthday Awards and Tasmanian Parliamentary tribute; see B. Baird, “Sexual citizenship in ‘the New Tasmania’” (Nov 2006) pp977-978.

³³⁷ R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

³³⁸ See examples discussed in B. Baird, “Sexual citizenship in ‘the New Tasmania’” (Nov 2006) p978, and for further notes of caution, see pp983-984.

³³⁹ “If same-sex attracted people can’t be liberated or married, what can we be?” See R. Croome, “Convergence” (14 Jul 2008) http://www.rodneycroome.id.au/weblog?id=C0_20_1 (22 Jan 2009); also see R. Croome, “Why same-sex marriage matters” (17 Nov 1993)

<http://www.greenleft.org.au/2004/596/31875> (22 Dec 2008).

³⁴⁰ R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

³⁴¹ Michael Cain and Rodney Croome have been lobbying against the Red Cross policy since 2005; see “‘Discriminatory’ gay blood donor ban challenged” (2 Aug 2005) <http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/discriminatory-gay-blood-donor-ban-challenged/2005/08/02/1122748633535.html> (22 Jan 2009). Cain took his case to the Tasmanian Anti-Discrimination Tribunal, but the Tribunal upheld the Red Cross’s policy of not allowing homosexual men to donate blood; see “Court backs Red Cross gay blood ban”, no by-line (27 May 2009) <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2009/05/27/2582507.htm> (8 Jul 2009). See also Tasmanian Gay & Lesbian Rights Group, “Removing discrimination in blood donation” (n.d.) http://tgllrg.org/index/C0_1_1/ (8 Jul 2009) and Anti-Discrimination Tribunal, “Cain, Michael v The Australian Red Cross Society” (27 May 2009) http://www.magistratescourt.tas.gov.au/decisions/anti-discrimination_decisions/c/Cain_v_The_Australian_Red_Cross_Society_2009_TASADT_03 (8 Jul 2009).

³⁴² See the political outcome of the Marriage Amendment Bill discussed in B. Baird, “Sexual citizenship in ‘the New Tasmania’” (Nov 2006) pp965.

“Ban on same-sex marriages doesn’t target gays: PM”, no by-line (27 Apr 2004) <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2004/04/27/1082831558618.html?from=storylhs> (22 Jan 2009). Perhaps taking his cue from Rove, Howard’s move anticipated California’s “Proposition 8” (5 Nov 2008) which restricts the definition of marriage to opposite-sex couples. “Proposition 8” was challenged by lawsuits in the California Supreme Court which then upheld “Proposition 8” while, paradoxically, also recognising existing same-sex marriages; further lawsuits are still pending.

³⁴³ “Ban on same-sex marriages doesn’t target gays: PM”, no by-line (27 Apr 2004) <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2004/04/27/1082831558618.html?from=storylhs> (22 Jan 2009).

³⁴⁴ See R. Croome, “Why same-sex marriage matters” (17 Nov 1993) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2004/596/31875> (22 Dec 2008). Croome argues that the authorities use marriage as an ideological tool to manipulate various social groups; for example, the linking of marriage to miscegenetic strategies against Aborigines in Western Australia and Queensland. See R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

³⁴⁵ See Croome’s speech to the Law Society of Upper Canada at R. Croome, “The Spirit of Upper Canada” (23 Jun 2005) http://www.rodneycroome.id.au/other_more?id=1781_0_2_0_M (22 Jan 2009). Also see Howard’s

³⁴⁶ P. Coorey, “Rudd presses Labor not to bless gay marriages” (30 Jul 2009) <http://www.smh.com.au/national/rudd-presses-labor-not-to-bless-gay-marriages-20090729-e1m5.html> (4 Aug 2009) and “Premier shuns gay marriage laws”, no by-line (27 Jul 2009) <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2009/07/27/2637036.htm> (4 Aug 2009). Young Labor is reported to support reform for same-sex marriage because “[State] registers are inconsistent and do not support equality”; see “Labor votes for gay marriage”, no by-line (26 Jul 2009) <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2009/07/26/2636600.htm> (4 Aug 2009). Rainbow Labor gained a victory when the Tasmania ALP voted for a motion, moved by Young Labor, for “equal access to marriage” at its 2009 conference; see A. Lamont, “Battlelines drawn for ALP Conference” (28 Jul 2009) <http://www.starobserver.com.au/news/2009/07/28/battlelines-drawn-for-alp-conference/14793> (4 Aug 2009) and D. Brown, “Same-sex unions get nod” (27 Jul 2009) http://www.themercury.com.au/article/2009/07/27/87061_tasmania-news.html (4 Aug 2009).

³⁴⁷ Canada’s *Civil Marriage Act* (2005); see also B. Baird, “Sexual citizenship in ‘the New Tasmania’” (Nov 2006) p965.

R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008); for some of Croome’s submissions and concerns on the law and same-sex relationships, see R. Croome, letter to Democrats Victoria Senator, “re: Relationship Registries” [*with appendices*] (2007) http://www.democrats.org.au/docs/2007/Submission_22compiled.pdf (22 Jan 2009).

³⁴⁸ Most notably Engels’s *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884). Engels lived with the Irish sisters, Mary and Lizzie Burns, while disavowing marriage as an oppression of women; if his relationship with the sisters was not a *ménage à trois*, it was auto-serial monogamy.

³⁴⁹ R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

³⁵⁰ Tasmanian Gay & Lesbian Rights Group, “Council urged to support gay arrest apology” (12 Jun 2008) http://tgllrg.org/more/355_0_1_0_M/ (20 Jan 2009); for further argument, see R. Croome, “Why ‘sorry’ matters” (2005) <http://tasmaniantimes.com/index.php?/weblog/article/why-sorry-matters/> (22 Jan 2009).

³⁵¹ Tasmanian Gay & Lesbian Rights Group, “‘Trespass’” (Dec 2008) http://tgllrg.org/more/402_0_1_0_M/ (23 Jan 2009).

³⁵² “Activist lauds Council apology as a sign of profound change”, no by-line (11 Dec 2008) <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2008/12/11/2443454.htm> (23 Dec 2009).

³⁵³ Tasmanian Gay & Lesbian Rights Group, “Hobart City Council Apology” (Dec 2008) http://tgllrg.org/more/401_0_1_0_M/ (23 Jan 2009).

³⁵⁴ “Apology for gay community”, no by-line (11 Dec 2008)

<http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2008/12/10/2443118.htm> (23 Jan 2009).

³⁵⁵ Croome’s speech can be viewed at C. Peterson, “Rodney Croome’s response to Hobart City Council apology to GLBTI community for 1988 Salamanca arrests” (16 Dec 2008)

http://au.youtube.com/watch?v=4_Jrr6BWYfi (23 Jan 2009).

³⁵⁶ Whitebait (*Lovettia sealii*) is a local specialty (see also “Earth Bound!” above).

³⁵⁷ For the Haigh quotation, see C. Waterhouse, “Two opt out of gay ‘sorry’” (14 Jun 2008)

<http://prelive.news.com.au/mercury/story/0,22884,23862061-3462,00.html> (11 Dec 2008).

³⁵⁸ For the first time in Tasmanian history, Aboriginal land rights were recognised in principle and specifically over Cape Barren Island and Clarke Island in 2005.

Judy Jackson was a Parliamentary champion of women’s rights in this period, though her *Family Violence Act 2004*, as much as it might be an improvement, has been problematic with extraordinarily broad definitions, a difficulty for judges to grant bail and zero tolerance enforcement which, it is alleged, can lead to the gaoling of people for trivial offences (including women) and even of the innocent; for example, see the case of Bruce McLeod at P. Wels, “Safe At Home” (24 Jun 2005)

<http://www.abc.net.au/stateline/tas/content/2005/s1400121.htm> (22 Jan 2005). See the wording of the act at Department of Justice, “Family Violence Act 2004”, *Safe At Home* (2008)

http://www.safeathome.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0009/27585/Family_Violence_Act_2004.pdf (22 Jan 2009). After her much promised *Sex Regulation Act 2005* to legalise the sex industry was rejected

by the upper house, Jackson reversed her stance and advocated a police blitz on sex workers.

³⁵⁹ R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

³⁶⁰ Croome considers that belonging is the great social aspiration of the twenty first century; see R.

Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

³⁶¹ On rum smuggling, see Alison Alexander, “The Hope and Anchor”, in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p181. Formally The Whale, the Hope & Anchor Tavern opened in 1807 about 100 metres from the Hobart docks and about 225 metres from what would become the site of the Theatre Royal.

Boyce estimates that there was a ratio of one public house for “every one to two hundred people” after 1818; however, evening curfews were introduced. see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) pp136-137.

To the chagrin of abstainers from alcohol, the ratio was one pub to every 127 persons by the 1850s; see Wendy Rimon, “Temperance” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p360.

On appalling rates of social dislocation in colonial Tasmania, see H. Reynolds, “That Hated Stain” (1971) p21.

“Colonial Grape Wine, a simple ferment of grapes, sugar and brandy...” See M. Symons, *One Continuous Picnic* (1982) p46.

The “hoboy” as in hautboy, from the French *hautbois* (high-wood), an early oboe.

On the clash of class cultures, including music, see P. Collins, *Hell’s Gates* (2004) p47; on the same in the Theatre Royal itself, see “Theatre Royal” (2007) <http://www.about-australia.com/travel-guides/tasmania/hobart/attractions/relaxation-well-being/theatre-royal/> (7 Nov 2007).

³⁶² On the suppression of working class culture in Van Diemen’s Land, see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p219.

³⁶³ Robert Knopwood claimed in 1804 that there were so many whales in the Derwent River that it was dangerous for boating. On Hobart’s whaling industry, see K. Evans, “Whaling”, in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p384.

³⁶⁴ Blue gum (*Eucalyptus globulus*); on the hybrid version now commonly used for plantation timber, see “Save Our Sisters” (below).

³⁶⁵ R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p7; see also Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, *The Bushrangers and the Convict System of Van Diemen’s Land, 1803-1846* [sic.], PhD Thesis, Edinburgh, 1990, p213, cited in K. Harman, *Aboriginal Convicts* (2008)

http://eprints.utas.edu.au/7467/2/Kris_Harman_PhD_Thesis.pdf (15 Feb 2009) p32.

³⁶⁶ The phrase, “launched into eternity”, was common in press reports on capital punishment; for example, see a citation from the *Hobart Town Gazette* in R. Cox, *Steps to the Scaffold* (2004) p62.

For accounts of Thomas England’s offence, see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) pp1-2 and H. MacDonald, “Public Executions”, in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p293.

540 men and women were hanged in Tasmania from 1806 to 1946; see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) pxiii.

³⁶⁷ Lieutenant-Governors David Collins, Edward Lord (acting Lt.-G.), John Murray, Andrew Geils and Thomas Davey. Van Diemen’s Land was administered by Lt.-Governors in the North and South until 1812; see P. Reardon, “Colonial Governors, and Premiers”, in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p530.

³⁶⁸ The gibbeted bodies were said to be “Objects of Disgust especially to the Female sex.” See citation from the *Hobart Town Gazette* (Jun 1816) in N. Shakespeare, *In Tasmania* (2004) p62.

³⁶⁹ R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p7.

³⁷⁰ R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p12.

³⁷¹ *Hobart Town Courier* (13 Feb 1859); see citation in R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p62.

³⁷² R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p33. The death penalty for duffing was abolished in 1836, the end of Colonel George Arthur’s tenure as Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen’s Land; see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p27.

³⁷³ In 1847, at the spurious hanging of Charles Benwell (curiously accused of compelling an armed man to shoot another despite the alleged protestations of the shooter—who later turned Queen’s evidence and was discharged), the gallows crowd is estimated to have totalled 2,500; see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) pp49-50 & p51.

Similar to New South Wales, rum was often a form of currency in early Van Diemen’s Land; see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p137.

On crimes committed amidst the gallows crowds, see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p21.

³⁷⁴ “[Arthur] believed that the ‘heart of every man’ was ‘desperately wicked’...” See A.G.L. Shaw;

“Arthur, Sir George (1784 - 1854)” in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (2006)

<http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010034b.htm?hilite=Arthur%3BGeorge> (20 Nov 2007).

³⁷⁵ “The great challenge of the free settlers and colonial authorities in the 1820s was not to subdue the environment, as is widely assumed, but rather to see off competitors for native pastures and develop a docile labour force that would work the land and respect and defend the property of their masters.” See J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p256.

Arthur would approve public works for land improvements while granting or selling to himself the adjoining real estate which he would then develop and eventually on-sell to speculators. For some details, see A.G.L. Shaw; “Arthur, Sir George (1784 - 1854)” in *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* (2006) <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010034b.htm?hilite=Arthur%3BGeorge> (20 Nov 2007).

³⁷⁶ James Boyce observes that with the execution of the bushranger Mathew Brady in 1826, “...Arthur’s policy of restraint ended and the colonial government embarked on an unparalleled two-year killing spree that was explicitly designed to shock the population into submission.” See J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p168. Arthur’s reputation for terror followed him to Canada where it was said that, while previously administering Van Diemen’s Land (1824-1836), he had “signed the death warrants of over 1200 people”; see C. Pybus & H. Maxwell-Stewart, *American Citizens, British Slaves* (2002) p50.

³⁷⁷ The term, “bushranger”, is attributed to Reverend Robert Knopwood; see M. Brooks & J. Ritchie, *Tassie Terms* (1995) p23.

Most of the cannibals were escapees from Sarah Island, Port Macquarie: first was a party of eight men which self-devoured five of its members with Alexander Pearce surviving only to fall back into capture, tell his story to an incredulous Magistrate Knopwood, return to prison and eat yet another convict before being hanged, 19 Jul 1824; Edward Broughton and Matthew MacAvoy were also hanged for cannibalism, 5 Aug 1831. The Pearce story is the subject of P. Collins, *Hell’s Gates* (2004), and Collins also details Broughton and MacAvoy, pp214-219.

Thomas Jeffries, also a cannibal and a multiple murderer, dashed out a baby’s brains in front of its mother; see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p18. Jeffery was a police spy, who lagged in the bushranger Mathew Brady, and was hanged for the infanticide alongside the protesting Brady, 4 May 1826. Ironically, Jeffries had been an executioner in Edinburgh; Davis argues that it “is doubtful if the experience increased Thomas Jeffery’s respect for human life”. See R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p22.

³⁷⁸ On “sadism after the English fashion”, see G. Orwell, “Raffles and Miss Blandish” (1965) p75.

³⁷⁹ Arthur intended to reduce the convicts to “a life of slavery”; refer Executive Council Minutes AOT EC 4/1,2 cited in J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p169.

³⁸⁰ J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p169.

³⁸¹ The “happy hangman” began as a convict executioner and so liked the job that he applied for the vacancy after finishing his sentence; see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) pp22-23.

³⁸² For the statistics on executions under Arthur, see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p13 & p17.

³⁸³ The executed Aborigines were known to the whites as “Jack” and “Dick”; see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p20. For a details leading to the executions of the other two Aborigines, Musquito and “Black Jack”, see R. Cox, *Steps to the Scaffold* (2004) pp15-66.

For an example of the phrase, “criminals of the other sex”, see the outrage at Mary McLauchlan’s trial (15 Apr 1830) and subsequent execution (19 April 1830) cited from the *Hobart Town Courier* (24 Apr 1830) in P. Tardif, *Notorious Strumpets and Dangerous Girls* (1990) pp1758-1759.

³⁸⁴ On Arthur’s predilection for gibbeting bodies, see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p169.

On gallows humour, see T. Keneally, *The Commonwealth of Thieves* (2005) p11.

³⁸⁵ Five men were executed in Hobart, 13 Feb 1859; see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p62; for the other statistics on executions mentioned at this point, see p14, p40 & p58.

³⁸⁶ “Field Police” is claimed to be “A mainly Tasmanian term for a police force deployed to maintain law and order outside closely settled districts.” See M. Brooks & J. Ritchie, *Tassie Terms* (1995) p51.

“The government assisted in brutalisation of the people by rewarding citizens who brought in the head of a bandit.” See L. Robson, *A Short History of Tasmania* (1997) p16.

On posses in Van Diemen’s Land for “for the Suppression of Felonies and Misdemeanours”, see O.M. Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851* (1965) p38. Reynolds builds on this to add, “In 1859 escapees from the Launceston chain gang were ridden down by 150 members of the Longford and Evandale Mutual Protection Society.” See H. Reynolds, “That Hated Stain” (1971) p25; *nota bene*, Reynolds references *The Mercury*, 14 May 1859, but the report could not be found here.

“Seventy-five percent of all bushrangers in Arthur’s period of office had either been shot in action or had swung on the gallows tree.” See C. Pybus & H. Maxwell-Stewart, *American Citizens, British Slaves* (2002) p133. “Of the 117 who escaped from Macquarie Harbour between 1822 and 1826, 111 perished as a result of hanging, shooting or cannibalism. It was much the same story in Macquarie Harbour’s slightly less rigorous successor, Port Arthur.” See R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p12. On the inclination “to shoot first and ask questions later”, see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p8.

³⁸⁷ *Hobart Town Courier* (24 Apr 1830) cited in P. Tardif, *Notorious Strumpets and Dangerous Girls* (1990) pp1758-1759; also see H. MacDonald, “Public Executions” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p294.

³⁸⁸ For a detailed discussion of McLauchlan’s fate, see H. MacDonald, Ch. 2, “Dissecting Mary McLauchlan”, *Human Remains* (2006) pp42-85.

³⁸⁹ McLauchlan’s gaol report is cited from the minutes of Governor Arthur’s Executive Council, 17-18 Apr 1830; see H. MacDonald, *Human Remains* (2006) p78. Davis credits the speculation that the father was the Rev. Archibald MacArthur as fit only for fiction; see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p20.

On McLauchlan’s escape from Nairne, see P. Tardif, *Notorious Strumpets and Dangerous Girls* (1990) pp1565-1567.

³⁹⁰ On the infant’s body in the toilet, see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p20. It is not clear if the birth was still-born or if the baby was killed by an adult; see H. MacDonald, *Human Remains* (2006) pp71-72.

For the vernacular description of the Female Factory, see Female Factory Research Group, “Female Convicts” (2006) <http://www.femalefactory.com.au/FFRG/convicts.htm> (14 Nov 2007). The phrase is a quotation from Hebrew and Christian psalms; for example, see “Psalms”, 23: 4 in *The Holy Bible* (1970) p404. It is also the title of a chapter in Marcus Clarke’s famous novel on Tasmanian convicts, *For the Term of His Natural Life* (1874), though the Female Factory is not a subject here; see M. Clarke (1874) Bk III: “Port Arthur. 1838”, Ch XXVII: “The Valley of the Shadow of Death” in *For the Term of His Natural Life* (21 Feb 2004) <http://whitewolf.newcastle.edu.au/words/authors/C/ClarkeMarcus/prose/NaturalLife/b3c27shadow.html> (14 Nov 2007).

³⁹¹ For the implication of Nairne as the father of McLauchlan’s dead infant, see H. MacDonald, *Human Remains* (2006) pp65-66.

The terms “respectability” and “improved British System” are intoned with sarcasm in a protesting editorial; see “First Woman Executed” (23 Apr 1830) n.p. Also see this discussed at L. Robson, *A History of Tasmania: Vol. I* (1983) p184 and J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p179.

On the all-male jury of military officers, see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p24. McDonald names the officers as of the 63rd Regiment and mentions McLauchlan begging Arthur for mercy; see H. MacDonald, *Human Remains* (2006) p76.

On McLauchlan’s dissection, see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p20 & p25, H. MacDonald, “Public Executions” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p294 and H. MacDonald, *Human Remains* (2006) pp44-46.

³⁹² Bedford wanted to see incarcerated every convict who lived in adultery and he advocated the punishment of unmarried convict women who became pregnant regardless of their circumstances; see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p179.

Cameron was discharged by Governor’s Proclamation; see H. MacDonald, *Human Remains* (2006) p79. On Cameron as possibly McLaughlin’s only friend in Van Diemen’s Land, see H. MacDonald, *Human Remains* (2006) p43.

³⁹³ McLauchlan is reported to have uttered, “Oh! My God!” See the *Hobart Town Courier* (24 Apr 1830) cited in P. Tardif, *Notorious Strumpets and Dangerous Girls* (1990) pp1758-1759.

³⁹⁴ H. MacDonald, *Human Remains* (2006) p65.

³⁹⁵ H. MacDonald, "Public Executions" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p294. This preceded England's cessation of public executions with its Capital Punishment (Amendment) Act (1868); also see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p41, p74 & p78.

³⁹⁶ On homophobia and the Anti-transportation League, see C. Pybus & H. Maxwell-Stewart, *American Citizens, British Slaves* (2002) p208. The last man hanged for sodomy in Tasmania was Hendrick Witnelder (1863). Homosexuality was legalised in Tasmania in 1997; also see "Coming Out, Speaking Out and Marching Out".

³⁹⁷ Approximately 75,000 convicts arrived in Van Diemen's Land, 1803-1853. "By 1862 only just over a thousand serving convicts remained." See H. Maxwell-Stewart, "Convicts", in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p415. Hobart had grown to be the biggest of all of Australia's colonial cities by 1849, but the population of the whole island has lagged proportionately to the rest of Australia ever since, even to the point of absolute reversal in more years than not during the 20thC; see A. Betheras, "A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy" (1993) p53 and also N. Jackson, "Population" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p283.

By 1836, about "75 percent of the people of Van Diemen's Land were convicts, had been convicts or were of convict ancestry." See L. Robson, *A Short History of Tasmania* (1997) p18. The consequence of this is that throughout the nineteenth century Tasmania remained "an overwhelmingly convict-derived society" which became proportionally more Irish and more female; see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p225.

³⁹⁸ On Sarah Island, see P. Collins, *Hell's Gates* (2004) p98. In the style of histories for a popular readership, Collins mostly supplies generalised references for his chapters without directly attributing his specific claims of fact to credited sources; see P. Collins, "Notes and Sources" in *Hell's Gates* (2004) pp249-269.

On the origins of the "Silent System" in the United States (1829), see "Appendix A: Glossary of Key Terms" in Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts, *Australian Convict Sites* (Jan 2008) <http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/publications/pubs/convict-sites-part9.pdf> (22 Feb 2009).

Boyce argues that about "one in six convicts" was incarcerated in Port Arthur and that its terror was "effective in compelling the subservience of the unfree labour force of Van Diemen's Land"; see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p173.

³⁹⁹ J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) pp170-172.

⁴⁰⁰ J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p170.

⁴⁰¹ For a history of this experiment in juvenile justice, see F.C. Hooper, *The Point Puer Experiment* (1954) and *Prison Boys of Port Arthur* (1967).

⁴⁰² J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) p217.

⁴⁰³ For explanations of the various technologies of penal violence, including incarceration, etc., see "Appendix A: Glossary of Key Terms" in Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts, *Australian Convict Sites* (Jan 2008) <http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/publications/pubs/convict-sites-part9.pdf> (22 Feb 2009). Also, for a comparative table of convict rations in Australia generally, see S. Nicholas, "Table 12.2: Weekly Rations and Calories of Convict, Coerced and Unfree Labour" (n.d.) <http://iccs.arts.utas.edu.au/data/convictworkers.html#122> (19 Nov 2007).

⁴⁰⁴ *Hobart Town Gazette* (22 Apr 1875) cited in P. Collins, *Hell's Gates* (2004) pp68-69. Robert Knopwood was magistrate in Hobart from 1804-1828; see L. Monks, "Knopwood, Robert", (1967), in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (2006) <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020057b.htm?hilit=knopwood%3Brobert> (13 Nov 2007).

⁴⁰⁵ There were some tentative attempts by convicts to "mutiny" (strike) in protest against the penal system, yet substantial reforms were never forced by this tactic; see T. Dunning & H. Maxwell-Stewart, "Mutiny at Deloraine: Ganging and Convict Resistance in the 1840s Van Diemen's Land" (May 2002) pp35-47.

⁴⁰⁶ A major theme of Boyce's historiography is the struggle by emancipists to hold on to a life in the bush, free from the vilifications cast at them by a penal culture, while the elites sought to seize this same space for the production of merino wool; see especially his chapter, "The Survival of Van Diemen's Land", in J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (2008) pp222-235.

⁴⁰⁷ The years 1824-1832 are those of the most frequent violence between blacks and whites in Van Diemen's Land; see H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) pxxi. However, the first recorded killings of Aborigines occurred at Risdon Cove, 3 May 1804, and an attack by Aborigines on whites at Table Cape, 27 Feb 1842, "marked the final recorded incident in the Black War"; see I. McFarlane, "Frontier Conflict" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p147 & p149.

"It is no accident, that in 1823, the year before the escalation in hostilities, some 441,871 acres were granted to settlers, a tenfold increase on land allocated in 1821." See Ian McFarlane, "Frontier Conflict" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p149. Also, Boyce argues that historians have misunderstood Arthur's allegedly previous "humanitarian concern for Indigenous peoples" as his

“advocacy for the Indians in [Honduras] was not about land but slavery, the evangelical priority of the time”; see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p261.

For the authoritative international convention on genocide (quoted above), see United Nations, “Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Article 2)” (9 Dec 1948) http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/p_genoci.htm (23 Oct 2007). The military even spoke of an “annihilation” of the Aborigines; see discussed in H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) p109. For observations on the official sanctioning of private vendettas by the British against the Aborigines, and of Arthur’s racism, see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p196, pp264-267 & p270.

“There was no economic or security justification for the forced removal of Aborigines from western Tasmania during 1832 and 1833.” See J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p295.

McFarlane estimates that “nearly 200 Europeans” were killed in the Black War; see Ian McFarlane, “Frontier Conflict” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p149. Other estimates vary considerably; for example, Reynolds argues that “about” 170 colonists and between 150 and 250 Aborigines were killed, while “Between 1824 and 1831, 48 landowners were killed or wounded compared to 309 servants.” See H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) pxxii & pp72-73. Many historians calculate that Aboriginal deaths far exceeded British deaths; for example, Ryan uses the figures of “about” 700 Aborigines and 176 colonists; see L. Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (1996) p174. However, Windschuttle estimates 187 colonists were killed as against the “total number of plausible killings” of Aborigines at 121; see K. Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History: Vol I* (2005) p351 & p397.

⁴⁰⁸ “Hobart newspapers of the time report in a matter-of-fact way a man selling his wife for a barrel of rum and a few ewes...” See M. Flanagan, “Weasel words kill dissent” (28 Jan 2006) p5. Robson credits such a report to the *Hobart Town Gazette*; see *The Tasmanian Story* (1987) p8. See also C. Turnbull, *Black War* (1948) p53. Citing E.P. Thompson’s *Customs in Common* (1993), Boyce argues that, in British culture, “wife-sales became more common in the late eighteenth century and [Thompson] puts them in the context of divorce and remarriage, with the purchaser often the wife’s lover”; see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p128.

⁴⁰⁹ On Wapping as a slum, see Dennis Daniels, “Poverty” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p288. Also, the execution of Robert McKavor in 1864 was the last hanging for a crime not involving murder (McKavor committed robbery with violence using a stick); see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p64. Denis Collins and Frederick Whitnald, despite their protestations of innocence on the scaffold in 1863, were the last executed in Tasmania for sodomy; see R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian Gallows* (1974) p65.

⁴¹⁰ “The Cascade Brewery, Australia’s oldest remaining brewery, was established by Peter Degraives in 1832 when Hobart’s 55 licensed pubs served a population of 10,000 and vast quantities of alcohol were consumed.” See W. Rimon, “The Cascade Brewery” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p66. Also, “Degraives, a shareholder in the plan to build the Theatre Royal (1837), paid for the entire construction and remained its owner until his death.” See M. Bingham, “Degraives, Peter (1788-1852)” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p102.

The Royal has been refurbished several times and was almost lost to fire in 1984; see G. Winter, “The Theatre Royal”; see A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p363.

⁴¹¹ See a graphic of the Market (c.1865) in O.M. Roe, “The Establishment of Local Government in Hobart and Launceston” (Dec 1966) between pp38-39.

On the Circus, see A. Betheras, “*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*” (1993) p64, f.n.209.

⁴¹² “Death of a Celebrity”, no by-line (11 Aug 1870) n.p. “Citizens and Brother Slaves” was another salutation; see the *Tasmanian Daily News* (24 Mar 1857) p2.

⁴¹³ Slavery was abolished in Britain in 1807 and then abolished throughout the empire in 1833; see N. Gossman, “William Cuffay” (1983) p57.

⁴¹⁴ Most sources reference William Cuffay as the son of a freed slave, however Colin Allen argues that this is speculation; see C. Allen, *William Cuffay* (22 Mar 2007)

http://www.bbc.co.uk/kent/content/articles/2007/03/08/slavery_cuffay_feature.shtml (21 Nov 2007).

For some details on Cuffay’s voyage of deportation, see A. Betheras, “*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*” (1993) p56.

⁴¹⁵ On Cuffay’s physique, see T.M. Wheeler in G. Reynolds, *Reynolds’s Political Instructor* (1970) p177.

Allen imputes Cuffay’s thin legs to his employment as a tailor; see C. Allen, *William Cuffay* (22 Mar 2007) http://www.bbc.co.uk/kent/content/articles/2007/03/08/slavery_cuffay_feature.shtml (21 Nov 2007).

See the reference to Cuffay’s convict sheet in A. Briggs, “Chartists in Tasmania” (1961) p6.

⁴¹⁶ On surveillance of Cuffay and other political prisoners “lest Hobart Town be transformed into a hotbed of Chartists-inspired social disturbance”, see A. Betheras, “*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*” (1993) p69 and her reference to CO 280/ despatch no.171.

George Rudé nominates Cuffay as the only Chartist in exile who engaged with politics in Tasmania; see G. Rudé, *Protest and Punishment* (1978) p217. However, the research for this thesis indicates that while some Chartists and other political prisoners stayed in Tasmania, with a few even becoming pillars of bourgeois respectability, Cuffay was the only political exile of any sort who engaged with Tasmanian politics. As well as organising and attending numerous public meetings, mostly around issues of protectionism, freedom of association, anti-transportation and the loathed Masters' & Servants' Acts, in 1861 to 1862, "the indefatigable radical was involved in no less than four election campaigns" for the House of Assembly; see A. Betheras, "*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*" (1993) p98.

⁴¹⁷ "His surname is rendered as Cuffey or Cuffay [or Cuffy] in different reports and could have originated from the African name Coffie (pronounced *koh-FEE*), which means born on Friday." See "The 'English': William Cuffay", (25 Aug 2002) <http://website.lineone.net/~stkittsnevis/people.htm#William> (25 Jan 2006). Cuffay's surname was held up to ridicule by his enemies; see N. Gossman, "William Cuffay" (1983) p57.

Cuffay did not join the tailor's strike of 1834 yet it is speculated that it did radicalise him as he then became involved in working class politics through the Metropolitan Tailor's Guild; see N. Gossman, "William Cuffay" (1983) p58. For biographies of Cuffay prior to Van Diemen's Land, see N. Gossman, "William Cuffay" (1983) pp56-65 and also A. Betheras, "*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*" (1993) pp1-54.

⁴¹⁸ The Orange Tree Inn in London was one of various meeting sites for Chartists.

⁴¹⁹ "Cuffey [sic.] ... was frequently singled out in *Punch* as an arch-villain of extreme Chartism." See A. Briggs, "Chartists in Tasmania" (1961) p6. For examples of the press's racism and motives against Cuffay, see N. Gossman, "William Cuffay" (1983) p59 & p64.

⁴²⁰ See Cuffay's convict sheet cited in A. Briggs, "Chartists in Tasmania" (1961) p7.

⁴²¹ Cuffay's two previous wives had died of natural causes; see C. Allen, *William Cuffay* (22 Mar 2007) http://www.bbc.co.uk/kent/content/articles/2007/03/08/slavery_cuffay_feature.shtml (21 Nov 2007). Mary Ann had applied for a free passage to join her husband but was disallowed, "probably on political grounds"; see A. Betheras, "*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*" (1993) p60.

On Mary Ann Cuffay's migration into Van Diemen's Land, see G. Rudé, *Protest and Punishment* (1978) p217.

⁴²² For the record of Cuffay's residential address at 77 Elizabeth Street, Hobart, see C.S.O. 280/328, "Application for a Conditional Pardon (William Cuffay)" (9 Aug 1855).

Cuffay was employed by Michael Fitzgerald whose business grew quickly on the labour of convict probationaries at the wage rate of £7 to £12 per annum; see A. Betheras, "*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*" (1993) p62, f.n.201, refers Census, 1849-1862, 1/10, p207.

On Cuffay in Patrick Street, see A. Betheras, "*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*" (1993) p100.

⁴²³ Tasmania's first years without executions were 1866 and 1875, while four hangings occurred in the next years until 1875 and then by the 1880's Tasmania had the lowest crime rate of all Australian colonies; see H. Reynolds, "That Hated Stain" (1971) p22.

⁴²⁴ Cuffay had applied for a conditional pardon, 9 Aug 1855; see C.S.O. 280/328, "Application for a Conditional Pardon (William Cuffay)" (9 Aug 1855). The general pardon is reported in the *Hobart Town Courier* (17 Jan 1857).

⁴²⁵ Cuffay had attended a meeting of the Free Trades' Union (initiated by John Morgan in 1848) where he "was unanimously called to preside on the occasion, and in a neat speech developed the principal objects of the meeting"; see the reference to *The Britannia and Trades' Advocate* (Mar 1851) in A. Betheras, "*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*" (1993) p64. "His excellency in conjunction with Dr Hampton sent for Mr Cuffey [sic.] and lectured him strongly upon his imprudence in presiding in that capacity and cautioned him to refrain from the like in future." See reference to *The Advertiser* (25 Mar 1851) in A. Betheras, "*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*" (1993) p66. *N.B.*, Betheras also notes that the Van Diemen's Land Convict Department's files of the Comptroller General of Convicts correspondence "were literally rescued from the rubbish-tip in Hobart in the 1950's! However, many of these records had already been destroyed and those that survived are difficult to access in the Tasmanian State Archives." See A. Betheras, "*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*" (1993) p66, f.n.217 & p76. This was confirmed in conversation with the archivist, Kim Pearce.

On "Clause Five" of the *Regulation of Ticket-Of-Leave Holders*; see A. Betheras, "*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*" (1993) p66.

⁴²⁶ For a detailed discussion of the contradiction of Cuffay's convict politics, see A. Betheras, Ch. 3, "Political Convict: Model Prisoner or Covert Radical?", "*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*" (1993) pp54-77.

⁴²⁷ The conservative press in this case was the *Hobart Town Courier*, *Cornwall Chronicle*, *Colonial Times* and *Hobart Town Daily Advertiser*; see A. Betheras, "*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*" (1993) p79.

⁴²⁸ “In November–December [1850] an almost revolutionary situation developed in Hobart” and “Hobart dabbled in revolution”; see O.M. Roe, “The Establishment of Local Government in Hobart and Launceston” (Dec 1966) p32 & p36.

On the Tasmanian Union, see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p242.

⁴²⁹ Cited from the [*Colonial*] *Times* (4 Jan 1853) in O.M. Roe, “The Establishment of Local Government in Hobart and Launceston” (Dec 1966) p35. Roe considers that a relevant article in the *Guardian* (15 Jan 1853) might be written by Joseph Alport, John Lillie, or Frederick Haller; see p44, e.n.81.

⁴³⁰ Reynolds argues that West’s “greatest contribution” was his agitation for abolishing convict transportation to Van Diemen’s Land because West was convinced it was “socially and morally wrong, [and so] he attacked it with apostolic zeal from pulpit, platform and press...” See J. Reynolds, “West, John (1809 - 1873)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 2, (1967) pp590-592, <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020533b.htm> (29 Jan 2008). The House of Commons Select Committee on Transportation was also damning in its criticism as early as 1838; see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) pp236-237.

The “caste” is the movement which West sneeringly quotes as the “protection association” (Oct 1850). He goes on to describe the prospect of an emancipists party as “monstrous” and “a memorable warning against penal colonization and the creation of a caste embittered by ignorance and revenge!” See J. West, *History of Tasmania: Vol. 1* (1966) p297. (He also goes on to countenance religion to ward off “the inundation of the probation system”; see J. West, *History of Tasmania: Vol. II* (1966) p334.). Boyce describes Van Diemen’s Land “as a caste-based society, with an untouchable majority barred from almost all contact with their ‘betters’.” See J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p159.

⁴³¹ S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p99.

⁴³² Shayne Breen argues, “legislation in Tasmania varied according to the need to attract immigrant labour and the desire to restrict the ability of local emancipists to leave the island.” See S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p102.

⁴³³ “Tasmania’s rural working class in the second half of the [nineteenth] century can usefully be divided into three groups... Domestic servants [etc.]...most of whom were emancipists [and mostly female]... farm labourers... Non-farm labourers...” See S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p96.

“The primary intent of this legislation was not to encode servants’ rights in law but to efficiently subordinate servants to the power of their masters.” See S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p100.

On the common law strategy to bind servants to their employers, see A.P. Davidson, *A Skeleton in the Cupboard* (1976) p126.

⁴³⁴ On Cuffay’s accusation, see “Citizens and Brother Slaves”, *Tasmanian Daily News* (24 Mar 1857) p2.

⁴³⁵ Servants were held for seven days without trial; see S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p103.

On discriminatory punishment of women for sexual misdemeanours, see A.P. Davidson, *A Skeleton in the Cupboard* (1976) p129.

Until the 1880s, of all Australian colonies, only Tasmania “failed to distinguish between criminal and civil jurisdictions...” See S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p107.

⁴³⁶ The rapaciousness of the landed elite “ensured that Van Diemen’s Land would remain an overwhelmingly convict-dominated society with few middle-sized farms and only a small middle class.” See J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p220.

⁴³⁷ For a political history of the development of Tasmania local government with the power to raise taxes and police forces, see O.M. Roe, “The Establishment of Local Government in Hobart and Launceston” (Dec 1966) pp21-45.

Police were established under the control of 21 municipal councils by 1866; see Stefan Petrow, “Police” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p279.

“In 1866-67, eleven men were imprisoned for periods from seven to two months for being ‘idol and disorderly’.” See S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p100. Van Diemen’s Land practised a severe adaptation of the English Acts for “moving on”; see S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) pp120-122.

⁴³⁸ On exploiting emancipists and their progeny, see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p230.

⁴³⁹ In 1841, 20,190 people (about 38% of the population) were dragged before the courts. Four thousand of these were charged with “insolence”, “idleness” and “insubordination”. Boyce considers that “these offences were so loosely defined that in practice anyone who lacked the protection afforded by wealth or privilege could be arrested at whim... The wealthy were rarely prosecuted, and few of the vulnerable – including women – were protected (there was only one rape conviction in Van Diemen’s Land through 1845 and 1846)... Even the right to kindle a cooking fire in the bush was regulated.” See J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p217; Boyce respectively cites *Statistics of Van Diemen’s Land 1838-41* (n.d.) pp20-21, and Ian Bran, *The Convict Probation System: Van Diemen’s Land, 1839-1854*, Blubber Head Press, Hobart, 1990, p61.

Edward Braddon sympathised with the “Port Arthur waifs...[who] remain under suspicion to the end of their days... Young Tasmania cannot forgive those of the former generation who bear the convict brand; cannot believe that they may have reformed; cannot believe any sort of good of them. Juvenile Tasmania... keeps the ‘old hand’ under police surveillance, and delights always to think and speak ill of him... He has remained more of a Briton because the Tasmanians would not welcome him to their hearths...” See E.N.C. Braddon, “A Letter to India, October 1878” (1980) p204.

⁴⁴⁰ “Convicts and emancipists...[were] the essential components in the generation of landed wealth. But in free colonists’ eyes, despite the value of emancipists as seasonal agricultural labourers, they were recurring threats to the masters’ authority in the workplace. Emancipists thus lived in workplaces always potentially hostile, places of exploitation and disempowerment...” See S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p92.

⁴⁴¹ A.P. Davidson, *A Skeleton in the Cupboard* (1976) pp123-127.

⁴⁴² A.P. Davidson, *A Skeleton in the Cupboard* (1976) p127.

⁴⁴³ “Meeting of the Working Classes”, no by-line (2-3 May 1855) n.p., and “Working Classes Meeting”, no by-line (26 Mar 1855) n.p.

“Petition for Masters & Servants Act Amendments 1855”, Legislative Council (19 July 1855).

⁴⁴⁴ “...it is safe to say that had the Bill been passed, master and servant law in Tasmania would have been far advanced of that in NSW and the UK in its equal treatment of both sides.” See A.P. Davidson, *A Skeleton in the Cupboard* (1976) p128.

⁴⁴⁵ The game of Shell is also known as Pea & Thimble; see this discussed as vernacular in the exegesis. Fines were up to a maximum of £10; see A.P. Davidson, *A Skeleton in the Cupboard* (1976) p132. In the 1852, the “average wage for a female servant was £8 per annum.” See K. Pearce, *World of Work* (1992) p18. Breen observes that in the second half of the nineteenth century the average weekly wage, plus rations and hut accommodation, for farm labourers (he uses E.P. Thompson’s descriptor, “pauper labour”) was less than £29 per annum; see S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p97. Also while “it is true to say that some of the most glaring injustices of the 1854 legislation were corrected in 1856, making it a more lenient one for employees, certain entirely new clauses were included which were indicative of a continuing policy of fairly rigid control over the employment relationship by the legislature.” See A.P. Davidson, *A Skeleton in the Cupboard* (1976) p135.

⁴⁴⁶ “Appendix 4: Colonial Governors, and Premiers” (Peter Reardon) in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p530.

The wars against the Māori are variously called the New Zealand Wars, the Land Wars or the Māori Wars (1845-1872). For a mention of Charles-Eardley Wilmot fighting alongside his brother, Major Robert Eardley-Wilmot, see S. Urban, *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (1852) p520, http://books.google.com/books?id=F8ghAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA520&lpg=PA520&dq=%22Charles+Eardley-Wilmot%22&source=web&ots=9MhCoGHoO6&sig=q201qFeab_Y-ZLTCCwz9oEgSnfE (23 Jan 2008).

⁴⁴⁷ The second edition of Charles Eardley-Wilmot’s *Advice to immigrants...* was published by William Fletcher, Hobart, 1855.

⁴⁴⁸ C. Eardley-Wilmot, *The Master and Servant Act* (1856) p3.

⁴⁴⁹ C. Eardley-Wilmot, *The Master and Servant Act* (1856) p4.

⁴⁵⁰ On the repeal of the Master & Servant Act, see S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p108. The repeal of the Act is the intent of Davidson’s publication; see A.P. Davidson, *A Skeleton in the Cupboard* (1976) p146.

On a reform to the Master Servant Act in 1934, S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) pp107-108.

“Despite persisting poverty and the oppressive political climate, workers often acted to assert and enhance their sense of place. Many refused to conform to social and work expectations held by their masters, and many acted contemptuously towards official authority.” See S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p93.

On labour shortages, see S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p112.

⁴⁵¹ Davidson sees the Bill as a legacy of the English *Statutes of Labourers* (1349, 1351), *Statute of Apprentices* (1563) and the *Master and Servant Act* (1747, 1766, 1823). All Australian colonies passed similar legislation, with the first passing into law in Van Diemen’s Land in 1840. “They all had two things in common however: the first was that breaches of contracts of employment were treated as criminal offences often with severe penalties and secondly, they all revealed, in varying degrees, bias in favour of employers of labour.” See A.P. Davidson, *A Skeleton in the Cupboard* (1976) p123.

⁴⁵² In a parallel to James Scott’s *Weapons of the Weak* (1985) and his *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990), Breen argues, “...we should embrace the possibility of a political dimension to everyday resistance because it can offer a more rounded portrait of power relations between convicts and emancipists and various authorities, and also because it helps us see those power relations from the emancipist perspective.” See S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p110.

On technologies of emancipists’ resistance, see S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p109.

⁴⁵³ S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p112.

⁴⁵⁴ S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p106.

⁴⁵⁵ Boyce considers that “once the provocation of the anti-transportation campaign ended, earlier custom, which viewed emancipists as free servants provided they stayed quietly within their proper domain, seemed to quickly reassert.” See J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p242.

⁴⁵⁶ “A man can be destroyed but not defeated.” See E. Hemingway, *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952) p103. See Hemingway’s “double dicho” discussed by A.E. Hotchner, *Papa Hemingway* (1999) p73. Also see the exegesis for a discussion of the context in reverse as per a resilient evil in Akira Kurosawa’s *The Bad Sleep Well* (1960).

⁴⁵⁷ “Citizens and Brother Slaves”, *Tasmanian Daily News* (24 Mar 1857) p2.

Albert Theatre, 23 March 1857; see A. Betheras, “*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*” (1993) pp82-84.

⁴⁵⁸ “Citizens and Brother Slaves”, *Tasmanian Daily News* (24 Mar 1857) p2.

⁴⁵⁹ The negative description of Cuffay was an exploitation of the stereotyping of the left Chartists as Chartism’s “physical force”; see reference to *Hobart Town Daily Advertiser*, no title & no by-line, (25 Mar 1857) p2 in A. Betheras, “*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*” (1993) pp86-87.

⁴⁶⁰ For the note on C.W. Hall, see L. Robson, *A History of Tasmania: Vol. II* (1991) p44.

⁴⁶¹ “Death of a Celebrity”, no by-line (11 Aug 1870) n.p.

⁴⁶² A. Betheras, “*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*” (1993) p97.

⁴⁶³ A. Betheras, “*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*” (1993) p89.

⁴⁶⁴ A. Betheras, “*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*” (1993) p85.

⁴⁶⁵ A. Betheras, “*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*” (1993) pp98-99.

⁴⁶⁶ A. Betheras, “*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*” (1993) p100.

⁴⁶⁷ The “Brickfields Invalid Depot” was a nomenclature referring to the Government Brickfields area that now comprises the North Hobart Football Oval and the block bordered by Federal, Argyle, Park and Lewis Streets as well as the surrounding locality as far down as Burnett Street. The Brickfields centred around a hiring depot for convicts before its use as an invalid and pauper depot for men from 1859 to 1883. See K. Pearce, “Brickfields —Now the North Hobart Football Oval” (16 Mar 2006) n.p. The Invalid Depots were “effectively a revisiting of the early days of [convict] servitude.” See S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p93.

⁴⁶⁸ The term, “traps”, was slang for the police; see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p217.

⁴⁶⁹ “Prison Reform: for the benefit of the working class...”

It is summed up in the phrase: the bourgeois is a bourgeois — for the benefit of the working class.” See K. Mar & F. Engels, “Conservative or Bourgeois Socialism” under “Socialist and Communist Literature” in *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* (2004)

<http://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch03.htm#b> (14 Dec 2006).

⁴⁷⁰ The term, ‘prole’, is adapted here from George Orwell, meaning proletariat; for example. “...but a woman down in the prole part of the house suddenly started kicking up a fuss and shouting they didnt oughter of showed it not in front of kids they didnt it aint right not in front of kids it aint until the police turned her turned her out i dont suppose anything happened to her nobody cares what the proles say typical prole reaction they never —.” See G. Orwell, *1984* (2003) <http://www.george-orwell.org/1984/0.html> (29 Jan 2008). This is also to allude to the meaning of the Latin term, *proletariat*; (those who have nothing to give up to the state but their own lives and the lives of their children), and as later popularised by Karl Marx as a synonym for the working class.

“Tasmania spent more on prisons and charitable institutions than any of the other colonies.” See H. Reynolds, “That Hated Stain” (1971) pp29-30.

“Death of a Celebrity”, no by-line (11 Aug 1870) n.p.

⁴⁷¹ S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p113.

⁴⁷² S. Breen, *Contested Places* (2001) p113.

⁴⁷³ “Death of a Celebrity”, no by-line (11 Aug 1870) n.p.

⁴⁷⁴ E. Hemingway, *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952) p103.

“Death of a Celebrity”, no by-line (11 Aug 1870) n.p.

⁴⁷⁵ A. Betheras, “*A Veteran in the Good Cause of Democracy*” (1993) p100.

⁴⁷⁶ “Death of a Celebrity”, no by-line (11 Aug 1870) n.p.

⁴⁷⁷ “Ah, Bartleby! Ah, humanity!” See H. Melville, “Bartleby” (1961) p140.

⁴⁷⁸ The infamously cynical phrase “failure to communicate” from the anti-establishment movie of the “chain-gang” genre, *Cool Hand Luke* (1967), occurs twice: first without the indefinite article “a” as said by “Captain” Warden Strother Martin and then with the indefinite article “a” as said by prison escapee Luke. See D. Pearce & F. Pierson, *Cool Hand Luke* (1967).

⁴⁷⁹ At the trials of Nazis and others for crimes against humanity at Nuremberg, Germany (1945-1946), some defendants pleaded that they were “only following orders”. This became known as the “Nuremberg

Defence”, though in many cases it was not accepted as mitigating evidence and the defendants were convicted (some were hanged). The Nuremberg Principles were developed during the trials for determining a war crime. “Principle IV: The fact that a person acted pursuant to order of his Government or of a superior does not relieve him from responsibility under international law, provided a moral choice was in fact possible to him.” See International Law Commission, “Principles of International Law Recognized in the Charter of the Nürnberg Tribunal and in the Judgment of the Tribunal” (1950) http://untreaty.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/draft%20articles/7_1_1950.pdf (24 Feb 2009).

⁴⁸⁰ J. O’Grady, *Report on an Inquiry into Risdon Prison: Vol. 2* (Jun 2001)

http://www.ombudsman.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0018/50553/Risdon_Prison_Report.pdf (13 Oct 2008) pp14-17.

⁴⁸¹ C. Dean, *Stop the Madness!* (11 May 2005) p28.

⁴⁸² J. O’Grady, *Report on an Inquiry into Risdon Prison: Vol. 2* (Jun 2001)

http://www.ombudsman.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0018/50553/Risdon_Prison_Report.pdf (13 Oct 2008) p72.

⁴⁸³ J. O’Grady, *Report on an Inquiry into Risdon Prison: Vol. 2* (Jun 2001)

http://www.ombudsman.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0018/50553/Risdon_Prison_Report.pdf (13 Oct 2008) p72.

⁴⁸⁴ J. O’Grady, *Report on an Inquiry into Risdon Prison: Vol. 1* (Jun 2001)

http://www.ombudsman.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0017/50552/Prison_Hospital_Report.pdf (13 Oct 2008) p3.

⁴⁸⁵ J. O’Grady, *Report on an Inquiry into Risdon Prison: Vol. 1* (Jun 2001)

http://www.ombudsman.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0017/50552/Prison_Hospital_Report.pdf (13 Oct 2008) p3. This was also a complaint of Caroline Dean’s; refer C. Dean, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).

⁴⁸⁶ As named in s.6A of the *Mental Health Act* 1963; the prison hospital is also referred to as the “special facility” in s.6(s) of the *Criminal Justice (Mental Impairment) Act* 1999. See J. O’Grady, *Report on an Inquiry into Risdon Prison: Vol. 1* (Jun 2001)

http://www.ombudsman.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0017/50552/Prison_Hospital_Report.pdf (13 Oct 2008) p7. Also see S. McDonnell, “No Safe Place”, (7 May 2001)

<http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/stories/s291333.htm> (24 Sep 2008).

⁴⁸⁷ On loneliness, isolation and futility, see E. Hemingway, “A Clean, Well-Lighted Place”, *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (1987) pp288-291.

⁴⁸⁸ J. O’Grady, *Report on an Inquiry into Risdon Prison: Vol. 1* (Jun 2001)

http://www.ombudsman.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0017/50552/Prison_Hospital_Report.pdf (13 Oct 2008) p113.

⁴⁸⁹ C. Masters, “Supermax”, *Four Corners* (7 Nov 2005)

<http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/content/2005/s1499699.htm> (19 Jan 2009).

⁴⁹⁰ On the flogger and sex, see H. Maxwell-Stewart & S. Hood, *Pack of Thieves?* (2001) pp93-94.

The source for 1846 is not cited by the author; see T. Newman, “Port Arthur: Becoming a Penal Colony” (2005) <http://www.parliament.tas.gov.au/php/BecomingTasmania/ConvictPortArthur08.pdf> (17 Jan 2009).

⁴⁹¹ The “systematic beating of prisoners upon their arrival at Grafton [Gaol, NSW], euphemistically termed a ‘reception biff’...”; see P.N. Grabosky, “The abuse of prisoners in New South Wales 1943-76”, *Wayward Governance* (1989) <http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/lcj/wayward/ch2t.html> (19 Jan 2009); and see Grabosky’s citation of Royal Commissioner Justice J.F. Nagle, *Report of the Royal Commission into New South Wales Prisons*, (Parliamentary Papers 1976-77-78 No. 322), New South Wales Government Printer, Sydney, 1978, p110.

⁴⁹² The euphemisms of “robust officers” and “climate allowance” were used by NSW penal officials to describe violent warders and the extra money they were paid at Grafton Gaol; see P.N. Grabosky, “The abuse of prisoners in New South Wales 1943-76”, *Wayward Governance* (1989)

<http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/lcj/wayward/ch2t.html> (19 Jan 2009).

⁴⁹³ Croome complains that Tasmania is too often stereotyped as conservative and/or reactionary by the Australian mainland media; see R. Croome, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (12 Dec 2008).

⁴⁹⁴ “The release of the *Nagle Report* in 1978 provided the Wran Labor government with an historic opportunity to achieve fundamental reforms in the NSW prison system...Indeed, most of the 252 recommendations from the *Nagle Report* were implemented.” See P.N. Grabosky, “The abuse of prisoners in New South Wales 1943-76”, *Wayward Governance* (1989)

<http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/lcj/wayward/ch2t.html> (19 Jan 2009).”

⁴⁹⁵ Goulburn Correctional Centre, NSW, is an Australian example of a racially segregated gaol.

⁴⁹⁶ K. Marx & F. Engels, “Conservative or Bourgeois Socialism”, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* (2004) <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch03.htm> (19 Jan 2009).

⁴⁹⁷ “The provision of a right to legal representation and assistance is meaningless if its exercise is frustrated or inhibited by inadequate facilities.” Cited from Justice J.F. Nagle, *Report of the Royal Commission into New South Wales Prisons*, (Parliamentary Papers 1976-77-78 No. 322), New South Wales Government Printer, Sydney, 1978, p478.; see A. Grunseit & S. Forell & E. McCarron, “Introduction”, *Taking Justice into Custody* (2008) <http://www.lawfoundation.net.au/ljf/app/236765DB4B182271CA25748E001B5EF7.html> (13 Jan 2008).

⁴⁹⁸ See the reflective adaptation of literary cliché, such as Hemingway’s “bright boy” from his “The Killers” (1927), in T. Wolff, “Bullet in the Brain”, *Our Story Begins* (2008) pp263-274.

⁴⁹⁹ “With all those who do not want to go to bed. With all those who need a light for the night.” See E. Hemingway, “A Clean, Well-Lighted Place” in *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (1987) p290.

⁵⁰⁰ “Our *nada* who art in *nada*, *nada* be thy name thy kingdom *nada* thy will be *nada* in *nada* as it is in *nada*.” See E. Hemingway, “A Clean, Well-Lighted Place”, *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (1987) p291.

⁵⁰¹ On the convict barracks gaol, see Rob White, “Prisons” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p289.

⁵⁰² A carronade, a type of short cannon, was used by the British against the Aborigines at Risdon Cove; see Lt. W. Moore, Moore to Lieutenant-Governor David Collins (7 May 1804) in F. Watson, *Historical Records of Australia* (1921-1923) pp242-243. A carronade could be much more deadly than the mere “ceremonial purposes” which Windschuttle chooses to infer; see K. Windschuttle, “The Killing Fields at Risdon Cove, May 1804” in *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2005) p18. For contrary perspectives in the History Wars on this incident, see L. Ryan, “1804, May 3: Risdon, River Derwent: 1803-1821: British colonisation of Tasmania” in “Chronological Index: List of multiple killings of Aborigines in Tasmania: 1804-1835”, (5 Mar 2008) http://www.massviolence.org/+-Tasmania-+?id_rubrique=6&artpage=8 (6 Oct 2008).

On the Risdon Cove massacre (3 May 1804), see Ian McFarlane, “Frontier Conflict” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p147.

⁵⁰³ This extends Maria Turmarkin’s notion of “traumascape” (as discussed in the exegesis) because she mostly discusses sites marked by archaeological evidence, such as buildings; for example, Port Arthur. See M. Tumarkin, *Traumascapes* (2005). Risdon Cove is “marked” by the controversy to de-archaeologise (remove) Government historical signage and even “rewrite” historical dates as it is also the site of British invasion (“first settlement”) under John Bowen in 1803; 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 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).

⁵⁰⁴ *Thylacinus cynocephalus*; see “Rachel Hibberd”, “The Thylacine” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p363.

On “Corinna”, see N. Shakespeare, *In Tasmania* (2004) p310.

Climate records for “Hobart” are deceptive as the Bureau of Meteorology official observatory is to the east of the Anglesea Barracks, near the C.B.D and sea altitude, and does not accurately reflect the deviations which occur in the higher suburbs, such as Queen’s Domain; for the location of the observatory, see Hugh Hutchinson, “Weather Forecasting” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p381

⁵⁰⁵ S. McDonell, “No Safe Place” (7 May 2001) <http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/stories/s291333.htm> (24 Sep 2008).

⁵⁰⁶ S. McDonell, “No Safe Place” (7 May 2001) <http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/stories/s291333.htm> (24 Sep 2008).

J. O’Grady, *Report on an Inquiry into Risdon Prison: Vol. 1* (Jun 2001)

http://www.ombudsman.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0017/50552/Prison_Hospital_Report.pdf (13 Oct 2008) p113.

⁵⁰⁷ S. Tennent, *Findings Deaths in Custody Inquest* (26 Mar 2001)

http://www.justice.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0014/18050/Findings_-_Deaths_in_Custody_inquest.pdf (24 Feb 2009) p207.

⁵⁰⁸ J. O’Grady, *Report on an Inquiry into Risdon Prison: Vol. 1* (Jun 2001)

http://www.ombudsman.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0017/50552/Prison_Hospital_Report.pdf (13 Oct 2008) p113.

⁵⁰⁹ The most violent disturbances in Risdon Prison occurred after the ALP gained State Government in 1998.

For the quotation ascribed to Peter Patmore, see S. McDonnell, “No Safe Place” (7 May 2001) <http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/stories/s291333.htm> (24 Sep 2008).

⁵¹⁰ J. O’Grady, *Report on an Inquiry into Risdon Prison: Vol. 1* (Jun 2001) http://www.ombudsman.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0017/50552/Prison_Hospital_Report.pdf (13 Oct 2008) p3.

⁵¹¹ J. O’Grady, *Report on an Inquiry into Risdon Prison: Vol. 1* (Jun 2001) http://www.ombudsman.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0017/50552/Prison_Hospital_Report.pdf (13 Oct 2008) p95.

⁵¹² J. O’Grady, “Conclusions” in *Report on an Inquiry into Risdon Prison: Vol. 1* (Jun 2001) http://www.ombudsman.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0017/50552/Prison_Hospital_Report.pdf (13 Oct 2008) pp136-140.

⁵¹³ A. Bainbridge, “Risdon Prison siege symptom of crisis” (1 Jun 2005) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2005/628/34643> (14 Oct 2008) p10. The acronym, PAR, is pronounced “par”, meaning equality.

⁵¹⁴ A. Bainbridge, “Risdon Prison siege symptom of crisis” (1 Jun 2005) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2005/628/34643> (14 Oct 2008) p10.

⁵¹⁵ Originally a title by Pellegrino Artusi (1891). Another demand for pizzas was made in 2007; see A. Livingston, “Pizza delivery resolves prison siege” (16 Jan 2007) <http://nwtasmania.yourguide.com.au/news/local/news/general/pizza-delivery-resolves-prison-siege/198218.aspx> (14 Oct 2008).

⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁶ A. Bainbridge, “Risdon Prison siege symptom of crisis” (1 Jun 2005) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2005/628/34643> (14 Oct 2008) p10.

⁵¹⁷ A. Bainbridge, “Risdon Prison siege symptom of crisis” (1 Jun 2005) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2005/628/34643> (14 Oct 2008) p10.

⁵¹⁸ “Risdon staffing levels adequate, says Minister”, no by-line (18 Apr 2006) <http://www.abc.net.au/elections/tas/2006/news/stories/1617745.htm?elections/tas/2006/> (14 Oct 2008).

⁵¹⁹ “Risdon staffing levels adequate, says Minister”, no by-line (18 Apr 2006) <http://www.abc.net.au/elections/tas/2006/news/stories/1617745.htm?elections/tas/2006/> (14 Oct 2008).

⁵²⁰ C. Dean, *Re: About PAR for Caroline Dean* (29 Mar 2009).

⁵²¹ C. Dean, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).

⁵²² C. Dean, *Re: About PAR for Caroline Dean* (29 Mar 2009) and A. Ward, “Prison Interview” (11 Jun 2004) <http://www.abc.net.au/stateline/tas/content/2003/s1130287.htm> (24 Jun 2008).

⁵²³ On the allegation of strip-searches of children, see C. Dean, *Stop the Madness!* (11 May 2005) p7. C. Dean, *Re: About PAR for Caroline Dean* (29 Mar 2009).

⁵²⁴ C. Dean, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).

⁵²⁵ C. Dean, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).

⁵²⁶ On Vickie Douglas’s son, see C. Dean, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).

C. Dean & V. Douglas & L. Langford, *Prison Action & Reform Inc*, Pt. 1 (24 May 2005) p1 & p21.

⁵²⁷ C. Dean & V. Douglas & L. Langford, *Prison Action & Reform Inc*, Pt. 1 (24 May 2005) pp3-9.

⁵²⁸ On PAR’s demand for the resignation of Judy Jackson, see C. Dean, *Stop the Madness!* (11 May 2005) p19.

⁵²⁹ M. Holloway, “Prisoner rights activists banned” (24 Aug 2005) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2005/639/33938> (14 Oct 2008).

⁵³⁰ C. Dean, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).

⁵³¹ C. Dean, *Re: About PAR for Caroline Dean* (29 Mar 2009).

⁵³² C. Dean, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).

⁵³³ C. Dean, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008) and *Re: About PAR for Caroline Dean* (29 Mar 2009); also see A. Ward, “Prison Interview” (11 Jun 2004) <http://www.abc.net.au/stateline/tas/content/2003/s1130287.htm> (24 Jun 2008).

⁵³⁴ Both men and women are imprisoned in Risdon, though in separate facilities; see R. White, “Prisons” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) pp289-290.

⁵³⁵ C. Dean, *Re: About PAR for Caroline Dean* (29 Mar 2009).

⁵³⁶ C. Dean, *Re: About PAR for Caroline Dean* (29 Mar 2009).

⁵³⁷ C. Dean, *Re: About PAR for Caroline Dean* (29 Mar 2009).

⁵³⁸ C. Dean, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).

⁵³⁹ “A man can be destroyed but not defeated.” See E. Hemingway, *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952) p103; see Hemingway’s “double dicho” discussed by A.E. Hotchner, *Papa Hemingway* (1999) p73.

C. Dean, *Re: About PAR for Caroline Dean* (29 Mar 2009).

⁵⁴⁰ C. Dean, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).

⁵⁴¹ P. Duncan, “Boredom-breaker riot” (18 Jan 2007)

<http://www.news.com.au/mercury/story/0,22884,21077060-3462,00.html> (14 Oct 2008).

⁵⁴² P. Duncan, “Boredom-breaker riot” (18 Jan 2007)

<http://www.news.com.au/mercury/story/0,22884,21077060-3462,00.html> (14 Oct 2008).

⁵⁴³ Georg Hegel: “The only thing we learn from history is that we learn nothing from history.”

⁵⁴⁴ Abraham Lincoln: “Nearly all men can stand adversity, but if you want to test a man’s character, give him power.”

⁵⁴⁵ “Lest we forget assholes like you”; see J. Hasslap, “Miss Power, You fucking slutt [sic.]...” (c.18 Jun 1990).

⁵⁴⁶ K.H. Cleaver, “Memorandum To All Shopkeepers Using Sandwich Boards And Other Items Of Trade Placed On Footpaths” (18 Dec 1990).

⁵⁴⁷ The vernacular, “southern bluefin tuna”, is a name for the pelagic fish, *Thunnus maccoyii*, which fetches very high prices on the Japanese markets and so it has been commercially exploited to the degree that the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources now classifies the species as “critically endangered”. Also prized as a game fish, recreational anglers in Tasmania are currently subject to a possession limit of two southern bluefin, combined with some other species of tuna, by the Department of Primary Industry and Water.

⁵⁴⁸ The vernacular, “black bream” is a name for the estuarine fish, *Acanthopagrus butcheri*, long protected in Tasmania from commercial exploitation and therefore available in relative abundance for recreational anglers; however, “fishing competitions” which target this species have generally adopted “catch-‘n’-release” policies because of the controversial “overkill”.

⁵⁴⁹ The Michelin *Red Guide* awards up to three stars to hotels and restaurants in Europe, Britain, Ireland, the USA and Japan, and is so prestigious that the suicide of a chef, Bernard Loiseau (2003), was blamed on a rumour that his restaurant, *La Côte d’Or*, was about to lose a Michelin star (though it did not). For a potted history of Brand Tasmania pitched at a tourist readership, see the Brand Tasmania editorials, L. Adams, “A message from Lyndon Adams” (Spring 2008) p60, and M. Jenkinson, “A changing Tasmania” (Spring 2008) pp61-62.

On Michel Roux in Tasmania, see “Super-chef stirs our pot”, no by-line (Apr 2008)

<http://www.brandtasmania.com/newsletter.php?ACT=main&issue=81> (23 Sep 2008), and M. Burbury,

“Press Review” (2008) <http://www.thebancrestaurant.com.au/MediaStory.htm> (23 Sep 2008).

⁵⁵⁰ “Swansea has retained a laid-back friendliness and still ranks as one of the nicest towns on the East Coast.” See L. McGaurr, *Lonely Planet Tasmania* (1999) p179.

⁵⁵¹ Reports of killer whales (*Orcinus orca* or Orcas) preying on dolphins in this manner occur around Tasmania; for example, “Recently they [Orcas] were seen herding dolphins against a beach in Southern Tasmania, so they could attack and eat them.” See Australian Antarctic Division, “Killer Whales” (21 Jul 2007) <http://www.aad.gov.au/default.asp?casid=2329> (15 Sep 2008).

⁵⁵² On rural character, see A. Proulx, “An Interview with Annie Proulx” (1999)

http://www.missourireview.com/content/dynamic/view_text.php?text_id=877 (12 Oct 2008).

The comment that this was the “recession Australia had to have” was a pronouncement of the then Federal Treasurer, Paul Keating, at a media conference (29 Nov 1990); see S. Bell, *Australia’s Money Mandarins* (2004) p66.

⁵⁵³ E. Gatenby, “Sex Discrimination”, (c.Jun 1990).

⁵⁵⁴ The vernacular, “Blind Velvet worm”, describes the *Tasmanipatus anophthalmus*, found in the Eastern Highlands to the near north of Swansea.

At the request of Power (7 Jan 2009), further details on Coleman have been omitted as it is speculated by Power that Coleman might still be vulnerable to prejudice on this issue in Swansea.

⁵⁵⁵ Returned Services League of Australia (RSL) was changed to Returned and Services League of Australia (1990).

On the date of the Glamorgan RSL’s founding, see B. Lane, *7.30 Report* (c.18 Jun 1990).

The RSL as the centre of power in Swansea is a claim made by Denise Power; see D. Power, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008); see also J. McEntee, “... and ain’t i a woman?: Still defending the ‘50s” (19 Feb 1992) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/1992/44/3842> (2 Jul 2008).

⁵⁵⁶ Glamorgan RSL, “Conduct of Members”, *Constitution & By-Laws* (n.d.) 3.3.

The “standard” beer in Tasmania was then an eight fluid ounce (227 ml.) glass of draught.

⁵⁵⁷ *Lagarostrobos franklinii*. The Swan Motor Inn, Huon Pine bar and all, burnt down several years later and was not rebuilt.

⁵⁵⁸ Tasmania’s “Mason-Dixon Line” is named after the American Mason-Dixon Line, surveyed by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon between 1763 and 1767, and today a nomenclature for an imaginary line dividing the cultures of Northern USA and Southern USA.

⁵⁵⁹ “Wyomin [sic.] is fine just the way it is,” said Verl to Bonita. ‘They come in here and...’ This is Proulx’s metaphorical summation, including ellipsis, of Wyoming resistance to the influx of (Californian)

tree-changers; see A. Proulx, *Fine Just the Way It Is* (2008) p189. She elaborates on rural “narrow worldviews” in A. Proulx, “An Interview with Annie Proulx” in *The Missouri Review* (Spring 1999) http://www.missourireview.com/content/dynamic/view_text.php?text_id=877 (12 Oct 2008).

⁵⁶⁰ In interview, Power nominates March 1990 as the month of her ejection from the Members’ Bar, but her own notes record it as 4 April 1990, 6.30 PM; see D. Power, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008) and also see D. Power, “Collective times & dates in attempts to resolve the matter between Denise Power & RSL”, MS 1 (4 Apr 1990). Media sources also date the dispute from Apr 1990; for example, see M. Haley, “Claim of Victimisation” (25 Jun 1990) p7.

⁵⁶¹ See “Lack of a Food Culture” 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), pp134-135.

⁵⁶² Aristology is the study of cooking and dining as propagated in the culinary desert of Tasmania by Edward Abbott, author of *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, and also see Tony Marshall, “Abbott, Edward” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p1.

⁵⁶³ Power telephoned Hodder (7 Jan 2009) to correct the draft with the information that the Swansea RSL did not then serve meals on a daily basis (though it did cater for functions) and that she did not recommend the RSL to the Adelaide women; rather, they went there on their own accord, presuming that they could get a meal.

⁵⁶⁴ D. Power, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).

⁵⁶⁵ Glamorgan RSL, “Membership Qualifications”, *Constitution & By-Laws* (n.d.) 6.4.

Glamorgan RSL, “Use of Club Premises”, *Constitution & By-Laws* (n.d.) 1.3 (c). Note, while the Glamorgan RSL *Constitution & By-Laws* is not dated, it does reference the Tasmania Licensing Act 1979 and so indicates that the constitution was written, voted on by members and approved by the Tasmanian Government after women had won equal access to licensed bars in Australia; see Glamorgan RSL, “Liquor Licence”, *Constitution & By-Laws* (n.d.) 18.

⁵⁶⁶ Power speaks of the Glamorgan RSL’s executive’s urging of Swansea men to “control their women”; hear D. Power, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).

⁵⁶⁷ D. Power, “Collective times & dates in attempts to resolve the matter between Denise Power & RSL”, MS 1 (4 Apr 1990).

⁵⁶⁸ B. Lane, *7.30 Report* (c.18 Jun 1990).

⁵⁶⁹ For an example of media sarcasm about the Glamorgan RSL, see B. Lane, *7.30 Report* (c.18 Jun 1990).

⁵⁷⁰ Stephen Tanner, “The Hodgman Family” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) pp178-179. While not a parliamentarian at this time, Hodgman was re-elected 1 Feb 1992.

Howard Piggot also acted as barrister for the Glamorgan RSL; see B. Teale, “‘Kiss-and-make-up’ hope declared in RSL sex row” (21 Jun 1990) p3.

⁵⁷¹ Power was informed that she was “suspended from the club” (even though she was not a member!) and Wills was informed that he was expelled “and therefore you may not enter the club at any time”. See J.T. Stephens, “Constitution Clause 16.1” (15 Jun 1990) & “Club By-Laws. Section 1.3 (a)” 15 Jun 1990; the banned “for life” claim was reported in the press; see M. Haley, “Claim of Victimisation”, *The Examiner*, 25 Jun 1990, p7, and M. Moore, “Denise gets marching orders” (14 Jul 1990) p1.

⁵⁷² “RSL says decision on sex row must wait”, no by-line (9 Jul 1990) p3

⁵⁷³ Glamorgan RSL, “Alteration of the Constitution”, *Constitution & By-Laws* (n.d.) 14.

⁵⁷⁴ E. Gatenby, “Sex Discrimination”, (c.Jun 1990).

⁵⁷⁵ “Depleted RSL looks to new generation”, no by-line (19 Apr 1991) p5.

⁵⁷⁶ “Swansea RSL is hurting the state”, editorial (4 Feb 1992) p8.

⁵⁷⁷ The national motto of the RSL, also referenced in irony by the media; see E. Gatenby, “Sex Discrimination”, (c.Jun 1990).

⁵⁷⁸ Alleged in written record of telephone conversation with Shirsten; see D. Power, “Collective times & dates in attempts to resolve the matter between Denise Power & RSL”, MS 1 (2 Jun 1990).

⁵⁷⁹ See television images of Shirsten in E. Gatenby, “Sex Discrimination” (c.Jun 1990) & “The Expulsion” (c.15 Jun 1990), D. Hinch, *Hinch* (14 Jun 1990) and B. Lane, *7.30 Report* (c.18 Jun 1990).

⁵⁸⁰ D. Power, “Collective times & dates in attempts to resolve the matter between Denise Power & RSL”, MS 1 (2 Jun 1990).

⁵⁸¹ D. Power, “For 3 Weeks” in “Collective times & dates in attempts to resolve the matter between Denise Power & RSL”, MS 1 (n.d.).

⁵⁸² Throughout the dispute, Shirsten and other members of the Glamorgan RSL executive avoided giving comment to the media; for example, see E. Gatenby, “Sex Discrimination” (c.Jun 1990) & “The Expulsion” (c.15 Jun 1990), D. Hinch, *Hinch* (14 Jun 1990) and B. Lane, *7.30 Report* (c.18 Jun 1990).

- ⁵⁸³ Power claims that this is the “aim” of her opponents; see D. Hinch, *Hinch* (14 Jun 1990).
- ⁵⁸⁴ “Mr Cleaver, Council Clerk, approx 9.30 came to my salon, opened the door and ‘threw’ a notice to me. He said this is yours and slammed the door, (witness present to this.)... (witness Mrs McCarthy, Sharon Coleman, Julie Nicholas).” See D. Power, “Collective times & dates in attempts to resolve the matter between Denise Power & RSL”, MS 3 (19 Dec 1990). Also see K.H. Cleaver, “Memorandum To All Shopkeepers Using Sandwich Boards And Other Items Of Trade Placed On Footpaths” (18 Dec 1990).
- ⁵⁸⁵ R. Henderson, letter to Denise Power re Conciliation Meeting with Glamorgan RSL (28 Jun 1990).
- ⁵⁸⁶ E. Gatenby, “The Expulsion” (c.15 Jun 1990).
- ⁵⁸⁷ J. Crotty, “Re: Glamorgan RSL”, Hobart, 19 Jul 1990.
- ⁵⁸⁸ S. Simpson, “Swansea club reinstates ousted fiance of women’s right fighter” (13 Jul 1990) p2.
- ⁵⁸⁹ D. Power, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).
- ⁵⁹⁰ “The committee had presented him with a list of charges just like in the army” See S. Simpson, “Swansea club reinstates ousted fiance of women’s right fighter” (13 Jul 1990) p2.
- ⁵⁹¹ S. Simpson, “Swansea club reinstates ousted fiance of women’s right fighter” (13 Jul 1990) p2.
- ⁵⁹² S. Simpson, “Swansea club reinstates ousted fiance of women’s right fighter” (13 Jul 1990) p2.
- ⁵⁹³ Power describes this phone call as a “death threat”; see E. Gatenby, “The Expulsion”, (c.15 Jun 1990) and refer D. Power, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).
- ⁵⁹⁴ The press accused Swansea of a “lynch mob mentality”; see H. Martine, “Woman to Flee Town: RSL meeting ‘too risky’”, *The Examiner*, 15 Jun 1990, p5.
- ⁵⁹⁵ S. Grice, “Swansea RSL Row” (19 Jun 1990) p8; also see B. Lane, *7.30 Report*, (c.18 Jun 1990).
- ⁵⁹⁶ B. Lane, *7.30 Report*, (c.18 Jun 1990).
- ⁵⁹⁷ B. Lane, *7.30 Report*, (c.18 Jun 1990).
- ⁵⁹⁸ B. Lane, *7.30 Report*, (c.18 Jun 1990).
- ⁵⁹⁹ B. Lane, *7.30 Report*, (c.18 Jun 1990).
- ⁶⁰⁰ B. Lane, *7.30 Report*, (c.18 Jun 1990).
- ⁶⁰¹ B. Lane, *7.30 Report*, (c.18 Jun 1990).
- ⁶⁰² S. Grice, “Swansea RSL Row” (19 Jun 1990) p8.
- ⁶⁰³ B. Lane, *7.30 Report*, (c.18 Jun 1990).
- ⁶⁰⁴ J. Crotty, “Monies donated to you” (25 Jul 1990).
- ⁶⁰⁵ D. Power, “Dear Jim, Please find attached application for Legal Assistance...” (5 Sep 1990).
- ⁶⁰⁶ D. Power, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).
- ⁶⁰⁷ The internet “White pages” does not list anyone under the surname “Hasslap” in Tasmania; Power speculates that it is a corruption of Hasselhoff, the surname of the main actor from *Knight Rider*, a popular television series of the 1980s in which a detective takes “direct action”; refer D. Power, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).
- ⁶⁰⁸ J. Hasslap, “Miss Power, You fucking slutt [sic]....” (c.18 Jun 1990). Power found the letter at her Swansea business, 18 Jun 1990; this suggests that the break and enter into her Hobart “hide-away” was possibly committed by another person. See D. Power, “Dear Mr. Crotty, Please find enclosed ‘letter’ as requested...” (21 Jun 1990).
- ⁶⁰⁹ D. Power, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).
- ⁶¹⁰ D. Power, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).
- ⁶¹¹ J. McEntee, “... and ain’t i a woman?: Still defending the ‘50s” (19 Feb 1992) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/1992/44/3842> (2 Jul 2008).
- ⁶¹² For a first-hand account by one of the women ejected with Power, see J. McEntee, “... and ain’t i a woman?: Still defending the ‘50s” (19 Feb 1992) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/1992/44/3842> (2 Jul 2008).
- ⁶¹³ N. Clark, “RSL club chief ‘feared for peace’ over women at bar” (3 Feb 1992) p6
- ⁶¹⁴ N. Clark, “RSL club chief ‘feared for peace’ over women at bar” (3 Feb 1992) p6. Arnol later argued that he was ejecting only the female friends of Power and not because they were female; see R. Henderson, “Dear Ms Osborne, I refer to your complaint lodged under the Sex Discrimination Act 1984...” (9 Mar 1992).
- ⁶¹⁵ “We do not have a men’s bar... The Club and its large membership is now well aware of the provisions of the Sexual Discrimination Act and they and the committee will ensure that the Act and its provisions are upheld.” See R. Henderson, “Dear Ms Osborne, I refer to your complaint lodged under the Sex Discrimination Act 1984...” (9 Mar 1992).
- ⁶¹⁶ D. Power, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (7 Jul 2008).
- ⁶¹⁷ S. Simpson, “State’s touchiest subject” (19 Jan 1986) p13.
- ⁶¹⁸ S. Simpson, “State’s touchiest subject” (19 Jan 1986) p13.
- ⁶¹⁹ Daylesford is the site of the Chillout Festival, which the organisers claim as “the largest gay and lesbian festival in regional Australia”. See ChillOut Festival, “ChillOut's History, Purpose and Aims”,

(2008) http://www.chilloutfestival.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=20&Itemid=37 (30 Jul 2008).

⁶²⁰ “In equal measure to how closed and narrow it once was, Swansea is now open and inclusive, to the extent that it is a model of social transformation.” See R. Croome, “On Great Oyster Bay” (3 Apr 2005) http://www.rodneycroome.id.au/other_more?id=1615_0_2_0_M1 (21 Aug 2007).

⁶²¹ See a specific entry on Swansea for GLBT tourists 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) p15.

⁶²² J. Nettlefold, “Gay hate campaign targets town’s developers” (13 Mar 2007) <http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2007/s1870960.htm> (5 Nov 2008).

⁶²³ For an anecdotal discussion of Swansea in the context of misogyny and homophobia (with minor errors of dates and persons), see R. Croome, “On Great Oyster Bay” (3 Apr 2005) http://www.rodneycroome.id.au/other_more?id=1615_0_2_0_M1 (21 Aug 2007).

⁶²⁴ A. Coleman, “Swansea Takes Out Tidy Town Title (14 May 2007) <http://www.governmentnews.com.au/2007/05/14/article/XGUNUNPVZC.html> (16 Sep 2008).

⁶²⁵ “Keeping Labor out of town” is the title of a section in I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.; please note that this document is unpublished though the author has given a copy of it to Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania*.

⁶²⁶ “Call me Ishmael.” This is the opening line of Herman Melville’s *Moby-Dick* (1993).

⁶²⁷ The Socialist Workers League, founded in Sydney in 1972, became the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1976 and then the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) in 1990; see J. Percy, “John McCarthy (1948-2008)” (Dec 2008) http://www.directaction.org.au/issue7/john_mccarthy_1948-2008 (18 Feb 2009). The DSP, along with other socialist parties, founded Socialist Alliance (SA) in 2001 and then became the Democratic Socialist Perspective as a “tendency” affiliated to SA in 2003. Hodder is a member of the DSP

⁶²⁸ As in Leon Trotsky; the SWP was affiliated with the Trotskyist Fourth International until 1986.

⁶²⁹ S. Wainwright, “Class-struggle unions: we can beat Howard” (30 Jul 2003) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2003/547/29887> (19 Feb 2009).

⁶³⁰ Jamieson’s SWP comrades in Rosebery were Jock Ferguson (FEDFA), John Rattray (AMWU) and Jim Gilleece (AWU); refer I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006). I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p. For a history of this dispute, which preceded Jamieson’s arrival, see R. Clarke, *The Picket* (1984); Clarke was also a member of the SWP.

⁶³¹ On an island within an island, see Chris Banks, “The West Coast” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p383.

A yaffler is a fast-talker, especially an M.P.; see M. Brooks & J. Ritchie, *Tassie Terms* (1995) p168. Jackjumper is the Tasmanian vernacular for an ant with a powerful sting from the group *Myrmecia-pilosula*; it is also used to describe a feisty person.

⁶³² Bruce Felmingham, “Economy” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p422.

⁶³³ The piners logged Huon Pine (*Lagarostrobos franklinii*), especially in the rainforests around Macquarie Harbour with the town of Strahan as a port. The industry began with the convict station on Sarah Island in 1821.

A history of the exploration of western Tasmania can be found in C.J. Binks, *Explorers of Western Tasmania* (1980); for an ecohistorical analysis, see in particular Ch. 2, “A Sketch of the Western Country”. On the paradox of wilderness “isolation” as an attraction, see Chris Binks, “The West Coast” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p383.

⁶³⁴ The tension in this shifting identity is elaborated in the displays in the museum of political history, the award-winning Strahan Visitors Centre, with a narrative by Rosebery’s *wunderkind*, Richard Flanagan; see R. Flanagan, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (29 Nov 2006).

⁶³⁵ Jamieson uses the term “hard rock miners” which usually refers to mining underground for metal ores; see I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p. Carol Bacon, “Mount Bischoff” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p243.

⁶³⁶ “There is a little monument just outside the entrance to the Renison Bell mine with the names of eleven miners who had died underground since the mine commenced in the sixties.” See I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p. The Tasmanian Government announced a review in 2008 of relevant legislation after a coroner’s inquiry into three more mining deaths at Renison Bell between 2001 and 2003, blaming a former employer and Tasmania’s “deficient” safety laws; for a media report, see “Stronger mine safety laws from inquest”, no by-line (22 May 2008) <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2008/05/22/2252192.htm> (6 Mar 2009). In 2005, the Zinifex company

had a large sign near its Rosebery mine (absorbed into the OZ Minerals groups in 2008) which declared the “safety beliefs” and “safety culture” for the mine.

⁶³⁷ The hotels formally traded as respectively the Rosebery Hotel and the Plandome Hotel; the former burnt down and the latter now trades as the Top Pub.

⁶³⁸ For many years, the only exit from the west coast was on a boat out of Strahan or on a train to Burnie.

⁶³⁹ Gold was discovered in this area in 1881, and the Mount Lyell Mining and Railway Company was formed in 1893 to produce copper. By 1901, Queenstown was the third-largest town in Tasmania with a population of 5051. See Alison Alexander, “Queenstown” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p296.

⁶⁴⁰ G. Blainey, *The Peaks of Lyell* (1993) p197.

⁶⁴¹ G. Blainey, *The Peaks of Lyell* (1993) pp202-203.

⁶⁴² Richard Davies, “The Labor Party” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p203.

⁶⁴³ On James Long, see G. Blainey, *The Peaks of Lyell* (1993) p203.

E. Eklund, “A Rich Vein in the Rock” (9 Jul 1999)

http://workers.labor.net.au/21/c_historicalfeature_erik.html (6 Mar 2009).

⁶⁴⁴ Arthur Hoyle, “O'Malley, King (1858 - 1953)” in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 11 (1988) pp 84-86, <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A110093b.htm> (6 Mar 2009).

⁶⁴⁵ E. Eklund, “A Rich Vein in the Rock” (9 Jul 1999)

http://workers.labor.net.au/21/c_historicalfeature_erik.html (6 Mar 2009).

⁶⁴⁶ R. Jadeja, “Amalgamated Mining Employees Association of Victoria & Tasmania (1912)” in *Australian Trade Union Archives* (2002) <http://www.atua.org.au/biogs/ALE0039b.htm> (19 Feb 2009).

On the eight hour day, see G. Blainey, *The Peaks of Lyell* (1993) pp208-209. Persons which unions describes as “black legs” or “scabs”, Blainey describes in management-speak as “relief workers”; see p196.

A pump caught fire and subsequently miners died of carbon monoxide poisoning. Humphrey McQueen accuses Geoffrey Blainey of “the vituperation of employers” over this and of scapegoating an alleged Wobbly (a member of the International Workers of the World); see H. McQueen, *Suspect History* (1997) pp194-196 and G. Blainey, *The Peaks of Lyell* (1993) p203. Blainey describes this event as “the worst mine disaster in Australian history in a metalliferous mine”; see G. Blainey, “Writing Australian history” (26 Jan 2009) <http://www.abc.net.au/rn/counterpoint/stories/2009/2471051.htm> (6 Mar 2009).

⁶⁴⁷ On unions as friendly societies, see G. Blainey, *The Peaks of Lyell* (1993) p197.

For Jamieson on “service unionism”, see S. Wainwright, “Class-struggle unions: we can beat Howard” (30 Jul 2003) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2003/547/29887> (19 Feb 2009).

⁶⁴⁸ E. Eklund, “A Rich Vein in the Rock” (9 Jul 1999)

http://workers.labor.net.au/21/c_historicalfeature_erik.html (6 Mar 2009).

⁶⁴⁹ On the AWU, see E. Eklund, “A Rich Vein in the Rock” (9 Jul 1999)

http://workers.labor.net.au/21/c_historicalfeature_erik.html (6 Mar 2009).

See R. Jadeja, “Amalgamated Metal Workers & Shipwrights Union (1976 - 1983)” in *Australian Trade Union Archives* (2002) <http://www.atua.org.au/biogs/ALE0053b.htm> (20 Feb 2009) and “Federated Engine Drivers & Firemens Association of Australasia (ii) (1950 - 1992)” in *Australian Trade Union Archives* (2002) <http://www.atua.org.au/biogs/ALE0450b.htm> (20 Feb 2009). Jamieson sometimes shortens FEDFA to “EDFA”; refer I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).

⁶⁵⁰ See “Appendix 4: Colonial Governors, and Premiers” (Peter Reardon) in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p531.

⁶⁵¹ On ore production, see Carol Bacon, Greg Dickens and Wojciech Grun, “The Rosebery Lead-Zinc-Gold-Silver-Copper Deposit” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p313. Ore production from the Rosebery mine was 739,900 tonnes in 2007/2008; see Mineral Resources Tasmania, “OZ Minerals Rosebery Mine” (2008)

http://www.mrt.tas.gov.au/portal/page?_pageid=35,831254&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL (6 Mar 2009).

⁶⁵² R. Clarke, *The Picket* (1984) p17.

⁶⁵³ R. Clarke, *The Picket* (1984) p16.

⁶⁵⁴ R. Clarke, *The Picket* (1984) p41.

⁶⁵⁵ On the pejorative of “Australia’s Worst Union”, see J. McIlroy, “Workers demand united action” (24 May 1995) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/1995/188/11947> (6 Mar 2009).

⁶⁵⁶ R. Clarke, *The Picket* (1984) p158.

⁶⁵⁷ Bracken, a scrawny child, grew from “Tiddler” to a mature “Trout” (very Tasmanian!); see R. Clarke, *The Picket* (1984) p16.

⁶⁵⁸ The French organisations were respectively *Confédération Générale du Travail* and *Parti Communiste Français*.

⁶⁵⁹ The claim to the “unanimous vote” and the cause of the “unpopularity” of this strike was communicated by Jamieson to Hodder in suggested revisions for the draft; see I. Jamieson, “Keeping Labor Out of Town for Jammo” (15 Mar 2009) p5.

⁶⁶⁰ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.

⁶⁶¹ On Jamieson’s motion to end the strike, see I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.

The term, Swampy, is a sectarian leftist pejorative for a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

The SWP opened “wholefood” stores in Melbourne and Hobart and so SWP members were tagged by their leftist opposition as collectively “Percy’s nuts” or, as Jim Percy’s brother (John) was also on the SWP national executive, as “Percys’ nuts”. Q: What do you get with Percy’s nuts? A: The Trots. And so on, *ad nauseam*.

⁶⁶² The Fifteenth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Nov 1927) when Leon Trotsky was expelled before deportation.

⁶⁶³ I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).

⁶⁶⁴ For observations on Jock Ferguson’s hope to rebuild the ALP in Rosebery, and on the Murchison ALP branch’s refusal to allow the AWU to use the branch as a springboard for parliamentary seats in the early 1980s, see R. Clarke, *The Picket* (1984) p157. Jock Ferguson subsequently joined the SWP and his daughter, Mandy, joined SA in Launceston.

⁶⁶⁵ Murphy’s first name is spelt as “Russel” in I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.

⁶⁶⁶ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.

⁶⁶⁷ Lennon was Premier, 2004-2008. Jamieson recalls that Lennon replaced Jim Bacon as Secretary of the TTLC, but it was the other way around; see I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.

⁶⁶⁸ Lennon’s political opponents tended to equate his complexion with an excessive consumption of alcohol; see Richard Flanagan and the case of the “burst saveloy” in “Save Our Sisters” (below).

⁶⁶⁹ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.

⁶⁷⁰ The Hellyer mine went on to produce 15 million tonnes of ore from 1989 to 2000 and the Henty Gold Mine opened in 1996; see Greg Dickens, “Mining” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p239.

⁶⁷¹ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p. The condition of “white finger” is also known as Hand-Arm Vibration Syndrome (HAVS).

⁶⁷² I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p. Jamieson also mentions an alleged decapitation (unnamed worker) before his time in the mine; refer I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).

⁶⁷³ “Organise!” is the one-word answer to the rhetorical question in the title of V.I. Lenin’s *What Is To Be Done?* (1902).

⁶⁷⁴ WorkCover Tasmania & Workplace Standards Tasmania, *A Guide to Workers Compensation in Tasmania* (2008) http://www.wst.tas.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0008/76895/Workers_comp_guide.pdf (6 Jan 2009) p2.

⁶⁷⁵ Jamieson recalls that the future ALP Premier of Tasmania, Jim Bacon, had just been elected as Secretary of the TTLC, but it was the President, John Swan, and the rest of the TTLC executive who meet the delegation; see I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.

⁶⁷⁶ I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).

⁶⁷⁷ I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).

⁶⁷⁸ Jamieson claims that Hanlon moved on to become a “spin doctor for Gray or one of his minions”; see I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.

⁶⁷⁹ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.

⁶⁸⁰ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.

⁶⁸¹ Jamieson argues that “older” miners were fond of the bush and so amenable to the environmentalists, and that the image of the West Coast as a bastion of “rednecks” is a false stereotype; refer I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).

⁶⁸² The Nuclear Disarmament Party split in 1985 when Peter Garrett (now a Federal ALP Minister), Jo Valentine and Jean Melzer walked out of its National Conference, alleging undue SWP influence. The SWP repositioned itself on Australian Marxism as the DSP and it restructured its periodical, *Direct Action*, into *Green Left Weekly* in 1991; see J. Percy & A. Meyers, “A Proposal for a New Broad Paper of the Left” (21 Jun 1990) <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/pdf/c000005.pdf> (6 Mar 2009). Members of the Leninist Party Faction were purged from the DSP and, reforming as the Revolutionary Socialist Party, reclaimed the title of *Direct Action* for their periodical in 2008.

- ⁶⁸³ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.
- ⁶⁸⁴ I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006). Hodder can be heard on tape suggesting that Christine Milne was once President of the Young Liberals (in Tasmania), however this appears to be in error; refer I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).
- ⁶⁸⁵ Jamieson accuses Burton of looking for an “angle” in Rosebery to oppose the mine; refer I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).
- ⁶⁸⁶ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.
- ⁶⁸⁷ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.
- ⁶⁸⁸ On the Rosebery hospital, see I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).
- ⁶⁸⁹ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.
- ⁶⁹⁰ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.
- ⁶⁹¹ D. Andrews, “Hospital campaign succeeds in Tasmania” (8 Mar 1995) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/1995/178/12500> (8 Mar 2009). Control of the new hospital in Rosebery was nominally passed onto the West Coast Council by 1997 and also faced the threat of privatisation under the neoliberal agenda of the major political parties; see I. Jamieson, “Tasmanian rural hospitals under threat” (24 Sep 1997) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/1997/291/15907> (8 Mar 2009).
- ⁶⁹² “Rosebery compromise accepted by West Coasters”, no by-line (8 May 2008) <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2008/05/08/2239253.htm?site=northtas> (8 Mar 2009). Jamieson is aware of the Lennon Government’s intentions for the Rosebery hospital in 2006; refer I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).
- ⁶⁹³ I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006). Youth also leave home in other rural regions of Tasmania, such as the Fingal Valley and the east coast, to continue their education. The mineral boom on the West Coast is now contracting to re-expose the issues discussed by Jamieson.
- ⁶⁹⁴ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.
- ⁶⁹⁵ Jamieson, like many unionists, still tends to refer to the Australasian Coal & Shale Employees Federation by its previous name as the Miners’ Federation of Australia; see I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).
- I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006). See also Len Miles, who lives in St Marys, in “Save Our Sisters” (below).
- ⁶⁹⁶ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.
- ⁶⁹⁷ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.
- ⁶⁹⁸ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.
- ⁶⁹⁹ I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).
- ⁷⁰⁰ I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).
- ⁷⁰¹ I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).
- ⁷⁰² I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.
- ⁷⁰³ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.
- ⁷⁰⁴ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.
- ⁷⁰⁵ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.
- ⁷⁰⁶ West Coast timbers are now gaining in popularity as material for violins and guitars, etc., bringing Tasmanian luthiers, like so many other ecobusinesses, into conflict with the clearfell timber industry.
- ⁷⁰⁷ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.
- ⁷⁰⁸ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.
- ⁷⁰⁹ I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).
- ⁷¹⁰ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.
- ⁷¹¹ L. Macdonald, “Left activist receives death threats” (20 Nov 1996) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/1996/255/13003> (8 Mar 2009).
- ⁷¹² I. Jamieson, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (5 Jul 2006).
- ⁷¹³ L. Macdonald, “Left activist receives death threats” (20 Nov 1996) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/1996/255/13003> (8 Mar 2009).
- ⁷¹⁴ I. Jamieson, “Not just our problem, say APPM workers” (20 May 1992) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/1992/56/3200> (8 Mar 2009).
- ⁷¹⁵ I. Jamieson, “Not just our problem, say APPM workers” (20 May 1992) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/1992/56/3200> (8 Mar 2009).
- ⁷¹⁶ Michael Quinlin and Margaret Lindley, “Strikes” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p347.
- ⁷¹⁷ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.
- ⁷¹⁸ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.

⁷¹⁹ *The Queen v The Commissioner of Police for the State of Tasmania ex parte North Broken Hill Limited (Trading as Associated Pulp and Paper Mills and APPM)*, 1992; see T. Henning & R. Snell; Rick, “The APPM Strike” (1993) http://www.bond.edu.au/study-areas/law/publications/BLR/vol5-1/Henning5_1.pdf (8 Mar 2009) pp96-97.

⁷²⁰ On hiring 50 security, see I. Jamieson, “Not just our problem, say APPM workers” (20 May 1992) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/1992/56/3200> (8 Mar 2009).

⁷²¹ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.

⁷²² I. Jamieson, “Not just our problem, say APPM workers” (20 May 1992) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/1992/56/3200> (8 Mar 2009).

⁷²³ On the Burnie mill workers’ campaign, I. Jamieson, “Not just our problem, say APPM workers” (20 May 1992) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/1992/56/3200> (8 Mar 2009).

Almost as though they are influenced by his articles, contemporary Australian Trotskyists have a similar analysis to Jamieson on the role of the ACTU in the APPM dispute; for example, see N. Beams, “The betrayal at APPM” (15 Nov 2007) <http://www.sep.org.au/articles07/ir-151107.html> (8 Mar 2009).

⁷²⁴ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.

⁷²⁵ A. Bainbridge, “Miners’ music” (25 Mar 1998) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/1998/311/21638> (17 Feb 2009). The festival is still staged, usually in February to April, with poetry, music, live theatre, markets, wood cutting and, in a salute to the West Coast’s cultural heritage (like in the Fingal Valley), a rockdrilling contest.

⁷²⁶ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.

⁷²⁷ See a brief biography of Pitt in Phillip Mead, “Pitt, Marie Elizabeth Josephine” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p277.

⁷²⁸ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p.

⁷²⁹ Jamieson is quoted on work conditions for miners in 1999 in D. Andrews, “Mine owners ravage West Coast Tasmania” (27 Jan 1999) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/1999/346/19642> (17 Feb 2009).

⁷³⁰ I. Jamieson, “A Contribution to Past Union Struggles Our Party has Led” (2005) n.p. New mining operations opened again on the West Coast during the commodities boom of this decade, however the industrial relations regime has made it difficult for the unions to resist competition for jobs from “seagulls”, many of them from New Zealand. Add to this another round of job losses in Rosebery due to the Global Financial Crisis; see “Big jump in Rosebery job losses”, no by-line (30 Jan 2009) <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2009/01/30/2478236.htm> (8 Mar 2009).

⁷³¹ With apologies to William Blake.

⁷³² On “good country”, see E. Hemingway, *Green Hills of Africa* (1977) p214.

⁷³³ Captain Tobias Furneaux sighted and named St Patrick’s Head in 1773. The area was known to early settlers as the St Patrick’s Head District; see D. Clement, “St Marys 1903”, (2009) <http://www.fingalvalleyhistory.com/St%20Marys%201903.php> (23 Feb 2009).

On the pursuit of east coast Aborigines, see G. Robinson (Nov 1830); see N.J.B. Plomley, *Friendly Mission* (1966) pp261-264.

⁷³⁴ Christ Church was built in 1847 on land, donated by Legge, which was sub-divided from “Cullenswood”. It is still standing in reasonable condition and for occasional use, facing the Esk Valley Highway; though a parson is no longer in residence.

⁷³⁵ C.S.O., 1/320, J. Batman to Anstey (7 Sep 1829) pp142-144; see further notes for this controversy in “...so many of them always coming in big boats”.

⁷³⁶ On hearing Aborigines “crying in the wind”, see H. Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (2004) p1.

⁷³⁷ On “old country”, see E. Hemingway, *Green Hills of Africa* (1977) p214.

⁷³⁸ For an observation on animal kill attributed to forestry practices, 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+for+estry+are...-a0153362714> (2 Feb 2009).

⁷³⁹ On “rictus of panic”, 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).

⁷⁴⁰ *Eucalyptus regnans*: commonly known in Tasmania as Swamp Gum or Tasmanian Oak and elsewhere, mostly in Victoria, as Mountain Ash, Victorian Ash or Stringy Gum.

⁷⁴¹ On her [multi-generational device, geonarrative, the “deep past” and randomness](#), see A. Proulx, “An Interview with Annie Proulx” (1999)

http://www.missourireview.com/content/dynamic/view_text.php?text_id=877 (12 Oct 2008).

⁷⁴² See Richard Flanagan’s description of Van Diemonian “cloudgardens” at R. Flanagan, *Wanting* (2008) p59; for a brief description of south-east Tasmanian “cloud rain forest” in a scientific context, see D. Leaman, *Water* (2007) p27.

⁷⁴³ Sometimes the American “greenhorn” is also used. The term in-mover also 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 can also be seen as a green version of the American “dude ranch”. 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+for+estry+are...-a0153362714> (2 Feb 2009).

⁷⁴⁴ For a specific zoological study of this line of parapatry near St Marys, see D.J. Horner, *The ecology of two parapatric species of Tasmanipatus (Onychophora) T. barretti and T. anophthalmus* (1995); see also notes and map, P. McQuillan, “South Sister – Velvet Worms: parapatry” at Save Our Sisters, *South Sister* (2008) <http://www.southsister.org/articles2/mcquillan2.htm> (18 Dec 2008).

⁷⁴⁵ On the Blind Velvet worm (*Tasmanipatus anophthalmus*), see The Forest Practices Authority, “Blind Velvet Worm”, *Threatened Fauna Manual for Production Forests in Tasmania* (10 Oct 2002) http://www.fpa.tas.gov.au/fileadmin/user_upload/PDFs/Zoology_Ecology/tfm_blind_velvet_worm.pdf (4 Dec 2008).

On the Giant Velvet worm (*Tasmanipatus barretti*), see The Forest Practices Authority, “Giant Velvet Worm” in *Threatened Fauna Manual for Production Forests in Tasmania* (10 Oct 2002) http://www.fpa.tas.gov.au/fileadmin/user_upload/PDFs/Zoology_Ecology/tfm_giant_velvet_worm.pdf (4 Dec 2008).

⁷⁴⁶ See Forest Industries Association of Tasmania, “South Sister selective harvest to support local business and employment” (7 Feb 2005) <http://www.fiatas.com.au/index.php?id=119> (5 Dec 2008) and “Forestry Admits Strip Clearfelling to be Proposed as a Logging Method”, no by-line (16 Feb 2004) http://tas.greens.org.au/publications/greenweek/GREENWEEK_FEB_16_04.pdf (5 Dec 2008). The notion of saving “islands” of forest amidst clearfell is also proposed; see this discussed by David Lindenmayer and Hans Drielsma in P. Mares, “Science, nurture and nature” (9 Jan 2009) <http://www.abc.net.au/rn/nationalinterest/stories/2009/2446364.htm#transcript> (11 Jan 2009). See also a brief description of Forestry’s “variable retention system” in 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).

⁷⁴⁷ The Tasmanian Government claims that the forestry industry “contributes about \$1 billion each year to the Tasmanian economy...[with] 20% of total manufacturing employment; 25% of total manufacturing wages and salaries; and 24% of total industry turnover”; see The Infrastructure and Resource Information Service, “Forestry” (26 Sep 2008) http://www.iris.tas.gov.au/resource_industry/forestry (5 Dec 2008).

⁷⁴⁸ Hear Amanda Lohrey, the environmental activist and novelist in residence at nearby Falmouth, briefly discuss this new line of social tension: “...what was once [Henry] Lawson’s territory would now be full of city people who have made a sea-change...if you go into a country town in Australia today, the crucial economic and political tensions are not between squatters and selectors, they’re very often between sea-changers and the white-shoe brigade, say (the resort developers), or between the people who want to preserve the integrity of the small towns against, say, plantation farming or clear-felling or people who are industrialists building pulp mills and polluting the water supply.” See R. Koval, “Amanda Lohrey’s Vertigo” (10 Nov 2008) <http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2008/2413479.htm> (16 Nov 2008).

⁷⁴⁹ On the use of Tasmania’s Crown Land as an informal “commons”, see “The Bush Becomes Home” in J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) pp48-51.

On mounted posses, see O.M. Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851* (1965) p38; and also H. Reynolds, “That Hated Stain” (1971) p25.

⁷⁵⁰ For brief popular histories of gold mining in the Fingal valley, see Ralph Bottrill & Greg Dickens, “Gold Mining” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p163 and also P. Mercer, “The Elusive Metal” (Spring 2008) pp48-55; conflicting estimates of gold production from Tasmania’s second-largest gold mine, The Golden Gate Mine at Mathinna, are given respectively as “7 tonnes of gold” (p163) and “257,000 ounces of fine gold” (p53).

⁷⁵¹ See the historical distribution of party representation for Wilmot/Lyons at Peter Reardon, “Members of the House of Assembly” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) pp511-523.

⁷⁵² A proportional representation system using the single-transferable vote to elect five (previously seven) members per seat. See Terry Newman, “Hare-Clark” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p170. The boundaries for Tasmanian seats are the same for the lower houses at State and Federal levels. Christine Milne sat in Parliament for the Greens from 1989 to 1998 and Tim Morris has done likewise since 2002.

⁷⁵³ *Times Online* broke the story that *Lonely Planet* was about to publish its “Blue List” of “best destinations” with Bay of Fires at No. 1; see V. Crump, “The 10 best destinations for 2009”, (12 Oct

2008) <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/travel/news/article4919189.ece> (19 Nov 2008). Legge, with a large timber plantation at “Cullenswood”, is sensitive to the political implications of ecotourism in a region in which he has publicly supported logging. Hence, it is speculated here that this is possibly behind his motive to limit ecotourism in the Break O’Day municipality by frightening locals with the spectre of a Gold Coast-type development; Senator Bob Brown could have been unwittingly aiding Legge with the former’s calls for an “extended” national park. See M. Maloney, “Legge sticks by his Bay of Fires stance” (23 Oct 2008) <http://www.examiner.com.au/news/local/news/environmental-issues/legge-sticks-by-his-bay-of-fires-stance/1341823.aspx> (26 Nov 2008) and A. Ward, “Calls for Tasmania’s Bay of Fires to be protected” (25 Nov 2008) <http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2008/s2429515.htm> (26 Nov 2008). However, the ALP Bartlett Government has agreed to extend the park area by creating the Bay of Fires National Park alongside the already existing Mt William National Park and this, in turn, has provoked a four-way struggle between the Tasmanian Aboriginal Land Council, the North East Bioregional Network, St Helens Aboriginal activism and East Coast Tourism; see a media report 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).

⁷⁵⁴ Patsy Crawford, “St Marys” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p320.

⁷⁵⁵ T. McManus, ‘*Thanks to Providence*’ (1993) p53. The name, “Miller’s Hill”, does not appear on official maps. McManus informed Hodder in 2005 that the lime kiln was still in the paddock at the bottom of Miller’s Hill, but that the landowner would not allow visitors to examine it; this paddock has subsequently been ploughed and planted over with a tree plantation— after environmental appeals from Julia Weston and Frank Giles.

⁷⁵⁶ Black coal was known to exist in the Fingal Valley by the colonials as early as 1843; see “The Beginning” in The Cornwall Coal Company No Liability, *Centenary 1886-1986* (1986) n.p.

⁷⁵⁷ Richard Llewellyn’s novel, *How Green Was My Valley* (1939), is a story of a mining family in Wales. Peaking at 50 dairy farms and two cheese factories in and around St Marys alone, the industry here was unable to remain competitive and fell into decline, with the St Marys Co-Operative Dairy Society closing in 1969. See L. Scripps, *The Fingal Valley* (1997) pp109-112. Today, the climate is probably too erratic around St Marys, though Pyengana is still a mirror of greener years and retains the district’s last cheese producer.

⁷⁵⁸ While technically under the Glamorgan Spring Bay Municipality, Bicheno is nominated here because culturally, especially in sport, it has often been included in the Break O’Day region.

⁷⁵⁹ Rossarden, Avoca, Royal George and Bicheno are now in separate municipalities; see Break O’Day Council, “Zoning Maps” (29 Jan 2008) <http://www.bodc.tas.gov.au/site/page.cfm?u=341> (26 Nov 2008). Also, there were various Chinese settlements throughout North East Tasmania and on the East Tamar; there is even a tourist “China Trail” today.

⁷⁶⁰ Una Camplin used this description of the Fingal Valley during an informal conversation with Robert Hodder at the “Return to Cornwall Day”, Cornwall, 5 Feb 2006.

⁷⁶¹ “Tasmania Coal Industry: Disputes, But Not Stoppages”, no by-line, in *Common Cause* (30 Aug 1941) p2.

⁷⁶² B. Bound, “Tasmanian Teachers Federation” in *The Broader Fight* (1992) n.p.

⁷⁶³ For a brief company history on the 1890 dispute, see “Early Industrial Relations” in The Cornwall Coal Company No Liability, *Centenary 1886-1986* (1986) n.p. Unions had received formal legislative recognition in Tasmania under the second term of Premier Phillip Fysh (1887-1892); see Quentin Beresford, “Fysh, Phillip Oakley” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p151. On the 1902 strike and non-union strike breakers, see L. Scripps, *The Fingal Valley* (1997) p96 & p136.

⁷⁶⁴ See “Tasmanian Intermittency”, no by-line, in *Common Cause* (31 May 1941) p8.

⁷⁶⁵ The Australasian Coal & Shale Employees Federation was also known informally as the “Miners’ Federation of Australia”; see E. Ross, *A History of the Miners’ Federation of Australia* (1970). It developed out of the Australasian Coal Miners’ Association in 1916 and operated until 1990, eventually emerging as the Construction Forestry Mining & Energy Union in 1993; see “Australasian Coal & Shale Employees Federation (1916 - 1990)” in R. Jadeja, *Australian Trade Union Archives* (2002) <http://www.atua.org.au/atua.htm> (22 Feb 2009).

⁷⁶⁶ The Battle of Matewan was a shoot-out between striking miners with a sympathetic police chief against a coal mining company’s agents in which seven people were killed in West Virginia in 1920; *Matewan* (1987) is a movie written and directed by John Sayles.

⁷⁶⁷ For example, see a letter to the editor by A.B. Armstrong, “Bill Bloggs’ in Tasmania” in *Common Cause* (17 Oct 1936) p4.

⁷⁶⁸ On colliery employment in World War II, see “Tasmania Coal Industry: Disputes, But Not Stoppages”, no by-line, in *Common Cause* (30 Aug 1941) p2.

“Tasmanian Government Will Honor Pensions Promise”, no by-line, in *Common Cause* (13 Nov 1941) p1.

⁷⁶⁹ Jillian Koshin, “Reece, Eric Elliot” in *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p303.

⁷⁷⁰ Informal remark made by Len Miles to the author, St Marys, c.5 Feb 2006.

⁷⁷¹ The larger properties in the Fingal Valley, running east to west, are “Cullenswood, “Killymoon”, “Frodsley”, “Malahide” and “Tullochgorum”. “Enstone Park” (“Thomson Villa”) is at the base of Millers Hills, near Falmouth on the east coast.

On trapping platypus, see J. Marwood, *Valley People* (1984) p57 & p86. As late as the 1980s, some of the older generation of locals were shooting platypus because, they reckoned, platypus eat trout eggs and trout bring in tourist dollars; they had to be told that trout too eat trout eggs!

L. Scripps, *The Fingal Valley* (1997) pp134-136.

⁷⁷² The Green rosella is the *Platycercus caledonicus*; on shooting “parrots” for food, see J. Marwood, *Valley People* (1984) p78.

⁷⁷³ Suffolk lamb for the meat market was developed in the St Marys district by Jean Lohrey at the “Clover Bank” property.

The Pyengana Dairy Company, about half an hour’s drive north of St Helens, continued to make a delicious unpasteurised Cheddar-style cheese until, after lobbying by large mainland cheese manufacturers, it was banned from selling this cheese by the Federal Government in the 1990s; Melbourne cheese retailer, Will Studd, has battled since to have the law changed back.

⁷⁷⁴ This was commonplace in the “apple isle” until the bigger companies, like Cascade Brewery, forced the small brewers out of the market and the practice declined because it was no longer commercially viable rather than being maintained for personal use; it is making a comeback today as a lifestyle choice by in-movers.

⁷⁷⁵ A. Proulx, “An Interview with Annie Proulx” in *The Missouri Review* (Spring 1999)

http://www.missourireview.com/content/dynamic/view_text.php?text_id=877 (12 Oct 2008).

⁷⁷⁶ The two hotels are/were the St Marys Hotel (1861) and the Criterion Hotel (1890); see D. Clement, “St Marys 1903” (2009) <http://www.fingalvalleyhistory.com/St%20Marys%201903.php> (23 Feb 2009). The Criterion no longer trades. It was the latter which ran the slogan, “The Miners’ Home Away From Home”; see an advertisement in *Common Cause* (11 Jan 1941) p5. See also notes on the larger stores in St Marys decades earlier in D. Clement, “St Marys 1903” (2009)

<http://www.fingalvalleyhistory.com/St%20Marys%201903.php> (23 Feb 2009).

For a description, by a fishing tourist from Melbourne in the 1930s, of St Marys “big general store”, see G.E.J. Dawkins, *Trouting in Tasmania*, (1999) p32.

⁷⁷⁷ L. Scripps, *The Fingal Valley* (1997) p86.

⁷⁷⁸ The last year of competition for the F.D.F.A. was 1992; see L. Scripps, *The Fingal Valley* (1997) p86.

⁷⁷⁹ L. Scripps, *The Fingal Valley* (1997) p81 & p87.

⁷⁸⁰ D. Scholes, *The Enchanting Break O’ Day* (2000).

⁷⁸¹ Scripps describes this as “a classic clash between city and country”; see L. Scripps, *The Fingal Valley* (1997) p141.

⁷⁸² See “Foreword” in The Cornwall Coal Company No Liability, *Centenary 1886-1986* (1986) n.p.

⁷⁸³ The Cornwall Coal Company (a subsidiary of Cement Australia) now employs only 71 people to produce in excess of 400,000 tonnes of washed coal each year; see Cement Australia, “Cornwall Coal” (2008) <http://www.cemaust.com.au/default.asp?page=/our%20company/subsidiaries/cornwall+coal> (1 Mar 2009). For an earlier example of the APPM’s inability to stop the downward effect on employment days and pay rates, see W.H. Rees, “Tasmanian Dispute Over Rates” in *Common Cause* (14 Jun 1941) p1.

⁷⁸⁴ For a graphic of the Aberfoyle mine and Rossarden being sold at auction, see J. Marwood, *Valley People* (1984) p141.

⁷⁸⁵ Eastern Tasmania is generally experiencing decreasing summer and autumn rainfalls of 10-15%; see D. Leaman, “Sharing Water” (Spring 2008) p36. However, the winter of 2009 has been exceptionally wet, possibly because of the unusual arrival of the warm Leeuwin Current off this coast.

⁷⁸⁶ D. Scholes, “Disaster” in *The Enchanting Break O’ Day* (2000) pp152-155.

Once a Cornwall identity, now a Tasmanian MHR and Minister for Primary Industries and Water, David Llewellyn, has ordered the destocking of trout in some of Tasmania’s most historically significant angling lakes; on Lake Crescent for example, see “Trout taken out of lake to help Tasmanian farmers”, no by-line, (11 Nov 2008) <http://www.abc.net.au/rural/news/content/200811/s2416275.htm> (12 Nov 2008).

⁷⁸⁷ Frances Daily remembers that Landcare was responsible, “but [I] may have been mistaken”; see F. Daily, “Save Our Sisters Frances Daily Comments” (17 Mar 2009) p9.

⁷⁸⁸ J. Weston, “Some suggested comments and corrections” (18 Mar 2009) pp1-2.

⁷⁸⁹ 26-year-old German backpacker, Nancy Grunewald, disappeared without trace after departing St Helens to ride to Hobart, and 20-year-old Italian, Victoria Cafasso, was found on Beaumaris beach with over 40 stab wounds to her body; see M. Stanley, “Unravelling east coast mysteries” (28 Feb 2003) <http://www.abc.net.au/stateline/tas/content/2003/s795450.htm> (5 Dec 2008).

⁷⁹⁰ M. Stanley, “Unravelling east coast mysteries” (28 Feb 2003)

<http://www.abc.net.au/stateline/tas/content/2003/s795450.htm> (5 Dec 2008).

⁷⁹¹ For example, the operator of the “Pelican Sands” motel at Scamander, Jane Cato, claims that her takings were down by \$40,000 over 12 months because women in particular were afraid of coming to the area; see M. Stanley, “Unravelling east coast mysteries” (28 Feb 2003)

<http://www.abc.net.au/stateline/tas/content/2003/s795450.htm> (5 Dec 2008).

⁷⁹² Julia Weston claims that the surname was spelt “Grabham”, however this is not the author’s recollection of a business name on a shop in St Marys owned by this man; see J. Weston, “Some suggested comments and corrections” (18 Mar 2009) p1.

⁷⁹³ The observation on Stan Graham (or possibly Grabham) was made by Uma Camplin to Hodder during informal conversation at the “Return to Cornwall Day”, Cornwall, 5 Feb 2006; other observers agreed with Camplin, including Weston during a telephone conversation (16 Mar 2009).

⁷⁹⁴ A. Fisher, “Tassie woos the wealthy greenies...” (2 Sep 1988) p3.

⁷⁹⁵ Peter Burns, “St Helens” in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (2005) p319. The Council Chambers were temporarily relocated to Fingal and then returned to St Helens.

⁷⁹⁶ Giles is Julia Weston’s partner at “Seaview Farm”.

⁷⁹⁷ In telephone conversation (16 Mar 2009), Weston was keen to distinguish “Seaview” from the more commonly described “organic” farms.

⁷⁹⁸ Frances Daily claims that Jeff Weston began this business at “Seaview Farm”; see F. Daily, “Save Our Sisters Frances Daily Comments” (17 Mar 2009) p10.

⁷⁹⁹ “...vertigo, a dizzying sense of disorientation” and “I need to see what’s happening. I need to get oriented.” See A. Lohrey, *Vertigo* (2008) p85 & p109.

⁸⁰⁰ The “pastoral impulse...[of sea-changers to] find your own personal Eden which proves to be less than ideal...[and which] results in an intense disorientation, hence the title, *Vertigo*.” See R. Koval, “Amanda Lohrey’s *Vertigo*” (10 Nov 2008) <http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2008/2413479.htm> (16 Nov 2008).

⁸⁰¹ “Non-indigenous people [*migaloo*] regularly spend hundreds of thousands of dollars trying to buy the dream of belonging in Byron Shire, and still not finding it, are disappointed, and move on to the next dream location, the next *SeaChange*.” See M. Lucashenko, “Not Quite White in the Head” (Summer 2003-2004) p20.

On traumatised Vandiemonians previously fleeing to the hinterland, see J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p9 & 234-235.

Hear a discussion with researchers on the social phenomenon of tree-changers in Australia, Dr Angela Ragusa and PhD student Emily Mendham from Charles Sturt University; see G. Muller, “Changing rural neighbourhoods” (26 Nov 2008) <http://www.abc.net.au/rural/telegraph/content/2006/s2430145.htm> (29 Nov 2008).

⁸⁰² This is how Paul Collins describes his first experience of the beauty of Lake Pedder in 1971 before it was flooded; see P. Collins, “Antipodean Heretic” in *From Inquisition to Freedom* (2001) http://books.google.com.au/books?id=D6VW5WJHLd8C&pg=PA209&lpg=PA209&dq=%22Paul+Collins%22%2B%22Lake+Pedder%22&source=bl&ots=iGX_rSjRvh&sig=sDucgo4yQj9VQ5AFXGiTSrBuBVI&hl=en&sa=X&oi=book_result&resnum=1&ct=result#PPA209,M1 (5 Dec 2008).

⁸⁰³ J. Boyce, *Van Diemen’s Land* (2008) p9 & 234-235.

⁸⁰⁴ To be called a “bloody Gould” is still occasionally heard from locals as a type of abuse.

⁸⁰⁵ For a Greens’ perspective on the key period (1989-2001) of formation of power relations between the ALP, the Liberals, unions, Forestry and the logging industry, see the table “Tasmanian who’s who: how the forest industry has gained control of the power structure in Tasmania since 1989” in Christine Milne, “The Political Power Structure of the 1990s” in H. Gee, *For the Forests* (2001) p344.

⁸⁰⁶ On Forest Wars, see Tom Spies at P. Mares, “Science, nurture and nature”

<http://www.abc.net.au/rn/nationalinterest/stories/2009/2446364.htm#transcript> (11 Jan 2009).

⁸⁰⁷ See Section 38 and Section 75 2B, Attorney General, “Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999”, Vol. 1 (2 Jul 2007)

[http://www.frli.gov.au/ComLaw/Legislation/ActCompilation1.nsf/0/306F7E86D5517DE4CA2573040083A7B8/\\$file/EnvProtBioDivCons99Vol1WD02.doc](http://www.frli.gov.au/ComLaw/Legislation/ActCompilation1.nsf/0/306F7E86D5517DE4CA2573040083A7B8/$file/EnvProtBioDivCons99Vol1WD02.doc) (11 Jan 2007).

⁸⁰⁸ Interviews with Darrell James Brown, “The Battler” (9 Mar 1994) & Henry William Steers, “The Bullocky” (23 Mar 1994) by Greg Borschmann in G. Borschmann, *The People’s Forest* (1999) pp107-108 & pp203-204.

⁸⁰⁹ “...what one side calls ‘the bush’ and the other calls ‘the 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).

⁸¹⁰ Jan Grubb quoted in H. Gee, *For the Forests* (2001) p132.

⁸¹¹ For example, see R. Flanagan, “Paradise lost —with napalm”, 21 Apr 2004, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2004/apr/21/australia.environment> (5 Dec 2008).

⁸¹² On controversy around “‘falling’ regimes”, 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+for+estry+are...-a0153362714> (2 Feb 2009).

⁸¹³ 1080 was banned on public land in 2004; see J. Howard & P. Lennon, *The Tasmanian Community Forest Agreement* (2004) http://209.85.173.132/search?q=cache:Bdmu8S-swBAJ:www.ffc.com.au/index.php%3Foption%3Dcom_docman%26task%3Ddoc_download%26gid%3D13%26Itemid%3D174+%22Blue+tier%22%2B%22forest+reserve%22%2B2004&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=2&gl=au (27 Nov 2008), p2.

⁸¹⁴ J. Marwood, *Valley People* (1984) p78.

⁸¹⁵ A complaint made to Hodder during informal conversation by a leading farm hand at “Cullenswood”, Tim Aulich.

⁸¹⁶ These eucalyptus species are respectively known by the common names of Shining Gum and Tasmanian Blue Gum.

⁸¹⁷ S. Neales, “Trouble down at the mills” (17 Feb 2007) p33.

⁸¹⁸ For a geohydrological analysis of Tasmania’s Forest Practices Codes, see D. Leaman, “Associated Codes of Practice”, *Water* (2007) pp99-105; and for his estimation that plantations are costing Tasmanian catchments 600,000 mega litres of water per year, to rise to 1,000,000 mega litres of water per year in the next decade, see p157 & p160.

⁸¹⁹ For an environmental group’s overview of the science, criticisms of the DPIW and comment on the politics around accusations of plantation sprays leeching into Georges Bay, see National Toxics Network, “Community Monitoring in St Helens, Environmental and Human Health Problems, Georges Bay, Tasmania” (2005) http://www.oztoxics.org/cmwg/library/casestudies/cm%20tasmania_1.html (7 Dec 2008). For a media report on the issue, see C. Akers, “Water Woes” (16 Jul 2004) <http://www.abc.net.au/stateline/tas/content/2003/s1155859.htm> (6 Dec 2008).

⁸²⁰ S. Salter, “Mayor’s Message” (2004) http://www.bodc.tas.gov.au/webdata/resources/files/Annual_Report.pdf (11 Feb 2009) p2.

⁸²¹ A. Guest, “Timber spraying contaminated drinking water” (28 Sep 2004) <http://www.abc.net.au/pm/content/2004/s1209049.htm> (7 Dec 2008).

⁸²² On “Gunnerment”, etc., see R. Flanagan, “Out of Control” (May 2007) p24 & p23.

Six months later, Kons was caught in a scandal around the appointment of a magistrate and so resigned from his position.

⁸²³ The peculiar machinations of the relationship between the ALP and the Liberals over the logging industry saw the Leader of the Liberal opposition, Rene Hidding (6 Aug 2002-30 Mar 2006), introduce the reform bill; see M. Hidding M.P., “Freedom of Information Amendment (Repeal of Special Forestry Exemption) Bill 13 of 2004” (2004) <http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/tas/bill/foiarosfe13o2004658/> (7 Dec 2008). For a media report on public cynicism about the reform, see A. Guest, “Tasmanian Govt moves to lift forestry secrecy” (31 Aug 2004) <http://www.abc.net.au/worldtoday/content/2004/s1189117.htm> (7 Dec 2008).

⁸²⁴ Hodder purchased 80 hectares of land at St Marys in 1988 which had been bought and clearfelled by the Aulichs in 1970.

⁸²⁵ Scottsdale is in the Dorset Municipality which abuts the north west border of the Break O’ Day Municipality.

“Within our family there is a huge division...” See Suzie Aulich, “The North-East Highlands” in H. Gee, *For the Forests* (2001) p132.

⁸²⁶ Suzie Aulich, “The North-East Highlands” in H. Gee, *For the Forests* (2001) pp132-133.

⁸²⁷ For a discussion of neoliberalism and the decline of “social capital” (social solidarity and cooperation) in Australia, see G. Boucher & M. Sharpe, *The Times Will Suit Them* (2008) pp167-174.

⁸²⁸ 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+for+estry+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. For a more authoritative context, see P. Hay, “‘Balding Nevis’: Place Imperatives of an Invisible Cohort within Tasmania’s Forest Communities”, *Geographical Research*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 2008, pp224-233.

- ⁸²⁹ “We represent a broad range of people from the timber industry including: sawmillers, furniture and instrument makers, builders, joiners, cabinetmakers, boat builders, shingle splitters, fencing contractors, sculptors and other craftsmen... Timber Workers for Forests provides representation for timber workers whose local timber resource is at present being depleted by the practice of clearfelling native forests...” See Timber Workers for Forests, “About Us” (2008) <http://www.twff.com.au/flyer.html> (7 Dec 2008). See also a discussion of the politics of “a third group” 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+for+estry+are...-a0153362714> (2 Feb 2009).
- ⁸³⁰ “Protestors seize log train”, no by-line (5 Feb 1992) p1.
 “Tree-spiking signs foster eco-terrorism fears”, no by-line (6 Feb 1992) p3.
 Tree-spiking was a tactic advocated by Earth First! co-founder, Dave Foreman, in 1985; it was then renounced by U.S. Earth First! leader, Judi Bari, in 1990.
 “Radicals endanger legitimate causes”, editorial (6 Feb 1992) p8.
- ⁸³¹ P. Putt M.P., “Tree-Spiking Threat Condemned” (29 Nov 2005) http://tas.greens.org.au/News/view_MR.php?ActionID=1385 (19 Dec 2008).
- ⁸³² Graphic from the *Suncoast News* (Jun 1998) republished in H. Gee, *For the Forests* (2001) p133.
- ⁸³³ For example, see R. McCann, “A day in the Blue Tier” (12 Mar 2004) <http://www.abc.net.au/tasmania/stories/s1063976.htm> (7 Dec 2008).
- ⁸³⁴ R. McCann, “A day in the Blue Tier” (12 Mar 2004) <http://www.abc.net.au/tasmania/stories/s1063976.htm> (7 Dec 2008).
- ⁸³⁵ P. Putt M.P., “Greens Congratulate Break O’Day Council on Blue Tier Decision” (8 Dec 2003) http://tas.greens.org.au/News/view_MR.php?ActionID=946 (10 Dec 2008).
- ⁸³⁶ Bacon had been diagnosed with a fatal lung cancer and had retired before his death (20 Jun 2004). So the ALP was especially riled by Flanagan’s attacks on Bacon post-mortem; see R. Flanagan, “Out of Control” (May 2007) pp26-27. Flanagan muddles his argument by attempting to smear Bacon with the latter’s involvement with the Victorian Builders’ Labourer’s Federation as “a loyal lieutenant” of “notorious” Secretary Norm Gallagher, “jailed for taking bribes from developers” after Bacon was “ensconced” in Tasmania. The same tactic (“red-baiting”) had been deployed by Liberal politicians and was perceived on the anti-ALP left as adding to Bacon’s appeal and whom, anyway “has made his peace with the system”— the real point of Flanagan’s attack. For example, see A. Bainbridge & J. Kelcey, “Tasmanian Labor’s populist [sic.] veneer” (9 Dec 1998) <http://www.greenleft.org.au/1998/344/19726> (17 Feb 2009).
- ⁸³⁷ The term, “cultural fascist”, was used by Bacon (Apr 2002) to describe opposition to the Forestry-sponsored 10 Days on the Island festival (2003); see M. Stanley, “Debate over literature prize boycott continues to divide the arts community” (4 Apr 2003) <http://www.abc.net.au/stateline/tas/content/2003/s825494.htm> (11 Jan 2008). See one of Flanagan’s responses 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); in part, Flanagan is reacting against the positive profile of Bacon which was published by some of the latter’s comrades from his days of Maoist student activism; see A. Langer & M. Hyde & K. Miller, “Vale comrade Jim Bacon” (2 Jul 2004) <http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/07/01/1088488090036.html?oneclick=Early> (19 Jul 2008).
 On Flanagan and the “new Tasmania”, see excerpt from ABC News (2004) in P. Kelly, “A Letter From Richard Flanagan” (3 Nov 2008) <http://www.abc.net.au/austory/content/2007/s2410155.htm> (15 Nov 2008).
- ⁸³⁸ Building on his much publicised “burst saveloy” description of the Premier, Flanagan later added that Lennon combined this with “the temperament of a gored pig dog” and that during the years of both the Tasmanian Lennon Government and the Federal Howard Government, that his writings had been, in effect, censored in Tasmania “for several years” because of “fear”; see R. Flanagan, “Richard Flanagan on the author’s right to speak” (6 Jul 2009) <http://www.abc.net.au/rn/bookshow/stories/2009/2617537.htm> (6 Jul 2009).
 For example of “burst saveloy” amusement, see L. Schofield, “Politicians style” (25 May 2005) <http://bulletin.prev01.ninensn.com.au/article.aspx?id=139043&print=true> (7 Dec 2008).
- ⁸³⁹ SLAPP: Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation; also called a “stop-writ”. It is a lawsuit to intimidate and/or silence corporate opponents with the burden of legal costs and the trauma of court appearances.
 In 2004, Gunns announced it was filing a writ in the Supreme Court of Victoria against 17 individuals and 3 organisations (hence the “Gunns 20”), including Greens Senator Bob Brown and Greens MHA (Tasmania) Peg Putt for \$millions (media reports vary as to the exact amount as Gunns has pursued four writs against the 20 defendants). Gunns received some limited costs. The company dropped further action

against Bob Brown, Peg Putt and three other defendants. However, the Wilderness Society campaign manager, Geoff Law, eventually paid an out-of-court settlement of a “small fraction” of the \$180,000 sought by Gunns, Law says, “[to] stop the haemorrhaging of [Wilderness Society] funds to lawyers” while denying that it is an admission of guilt; see M. Denholm, “Greenie pays Gunns” (8-9 Nov 2008) p2. See also W. Lines, *Patriots* (2006) pp341-342. For a speech at a rally in support of the Gunns 20, see R. Flanagan, “The Killing of Democracy” (Dec 2004) <http://tasmaniantimes.com/jurassic/flanagandemocracy.html> (11 Jan 2004). Under one settlement in March 2009, The Wilderness Society is to pay Gunns \$25,000 and Gunns is to pay The Wilderness Society \$350,000 (both sides are claiming victory) with seven defendants still remaining alongside of a separate case of Gunns suing 13 people who blockaded the Triabunna woodchip plant. Selma Milovanovic claims, “The Wilderness Society is explicitly free to continue protesting as part of the settlement...” See S. Milovanovic, “Gunns pays \$350,000 - and declares victory” (17 Mar 2009) <http://www.theage.com.au/national/gunns-pays-350000--and-declares-victory-20090316-8zwg.html?page=-1> (17 Mar 2009) and N. Clark, “Gunns settles protest claims” (17 Mar 2009) http://www.themercury.com.au/article/2009/03/17/61611_tasmania-news.html (17 Mar 2009). R. Flanagan, “Paradise lost —with napalm” (21 Apr 2004) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2004/apr/21/australia.environment> (5 Dec 2008), “The selling-out of Tasmania” (22 Jul 2004) <http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/07/21/1090089215626.html> (22 Oct 2006) and “The Killing of Democracy” (Dec 2004) <http://tasmaniantimes.com/jurassic/flanagandemocracy.html> (11 Jan 2004). It is claimed, as if in proof of Flanagan’s complaint about Government intimidation, that “the Tasmania media refused to run” Flanagan’s “The selling-out of Tasmania”; see the editor’s note in the above article republished as “100 days and The Emperor” (Jul 2006) <http://tasmaniantimes.com/index.php/weblog/comments/the-emperor/> (22 Oct 2006).

⁸⁴⁰ In what became a progression of embarrassments for the Tasmanian ALP, Bryan Green also later resigned his portfolios amidst a corruption scandal involving the Tasmanian Compliance Corporation, part-owned by two former Labor ministers, John White and Glen Milliner. (White was also charged and pleaded guilty.) Green was charged, tried twice and twice the jury could not reach a verdict; he is now rebuilding his Parliamentary career.

On Green’s accusations against Flanagan, see “Author, Richard Flanagan accused of betraying Tasmania”, no by-line (24 Apr 2004) <http://www.abc.net.au/tasmania/stories/s1093310.htm> (7 Dec 2008). See this dispute also discussed in B. Baird, “Sexual citizenship in ‘the New Tasmania’” (Nov 2006) pp975-976.

⁸⁴¹ “Latham urged to end forestry row”, no by-line (24 Apr 2004)

<http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2004/04/24/1094010.htm> (7 Dec 2008).

⁸⁴² 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. Flanagan re-iterated his view with the qualification that the partial success of the environmentalists in the Blue Tier dispute showed what could be done when the latter engaged with the rural working class; refer R. Flanagan, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (29 Nov 2006).

⁸⁴³ Friends of the Blue Tier, “Base camp at Anchor Road before eviction” in *Save the Blue Tier* (2004) <http://www.bluetier.org/images2/campanchor.JPG> (11 Dec 2008).

Friends of the Blue Tier, “Dave Howarth chewing the cud with Richard Flanagan at the Lottah camp, 2004/5/22” in *Save the Blue Tier* (2004) <http://www.bluetier.org/images4/flanagan.JPG> (12 Dec 2008).

⁸⁴⁴ Friends of the Blue Tier, “What were these ten people arrested for?” in *Save the Blue Tier* (2004) <http://www.bluetier.org/articles3/acquital.htm> (11 Dec 2008).

⁸⁴⁵ “Goulds Country intrepid flying ace Bob Lowth breached 24-hour security guard at the entrance of the logging coupe by guiding his helicopter over the scene”; see Friends of the Blue Tier, “Images”, *Save the Blue Tier* (2004) <http://www.bluetier.org/images.htm> (11 Dec 2008).

⁸⁴⁶ A. Darby, “Latham backs clear-fell logging” (18 Mar 2004)

<http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/03/17/1079199292740.html> (10 Dec 2008).

⁸⁴⁷ J. Koutsoukis, “Labor’s old-growth forest gamble” (5 Oct 2004)

<http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/10/04/1096871820641.html> (11 Dec 2008).

⁸⁴⁸ For a note on downward employment trends in the forest industry, see G. Buckman, *Tasmania’s Wilderness Battles* (2008) pp122-123.

⁸⁴⁹ Prime Minister J. Howard & Premier P. Lennon, *The Tasmanian Community Forest Agreement* (2004) http://209.85.173.132/search?q=cache:Bdmu8S-swBAJ:www.ffc.com.au/index.php%3Foption%3Dcom_docman%26task%3Ddoc_download%26gid%3D13%26Itemid%3D174+%22Blue+tier%22%2B%22forest+reserve%22%2B2004&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=2&gl=au (27 Nov 2008); the PDF/Adobe Acrobat file with graphics can be found with a “Google” search for “The Tasmanian Community Forest Agreement”.

⁸⁵⁰ For example, the forests of north Styx, the Weld and the Florentine.

⁸⁵¹ A small extension to the Blue Tier Reserve was legislated in 2006; see Department of Infrastructure, Energy and Resources, “Mineral Resources Development (Application of Act) Order 2006 (S.R. 2006, No. 78): Part 3 —Blue Tier Forest Reserve Extension” (3 Jul 2008)

<http://www.thelaw.tas.gov.au/showbmp/index.w3p;image=cpr6872.gif;res=low> (17 Dec 2008).

⁸⁵² A. Darby, “Rudd shuts out green groups on Tasmanian forest plans” (19 Dec 2006)

<http://www.theage.com.au/news/national/rudd-shuts-out-green-groups/2006/12/18/1166290476800.html> (17 Dec 2008).

S. Lewis & S. Marris, “Rudd chops Latham plan” (24 Jul 2007)

<http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,22123812-601,00.html> (17 Dec 2008).

⁸⁵³ C. Smart, “Lennongrad” on *Roundabout* (2007) track 6.

⁸⁵⁴ There is a broad cynicism of the Fox Taskforce which has been allocated \$millions and yet it has not persuasively corroborated any of the alleged 1800 fox sightings since 2002; for example, see D. Brown, “Fox hunters in dog house” (12 Feb 2009)

http://www.themercury.com.au/article/2009/02/12/54971_tasmania-news.html (15 Feb 2009).

⁸⁵⁵ Colin Smart during informal conversation with Hodder (2007).

⁸⁵⁶ On Logging Coupe NI 114A, see D. Leaman, *Water* (2007) p173.

For a list of “threatened species in the area”, see Save Our Sisters, “South Sister – flora and fauna” (2008)

<http://www.southsister.org/articles1/environment.htm> (17 Dec 2008).

⁸⁵⁷ J. Weston, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (9 Nov 2008).

⁸⁵⁸ The acronym for Save Our Sisters is pronounced “S.O.S.” in reference to the Morse code distress signal (. . . — — — . . .). On the launch of the SOS campaign, see Save Our Sisters, “Home”, *South Sister*, St Marys, Tas., 2008, <http://www.southsister.org/> (17 Dec 2008).

On Daily as chair, see F. Daily, “Save our Sisters” (23 Mar 2005)

<http://www.greenleft.org.au/2005/620/35127> (18 Dec 2008).

Casey and Clement also chaired while Daily was working in Cambodia; see F. Daily, “Save Our Sisters Frances Daily Comments” (17 Mar 2009) p17.

F. Daily, *Re: Fran Daily's Copy of Save Our Sisters* (17 Mar 2009).

⁸⁵⁹ Julia Weston and Jeff Weston, once active together in the United Tasmania Group, were married and then separated. Jeff later bought “Seaview Farm”, and Julia bought it from him in 1997. Jeff now resides in St Helens and has been active with the Greens.

J. Weston, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (9 Nov 2008).

⁸⁶⁰ “Andrew Lohrey was forests minister in 1978. He was dumped by Doug Lowe for setting up the Everett Inquiry to investigate the level of royalties the state received from forestry. Neil Batt replaced him and got rid of the enquiry.” See editorial note at the bottom of J. Weston & A. Lohrey & F. Daily, “Despair” (25 Sep 2004) <http://tasmaniantimes.com/index.php?weblog/article/despair/> (18 Dec 2008).

On “state-sanctioned act of vandalism”, see Andrew Lohrey, letter to Forestry Tasmania in J. Weston & A. Lohrey & F. Daily, “Despair” (25 Sep 2004)

<http://tasmaniantimes.com/index.php?weblog/article/despair/> (18 Dec 2008). Forestry argued that the coupe would be of a “selective nature, not clear felling”; see response from Jo Field under Lohrey’s email in the above. Also see the note above on “selective” as an alleged Forestry euphemism: clearfelling all but a very small percentage of trees.

⁸⁶¹ F. Daily, “Save Our Sisters Frances Daily Comments” (17 Mar 2009) p18.

⁸⁶² D. Adams, *Briefing on South Sister and the Gardens* (Sep 2004).

⁸⁶³ On “Sistergate”, see Save Our Sisters, “South Sister – Index: articles, reports, correspondence...”, *South Sister* (2008) <http://www.southsister.org/articles.htm> (18 Dec 2008).

On the numbers which attended the SOS pubic meetings, see J. Weston, “Some suggested comments and corrections” (18 Mar 2009) p1.

⁸⁶⁴ On spring water for Seaview Farm, see J. Weston, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (9 Nov 2008) and J. Weston & F. Giles, *Seaview Farm* (2008)

<http://www.seaviewfarm.com.au/> (17 Dec 2008).

On community reaction to hydrology issues around the forestry industry and a perception of “industry and government scientists”, 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+for+estry+are...-a0153362714> (2 Feb 2009).

⁸⁶⁵ Leaman seeks a political praxis for his science and has subsequently taken his activism for better water conservation in Tasmania into the popular press; for example, see D. Leaman, “Appendix 7: Should scientists comment on public policy?”, *Water* (2007) pp165-167 and “Sharing Water” (Spring 2008) pp36-40.

For a summary history with key dates for the appeal, see S.J. Cooper, *Environmental Defenders Office obo J Weston and Others v Forestry Tasmania [2006] TASRMPAT 133: Coupe NI 114A Dublin Town*

Map Grid Ref 597684mE:5400749mN – Costs (6 Jul 2006)

http://www.rmpat.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/file/0009/88272/J133-2006.rtf (18 Dec 2008).

⁸⁶⁶ D. Leaman, “South Sister geology & hydrology” (23 Jan 2005)

<http://www.southsister.org/articles2/leaman2.htm> (17 Dec 2008) and “Appendix 12: The tale of South Sister”, *Water* (2007) pp173-179.

⁸⁶⁷ J. Weston, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (9 Nov 2008).

⁸⁶⁸ See an index and links to scientific reports prepared at the invitation of SOS in Save Our Sisters, “South Sister – Index: articles, reports, correspondence...”, *South Sister* (2008)

<http://www.southsister.org/articles.htm> (18 Dec 2008).

⁸⁶⁹ A. Richardson, email to Fran Daily (28 Jan 2005), J. Weston, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (9 Nov 2008); see A. Richardson, “South Sister – line of parapathy” in Save Our Sisters, *South Sister* (2008) <http://www.southsister.org/articles2/richardson.htm> (17 Dec 2008).

⁸⁷⁰ Ralph Rallings to Honourable Bryan Green, “Logging Coupe NI 114a, Slope Stability Issues” in Save Our Sisters, *South Sister* (7 Mar 2005) <http://www.southsister.org/articles3/rallings.htm> (18 Dec 2008); see also R. Rallings, “A Review of My Experience as an Expert Witness in Western & Others v Forestry Tasmania” in Save Our Sisters, *South Sister* (Apr 2006) <http://www.southsister.org/articles5/rallings5.htm> (17 Dec 2008).

⁸⁷¹ D. Leaman, *Water* (2007) p178.

⁸⁷² J. Weston, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (9 Nov 2008).

⁸⁷³ J. Weston, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (9 Nov 2008). Daily claims that there were only “perhaps 10-15 [protestors] at most” on the first day; see F. Daily, “Save Our Sisters Frances Daily Comments” (17 Mar 2009) p19.

⁸⁷⁴ S.J. Cooper, *Environmental Defenders Office obo J Weston and Others v Forestry Tasmania [2006] TASRMPAT 133* (6 Jul 2006) http://www.rmpat.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/file/0009/88272/J133-2006.rtf (18 Dec 2008); for a media report, see “Save our Sisters had a win yesterday...”, no by-line (23 Mar 2005) <http://tasmaniantimes.com/index.php/?/weblog/comments/south-sister-writs-etc/> (18 Dec 2008).

⁸⁷⁵ S. Bavage, “South Sister Court Case Withdrawal” (3 Oct 2005)

<http://www.forestrytas.com.au/news/2005/10/south-sister-court-case-withdrawal-3rd-oct-2005> (18 Dec 2008). Leaman castigates the relationship between the Forestry Practices Board and Forestry Tasmania as “incestuous and circular”; see D. Leaman, *Water* (2007) p174.

⁸⁷⁶ J. Weston, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (9 Nov 2008); see also A. Bainbridge, “South Sister campaign withdraws from hearing” (12 Oct 2005)

<http://www.greenleft.org.au/2005/645/33661> (18 Dec 2008), and D. Leaman, *Water* (2007) p178.

⁸⁷⁷ D. Leaman, *Water* (2007) p176.

⁸⁷⁸ Greg Buckman claims that SOS withdrew from the case because of “mounting legal costs”, yet Weston explains that the real problems were the legal tactics used by Forestry and then the aggravation of hostile legislation; see G. Buckman, *Tasmania’s Wilderness Battles* (2008) pp127-128, and J. Weston, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (9 Nov 2008). To give Buckman his due, SOS’s “ballooning legal costs” was the reason reported in the media; see “Selective harvesting of South Sister site to resume”, no by-line (4 Oct 2005) <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2005/10/04/1474081.htm> (18 Dec 2008).

On the SOS withdrawal from proceedings, see D. Leaman, *Water* (2007) p179.

J. Weston, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (9 Nov 2008), and D. Leaman, *Water* (2007) p178.

⁸⁷⁹ S.J. Cooper, *Environmental Defenders Office obo J Weston and Others v Forestry Tasmania [2006] TASRMPAT 133* (6 Jul 2006) http://www.rmpat.tas.gov.au/_data/assets/file/0009/88272/J133-2006.rtf (18 Dec 2008), and D. Leaman, *Water* (2007) p176-177 & 179.

⁸⁸⁰ For concerns from the Greens, see B. Bartl & S. Gates, “The Tasmanian Planning System”, *Reform of Forestry Practices in Tasmania* (Sep 2003)

http://tas.greens.org.au/publications/legislation/forestry_amends_2003/Planning_Amends_Paper_BB_SG_Sept03.pdf (19 Dec 2008) pp1-2, and N. McKim M.P., “South Sister Group Withdrawal From RMPAT Hearing Raises Concerns Over Legislation” (4 Oct 2005)

http://www.tas.greens.org.au/News/view_MR.php?ActionID=1220 (19 Dec 2008). Also see A.

Bainbridge, “South Sister campaign withdraws from hearing” (12 Oct 2005)

<http://www.greenleft.org.au/2005/645/33661> (18 Dec 2008).

⁸⁸¹ Forcing the legal onus of proof onto a Government’s opponents goes back in Australian political history to at least when Nationalist Prime Minister Billy Hughes used the *Unlawful Associations Act* (1916) against the International Workers of the World (“wobblies”) in 1917; see J. Sparrow, *Communism* (2007) p73.

⁸⁸² Both Julia Weston and Frances Daily deny any knowledge of violence, though given their gender and that they did not frequent the bar of the St Marys Hotel, they were unlikely targets of impulsive physical

confrontation as Colin Smart claims happened to him. Weston is aware that a “few people in town would express their discontent [against SOS], and usually in mumblings in the pub...”. See J. Weston, “Some suggested comments and corrections” (18 Mar 2009) p1 and F. Daily, “Save Our Sisters Frances Daily Comments” (17 Mar 2009) p3 & p20. However, the interview notes record that Weston did mention related violence in the hotel; refer J. Weston, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (9 Nov 2008).

⁸⁸³ There is some confusion as to the sequence of events, with an official report claiming on one page that Scamander was burnt on the 11 December and then on another that it was burnt on the 10 December, while Daily claims that the Sisters and nearby houses were burnt before Scamander; see I. Burke & R. Legge, *Report on the Tasmanian East Coast Fires* (2008)

http://www.bodc.tas.gov.au/webdata/resources/files/East_Coast_Fires_Recovery_Final_Report_signed.pdf (19 Dec 2008) p2 & p10 and F. Daily, “Save Our Sisters Frances Daily Comments” (17 Mar 2009) p20. “[The fire] hissed like angry snakes”; see H. Lawson, “The Fire at Ross’s Farm”, *A Camp-Fire Yarn* (1984) p118. “With a crackle and hiss, like the hissing of snakes, the fire is traveling there”; see H. Lawson, “The Bush Fire”, *A Fantasy of Man* (1984) p251. For the references to Lawson on bushfires in her fictional adaptation of Tasmania’s east coast fires, see A. Lohrey, “Author’s Note”, *Vertigo* (2008) rear inside leaf.

⁸⁸⁴ I. Burke & R. Legge, *Report on the Tasmanian East Coast Fires* (2008)

http://www.bodc.tas.gov.au/webdata/resources/files/East_Coast_Fires_Recovery_Final_Report_signed.pdf (19 Dec 2008) p10.

⁸⁸⁵ I. Burke & R. Legge, *Report on the Tasmanian East Coast Fires* (2008)

http://www.bodc.tas.gov.au/webdata/resources/files/East_Coast_Fires_Recovery_Final_Report_signed.pdf (19 Dec 2008) pp43-45.

⁸⁸⁶ A. Darby, “Wind change threatens towns” (12 Dec 2006)

<http://www.theage.com.au/news/national/wind-change-threatens-towns/2006/12/12/1165685649533.html?page=fullpage#contentSwap1> (19 Dec 2008).

⁸⁸⁷ Gerard Aulich is a senior volunteer with the T.F.S., St Marys.

The Federal Minister for Fisheries, Forestry and Conservation, Tasmania Senator Eric Abetz, is reported as claiming that a “lock up” of forests had exacerbated the fire risk whereas Weston is adamant that the timber plantations burnt more fiercely; see “Forestry Minister says logging bans contributing to bushfires”, no by-line (13 Dec 2006) <http://www.abc.net.au/news/newsitems/200612/s1810348.htm> (19 Dec 2008), and J. Weston, interview with Robert Hodder for *Radical Tasmania* (9 Nov 2008).

⁸⁸⁸ A. Darby, “Wind change threatens towns” (12 Dec 2006)

<http://www.theage.com.au/news/national/wind-change-threatens-towns/2006/12/12/1165685649533.html?page=fullpage#contentSwap1> (19 Dec 2008).

⁸⁸⁹ Bung is a.k.a. Stephen Bantik, a long-time “colourful identity” and an activist with SOS.

⁸⁹⁰ A. Darby, “Extremes of weather here to stay: PM” (14 Dec 2006)

<http://www.theage.com.au/news/national/extremes-of-weather-here-to-stay-pm/2006/12/13/1165685753128.html> (19 Dec 2008).

⁸⁹¹ A. Darby, “Extremes of weather here to stay: PM” (14 Dec 2006)

<http://www.theage.com.au/news/national/extremes-of-weather-here-to-stay-pm/2006/12/13/1165685753128.html> (19 Dec 2008).

⁸⁹² Jim Morrison, “I am the Lizard King, I can do anything!”. Extract from *Celebration of the Lizard*; see The Doors, “Not To Touch the Earth”, *Waiting for the Sun* (1968) track 3. Morrison was found dead in a Paris apartment bathtub (1971), possibly hemorrhaging to death after a heroin over-dose; there was no autopsy.

⁸⁹³ E. Hemingway, “Big Two-Hearted River: Part II”, *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (1987) p177.

⁸⁹⁴ “[Forestry] will assess the coupe at the end of this year. If bark has loosened or black bark fallen off then it will be logged soon after. If the trees are deemed unsuitable for logging immediately, then they will reassess [South Sister] at end of 2010. Seems no way to stop it (unless there is some other twist of fate).” See F. Daily, “Save Our Sisters Frances Daily Comments” (17 Mar 2009) p22. This prediction is supported by Weston; see J. Weston, “Some suggested comments and corrections” (18 Mar 2009) p2.

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² A photocopy of the letter is the property of Denise Power, the original is filed with the Tasmania Police.

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